

PARTY . . . ORGANIZER

. AUGUST . 1938 .

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Master the Decisions of the
Tenth Convention —Landy

Public Housing in Connecticut
—Corelli, Russo, Wilson, Grecht

"The Most Exciting Newspaper
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Literature Builds the Democratic Front
—Fields

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No. 8

We Are Only Beginning

By F. BROWN

THE splendid reports coming from the state organizations, the increase in dues payments in the last few months, are the best indications that the Tenth Convention of our Party was a powerful stimulus in intensifying the political activities of the Party organizations.

The Tenth Convention has armed the whole Party with a concrete political program of action; today we see already the first results. Wherever the decisions of the Tenth Convention are thoroughly discussed, fully understood and concretized by the branches, the Party organizations are growing, are getting more active. The individual Party members do their work with redoubled enthusiasm.

But we are only at the beginning; a period of intense activity lies before us. The first skirmishes of the approaching battle, the November elections, are already taking place. The enemies of progress, of democracy, the Tories and their allies, are mobilizing at full speed, not sparing forces and money to get their machine going, to get their incubators of lies, false news, demagoguery, steamed up. Every weapon at their disposal is being used to check the progressive measures of the Administration, to check the advance of the trade union movement. Under their cry of "democracy" there is hidden their eagerness for more liberty for themselves, greater freedom for the forces of

monopoly to intensify exploitation, to destroy the rights of the workers, to destroy democracy.

The necessity of closing ranks by all forces of progress, the necessity of a common front of all the toiling people, for jobs, security, democracy and peace, as the only means to smash the efforts of the enemy of freedom, to send progressives to Washington, is more and more understood by the masses. The slogan of the democratic front is gaining ground day by day, is put into action. America must move on the road of more progress and more democracy. There must be more determination in stopping those forces that try to keep back the wheel of progress.

The period from now to November is decisive to get the motors tuned up, ready for another spurt, for another victory over the Tories.

Our Party, in spite of its limited size, has today all the qualifications for playing a role in helping to mobilize the masses behind the forces of progress. Its role will increase to the extent that we prove to the masses our sincerity in the struggle for the defense and extension of democracy, to the extent that we become a large Party, more strongly connected with the millions of the American people.

It is in this period, when we are addressing ourselves to the millions of our citizens through our platform, through our sound argumentation, that we must strive not only to help in welding the masses into a powerful movement in support of democracy and progress, but at the same time appeal to the most militant of the forces with whom we are coming in contact to join our ranks.

Concretely, from now on we must organize our work so that every Party member must keep in mind five main tasks:

1. To intensify our efforts in the mass organizations (trade unions, fraternal, cultural, etc.), to win the masses for the democratic front, to defeat reaction in the 1938 elections, to defeat the wage-cutting campaign of the monopolists, and to advance the cause of labor unity.

2. To intensify our activity in building the Party and to make possible the attainment of the goal set by the Tenth Convention of 100,000 members by the end of the year.

3. To increase the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and the rest of the Party press, as well as the democratic front press, the *Midwest Daily Record*, and the *Western People's World*, as one of the best ways to reach broader masses with the message of the Party and to rally them for the democratic front.

4. To improve education as a means of arming the Party with more political understanding and to stimulate all the organizational activities.

5. To intensify our activities in support of the struggle of the Spanish and Chinese people as part of our campaign for peace through collective security, under the slogan "Keep America Out of War by Keeping War Out of the World."

Between now and November we must organize our work so that 3,000,000 copies of the Party platform, the pamphlet containing the report of Comrade Browder to the Tenth Convention, and other important literature will be distributed house to house, in trade unions, etc. The distribution should not be a mechanical one. Our comrades must be prepared not only to get this material into the hands of the people, but to engage in discussion with their neighbors, with their fellow workers in the shops, with their fellow trade unionists, explaining to them the role of our Party at the present time.

There are still a few months of the summer and early fall before us that can be utilized with all kinds of open air activities to reach broad masses with the Party message, with our press, wherever masses are gathering in great numbers: on picnic grounds, parks, on the playgrounds (youth), beaches, etc. There is still time for the branches to organize Sunday excursions at which friends and their families can be invited. We must learn how to combine pleasure and relaxation with political activity. Picnics,

social gatherings, excursions, are means of strengthening the ties among Party and non-Party people, among the fighters for democracy.

Today we have everything at our disposal to make such gatherings pleasant. There are dramatic clubs, dancing clubs, choruses, musicians' groups, that can be used for this purpose, to make the program of the social gatherings more appealing. There are hundreds and thousands of talented forces in every field of cultural life that our movement has produced in the last few years. This is proven by the splendid programs that are highly appreciated by thousands of outsiders in the various workers' camps.

Labor Day is approaching. Millions of the toiling people of America will gather in the open to hear the message of organized labor, to enjoy the last sunshine of the summer. Our forces must be there with our literature, with our Party platforms.

Already now our trade union comrades must be the driving force to make of the Labor Day rallies powerful gatherings at which the masses streaming out of mills, mines and offices will express their determination to fight in defense of the trade unions, for more powerful unions, for peace and democracy, in defense of the Spanish and Chinese people, for the liberation of Tom Moony, and above all will be mobilized to throw their might into the election campaign in support of the best defenders of labor and democracy.

These are the immediate issues before us. It is the task of the leading committees, of the branches, to work out the concrete steps and the proper methods for reaching this goal.

Master the Decisions of the Tenth Convention

By A. LANDY, Education Dept., N. C.

THE Tenth Convention of our Party, with its program of the democratic front, for jobs, security, democracy and peace, showed the Party as a mature, deeply rooted Party of the American masses whose influence constitutes a vital factor in the political life of our country. It represented three years of richly-packed experiences in applying the policies of the historic Seventh World Congress, which taught the masses how to fight successfully against reaction and fascism and for peace.

The response which our Convention called forth throughout the country, a response unequaled by any other Convention of our Party, proved that in the democratic front and its program the Party had given the right lead to the masses of people. To make the decisions and the program of the Tenth Convention the property of the overwhelming millions is a task not only for the current elections but for the whole next period.

A program and policies of such far-reaching character cannot be treated lightly and handled merely as slogans without further thought. Such a program must be *mastered* in its contents, its implications, its character and scope. Without this mastery it is impossible to become the "master agitators among the people" for the program and the slogans that express it, as Comrade Browder called upon us to do. That is the special task and responsibility of the Communists in the struggle to forge the democratic front.

With this historic task in mind, the National Committee has taken steps to involve *every single Party member* in the study and application of the decisions, policies and program adopted by the Tenth Convention. It has decided that *every Party member* must pass through a course of study on the Tenth Convention. As a guide to

such a course, the Education Department has prepared a series of five lessons which are already in the hands of all districts.

In order to involve the entire membership in the systematic, organized study of the Tenth Convention, it is necessary to conduct such a course in the Party *branches*. This requires careful preparation, organization and follow-up by the district, section and branch leadership. The best results will be obtained if, for a number of weeks prior to the opening of the course, it is popularized at all Party meetings, branch meetings and affairs. Such popularization must be of a serious, political character and not merely mechanical, perfunctory announcements. This can be supplemented by attractive posters and signs hung up in all Party halls, and branch meeting places. In addition, the branches should take advantage of the interest such organized study will arouse to initiate a special drive to secure a hundred per cent attendance during the period of the course.

It must be emphasized that the systematic study of the Tenth Convention in the branches is not intended as a substitute for the discussion of current political questions and campaigns. At the same time, these discussions must not be allowed to crowd out the organized study of the Tenth Convention. To make both possible, the study course should be arranged to extend over a period of five or six months, allowing one branch meeting for discussion of current questions and another for the Tenth Convention study class.

Where shall we get the large number of leaders required for a study course based upon the branches? It is precisely because the branches are the only real means of reaching the entire membership and supplying the necessary leaders that they have been selected as the basis for such a course. Every leading comrade, from district organizer to branch organizer, has the responsibility of teaching such a course. That is the only guarantee that the objectives of this course will be achieved.

To assure the political calibre and quality of the course, regular conferences of all teachers should be held before each lesson. This will not only help to prepare the teaching personnel, but will be a guarantee that the concrete issues and current developments will find their proper place in the course.

The organization of such a study course is the logical follow-up to the mass distribution of Comrade Browder's report to the Tenth Convention. Every Party member will be eager for the opportunity to study this report in an organized, collective fashion. It is up to the leading comrades to realize the necessity and significance of such a course. Without this, the course cannot be a success. Its successful fulfilment, however, will not only help to mobilize the Party for the immediate tasks in the election campaign, but will constitute the first large-scale effort to give the majority of the Party membership some systematic education. A little thought will show the full significance of this.

With the leadership taking hold of this job, backed up by the demand of every Party member for such a course, the month of September should see the launching of the Tenth Convention Study Course throughout the Party.

Public Housing in Connecticut

LABOR UNITES FOR BETTER HOUSING

By James Corelli, City Executive Secretary, Hartford, Conn.

WITH the passage of the Federal Housing Act sentiment for slum clearance and low-cost housing began to rise in the city of Hartford, whose slums rank with the rottenest in the other large cities of Connecticut.

During the winter of '37-38, the C.I.O. unions made

better housing one of the main issues in a widely publicized four-point program to relieve the distress of unemployment and for measures leading toward partial recovery. The impetus given this movement resulted in a steadily growing demand from all sections of the population for actually initiating a slum clearance and modern housing project.

Hartford's reactionary Democratic Mayor, Thomas J. Spellacy, resisted this general widespread demand, finally taking refuge in a statement that if the people of Hartford actually demonstrated their desire for slum clearance, he would appoint a City Housing Authority.

The people of Hartford responded with a resounding demonstration. At the call of the Hartford Central Labor Union of the A. F. of L., 101 organizations, representing over 30,000 members (Hartford has a total population of approximately 170,000), gathered together in a city-wide conference on this question. The organizations represented A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the majority of Negro organizations, civic, middle class and church groups, fraternal and language societies and lodges.

The conference elected a broad committee to coordinate the work of all the organizations in the campaign for housing, and adopted a resolution calling upon the Mayor to appoint a local Housing Authority.

A large and representative delegation served the resolution upon the Mayor. Scores of delegates from important organizations packed a meeting of the City Common Council which had under consideration a motion authorizing the Mayor to name a local Housing Authority.

In face of this wide and concerted mass movement, the resistance led by Spellacy collapsed. A Housing Authority of five persons was named, including one representative of labor and one Negro, which since has announced that \$5,000,000 of federal funds were being earmarked for a Hartford project.

Because of the so far highly successful campaign for

housing, involving so large a section of the city, the leaders of this committee decided not only to maintain the committee in order to guard against sabotage of housing, but to extend its scope.

The Hartford Central Labor Union itself initiated the move to change the name of the committee to the Hartford Civic and Economic Welfare Committee, to set up sub-committees on housing, taxes, research into operation of municipal government, political affairs, etc., and in general to take progressive action on all matters affecting labor and the people of the city.

These activities have demonstrated that the campaign for housing is actually a people's movement which can embrace the broadest sections of the population. Thus, such a movement became an example of the possibilities of building the democratic front around a single issue. It demonstrated to many the dire need for permanent concerted action, not only for better housing but also for lower taxes, which will help relieve the intolerable burdens imposed upon small home-owners, for more schools, better health and hospitalization services, for more democratic and efficient functioning of municipal government, for the progressive solution of other labor and civic problems.

Whether this movement can actually develop fully into a living democratic front depends in large measure on: (1) whether its leaders direct their efforts toward achieving immediate practicable goals, on which the movement is based; (2) the degree to which all the participating organizations, including all sections of the labor movement, forge unity of action behind a common program, and (3) the extent to which the masses in the participating organizations and throughout the city are fully involved at all times, in the struggle to put into life the major planks of the movement.

The struggle for housing in Hartford has had, and continues to have, significant political repercussions. The Mayor is leader of the reactionary faction within the Democratic Party on a state scale, and his opposition to

slum clearance has helped to rally the masses against the forces of reaction. Furthermore, both the American Federation of Labor Non-Partisan Committee and Labor's Non-Partisan League have, as one of their chief planks in the elections, changes in the Connecticut Enabling Act for Housing which will make it possible for municipalities to finance their 10 per cent share of the cost of housing. The Hartford Civic and Economic Welfare Committee, which is in the process of uniting both of these groups in its ranks, will undoubtedly support this plan and may lend its support to other progressive demands of these groups. Thus, the committee may well serve as an instrument for unifying labor's independent political groups in the city.

One of the weaknesses in the Hartford housing campaign was the fact that the large Italian population of the city, directly affected by the problem of slum clearance, was hardly involved in the entire campaign. Significantly, the other large affected group, the Negroes, actually played a mass role in the campaign for housing, and it was here that the Party branch issued leaflets and held open air meetings on the question.

The Communist Party was not directly represented on the committee which developed the housing campaign, although individual Communists active in other mass organizations played a very important role in raising the issue and in other ways advancing the movement around it. Clearly, one of the tasks in the further development of the campaign is to strive to draw in all sections of the labor movement, including the Communist Party itself.

We now have the task of involving a much larger number of our Party members in this campaign. Furthermore, in the course of the election campaign, we can play a highly important role by tying up the struggle for housing and for other progressive demands of the people with the fight against the political forces of reaction in the state and in the city particularly. An educational campaign carried on by the Party through radio broadcasts,

leaflets, open air rallies and indoor mass meetings serves to bring the struggle between progress and reaction down to concrete local issues such as can easily be understood by the people of Hartford.

The experiences in Hartford have already shown quite vividly that the slogan of the democratic front is not one imposed upon the masses from the top, but springs out of the very conditions of the increasing resistance of the masses to intensified exploitation by the monopolists, and their growing determination to improve their lot here and now. We Communists have to develop political sensitivity to the moods and needs of the people, and thus drive forward to give consciousness and form to the democratic front.

PUBLIC HOUSING AND THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

By Michael Russo, City Executive Secretary, Bridgeport, Conn..

IN BRIDGEPORT there has been organized, around the issues of recovery and housing, a democratic front movement that has every possibility of becoming a determining factor in the elections.

Following President Roosevelt's announcement of the Recovery Program, the Bridgeport section leadership of the Party called together some of our comrades active in the trade unions, together with several other progressives to discuss how to develop a campaign for widespread support for this program, and of the Wages and Hours Bill. It was decided to prepare a larger meeting, and each of the groups present was assigned to visit C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions, church groups, other organizations and various prominent progressives. We believe that in the Recovery Program we had an issue which appealed to all categories of workers and middle class people.

At the large meeting called, there were present A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions, Labor's Non-Partisan

League, the Democratic Party of the city, the Communist Party, one Socialist Alderman, ministers, representatives from small businessmen's associations, and other prominent progressives. The meeting planned and carried through successfully a campaign to collect 10,000 signatures calling upon the Connecticut Senators and Representatives to support the Recovery Program and the Wages and Hours Bill. In this campaign, the Party members in the branches participated actively, collecting a large percentage of the signatures. In this way they were drawn into the movement.

Resolutions were circularized in almost every C.I.O. and A. F. of L. union for support of the Recovery Program. A recovery mass meeting was organized at which there were speakers from the A. F. of L., C.I.O., Labor's Non-Partisan League as well as an outstanding New Deal Senator. 20,000 leaflets for the meeting were distributed at the shops and in the neighborhoods, again with the Party's active participation.

As the campaign developed, the committee broadened to include the Young Democrats, the Democratic Women's Federation, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Disabled American Veterans, the Italian Democrats and the locals of the Building Trades Council. Every effort was made to draw the Old Guard Socialist administration of the city into the movement but, with the exception of the one Socialist Alderman, the efforts failed. It is significant that, although the Socialist Mayor McLevy refused to attend the recovery mass meeting arranged by this committee, he did make his appearance at a banquet arranged by the "Bridgeport Recovery Conference" composed of the Manufacturers Association and the Chamber of Commerce, and which was addressed by the notorious anti-New Dealer Senator Burke.

The committee did not disband following the enactment of the Recovery Program, but immediately got busy on the question of housing, a vital issue in Bridgeport today, to try to influence the city administration, which

opposed it. The United States Housing Authority is prepared to sign a contract with the Bridgeport Housing Authority for a \$6,500,000 project, provided the city administration meets the necessary requirements, which the administration refuses to do. A public hearing on this project showed that the majority of the people were in favor of it. There were speakers from the Communist Party as well as numerous other organizations represented in the Recovery Committee. The Party itself issued a leaflet for the public hearing.

Following this hearing, the Recovery Committee decided to organize a campaign to compel the administration to stop sabotaging the housing project and reorganized itself as a "Bridgeport Committee for Slum Clearance and Better Housing." The cooperation was sought of all individuals and organizations through resolution and speakers, and eventually a number of Catholic individuals and Catholic organizations were enlisted, and all locals of the A. F. of L. building trades.

The committee represents at present 40,000 organized workers and middle class groups in Bridgeport. Thousands of signatures are now being collected in a petition campaign to influence the Mayor and the Common Council to reconsider their position and meet the requirements of the United States Housing Authority. A citywide conference is planned for September 10. A pamphlet on housing will be printed in thousands of copies.

The weakness in the campaign at present is the absence of representatives from Negro organizations. The issue of housing is a vital one among the Negro people of Bridgeport. If the committee is to deal adequately with the problem, it must raise the problem of housing especially for the Negro people and bring into the conference representatives from the Negro groups. It is the task of the Party especially to raise this issue.

One of the striking features of the whole movement is the acceptance of the Party by other groups, including the Catholics, and the absence of any Red-baiting. This

does not exclude the possibility of Red-baiting in the future. But the fact that we are in the movement and have demonstrated by our work our sincerity and willingness to give all possible assistance, makes it increasingly difficult for anyone to raise the Red scare. The Party representatives, among other things, have been placed on committees to draft resolutions and statements. In the collection of signatures, our Party members are actively taking part.

Housing will be one of the key issues in the coming election campaign in our city and state. We must point out that housing is intimately connected with the struggle to defeat reaction in the coming elections and strengthen the progressive wing in Congress. Our perspective is that the housing conference in Bridgeport will become an instrument to unify all progressive forces, not only for support of the housing project, but for a victory for progress in the 1938 elections.

PUBLIC HOUSING AND THE 1938 ELECTIONS

By Sidney Wilson, City Executive Secretary, New Haven, Conn.

AFTER estimating that the issue of housing offered the best possibilities in New Haven for building the united front mass movement, the Party in the city discussed this question with our comrades in mass organizations, particularly those active in trade unions, and proposed that the issue should be raised in their organizations in every way possible. Eventually, under the sponsorship of the Building Trades Council and the Central Trades Council in New Haven, a citywide Council for Slum Clearance and Better Housing was set up, composed of representatives from almost all A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions, Labor's Non-Partisan League and various doctors, ministers, priests, social workers and others. The city administration at that time was hostile to the Federal Housing Project in New Haven. A housing victory

demanding that the labor and progressive forces organize themselves effectively to counteract "behind-the-scenes" maneuvers of the reactionaries.

The citywide council called a mass rally on housing, at which they were shown a half-hour movie taken of New Haven slums. Speakers from a wide variety of organizations, including church, professional, civic, Catholic and trade union, addressed the meeting. The keynote was unity, especially labor unity. Following the rally, a mass conference was held at Yale, sponsored by the citywide council, at which more organizations affiliated. Furthermore, the council also distributed a pamphlet in 5,000 copies, answering every objection raised by the reactionaries against the Housing Project.

As the sentiment for federal housing developed, a resolution for a public hearing introduced into the Board of Aldermen by an Alderman who is also business agent of the Electricians Union was carried. The largest available hall was jammed with people at the hearing. Dozens spoke in favor, from every kind of organization. The speaker from the Communist Party was greeted with applause and was accepted by all, as part of the movement. As a result of these efforts, pressure forced the Board of Aldermen to vote to have the Mayor set up a Housing Authority. This has now been done.

At the present time the citywide council continues to function, in order to guard against any last-minute sabotage of the real estate interests and reactionary politicians. The perspective is to transform the council into a sort of People's Legislative Conference.

The movement for housing is intimately connected with the elections. First of all, the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions, as well as Labor's Non-Partisan League united and worked together harmoniously. Further, the whole movement, drawing in people and organizations of all political shades, has served to unite them around the progressive policies of the New Deal. United labor action in the elections around progressive issues and candi-

dates promises to be the fruit of the housing movement.

During the entire campaign for slum clearance and better housing, the Communist Party indirectly played an important part by mobilizing the Party members in the mass organizations to become active through their organizations in behalf of the campaign. Our comrades in the citywide council, representatives of organizations, contributed splendidly to the work. The Party did not, however, conduct sufficiently an independent campaign involving leaflets, meetings, petitions, use of radio, etc. Since no political party can affiliate to the council, the Party's contribution to the whole movement has not been made clear to the masses. The danger of being submerged in so large a movement demands that the independent role of the Party be given immediate consideration.

Some Lessons of the Public Housing Movement in Connecticut

The Party in Mass Action

By REBECCA GRECHT

THERE are published in this issue of the *Party Organizer*, in condensed form, reports on the united front movements for slum clearance and public housing in the three principal cities of Connecticut. We can derive some important lessons from these campaigns and the work of the Party.

The Party in Connecticut has recognized slum clearance as a burning issue for all the people. It has sought, both through the Communists active in mass organizations, and through the Party itself as in Bridgeport, to rally support for public housing as a measure of a progressive and democratic character around which the unity of all

progressive forces can be advanced. Here we see the political alertness of our leading comrades in the Connecticut district, their sensitivity to the needs and moods of the people, the growth of their understanding on how to set progressive forces into motion, and how to work correctly with these forces, thereby meriting their confidence.

Here we have an example of how the Party can really begin to establish itself in the political life of the community and city by taking up those issues which affect deeply the daily lives of the masses, by becoming the most active fighters for the immediate needs of the people.

Around housing the unity of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. unions has been effected in the three cities of Hartford, Bridgeport and New Haven—that unity of labor which is fundamental to the cause of progress, to the consolidation of the unity of the broadest masses of the democratic front in the struggle for jobs, security, democracy and peace.

Around housing, Catholic organizations and individuals have united with non-Catholics, including Communists, particularly as in Bridgeport, showing the possibility for making the common struggle for the common needs of the masses the basis for breaking down the barriers separating Catholics from the Party. And the united front on public housing, as pointed out by the comrades writing the reports from Connecticut, may well become the basis for developing a united democratic front to defeat reaction in the 1938 elections.

The final results of the public housing movement in Connecticut have not yet been seen. But the experiences in the state already demonstrate the possibilities that exist everywhere to advance the democratic front, on the basis of concrete issues which affect all labor as well as middle class elements. Housing is one such issue. There are others clearly indicated in the Communist Platform for the 1938 Congressional Elections.

We may ask of all the comrades who read this issue of the *Party Organizer*, What about your state? What

about your city? What about your community? Is housing an issue? Are there not other issues affecting the people among whom you live? What has been done to develop a broad united front movement in your territory around any issue of public welfare? Read carefully the article in these pages on public health. Is it not possible on this question also to rally united mass support? Thus we will establish the closest possible ties with the masses, and show by our activity that the Communist Party is the initiator, the organizer, the driving force of the united front of the working class.

The work of the Party in Connecticut, in connection with the public housing movement, is not without its weaknesses. As indicated in the reports, the bulk of the Party members are not yet involved through their activities among their fellow workers, members of their mass organizations, people in their neighborhoods. Furthermore, the Party itself has not sufficiently spoken to the masses directly, in its own name, clearly defining its position on slum clearance and public housing, the relation of these issues to the struggle against reaction, for labor unity and the democratic front. There have not been enough leaflets issued by our Party, insufficient utilization of our press, not enough public meetings.

It is significant as a token of these weaknesses that the circulation of the *Daily Worker* plays a small role in the activities of the Party, and that Party growth is very slow. It cannot be said that the leading committees in the sections have given adequate attention to Party recruiting, to industrial concentration and the establishment of shop branches in the highly important metal and munitions industries of the state. Consequently, we have not yet established, to the extent possible and necessary, political ties with the broad rank-and-file masses themselves in the shops, trade unions and local communities.

It is essential to remember at all times Comrade Browder's admonition that Communists should guard against a patronizing and boastful attitude in our relations with

the masses and with progressive forces generally. But it is necessary for us to speak clearly to the people, to guide them in their struggles, to show the basis and reasons for our support of progressive measures, to indicate the character of such efforts, show what must be done, where, and how.

As the Party becomes more and more deeply concerned with and involved in broad mass movements, we must guard against possible tendencies to neglect the problems of Party organization and education, of the political mobilization of the membership, of Party building. The development of a united front mass movement for the needs of the people and the strengthening of the Party are not two separate tasks, but are inseparably united, are in essence *one*.

In the words of the great Dimitroff:

"If we Communists exert every effort to establish a united front, we do this not for the narrow purpose of recruiting new members for the Communist Parties. But we must strengthen the Communist Parties in every way, and increase their membership *for the very reason* that we seriously want to strengthen the united front. The strengthening of the Communist Parties is not a narrow Party concern, but the concern of the entire working class.

"The unity, revolutionary solidarity and fighting preparedness of the Communist Parties constitute most valuable capital which belong not only to us, but to the whole working class." *

The state committee of the Party in Connecticut is aware of the weaknesses dealt with here and is already taking steps to correct them. We can look forward to a much more rapid growth of the Party in the coming months.

* G. Dimitroff, *The United Front*, International Publishers.

"The Most Exciting Newspaper In America"

Planning and Organizing Its Circulation Drives

By S. R. SOLOMONICK, Circulation Manager *Daily and Sunday Worker*

THE Tenth Convention of our Party has placed in the center of our political tasks the solution of the weakest spot in all of our work, *the circulation of our daily press.*

One of the basic reasons for the incredibly weak circulation of the *Daily and Sunday Worker* has been *the absence heretofore of planned organization and promotion involving all of the members of our Party, guided and stimulated by the political leaders in every Party organization.* It is for this reason that the National Organization Department has set as the first task in the building of the circulation of the *Daily Worker* the principle that every district, county, section, branch and election district organizer shall be the chairman of the *Daily Worker* drive.

It will be a comparatively simple matter to double our circulation of the *Daily and Sunday Worker* if we set about the job with a plan of work. Such a plan could be divided roughly into two parts: (1) promotion and (2) organization.

So far as promotion is concerned, new, novel and stimulating methods can be sought out and found. In New York City, for example, some six outdoor billboards in strategic spots have been rented in the past month. Beach parties have been held at Coney Island with *Daily Worker* pennants, hats, etc. These methods of promotion plus many others have brought the *Daily Worker* before hundreds of thousands of people who never saw the paper before.

There is no blueprint for novel promotional methods.

Each community must work out methods applicable to its financial possibilities and to the objective conditions in which they work. There are many local radio stations which are inexpensive, and local movie houses that would willingly carry *Daily Worker* slides. There are many local leaders who would gladly give testimonials to the *Daily Worker* if interviewed by Party representatives. Such testimonials would serve as a basis for impressive leaflets with which to reach the people. These examples are cited only to indicate the lines along which we must learn to think of promotion.

Now as to organization. Here our first problem is to see that every Party member reads the *Daily Worker*. In the Midwest and West we are bending every effort to build the circulation of the *Midwest Daily Record* and the *Daily People's World*. This must be intensified.

But this does not mean that our active Party members, especially the branch, section and county organizers and educational directors, as well as other functionaries in these parts of the country, can do without the *Daily Worker*. The *Daily Worker* is the official organ of our Party. Its editorials give us daily guidance from our National Committee and it is in no sense an overstatement to say that no leading comrade in any part of the United States can do his or her job thoroughly unless he or she is guided in this work every day by the *Daily Worker*.

Certainly in the eastern districts the fact that every Party member does not read the *Daily Worker* should be a cause of grave concern to our Party. Here we would propose that each county and section concretely take up methods of inner-Party education, emphasize the need for the *Daily Worker* and provide a guarantee that every new Party member will secure the *Daily Worker* for at least the first month of his or her membership in the Party. Quite apart from circulation, this would be a most important instrument for the overcoming of fluctuation.

Organization of course extends beyond our own Party

membership. Concretely we must face the fact that no organizational approach has been taken to the question of bringing the *Daily Worker* to the hundreds of thousands of workers, intellectuals, farmers and small businessmen who look to the Party for guidance and leadership. It would not be difficult for Party members in trade unions and mass organizations to regularly and systematically take with them into every meeting two or three copies of the *Daily Worker* to sell before the meeting starts, during the intermission and at the close of the meeting. It would not be difficult (if we approached the problem in all earnestness) for the organizer of the industrial branch to inform the section leadership of the time and place and number of people expected at the union meeting and work out jointly with the section a plan whereby comrades either from the branch or section would cover the meeting with *Daily Workers* and special leaflets addressed to the members of the union. And it is not too difficult for every Party member in the eastern districts to get the two *Daily Workers* a day habit, one for himself and one to sell to some contact.

If the promotion and sale of the *Daily* and *Sunday Worker* are approached with the same determination with which we approached the Party building drive, both principles of work, promotion and organization, could be carried into life and through their application we would register an increase of thousands of copies daily in the circulation of our press.

Over 50 per cent of our branches in the eastern districts have neither a *Daily Worker* director nor take a *Daily Worker* bundle order. This is especially true of industrial branches. These figures speak for themselves as to what extent planned work and organization have been applied to the solution of what Comrade Browder characterized at the Tenth Convention as “. . . the weakest spot in all our work, the circulation of our daily press. . . .”

In New York and other large cities the newsstand is the logical instrument of distribution of our paper. If

each branch would assign a portion of its membership to visiting newsstands, securing better display on these stands by winning the good-will of the newsstand dealer, and if every branch would regularly hold outdoor meetings on the *Daily* and *Sunday Worker*, issuing leaflets indicating the stands in the neighborhood at which the *Daily* can be purchased, thousands of people who frequent newsstands daily in and around New York would for the first time become acquainted with our press. In the other parts of the eastern and southern districts the most practical method of selling and distributing the *Daily* and *Sunday Worker* is through subscriptions. Yet how many of our comrades carry subscription cards with them into their mass organization and shop and use them in community work or when calling on neighbors and friends? Now with the Party entering into two major drives, the election campaign and the finance campaign, it is necessary that every Party organization plan the work so that the circulation of the *Daily* and *Sunday Worker* is at the very heart of both these major activities.

Neighborhood petitions for local candidates will bring us into contact with thousands of people. We will not do an adequate job with these petitions unless we accept the slogan "every petition signer a *Daily Worker* reader!" This means bringing the *Daily Worker* with us when we go to secure signatures. In the finance drive, we will visit thousands of people with our drive material; we will hold parties, etc. We cannot consider that we will have done an adequate job in the finance drive unless at all of these parties and wherever we go with our finance drive material, we have subscription cards, we have the *Daily Worker*, we have a speaker on the *Daily Worker*.

It has been proposed by Comrade Browder as a principle of work that every meeting, be it indoors or outdoors, large or small, devote five minutes to a speaker who will use the current *Daily Worker* as his text and from this convince the audience that they will not get the news they have to know unless they read the *Daily Worker*.

The Party has set before itself the task of doubling the circulation of the *Daily* and *Sunday Worker* before the Lenin Memorial Meeting. With a functioning *Daily Worker* director in every branch; with the Party leader in every organization assuming the chairmanship of the drive; with a concrete plan of work clearly defining promotion, organization and distribution, this can be done. It must be done. For as Comrade Browder said in his concluding speech at the Tenth Convention:

“We are not going to get hundreds of thousands of new members of our Party until we first learn to do something we have not yet learned. We haven’t learned how to circulate in hundreds of thousands our *Daily Worker*, *Midwest Daily Record* and *People’s World*.”

We have a paper of which we can well be proud. Let’s get it the circulation that it—the voice of our Party—deserves.

Health and Social Security For the People

By H. ADAMS

THE National Health Conference called at the request of President Roosevelt and held in Washington, July 18 and 20, is of the greatest importance to all the people, but particularly to the working class. It was the broadest conference of its kind ever held, with labor representatives, farm organizations, relief and welfare delegates, women’s clubs, parent-teacher groups, representatives of the Negro professional societies, sitting side by side with renowned professors, scientists, doctors and federal, state and local health administrators. One

of the most striking characteristics of this conference was its democratic character. Here is a reservoir of untapped forces for the democratic front.

A national health survey made by the Technical Committee on Medical Care, which paved the way for this conference, revealed, among other striking facts, that in our land, the richest country in the world, 75,000 infants are still-born and more than 60,000 die during the first month of life. The death rate among Negro infants is appalling, with deaths among Negro babies in such states as New York, New Jersey, Maryland and Florida exceeding the rate among white infants by more than 75 per cent. The survey showed further that tuberculosis, the disease of poverty, is still the most deadly enemy of young people, with 75,000 death from tuberculosis every year, and with five active cases existing for every death (all the experts say that tuberculosis deaths can be cut 50 per cent by proper medical care).

Paul de Kruif, in his book *The Fight for Life*, declares that in the past twenty-five years, "375,000 of our women are known to have died to bring the world new life. This is a number greater than that of all the men killed in all our wars since the Declaration of Independence."

The government health program aims to deal with these crucial life and death issues of the masses. We can support the federal health plan because it makes the first serious attempt to attack the problem of preventable sickness and premature death on a nationwide scale.

In September, 1937, Dr. Thomas J. Parran, U. S. Surgeon General, noted for his progressive leadership, declared in an article:

"I think we have reached the stage in our civilization when we must accept as a major premise that *our citizens should have an equal opportunity for health as an inherent right, co-equal with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.*"

The progressive voices at the conference registered

unanimous approval of the government's health plan calling for \$850,000,000 a year for this war against preventable disease and death. The federal government proposes to share half the expense by allowing grants-in-aid to the states. Labor's voice was raised wholeheartedly in support of these proposals, which would mean building hospitals, diagnostic centers and other medical facilities, particularly in parts of the country where there is the greatest need. In the South, for example, there are many counties in which practically no medical facilities exist or only the poorest kind. Certainly the tenant farmers, the sharecroppers, the 9,000,000 Negroes forced to live in segregated, disease-breeding hovels of the South need the greatest assistance. The government reports emphasized this.

It rests with the progressive elements for the government's health program to go into action, otherwise there will be delay. Here, as elsewhere, this New Deal program of constructive health policies met with a well organized opposition on the part of the medical hierarchy in the American Medical Association. But even they were forced into a halfhearted offer to cooperate with the government by the overwhelmingly progressive sentiment of the conference.

This whole question of medical care as a necessity of life, we know, is tied up with the whole economic structure of capitalism. Unemployment means a greatly lowered standard of living. Long hours, low wages, bad working conditions when there is work, the speed-up and stretch-out system, dangerous poisons and other hazards on the job, wreck the health of workers. Inadequate relief and poverty diets undermine the resistance. Slums are breeding centers of disease.

It is often difficult to talk to people about our solution as to how to abolish all the misery engendered by capitalism. But show me the hard-boiled man with a jumping toothache who won't listen to a proposition for getting free dental care, and good care at that, under

the federal government health plan, if everybody in the neighborhood supports the government's program, puts up a fight against the reactionary opposition to get this for the people, particularly for children, where this dental care would prevent toothaches later on.

Will any woman, the wife of a worker, whose family budget amounts to about \$1,000 a year or less, refuse to listen to your proposal for free doctor's care while she is bearing a child, and the necessary medical and nursing care when the child is born, to say nothing of a mother's helper, coming to her home to look after the other children while she is bringing new life into the world? This issue affects every working man, woman and child in America. It is a burning issue for the working class, for the unemployed—those on relief and W.P.A., to whom this necessity of life is just another expensive luxury.

The People's National Health Committee represented at the conference made specific recommendations for immediate action in line with the federal program. These are:

1. *Free Medical Care* for all families having incomes of \$2,000 or less a year, with additional provisions for food and clothing to relief and W.P.A. families, as required.

2. *Save Mothers and Babies.* Free medical care, pre- and post-natal for pregnant women, to *prevent* the deaths of mothers and new-born infants; doctor and nurse in attendance during childbirth.

3. *Stamp Out Tuberculosis and Syphilis.* Periodic and thorough examinations to detect tuberculosis with the necessary X-ray, special laboratory tests and follow-up. Particular attention to be paid to the dusty trades to *prevent silicosis*.

4. *Protection for Workers on the Job.* Minimum national safety and Workmen's Compensation standards for all states, to cover accidents and *all occupational* diseases.

5. *Establishment of People's Health Centers.* People's health centers shall be established in communities to act

as guardians of the people's health, providing the highest standards of medical care, diagnostic, preventive and curative, in cooperation with existing hospitals and other voluntary and public health agencies. These centers to be built as W.P.A. and P.W.A. projects.

6. *Slum Clearance*. Greater appropriation and speed to cope with the urgent needs.

A system of federal health insurance, through amending the Social Security Act, is projected in the government's plan. But before this or other legislation gets under way, W.P.A. and P.W.A. funds are available now for use in starting health projects, such as building people's health centers.

W.P.A. and P.W.A. health projects would create jobs for many categories of skilled, unskilled and professional workers, thus contributing to economic recovery.

To the extent that all of us, in our various localities, arouse the people to the meaning of the government's health plan for them and their children, just so fast will this plan become operative. The federal government needs the demonstration of support from the people for its splendid program. The people must be organized in their home communities to defeat the reactionary opposition which will line up against this New Deal program.

What's to be done? How shall we proceed to mobilize this health defense and utilize its broad mass interest to advance the democratic front? In every community mass meetings should be arranged at once, involving civic, social, welfare, churches, trade unions, doctors, local Departments of Health. Everybody can be approached. These meetings should go on record, in the form of resolutions, endorsing the government's health program. At these meetings, propose as first steps: W.P.A. and P.W.A. health projects, building people's health centers, extending the housing program and bringing free medical care to families with incomes of \$2,000 a year or less. Send resolutions to your local Board of Health, State Department of Health, support the government's plan and ask

for W.P.A. and P.W.A. to get the appropriations. Do not wait for Congress to act! Popularize the federal program.

Turn the searchlight on maternal and child deaths in your locality to *save mothers and babies*. Demand this care immediately, for the lowest income groups.

Use the election campaign to rally the fight for health protection for the people.

Influence the trade unions to adopt resolutions endorsing the government's health proposals for their families, and *for protecting workers on the job against diseases and accidents*. The trade unions are also concerned about employment. They can exert the greatest pressure for W.P.A. and P.W.A. health projects.

Among the Negro people, the health needs are more acute than anywhere else. We must rally all the forces in the community for united action to put the government's health program into effect for their benefit, without delay.

Initiate the fight for better food to prevent malnutrition and pellagra in the south, particularly among those on relief and W.P.A., those in the lowest income groups, and for children.

There is a desperate need for decent low-rental housing. This question cannot be divorced from the health issue. It should be linked up at every turn.

— *"The greatest need for action is where the greatest saving of life and suffering can be made."* With this yardstick begin to measure your community. To do this properly you will have to know all about the health organizations, voluntary and public, what they offer, what they cannot do without federal help, how they can be brought into this national campaign to support the government's program. We must participate in these local health organizations and movements. This does not mean the doctors, nurses or professionals only, but a wise selection of those who are best suited to serve as the instruments for building the democratic front in this battle against disease. A broad democratic movement has been initiated

by the National Health Conference. We must rally the people to support their program. The people can and must defeat the reactionaries who oppose or block the national health program.

Literature Builds the Democratic Front

By JOE FIELDS

THE election struggle this year offers tremendous opportunities for reaching literally millions of workers, farmers, professionals, women and young people, of every race and creed, with the message and program of our Party. It is a splendid program, which offers the prospect of jobs, security, democracy and peace for the great mass of the American people who need and want these things most.

Our Party has provided a wealth of mass agitational, propaganda, and theoretical literature which should be utilized in conjunction with our election activities. Earl Browder's historic report to the Tenth National Convention on *The Democratic Front*; our 1938 *Communist Election Platform*, which will be printed in millions of copies; our new *Party Constitution*, which is causing deepest consternation in the ranks of the Wall Street-Liberty League gangs; the *Resolutions of the Tenth Convention*, dealing with the democratic front, the 1938 elections, and Party building; Browder's *Message to Catholics*, which the reactionary hierarchy found necessary to attack most viciously precisely because it struck a responsive chord among the great Catholic masses; these, and many others of related interest, dealing with the Negro question, with the farmers' problems, with the fight for recovery, with the Soviet Union, with Spain and the world struggle for

peace, are being published or will be issued in the course of the campaign.

The last Party Builders Congress, held in New York earlier this year, proved conclusively that literature is a powerful weapon for Party building, a weapon which even the newest member of the Party can use effectively to enlighten, educate and draw closer to our program the shopmate, brother trade-unionist or friend with whom he has contact. Almost half of the delegates who took the floor at this congress spoke of the great aid literature was to them in recruiting. There was the metal worker from Philadelphia who never went to a trade union meeting without a bundle of pamphlets. "Literature is ammunition for recruiting," he told the congress. There was the Negro longshoreman from Norfolk who recruited fifteen white-collar and professional workers. How? "Don't argue," he said. Just "hand him a little pamphlet." Or, "give her a little Marxism-Leninism—not too much, just a little." Then there was the transport worker from New York who "got pamphlets to them" and recruited twenty new members. "I have no more to say," he concluded. "I am not a speaker. The only thing I do is carry the truth." From Newark, a comrade reported that they were "trying to get all of the comrades to read more of the Party literature" as the best means to "guarantee the growth of the Party."

In this year's crucial election struggle, we can expect thousands of street meetings, forums, symposiums, radio addresses, monster rallies, parades, millions of leaflets, traveling trucks with loud-speaker attachments, posters, etc. The widespread distribution of literature in conjunction with these activities, and the wide popularization of literature dealing with the campaign issues, by announcements in all shop papers, bulletins and leaflets, will tremendously strengthen our election work.

A number of branches in New York which have neighborhood headquarters have begun to place literature tables on the sidewalks outside the headquarters, featuring the

latest pamphlets together with the *Daily Worker*. Similarly, the literature table idea is being used at street meetings, with the table placed alongside the speaker's platform. More and more efforts should be made to develop the literature table idea in the *trade unions* and *mass organizations*, the majority of which will welcome it.

Many letters received from various sections of the country indicate that great initiative has been exercised by Party members in the sale of Comrade Browder's report to the Tenth Convention, *The Democratic Front*. In one city, a comrade sold 200 copies at a subway entrance. *A Message to Catholics*, when placed in the hands of Catholic workers, has given a new insight and a new understanding of the common problems of the Catholics and all other sections of the population to these workers. In many branches, copies of this brilliant pamphlet have been mailed to local priests and Catholic leaders. It is a perfect pamphlet to canvass with in Catholic communities.

In his article "More Agitation, More Propaganda," in *The Communist International*, E. Fischer wrote:

"Many of our comrades are inclined dangerously to underestimate the propaganda and agitation of our enemies. They regard questions of agitation and propaganda as secondary ones, and fail to understand that in the present situation it is precisely these questions which demand the most tremendous and concentrated attention. It is absolutely a decisive task facing all the Communist Parties, day in and day out, to carry on the propaganda of our ideas in a new way as against fascism, which is trying by every means, secretly or by open attack, to gain possession of the minds of the masses. *Propaganda and again propaganda*, utilizing literally every possibility to bring our ideas to the masses, to set our ideas against those of the fascists and reformists, so as to introduce the fresh breeze of our viewpoint into the atmosphere poisoned by fascism."

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