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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. VI

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Plenum Material

Keynote of the Fourteenth Plenum

THE Party must give most careful attention in all its work to the application of a correct mass policy. This correct mass policy consists in developing the mass struggles of the workers, the working women and the young workers, on the basis of their immediate economic and political needs as they arise from their life and work, and conflicts with the employers, reformist bureaucrats, the state, etc. This means, furthermore, that these struggles must be carried through on the basis of the activities of the masses, and that the tasks of the Communists are precisely to develop and organize this activity and initiative of the masses. This calls for the most concrete application of the united front from below in accordance with the varying degree of influence of the Communists, the extent of the radicalization of the workers, the influence of the social-fascists, etc., thus applying the line of independent policy not mechanically but on the basis of a careful analysis of the concrete conditions of work and of struggle.

"Inseparably linked up with and as a basic prerequisite of our entire mass work, is the persistent struggle against the fascist and social-fascist leaders of the A. F. of L., and against the Socialist Party, and particularly the left social-fascists."

In a word, comrades, this is the heart of the resolution of this Plenum, which at the same time shows that it is impossible to have here a formula which the districts can take back with them with which they would be able to solve problems of factory work, of work in the unions, of the unemployed struggles, of the fight against the bourgeois demagogues, of the fight against the Socialist Party, etc. It shows the necessity for a concrete application to the specific situation. But in another way, we can regard the necessity for the establishment of strong personal bonds with the workers, as also a key to the understanding of the resolution.

In his respect, comrades, I should like to call to your attention some of the writings of the Russian comrades, which apply forcefully to this point of the necessity of the establishment of *strong personal bonds* with the workers. In 1920 the Russian

Communist Party, after it had made the revolution, sent a letter to the Party organizations on the question of the Communist Party and its relations to the non-Party man. And what did this letter state?

"Our problem is to strengthen the ties between the Communists and the non-Party masses at all costs. This is the only way to put life into our Party groups, which at times become passive. Anyone who cannot rally several honest non-Party people around himself is not a Communist. He should come into daily contact with the non-Party people, visit their homes, and then in their daily life supply them with literature, send non-Party workers into the trade-unions, assist the non-Party workers to take responsible posts in the trade unions. The Party must help the non-Party members do it.

"We nursed the non-Party workers, we visited them in their homes and gave them our newspapers, we were not too proud to worry about one individual worker, because it was in this way that we forged a body of militants.

"But what have we got now? We may hear such talk as this in a number of sections of the R. I. L. U. 'If there is a gathering of a thousand workers, I will speak, but if there are only a hundred persons, then it is not worth worrying about.' This will not do. You have to create your body of militants one by one. These units are not enrolled all at once, but later on they will be harnessed for the workers. Therefore, the question of educating the individual workers is highly important. The practice of factory committees, should not be to come forward in the open in a body so that all the members find themselves outside the factory gates at once. This would be a sign of cowardice. This is not merely a question of cowardice—this is a question of the ability to work."

First the mass mobilization of May 1st. Secondly, May 28, which is the National Convention for the election campaign and must be a mobilization against the war. Thirdly we must take in real earnest the slogan of stop the shipment of ammunition to Japan. What does that mean? Of course, such a task cannot be realized without a policy of concentration. But it means, comrades, that the districts in order to realize this task, must send forces, must take in earnest this task, not simply issue it as a slogan because we must agree that if we can accomplish one strike with regard to the shipment of ammunition, this would change the entire situation—the outlook of our entire membership, it would raise their confidence in their ability to conduct practical struggles against the war danger. And likewise, agitationally at the present time, it is necessary for us to raise

the slogan against the production of ammunition, a slogan which will not be immediately realized, but a slogan which we must strive to turn into a slogan of action.

First of all, we must emphasize that the Party must be the leader of the mass organizations. Secondly, that it must be the backbone of the mass organizations. Third, that if the Party does not lead these organizations, does not build up its organized strength inside these organizations, they do not grow. That is the textile experience—the textile union has no vitality. The Party organization has not been built, does not lead, is not connected up with the textile unions. But how, comrades, does the Party organizations, the Party lead in the trade union organizations. It leads through its nuclei and through its fractions. What does that mean? It means that the leadership of the mass organizations can be achieved only on condition that the Party membership in an organized way can convince the workers inside the unions that it is really their leader in the practical work. That means that the Party will be able to lead the mass organizations on condition that it is able to develop struggle of the workers, and give leadership to these struggles—if it is able to prove to the workers the correctness of the tactics of the Party organizations. It means, comrades, that we cannot decree that the Party shall be the leader of the mass organizations. It is not written anywhere that the workers must accept the Party leadership. And furthermore, that we cannot command the workers of the organizations to accept our leadership. The basic question is to link up the Party organizations with the mass organizations, so as to make them the driving force, so that they may be really the leaders of the organizations. This has not yet been changed. But, comrades, this is only one side of the medal—the Party organizations can only be the political guide, which can give the union political guidance through the fractions. It cannot meddle excessively in the practical leadership of these organizations. It cannot lead mechanically these organizations.

—W. W. WEINSTONE.

The JULY issue of
THE COMMUNIST
will be a
SPECIAL ANTI-WAR ISSUE
in preparation for August First
See that your issues are ordered early!

Approaching the Factories as Insiders and Not as Outsiders

THE trouble with our factory work, comrades, is that it is still considered according to the book. It is the mechanical sitting down to examine the peculiar feature of each factory, the special problems of this factory, and to work out how, in this particular factory, mass work can be done to arouse the workers for struggle for their immediate needs and for the general political demands of the working class.

We approach the factory as outsiders, without any particular interest in learning about the inside. We have a certain set formula, a certain conception as to what is inside of a factory. And this set formula-conception is applied to every factory, with the result that it does not fit the reality of any factory—not one single factory. And what is the reason for that? Why cannot we become insiders with regard to factory work? It is not the geographical question of whether one is working inside the particular shop or not. It is the question of the approach to the problems, the question of the sense of values.

I think that there is only one way that we will overcome this most serious weakness in the leadership of our Party, this lack of knowledge about what is factory work, this lack of ability to discuss in our Central Committee plenums concretely the concrete problems of work inside of the factory. In think that there is only one way in which this can be overcome, and that is to give every single member of the Central Committee and every single member of our district committees the special responsibility for developing the work in one particular factory. Each one of us must take one particular factory in which we assume the personal responsibility for developing the work in that factory, and at the end of six months make a written report about that factory. And it is not necessary that we have any connections in that factory. In fact, I think it would be well if a good many of us were specially designated to factories in which we have no connections whatsoever, because that will be the typical problem of our Party.

If you don't agree with that, let us look at the figures of our registration, which show us that in large factories—which is the special problem of our Party—out of our 14,000 members—or rather in the registration of a little less than 9,000 members—we had 94 members in large factories, less than 2%—less than 1% of our members in large factories. Can anyone say, facing these figures, that our problem is to work with the forces that we now have in the factories? Our problem is to penetrate the big factories where we do not exist today.

A word about the youth. All of the problems of the Party are repeated in the youth, with emphasis, and some special youth problems. All of the weaknesses of the Party exist among the youth. And they have some exaggerated expressions of these weaknesses. I am sorry that I cannot discuss in detail the problems in the youth here. I must cut my speech short. But I want to say to the youth, that in my opinion, one of the gravest dangers that the youth face today is a certain tendency to subjectivism. Our young comrades are very serious comrades on the whole—very devoted, courageous fighters, tireless workers, but they are not training themselves to think objectively. They are not sufficiently steeling their leading cadres in the Marxist-Leninist methods. And as a result, the youth are particularly liable to deviations, toward vanguardism and toward all forms of subjectivism. We must make an energetic effort to help the youth to master the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

That means we must not continue this attitude of benevolent neglect that we have toward the youth. We have a very friendly attitude to the youth, yes. We try to keep good personal relations with the comrades who are working among the youth. We prevent the development of any sharp political differences between the Party and the youth, but after you sum it all up there is only one word that can characterize the Party's relation to the youth—and that is *neglect*.

Interjection: Formalism!

Formalism is not sharp enough. I am afraid formalism becomes a formula that answers all questions. I like to get synonyms for it—give lights and shades to the question of formalism, and the particular shade I want to put on our relations with the youth is that of neglect. It might even be an advance if we had a little more formal connection with the youth, if we could overcome this terrible neglect.

This neglect is a feature from top to bottom. I think it is especially serious right now in the districts—especially serious in the districts. It is a problem everywhere, but in the districts I am sure that this shows itself in a very sharp form. The lack of political guidance, the lack of attention to the problems of the youth, lack of combatting of the deviations that certainly show themselves among the youth in most districts, a lack of the education of the youth in Marxism-Leninism on the basis of the daily problems of the youth. That is the only way they can be really educated—by giving the Leninist dealing with the daily problems and helping them to master this practice and theory.

—EARL BROWDER.

The Election Campaign and the Struggle Against Sectarianism

NOW, comrades, among the tasks of the Party at the present time, *what is the position of the election campaign?*

There has been a habit in the Party for every comrade to place each particular campaign as the "central task," or as the "main task" before the Party, with the result that in the districts, in the sections and in the units the comrades never know what our "central task" is, or what relationship one task has to another. This practise followed in the Party has led to a jumping from one campaign or activity to another, one thing is started today and next week it is another. As a result of this method of work the Party is not able to *root itself firmly among the workers in the factories, among the unemployed, etc.*

The election campaign is not the "central task" in this generally accepted sense. The central mass task of the Party is the task of seriously preparing and organizing the immediate struggles of the workers against the bourgeois offensive with the particular objective of drawing the workers quickly into the broadest mass struggles against the danger of war and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

Through these activities,—through the organization of workers' struggles in the factories, through the organization of the struggles of the unemployed, through the organization of the struggle for Negro rights, through our activities among the farmers, through carrying on the struggle against the war danger,—the Party must rally its forces for the election campaign.

The election campaign, therefore, is to be conceived of by the Party not as a substitute for the other activity, but as a *unifying campaign*, as a campaign which grows, which gathers force to the extent that we carry on the other activities. If the election campaign were carried on in any other way, we would not be successful in rallying the masses of workers and poor farmers.

Sectarian Tendencies Must Be Overcome

The election campaign therefore can only be successful to the extent that the Party is successful in overcoming the sectarian tendencies now prevailing in the Party. At the same time the election campaign can become a very powerful instrument for mobilizing the Party for overcoming these sectarian tendencies and for driving our roots deep among the decisive sections of the workers.

To do this we must realize very clearly in what our sectarian tendencies consist. In the past we have frequently made state-

ments about our isolation from the masses and about the necessity for a "decisive turn". But this decisive turn to mass work has not been made. We have pointed in the past to every successful action as "the beginning of the turn."

All of these activities were indications of energetic work by the Party. They were indications of a determined attempt to organize and lead the struggles of the workers. But these activities did not yet constitute the *essential change* that is necessary in the work of the Party. The resolution presented by the Political Bureau states very clearly that "*the radical turn toward revolutionary mass work among the basic sections of the proletariat which has been frequently demanded by the E.C.C.I., has up until now essentially not been carried through in practice.*"

In still another place the resolution says "the work of the Party fundamentally remains in the same groove." These formulations, which I have stressed, were not in any sense accidental. In each case they were made only after thorough discussion of the Party's mass work.

We must bear in mind that we are now in the third year of the most catastrophic crisis and still we have not been able to greatly strengthen the ranks of the Party; we have not built mass trade unions or unemployed councils; we have not built a mass Negro movement. Every one should be seriously alarmed by this situation and take seriously the work of this Plenum.

For a Real United Front

How are we going to organize the campaign? We have to develop this campaign politically and organizationally on the broadest united front basis, from the beginning of the campaign until the end, from now until November 8th. We have to strive to draw into the campaign new elements that we never reached before. In the past, we have organized united front conferences for May First and united front conferences for everything else. We have called together our same group of fraternal organizations and other closely sympathizing organizations, and this has constituted our united front on all occasions.

In this case we do not want such a united front. We do not want just a formal setting up of a united front election committee for support of the Communist Party. What we want is a real united front that will, in the first place, bring our comrades into the factories, into the A. F. of L. unions, and among the unemployed—a united front that expresses itself first in each comrade getting together and forming a united front with the worker alongside of himself or herself; by winning this worker for the support of the candidates of the Party. And with such contacts as a foundation, we can build up in the fac-

tories, in the A. F. of L. unions, among the unemployed—groups that will be ready to support and fight for the demands of the Communist Party. And through such starting at the bottom, through building up these little groups, we can prepare the basis for united front conferences that will embody not only those organizations who are already with us, but a whole mass of new elements that we never had in our conferences before.

—C. A. HATHAWAY.

NOTE: Comrade Hathaway's report on the Election Campaign appears in full in the May issue of The Communist. In addition every comrade should become thoroughly acquainted with the election platform of the Party and the section in the Plenum resolution which deals with the elections. The June issue of The Communist carries an article by Comrade Bill Dunne analyzing some of the political aspects of the present election struggles. The title of the article is The War Offensive—Tightening the Capitalist Dictatorship in the United States. As additional important reading material we suggest the thesis of the Second Congress of the Communist International entitled The Communist Party and Parliamentarism which appeared in the February, 1932 issue of The Communist, and the Resolution of the Enlarged Presidium of the E. C. C. I. in February, 1930 on The Tasks of the Communist Sections Regarding Municipal Policy which appeared in the March, 1932 issue of The Communist.

Learn to Answer Questions Asked by Shop Workers

COMRADES, while during the Plenum several comrades have emphasized the fact that the Party has not been very successful in rooting itself in the factories, not much has been said of the reasons why the Party fell down on the job. In the five minutes I have, I want to point out some of the reasons, and some of the weaknesses of the Party membership and leadership, and why we do not really get a foothold in the factories.

I first want to say that the work in the factories that is done by the rank and file comrades is generally underestimated by the leading comrades of the Party. I can say from my own experience in the Ford factory that to some of the comrades working there, the work in the shop looks like a big problem which they are usually not able to solve. For instance, look at the average member of our Party and shop nuclei of the Ford factory. What experience, what political training has the average member in our shop units? What has he done

during his membership in the Party up to now? To speak of his every-day activity, he did nothing but be an agent for the *Daily Worker*. There was a time in our district when the activity of the shop unit constituted 90% of being agents for the *Daily Worker*. The comrades did everything else but work or discuss their work in the shops or the problems of the shop.

The shop units up to now have not been anything but financial bodies to bring money to the districts to finance the work in general. They are looked upon by the Party leadership as a source of money, and not as instruments of rooting the Party in the factories. Because they have been looked at in this way by the Party leadership, it has not paid much attention to them.

I want to say that there has been a change in our district in the last months.

How does the job in the factory look to the average member? When I go around and speak to the comrades working in the shop as to what there is to do—they state that when they speak to the workers about the conditions in the shops, they get into all kinds of political discussions with the workers in the shop. We have in the shop also American workers, and while they might not have much experience in the class struggle, they have had some education and know how to argue and put questions. They ask about the activity of our Party, about the Soviet Union, about capitalism and Communism, and many questions which are very hard for our comrades to answer, creating arguments in which our comrades are not always successful.

I found this out in the discussions in our unit. At every meeting the comrades would come around and ask me what to answer to this or that kind of question which was put to them, and when I go around to comrades in other shop units I find the same problems. The comrades do not know how to carry on the work of the Party in the shops, propaganda work, and least of all, how to carry on organizational work. If we want to have any real progress in our shop work we must have a real educational campaign not only in the shop units but also in the street units so that the comrades are able to work in the shops.

These are not the only discussion which our comrades in the shop have on the political front with their fellow workers. There is the religious question. Whenever we discuss with the workers we always meet this obstacle, this weakness of the workers—their religious beliefs and the church they are connected with. When the comrades come into contact with these workers, they do not know how to handle the situation, and therefore are not able to organize them. Many times the comrades discuss with workers who are white chauvinists. These workers put up arguments against the Negroes, which the com-

rades do not know how to meet. Our comrades cannot help these workers overcome this white chauvinism.

Then there is the wife question. There is much trouble on this. When we already thought we had a member in our unit, suddenly the wife shows up, and he says the wife does not allow him to read the *Daily Worker*. The wife does not allow him to join the union or the Party. The comrades must learn in the discussions in the units what to do on this question. The comrades working in the shops must be absolutely clear as to how to handle this problem, and get the worker into the organization despite the wife, or perhaps help him to convince his wife to join the organization. Go to his home, and talk to his wife, and try to get her into the organization too.

These are great problems. They might not look so to one who sits in the Party office, but in the shops the workers face them daily.

I believe one reason for the great turnover in our Party membership is because these workers who come near our movement are not put into the right organizations. To activize the new members in such mass organizations in which they can be most useful is one of our main tasks.

A few words on the problems of the shop unit organizers. When a unit begins to do real work in the shop all kinds of problems in the shop arise. The problem of keeping away from the boss and from the servicemen. The problem of seeking out stool-pigeons. We must know his field of work. The tactic of a unit in a shop must be worked out according to the conditions in the shop. The fact that the unit organizers are not very successful in solving these problems shows that they must be supported by the leading comrades in the districts, otherwise our work will not go ahead.

—MACK.

NOTE: As an aid toward solving the problems raised by Comrade Mack the following articles and pamphlets are recommended: *The Struggle for the Majority of the Working Class and Our Mass Work*, by O. Kuusinen in *The Communist for June, 1932*; *Shop Politics and Organization*, by John Steuben, in *The Communist for April, 1932*, and the pamphlets: *Spying on the Workers*, *The Yellow Dog Contract*, and *Profits and Wages*.

Communists should penetrate into the humblest tavern, should find their way into the unions, social and chance gatherings of the common people and talk with them, not learnedly, not so much after the parliamentary fashion. Lenin, *The Infantile Sickness of Leftism in Communism*. 10 cents.

The Inner Life of the Party and Sectarianism

FIRST, I would like to direct a couple of words towards the inner life of our Party. I think it has been made pretty clear to the Plenum here that our approach to the masses in the industries, the masses of unemployed, the masses of Negro workers and farmers—every group that we are working among—that our approach is a sectarian approach. But it seems to me that there is another phase of this sectarian approach that we must direct some attention to, that is the sectarian approach to those new members who come into our Party. This sectarianism of ours does not stop just at the point where they step inside of the Party nuclei, but on the contrary, it manifests itself inside the Party with these new elements. In fact, this sectarian inner life of the Party is one of the phases of sectarianism in general that we have to combat—this failure to adopt the proper methods of absorbing these raw elements that come into the Party, of treating them almost the moment they step into the Party as full-blown Communists, fully disciplined, capable of carrying out all Party tasks, piling them up with work that many are not yet prepared to carry out in full. I think this is the reason, perhaps, why we have such a big turnover in our Party. When they come into the Party with such enthusiasm and later drift away is exactly due to this sectarian approach.

For example, one of the features of this sectarianism, it appears to me, is the peculiar social composition of our Party. Our Party is primarily a party of foreign-born workers. According to the figures submitted by the Org. Dept. before the recruiting campaign—and I do not think the latter has changed them much—60% of the Party is foreign born. Now, comrades, the foreign-born workers are good fighters, have led the fight of the American working class for many years past, but the foreign-born worker cannot take full control of the fight. The American workers must be drawn into this struggle. All of us who are acquainted with the mass organizations realize that the foreign-born workers suffer under a number of difficulties.

We must realize that the organization of the youth is one of the foundation necessities of our Party and particularly we should understand this clearer now when the weaknesses of our Party are so correctly analyzed as sectarian weaknesses. The youth is the bridge to these masses of American workers and we cannot break this sectarianism in so far, I say, as it has roots in the social composition of our Party, unless we take up seriously the question of organizing the youth.

—W. Z. FOSTER.

The Struggle for the Negro Masses and the Fight Against the Social Demagogues

IN OUR opinion, the Negro question is not only a Negro question, something separate in itself, but part of our whole work. We in Chicago are firmly convinced that without bringing the Negro masses into the trade unions, the unemployed councils, the Party, we cannot speak of carrying on struggles of any importance. The Negro proletariat in Chicago can be found in the stock yards, the steel mills, in transportation. And they, as a rule, are lower paid and meet with all other forms of special persecution and oppression. We made some headway among the Negro masses. We have in the Party, *in Chicago alone*, approximately 500 members. Recently we made some changes and promoted some Negro comrades into the higher posts in the Party. We have two Negro comrades as section organizers. We organized thirteen groups of the L. S. N. R. with over one thousand members, 80% non-Party, 20% whites. This was done recently.

But this is not even a scratch on the surface. On the contrary, we must state here that in our efforts to combat Negro reformism and Negro politicians we received a temporary defeat on the South Side of Chicago. What happened is the following. The terror against us on the South Side was opened in the middle of January. Between three to four hundred workers, Negro and white, were arrested in three days. Our headquarters were smashed. Masses of workers have been terrorized, and we were not able to organize a sufficient number of masses to break through that terror. But that is not everything. That was not the most important thing.

The most important thing is that the social-demagogues and Negro politicians began to use our language to the fullest extent. The word "comrade" is as popular on the South Side as it is here in this Plenum. A Republican and Democratic politician going from house to house collecting signatures on petitions asked Negro workers, "Will you please sign the petition for comrade so and so?"

We did not go to the roots to understand every phase of the situation, every concrete fact, every politician, his background, his relations to the Republican and Democratic parties and other sources. These are little things, but they count very much, when you actually go below among the masses.

Second, comrades. In recent months, there was a definite decline in our district as far as struggle for Negro rights is concerned.

Third, white chauvinism. First of all, before I deal with the present question of white chauvinism, I want to say that the little progress made is a result primarily of our merciless strug-

gles against white chauvinism. We simply decided to burn out white chauvinism from the ranks of the Party. In carrying on the struggle we entered into the struggle for Negro rights. That is why we made progress. But we did not continue this. And white chauvinism appears now in all kinds of forms, concealed forms, much harder to put your finger on.

It is necessary to sharpen the struggle for Negro rights. There is no other way to expose white chauvinism. It cannot be done by just generally speaking about it. It is necessary to mobilize the Negro and white workers for the struggle for Negro rights and there is no other way out. We must understand one thing, which in our District we have begun to understand. And that is that the average Negro worker is accustomed to being treated by the white bourgeoisie in the way he is. He hates this. But he feels that he cannot expect anything else from white bosses. But he expects us, white revolutionists, Communists, to be faithful to every word we have spoken to the Negro workers—and rightfully so.

And, comrades, we have made many mistakes, serious mistakes. We organized a huge mass meeting in the Coliseum and we actually had, for Chicago, a good meeting of about 9,000 workers, but only about one thousand were Negro workers. We began to investigate why this was so—why only one thousand Negro workers came to this meeting. We began to get at the bottom of it and find out. It was a very "little thing" that happened. We printed a leaflet, there was a picture of Mrs. Mooney but no picture of Mrs. Wright on the leaflet. A very "little thing." No one paid any attention to it. Everyone overlooked this—that there was a picture of Mrs. Mooney but no picture of one of the Scottsboro mothers. This was a "little" but a *very important thing*. I can cite many other things—I can give you another instance. A Negro comrade, a non-Party woman, was drawn into the work on the May Day Committee. She was put on some sub-committee. She came to the Chicago office of the I. W. O. where the meeting was to be held because the comrade who heads the committee is the Secretary of the I.W.O. She came there and asked if a meeting was to be held that night and the comrade in the office said, no. She said, "I am sure that there is to be a meeting." The comrade in charge insisted that there was no meeting. She said, "I don't think you want to have me in the office and not that there is to be no meeting here." We white revolutionists must be sensitive to this question. I know once in a discussion in Chicago Comrade Hathaway raised a similar point in a very sharp form. Some comrades thought Comrade Hathaway raised something he should not have raised with such sharpness. But today in our every-day work among the Negro masses the correctness of this is shown. That is something of which we are not

careful enough in our every-day work. Besides, of course, the major problem at the present time there is no struggle for Negro rights with the exception of Scottsboro. So much as far as Chicago is concerned. But step outside of Chicago. Step into the Calumet section. In the recruiting drive they recruited a tremendous number of Negroes—three! In South Chicago where we have the best movement among the steel workers, the leader of that movement is a Negro worker—one of the best Negro workers we have in that Section. In Milwaukee in the election campaign, in one ward the Negro comrade received less votes than a white comrade running for Mayor and in the whole campaign, we recruited seven Negro workers in the city of Milwaukee. In St. Louis where the Negro problems is a much more burning issue than in Chicago, where the Negroes are much more oppressed and the misery and starvation of the Negro masses is much more acute than in the city of Chicago, we have hardly anything as far as the Negro masses are concerned. We are isolated from them. I can go on to other similar instances in less important places. As yet, comrades, we do not treat the Negro question as it should be treated and we treat it too much in a general way without examining every phase of our activity and understanding how to go about it.

—B. K. GEBERT.

NOTE: As additional important reading material the two articles by Harry Haywood in the May 28 and 29 issues of the Daily Worker and the most basic document of the Communist International which appeared in the February, 1931 issue of The Communist are suggested.

Preparation for Strikes — Methods of Concentration

WE believed that the fact that we already did lead the strike of the miners, lead some unemployed struggles, that this was already the beginning of the turn. We were modest, it seems, in a quantitative sense. But it is not a question now of arithmetic. It is a question of whether the quality of our work is already such that we have expected, whether we already have something permanent, whether we have a change, in the sense that we are not isolated from basic sections of the working class. Not until we discontinue working along the old lines, running from one struggle to another, not rooting ourselves in the factories, not becoming part of the masses, not learning how to change the moods of the masses to express it and to lead it, and to establish personal contact with the masses in the factories—

not until then can we speak about a change. Not until then can we speak about the turn, and it is in this sense that we must approach the work of our Plenum.

If we have not learned this from Kentucky, from the miners, from the textile strikes, then something is very bad indeed. In my opinion we have to learn that, and I can say that there may be situations where it is better that we do not call the strike that that we do.

The lesson for us is what? The lesson to us is to prepare for strikes all the time. The resolution of this Plenum on strikes points out that this lack of preparation was one of the main causes for the weaknesses which were later apparent in the failure of the Pennsylvania strike and which contributed to the defeat of the strike after twelve weeks.

Therefore—preparations all the time. And preparations cannot be divorced from the work in the mines, from the work in the factories, without which there can be no preparations; and without fighting for demands, raising demands, testing them out, raising the fighting spirit of the workers, we will not develop real mass struggles.

Therefore, we must speak about the fact that our main task is to organize the resistance of the workers to the offensive both with regard to the unemployed and employed workers. And since we say that the basic task is to build the mass trade unions, the revolutionary unions, we must correspondingly organize our forces and our work.

And in connection with this the whole question of concentration comes up. We say that we concentrate to build the four unions: mining, textile, marine and steel. We say that we concentrate our work in the four main districts of the country—Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Pittsburgh.

And how does it work out in practice? In practice it does not work out; not because it is impossible, but because we do not put enough effort into it. We made a mistake in the question of concentration. You tell Chicago: concentrate. Well, Chicago is a very big place. Or Detroit—Detroit is also a big place, though not as big as Chicago. Or Pittsburgh. We have not concentrated enough on the necessary kind of concentration. We must say, when we say *steel*, not only the district; we must say Youngstown, McKeesport, Monessen, Gary, Baltimore. We must give the name and address so there can be no mistake about it. When we say *textile* and we mention only the four districts, then it is impossible, because those four districts have no textile. Then we must say Lawrence, Kensington, New Bedford, Paterson. When we say *marine*, we cannot just say Pittsburgh. We must say New Orleans, San Francisco, New York. We must give the name and address where we have marine.

In other words, we must become more specific in selecting certain places. And then again to say *Youngstown* is not enough. *Youngstown* has many plants. You must say — *Youngstown Sheet & Tube*, or whatever plant it is. You must say — *Schenectady—Westinghouse*. You must give the name and address.

Only in this way can we now begin to talk about organizational guarantees, that we are going to select certain factories, certain industries—basic industries—certain chief districts where we are going to try to carry through the line of the resolution and solve the question of our isolation from the basic masses of the American workers.

What else must we do on concentration? We cannot say: *concentrate*—and then just stop. What is the matter with our concentration now? We think of it only in terms of geography. That is not enough. Concentration means what? The whole Party must have a concentration program:

First, as to what are its chief tasks, the chief task of the Party.

Second, what are the main slogans to put before the masses now.

Third, what industries, what sections, what factories.

Fourth, what forces.

Fifth, what finances.

Next, the press, the mass organizations.

We have a worse situation in connection with our work in the factories in connection with our concentration. Comrade Browder is absolutely correct that we have not enough contact. Even the comrades who are engaged, I for example, in direct work, I have not enough contact with factories to really know what are the ways in which you can organize workers now in the factories. And it is very difficult to come to comrades and give them advice when you have to give it to them, on the basis, as Comrade Browder says, from the book. The book helps but the book has no direct living contact with the masses. And that is correct. If we ourselves do not go down below and learn how to organize workers, and we just try to give them advice, well, we see the results; they are very bad results. But there are certain things we do know already about work in the factories. What do we know? We know, for example, that in the factories at the present time you cannot merely go ahead and call meetings and expect that the workers will be organized. Comrade Baker says that there is now already a tendency in Detroit that since we get mass-meeting response therefore we have to abandon the slower method of working from day to day with worker after worker, and department after department. Yet that is the surest way in which we can organize the beginnings of real mass organization inside the factories. On the

question of penetrating the factories. I agree with Comrade Browder that for us we still have the main task of penetrating the factories. But I also wish to state that if in every factory in which we have contacts, that we had for the last ten years, if we had known how to work, well it would be a different story nowadays. And even yet, we have contact with factories employing—I say factories now employing more than a million workers. What kind of contacts—that is another question. Some of them are poor and weak contacts. We have contacts in such factories as Ford in Detroit, in General Electric in Schenectady, in Westinghouse in Chicago; we have contacts in the International Harvester; we have contacts where there are employed hundreds of thousands of workers. I say, yes, if we want to concentrate, let us try to solve the problem of how to make these groups and Party nuclei work, and if we learn how to make two, three or four work in typical places, we will be able to make the others work and we will be able also to have more success in penetrating the factories. If we can build up for example in the General Electric in Schenectady a real movement, this will have repercussions in similar plants all over the country. Therefore, we must concentrate the work, learn how to carry on the work.

—JACK STACHEL.

NOTE: The June issue of The Communist carries an article by Comrade Stachel analyzing the Kentucky strike and the New York dress strike in the light of the E.C.C.I. Resolution on Strike Struggles in the U. S. A.

Our Work in the Reformist Unions

OUR work in the reformist unions was underestimated in our Party. By underestimation I do not mean in our resolutions, or in the leadership of the Party, but it is underestimated among the membership of our Party. There is a general resistance among the Party comrades who belong to the American Federation of Labor unions or other reformist unions to take part in the life of that organization in the every-day struggles of that union, and in this underestimation we overlook the fact that at present in the United States, the only so-called labor organization that amounts to something before so-called public opinion is the American Federation of Labor with a membership of three million workers. There was a theory in our Party for years that those workers who belong to the A. F. of L. are a bunch of labor aristocrats and fakers and we have nothing to do with them, and this idea is very deeply rooted among the Party members and sympathizers.

I can bring forward an example. When talking at an open air meeting and speaking in the name of the rank and file of

the A. F. of L. union, the comrades and sympathizers started to boo because I said I was a member of the A. F. of L.

On the question of our fight for unemployment insurance. For years we tried to get into the A. F. of L. with the various campaigns of the Party and we were unable to get into them because the doors were closed before us and they did not open to any of our campaigns whether it was the election campaign or any other campaign.

Comrade Hathaway spoke on the coming election campaign and the main issue of this campaign is unemployment insurance, and I say we have made a very good start on the question of unemployment insurance, as you will see further if I give my report of what happened during the two or three months since we started this movement in the A. F. of L. I must say we started the movement very late, and also that the reaction of the various districts to the campaign was very slow, and I still dare to say that the lower ranks of the Party, the units and sections, in New York City and in other districts, do not fully realize the importance of our campaign for unemployment insurance.

The A. F. of L. convention which was held in October of last year went on record against unemployment insurance. What should have been our reaction in the A. F. of L.? To start a campaign immediately against the reactionary leadership in the A. F. of L.? In some of the local unions in various cities independent resolutions were introduced to the locals condemning the action of the A. F. of L., but no organized form until January 27, when we organized the first conference in New York.

—WEINSTOCK.

NOTE: The June issue of The Communist carries a highly important article by Comrade Foster on Some Elementary Phases of the Work in the Reformist Trade Unions, and also an article by Comrade Kuusinen on The Struggle for the Majority of the Working Class and Our Mass Work. These should be read by every comrade in connection with work in the reformist unions.

In the U. S. A., the chief direction of our blow is for the break-up of the positions of American capitalism by means of mobilizing the masses for struggle for the realization of social insurance at the expense of the capitalists and the bourgeois state. Manuilsky, *The Communist Parties and the Crisis of Capitalism*. Workers Library Publishers. 25 cents.

Struggle Against Provocateurs and Spies

THE Central Control Commission fully accepts and endorses the views and directives on the struggle against provocateurs which were published in the February 1st issue of the *Communist International Magazine*.

Although the Party has already given some attention to this problem in the way of uncovering and publicly exposing a number of individual spies and provocateurs, this has been done mostly upon an accidental basis, and hardly anything at all has been done toward systematic investigations and toward involving the masses of the workers and of Party membership in this struggle.

Underestimation of these tasks and serious infractions against the rules of Party secrecy (in the way of careless talkativeness, for example) are quite widespread in our Party.

This must be remedied by all means.

More precautions must be taken in accepting new members, especially those who are recruited through open meetings; special precautions must be observed in all shop nuclei; all cases of simultaneous arrests of a number of leading comrades, or of discharge of members of a shop nucleus must be thoroughly investigated; we must strive not only to expose individual provocateurs, but also to fight against the whole system of provocation and spying, which means that we must involve in this fight all Party members and revolutionary workers by explaining to them the dangers from provocateurs and by increasing their vigilance and caution in this respect.

At the same time, of course, we must fight against all tendencies toward "spy hysteria" and toward lessening of mass activities through fear of spies. Real mass activities and struggles are the best means of combatting and exposing all agents of the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the working class.

As to breaches of fundamental rules of secrecy in revolutionary work, they should be dealt with severely. As the article in the *Communist International* puts it—"an incorrigible chatterbox has no place in a revolutionary Party."

—From the Report of Central Control Commission to C. C. Plenum.

NOTE: The above-mentioned article The Struggle Against the Provocateur will be reprinted in the July, 1931 issue of The Communist. In this connection also the pamphlet Spying on the Workers is recommended.

Shop Work and Fight Against Suppression

WHAT are the lessons of the experiences of our Party in connection with the attack of the bourgeoisie made upon it, the attempt to crush and break the Party organization and the declaration that it is illegal? The first lesson, in my opinion, is that in our Party there was a deep-seated "legalism." Since 1929 our Party had continuously spoken about the necessity of preparations for illegality. Our Party had also made some formal preparations before the raids for illegality. But our Party did not prepare either the membership of our Party or the Canadian working class. Our Party did not constantly keep the working class vigilant against any attempt of the bourgeoisie to suppress and break up our Party and deprive the Party of its most important leading cadres.

There is no doubt in my mind but what legalism (other expressions of which I want to go into now) is rooted in the well-known right-wing tendencies—underestimation of the sharpening of the class struggle, underestimation of the war danger; rooted in the fact that our Party as a revolutionary Party has not learned, even though it has engaged in very bitter struggles, that it cannot go into those struggles, cannot lead those struggles, cannot develop as a Bolshevik Party unless it is prepared to meet the very sharpest attacks of the bourgeoisie in this period.

This "legalism" found very wide expression in our Party and found expression in quite unexpected places. It found expression in currents and tendencies in dealing with the basic fundamental principles and policy of our Party which were inevitably raised by the fact that the leadership of our Party was charged under Section 98 of the Criminal Code which declares all organizations unlawful which advocate force and violence in the achievement of any governmental change.

The second most important lesson from these events is the fact that the task, the main task, the main solution for the situation in which the Party found itself after the attack, was not something new but something very old. It was the question of shop work. When our Party leadership was in prison, when our Party meetings were completely prohibited, when all the old forms by which we thought we had contact with the masses, through propaganda meetings, were cut off, our Party in some places, particularly in Ontario, found itself groping for contacts with the masses. We found that never before had the Party fully realized the significance of the old advice of the Comintern that it must root itself in the large factories; that the Party as a whole had never grasped the life and death significance of roots in the shops. And there-

fore the task which had to be placed most sharply, the lesson which had to be placed most sharply, was not some new lesson, but was a very old lesson that has been talked about in our Party now for eight or ten years—and that was the question of shop work, of penetration into the big factories.

The question of the fight against legalism, the question of the preparations for illegality assumes a tremendous significance today, and the question of our Party learning how to work under conditions of illegality assumes a tremendous significance. The experiences of the Canadian Party must serve as a tremendous warning of the danger of underestimation of this question and the danger of a mere formal or technical approach to the question of the preparation for illegality.

—From the Report of the Fraternal Delegate from the C. P. of Canada to the C. C. Plenum.

NOTE: The full report of the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Party is printed in the May issue of The Communist.

To the Study of Party and C. I. Resolutions

IN ORDER to popularize the resolutions of the 14th Plenum, the main resolution and the resolution of the C. I. on lessons of strike struggles in the U.S.A., the resolutions have been published in pamphlet form. They have been published in pamphlet form so that they may be available for continuous and serious study for the Party membership.

Our past experience with publishing various important Comintern and Party resolutions have not brought the expected results. This is an indication of the fact that the Party is not being mobilized for the study of the various important resolutions. This also in a way is one of the reasons why many of our resolutions remain on paper.

We will give a few figures on the circulation of the resolutions which appeared in pamphlet form:

On the Road to Bolshevization—10,000 copies printed; only 5,455 sold. The two letters of the Communist International and the Party contained in this pamphlet are indeed of decisive historical importance, yet such a small number were sold.

Thesis and Resolutions for the 7th Convention—only 3,645 sold.

These figures are given as a lesson in connection with the need of having a full mobilization of the Party in this study of the 14th Plenum resolutions which will appear in pamphlet form.

In connection with the very low sale of important resolutions,

it is also necessary to mention the circulation of the Sixth World Congress thesis on the struggle against imperialist war, which was reprinted in pamphlet form. We printed five thousand and only 1,047 were sold. This very low sale of this Sixth World Congress thesis throws light upon the poor ideological mobilization of the Party for anti-war activities.

The speeches of Comrade Stalin on the American Party, which are of the greatest historical significance. This pamphlet had a sale of only 3,120 copies.

The large number of new Party members, the need of raising the political level of the Party membership makes it absolutely necessary that the Party resolutions, that important articles and speeches which appear in pamphlet form receive the widest circulation.

NOTE: *The full contents of the Plenum pamphlet Toward Revolutionary Mass Work is shown on page 56 of this issue of the Party Organizer.*

The Plenum Discussion in the Daily Worker

THE *Daily Worker* is carrying a special column to discuss and popularize the Plenum resolutions. In the past, such discussion in the *Daily Worker* were carried on mainly by a few comrades from the top and most of the articles were written in the center. The result was that the very purpose of the column, to get the experiences of the comrades who are active in the lower organizations and who work among the masses, was not carried out. We must this time make an fundamental change in this respect. We therefore urge the comrades to send in every bit of experience in the form of brief articles for the Plenum column.

At various functionaries conferences and other meetings very valuable experiences are being exchanged, but these experiences remain only the property of those who attend the conferences. The Party as a whole does not benefit from them. These experiences therefore should be written up for the *Daily Worker*.

The entire discussion in the *Daily Worker* Plenum column should be carried on from the viewpoint that "the work of the lower Party organizations must be basically changed. Nineteen-tenths of all the work of the lower organizations must be concentrated *directly* on the work among the masses and not as at present in countless inner meetings. The center of gravity must be shifted to the development of the lower organizations, to the sections and units."

The Central Committee Plenum Turns Its Attention to Mass Distribution of Literature

GETTING our literature into the hands of the masses of workers means, in short, mass education and mass agitation.

Therefore the fact that the Plenum of the Party had a special conference on how to bring about the mass distribution of our literature, shows that as far as the turn of the Party towards the masses with regard to literature is concerned, the Plenum took this very seriously and discussed it in a very concrete manner. If the steps discussed at the Plenum are put into effect, then the Plenum resolution will find life as far as the field of literature distribution is concerned.

The problems which were discussed were based on a systematic effort to open up the channels through which our literature can reach the workers *in masses*, overcoming the sectarianism now hampering our literature distribution. Organizational steps are being taken to achieve this mass distribution—to make literature an integral part of every sphere of Party activity, to make our literature not only an agitator, but a mobilizer and an organizer, to make every Party member an active distributor of our literature.

The following concrete problems were discussed:

1. The organization of literature distribution apparatus in the center and its relation with the districts.
2. The District apparatus.
3. The caliber of the District Literature Director.
4. Financial responsibility and methods of achieving credit relations.

5. Direct connections between center and sections.

6. Types of literature and channels for getting these types to the various sections of the working class.

Suggestions were made, opinions expressed, and counter-proposals put forth on all these questions by the nine Dis-Organizers, the two Org. Secretaries, the two Agitprop Directors, the twelve comrades working directly with the Central Committee, the three representatives from the Young Communist League, the seven comrades representing the revolutionary unions, the representatives from the International Labor Defense and the Labor Sports Union, the three comrades from the press, and the comrade from the Ford plant who were present at this conference.

Great stress was laid on getting our literature into the shops, and the contribution made to the conference, particularly by the worker from the Ford Plant, on his own experiences in making successful widespread sales of literature within that important plant, was extremely valuable.

On the basis of these opinions and suggestions, we are now

in a position to go about in earnest, setting up a stable efficient literature distribution apparatus in the districts, sections and units.

The Points Discussed

It was unanimously agreed that literature distribution must become an integral part of all Party activities, and that the Literature Director of the Districts must become an integral part of the Party apparatus. Therefore it was generally accepted that the Literature Director must become a member of the Org. Department, or, where none exists, must work directly under the direction and control of the District Bureau. When this is done, we have a guarantee that literature becomes part of every mass activity, becomes part and parcel of every Party campaign. This will, however, be flexibly applied in accordance with the conditions existing in the respective districts. But we must hold to the basic principle that one comrade must be made responsible for this work and that this Literature Director must become part and parcel of the District apparatus with the duty of building up an extensive and efficient distribution apparatus in the units and sections which will reach out into the shops and into the masses of workers.

This requires that a comrade of political and organizational ability must be found who can devote a good part of his time to set this apparatus in motion—a comrade who can also contribute to the general Party work of the District as a full-fledged member of the District Org. Department.

Then what is the function of the Agitprop in the Districts with regard to literature? It is the responsibility of popularizing literature, of helping to determine which literature to weave into a certain campaign or certain demonstration or struggle.

On the question of finances, none had any disagreement that literature funds must absolutely be separate from all other Party funds, and the profits from the sale of literature must be used for the further promotion of literature. As soon as the finances of literature are stabilized, literature distribution itself will extend tremendously and after the machinery runs smoothly, and has a sufficient supply for constant use, then, and then only, shall the profits from literature be used to help support the campaigns of the Party and mass organizations. Comrades recalled how the sales from literature had actually supported apparatus of various kinds in the Party and trade unions, and this can be easily attained again. Profits from literature in the German Party, for instance, constitute a major source of financial income for activity.

The question of credits is tied up closely with stability and financial responsibility. At present the policy of cash in advance was not challenged by anyone present. However, it was

acknowledged that if financial responsibility and stable apparatus could be coupled with short-term credit, the sales of literature could be made more flexible and would therefore greatly increase. It was therefore accepted in principle that the present system would continue for three months. At the end of this period, these districts which have established a stable apparatus, giving regular periodic reports on finances and literature sold, thus convincing the center that the question of literature is handled in an absolutely responsible manner, would receive consideration on the question of short-term credits.

The principle of direct connection with the outlying sections was accepted, for this saves energy and cost of rewrapping and remailing in the district office for the sections. However, a system must be established whereby each District Literature Director will know what his sections are ordering in order to guide this work and keep the necessary district records. Also the district will receive a certain percentage of direct section sales to help support the district literature apparatus.

Although stress was laid particularly on the cheap agitational pamphlets for great mass distribution, it was also pointed out how our propaganda literature could be made to reach the more politically advanced workers, particularly our own Party members. Classes, study groups, discussions, etc., can all popularize and sell our propaganda pamphlets. Books must also reach the workers in this manner. Our periodicals—*The Communist*, *The Inprecorr*, and *The Communist International*—must get real serious attention. The periodicals of our mass organizations will, for the present at least, still be handled only through their own apparatus.

The comrades who were present at the conference have now a very specific duty to perform. Not only must they see to it that the importance of literature distribution becomes better understood in their districts and organizations, but particularly in connection with the election campaign they must explain how we expect to bring about the turn of the Party toward mass distribution of literature as demanded by the Plenum resolution. The coming election campaign can become the vehicle for bringing about this turn with regard to literature.

One of the first concrete steps that has been taken is the introduction of a special literature section in the *Party Organizer*, the first of which appears in this issue. This section will be devoted to methods of mass distribution of literature in line with the discussion on this subject at the Plenum Conference. We urge all comrades to write in their experiences to the Secretariat in successful methods of reaching the masses, so that this section can become a live record of actual experiences, from which all active comrades can learn.

—GERTRUDE HAESSLER.

The Training of New Cadres and the Development of Collective Work

IT IS my conviction that the improvement in the collective work in the Party is not only a matter of methods. Much of friction that develops and exists within the leading bodies of the Party, in the districts and in the lower organizations, develops because of a lack of connection with the lower bodies and with the workers in the shops. Out of this lack of connection grows the necessity of abstract formulation of the problems because concrete forms of the problems do not become known to the Party because of the lack of connection. We therefore must approach it from the standpoint of establishing close connections between the leading sections and cadres and rank and file of the Party between the Party members and the workers.

Now on the question of cadres. This question of cadres, we must solve in connection with the collectivization of the work of the leadership and in connection with the strengthening of mass work in the Party. The problem is quite an old one. It has been discussed for months, and for that matter, for years, and yet practically nothing has been done to solve the problem. We must in this plenum find methods to force the solution of the problem and throw the question for discussion into the units, by re-electing all leading bodies of the Party, from the section committees down to the units. And the new forces from among the factory workers and trade union organizations thus drawn into the leading committees, into the units, section committees, etc., must be schooled not only in full time courses, not only in schools, etc., but primarily in the day to day work, mass work and in struggles against opportunism growing out of mass work. This is the best school for the training of new cadres.

It is clear that the collectivization of the leadership of the Party sections, of the units, as well as the development of cadres, can only be accomplished by the carrying through of a positive self-criticism. It is necessary that we force the leadership of the Party, sections, districts, etc., to take the responsibility before the membership itself for its mass work. We must force them to make periodic reports about mass work before the membership and have discussions there, by carrying through the principle of democratic centralism and discontinuing the bureaucratic separation of leadership, of the leading bodies, of the Party from the rank and file. It is clear that it is this bureaucratic form of relationship that leads to or rather that prevents the development of cadres, that prevents the development of collective work. We must bring this matter up in intensive discussion right following the Plenum.—C. SMITH.

NOTE: On the above question the comrades are also referred to the article by Comrade Smith, The Problem of Cadres in the Party, published in the February, 1932 issue of The Communist.

Down with Passivity — into Action in the Anti-War Struggle

THE last Party Plenum emphasized the role of the world proletariat in the struggle against imperialist war, in the struggle against the Japanese imperialism, against the United States imperialism which, while feverishly preparing for war against its imperialist competitors, is above all, preparing itself for the attack against the Soviet Union.

While steps were taken to show to the masses that the world proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party can become a decisive factor for the postponement of the imperialist attack against the Soviet Union, while we show to the masses that the anti-war struggle means the strengthening of the position of the Soviet Union and of the world proletariat, and the weakening of the position of the imperialists, we are still in an agitational stage of the struggle.

Lack of Factory Work

From the District reports we know that in the last months hundreds and hundreds of anti-war protest meetings were held, indoor and outdoor, involving hundreds of thousands of workers. However, the meetings and demonstrations in front of shops can be counted on our fingers. *Till now, not a single demonstration took place in front of ammunition plants, in front of docks, at the departure of ships for the Far East, loaded with ammunition, not one single concrete move was made to hinder the transport of arms to the Far East. And the war is going on already for months.*

The anti-war campaign practically was not brought among the workers of the factories. No anti-war committees were yet established for the mobilization of the masses inside the plants, for leading them in the anti-war struggle. While workers correspondents from the ammunition plants through the Party press are notifying the Party and the American working class about the speedy work in the ammunition plants, about the transformation of some of the industries to war industries, about shipments of ammunition to the Far East—which shows the alertness of the most advanced workers inside the ammunition plants, among the longshoremen—we are still unable to give these workers direct guidance and organizational forms to the fighting spirit of the masses.

The slogan "Stop the Shipment of Munitions to the Far East" remains simply an agitational slogan along with the slogans for the defense of the Soviet Union, for the defense of Soviet China, etc. *We cannot be satisfied only with repeating correct slogans which will remain expressions of protest when steps*

are not taken for developing a real struggle in line with the slogans.

Shouting Slogans Not Enough

We cannot wait until war on the Soviet Union is actually carried on in order to mobilize the workers for the struggle. China already was attacked, Manchuria was seized, battles are taking place, the Chinese masses are defending their soil with their last breath—and we are simply shouting slogans for the defense of the Chinese masses. But concretely, did we succeed in shaking the world proletariat, in organizing a real struggle against the Japanese invaders, against the imperialists at home? Did we hinder in the United States the transport of even one shipment of ammunition? Should we now be content to merely continue shouting slogans and organizing demonstrations? NO! This alone is not enough. Shouting slogans would mean opportunist passivity.

In the development of the anti-war campaign we must take rapid strides forward. We must develop our agitational campaign to a higher stage, at the same time we must give organizational form to our anti-war struggle. This struggle must already take concrete form. We must lead the proletariat into action for hampering the production of ammunition, for hindering the shipment of arms and ammunition to the Far East. Not only the Party, but the Marine Workers Industrial Union, the Metal Workers Industrial League, the Railroad Workers Industrial League, the left-wing of the parallel organizations in the American Federation of Labor, all mass organizations around the Party, must be in the forefront of the anti-war struggle to mobilize the masses and organize the anti-war struggle on concrete basis which must take the form of protest strikes in the war industries, in the docks, aboard ships.

Detailed Work—Checking up

Their immediate task for all the districts is to immediately locate all ammunition plants in their territory, and select one or two of the major plants for concentration. An investigation must be made in all units, in the revolutionary unions, and mass organizations led by the Party, to find out all the available connection with the workers of the plant which will help us in the concentration, in the widening of our connections. In this manner we shall be able to establish the first groups of anti-war fighters inside and among the workers of a particular factory, the first anti-war committees. The task of the anti-war committees will not only be to know what is going on in the industries, especially in the ammunition plants, in the railroad centers, on the docks, but to discuss with the workers, to help them realize that war is going on, distribute leaflets and anti-

war literature among the workers; to arrange with the revolutionary unions shop gate meetings, anti-war demonstrations in front of the plants, to become the leading body of the anti-war struggle inside the plants.

Special attention must be paid to the chemical war industries, to the ammunition plants, to the reaching of the working women. Demonstrations of unemployed workers shall be arranged in front of the factories (objects of our concentration) to demonstrate the solidarity of the unemployed workers with the struggle of the employed against the bosses' offensive on their standard of living, against the bosses' preparation of a new imperialist war for the attack against the Soviet Union.

One of the aims of the demonstrations, of the anti-war mass meetings, must be also the smashing of the illusions created by the bosses that war will bring back prosperity. *War will give work to few, bullets for millions of workers and farmers, and profits to a handful of capitalists.*

Concentration in Anti-War Struggle

Because we are not working only towards future perspectives, and the war is going on in the Far East, ammunition is produced day and night, arms and ammunition are shipped to the Far East, and immediate concentration in important strategic plants, the establishment of the anti-war committees in the factories, in the trade unions, is of tremendous importance for the widening of the anti-war struggle.

The hindering of the first transport of ammunition, or the hampering of the production of arms and ammunition through protest strikes will give a tremendous example to the whole working class of the United States on how to concretely fight against war. The example of the protest strikes which developed into the great mass strikes in Germany, Austria, England, Italy, in the period of the first intervention war against the Soviet Union showed to us the possibilities of how we can also prevent in the United States the shipment of ammunition, of how we can slow up, stop the wheels of the monstrous machines for the production of war material, of how the American proletariat together with the world proletariat can become a factor for the postponement of war against the Soviet Union.

In Rotterdam the Chinese crew of the Laertes, and in Hamburg the Chinese crew of the Phoenix in the present war, already prevented the transport of ammunition for Japan, giving a tremendous example to the working class of all countries of their class consciousness and on how concretely to fight against war.

All Struggles NOT Anti-War

We cannot be satisfied with the theory that all struggles of the working class that are going on are already a fight against

war. It is not only the economic struggles that we have to develop at this moment against the capitalist offensive on the standard of living of the American working class, and connect them with the anti-war struggle, but at the same time develop the anti-war struggle itself on a concrete basis. *Now is the time that we must fight against all forms of pacifism and passivity, spur the initiative of the masses, in this struggle, the initiative of each individual, each Communist sympathizer, workers who are conscious of the necessity of fighting against war in the shops, in the ammunition plants, in the docks, aboard the ships.*

Combatting Capitalist Cunning

The American bourgeoisie is cunning. While part of it is talking about boycott against Japan, it is doing business with Japan. It is helping Japan directly, not only with the shipping of arms and ammunition, but also through continuous shipments of raw materials—nitrates, cotton, etc. At the same time the United States is oiling its own war machines.

Our task must be clear. The anti-war struggle must be intensified, must be brought among the workers of the industries. Our task is to mobilize millions of workers to organize the anti-war struggle on such a basis that the proletariat will become the force which will break the grip of the imperialist bandits. This will be a concrete struggle against the American and Japanese imperialism, in defense of the Chinese people, in defense of the workers' fatherland.

—F. BROWN.

NOTE: The July issue of The Communist will be a special anti-war issue for August First. In connection with the struggle against imperialist war the pamphlets dealing with the Leninist teachings on war advertised on the back cover of this issue of the Party Organizer should be studied by every Party member.

Systematic Every-Day Work Brings Results in Shop Work

THE shop group of thirteen members of the Metal Workers Industrial League in one shop is the result of three months' hard work.

This group was built through systematic every-day work, by going from one worker to another to get them to meetings. After three workers were gotten together we talked about the shop, the piece-work system, of what kind of work is done in

different departments, etc. And in this way we got everyone talking about the shop and the conditions. Before adjourning we set another meeting and everyone was given a task to bring another worker with them.

At the next meeting, knowing already something about the conditions, we put forth the policy of the M. W. I. L. and several demands for the workers, that we were to bring to them through leaflets. Before ending this meeting we told the workers in a simple way why they should belong to the shop group of the M. W. I. L. and every one signed up. Their next task was to bring more workers and to get more concrete news about other departments so that we could issue a paper.

After issuing the first paper, four more workers were signed up, because the paper was discussed in the shop and our members were there to bring them to our meeting. We had many difficulties to overcome when some of the leading members got pessimistic because of the slow process, due to the stagger system, which brings the workers together only three days a month, etc.

The members inside the shop are responsible for getting this group together man by man. And now after getting four of the leading members on the executive committee of this group we were able to make friends with them and approach them for the Party. Two of the key men joined the Party and the other two promised to join. Thus we have laid a basis for a shop nucleus.

In another shop, the J-H Co., we have a shop nucleus for three years and where we still had five members up till about three months ago, we were able to get four more new members through a "shake-up," yet this unit has gone back into a "coma," because the comrades *isolated themselves from the workers by not building trade union groups.*

In another shop where we had a group of nine members of the M. W. I. L. and out of whom one was a Party member, we were able to build a nucleus of seven inside of two and a half months. But, now what happened to the M. W. I. L. group? At the last meeting five were present and the minds of the leading comrades were full of nucleus "buro" "agitprop," another meeting, etc., etc., which they expressed in the presence of three non-Party members, and forgot all about the metal group.

The section representative was present at this nucleus meeting and took up with the nucleus only the inner Party activity without pointing out to the comrades that their main activity *should be in the shop group.*

—B. B.

To the Study of the Line

Contents of the Plenum Pamphlet

"TOWARD REVOLUTIONARY MASS WORK"

Tasks of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

*Resolution Unanimously Adopted by the 14th
Central Committee Plenum*

Lessons of the Strike Struggles in the U. S. A.

*Resolution of the E. C. C. I. Unanimously Adopt-
ed by the 14th Central Committee Plenum*

Resolution on the Carrying out of the Main Resolution of the 14th Plenum

Directives on the Main Points for Work- ing out a Resolution on the New York District

Review of the General Line and Activ- ities in Unemployment Work

*Resolution of the Central Committee Adopted in
October, 1931*

The Increasing Danger of War Against the U. S. S. R. and the Tasks of the Communists

Resolution of the 11th Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

of the Fourteenth Plenum!

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THE IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE AND THE FOURTEENTH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MAJORITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OUR MASS WORK

By O. Kuusinen

SOME ELEMENTARY PHASES OF THE WORK IN THE REFORMIST TRADE UNIONS

By William Z. Foster

FASCISM, SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM

By W. Knorin

LESSONS OF TWO RECENT STRIKES

*In the Light of the E. C. C. I. Resolution on
Lessons of the Strike Struggles in U. S. A.*

By Jack Stachel

THE WAR OFFENSIVE — TIGHTENING THE CAPITALIST DICTATORSHIP IN THE U. S.

By Bill Dunne

THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

By Mossaye J. Olgin

**MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL PROBLEM
—(Continued)**

By Joseph Stalin

LENIN ON LITERATURE



Getting a Contact

THE building of shop organization and shop units of the Party will not be accomplished by any fantastic schemes, by noise-making, or by demonstrative activities. This work demands daily plugging in order to accomplish this end. The getting of a single contact in a large shop must be given the greatest importance. How shall this be done? In our work in the New York District, we have had a good deal of experience, and carried through a good deal of experimentation.

Let us take for example the "X" factory. In this factory are employed Scandinavians, Lithuanians, and other nationalities. Canvass the mass organizations in your territory, and find out if any of the members of these mass organizations are employed in the shop. Through your local organization, visit this worker, speak to him about his daily needs, and his conditions. Find out whether he has any friends in the shop who react in the same way as he does. Utilize any family connections that you may have in order to get contacts in these shops. Take particular notice of what papers these workers read. If they read our Party press, this is an additional means of getting in touch with them. Discuss with them the Party press, and why it is necessary for them to carry out the line that our Party press brings forward.

In holding shop gate meetings, take particular notice of all those workers who are sympathetic to our propaganda, and follow them up after the hours of work, and discuss with them their problems. Many workers refuse to stop in front of the shop to discuss with strangers, because of fear of losing their jobs. In this connection, we must impress upon the workers that our activities are organized in such a manner, as not to endanger them in carrying out their work, but to safeguard their jobs. In some instances, it is best to get in contact with these workers on the basis of forming social organizations or athletic clubs around the shop.

In carrying on this work around a particular shop, we should pick two or three comrades that are especially adapted to this sort of work, and outline their activities for them. The workers in this shop will get to know them, and trust them.

Popular leaflets should be issued. These leaflets shall not be of thesis character, but instead shall deal with one or another

grievance within the shop. They must be short and to the point about questions that the workers feel in their every-day activity in the shop.

These experiences have brought us some very good results in the New York District. As a matter of fact, we can today state that as a result of adopting some of the methods proposed for getting contacts, that we established a number of shop nuclei and shop groups in large plants of basic industry. It is little things such as getting a contact that make it possible for us to carry through the big things.

J. P.

Some Points on "Concentration"

IN THE present recruiting drive of our Party and League shop work has been stressed a great deal. By shop work we mean that those comrades who work in shops or factories must carry on systematic work from the inside for the purpose of building up shop nuclei; also by having our units carry on their propaganda on the outside of this particular shop, through distribution of leaflets and sale of literature, thus linking up these two phases of work for effective recruiting.

When we discuss shop work with the comrades we find one thing prevalent, and that is the following: the majority of the comrades will go out of their way to sell literature, distribute leaflets and speak to the workers in any factory, except in *the one where they are employed*. Some of our comrades work in one place for years—and have not yet succeeded in getting a single contact for our Party or League.

The trouble with these comrades is that they are so intent upon "concentrating" on certain workers in the shop that after months and years they find themselves where they started—with nothing accomplished. It takes these comrades weeks and months to decide which worker they will concentrate upon; how they will concentrate, etc. A good example of how to *really concentrate* in a factory can be seen from the following example which occurred in a shirt factory in Philadelphia:

This factory employs about 150 workers has received a wage cut of almost 50%. The union at that time issued a general leaflet about the rotten conditions in the shirt industry and the wave of wage cuts. This leaflet also reached the workers in this particular factory. As a result of this leaflet one of the workers came up to the union and after talking over the situation in her shop with the organizer, promised to go back to her shop and get more workers to come down. The worker went back to her shop and not knowing anything about "concentration" brought another 7 workers to the union in a period of one

week. At the present time there is a shop committee of about 20 workers after 3 weeks of work by this worker with the help of another class conscious worker in that shop.

In other words this worker did not go back to "concentrate" but to speak to the workers on the question of the 50% wage cut.

I think that the comrades who work in the shops should take a tip from this example and stop "concentrating," but instead, become friendly with the workers, speak to them about the conditions and in such a way acquaint them with our movement which fights against the rotten conditions and wage cuts; give them literature to read; become a leader in reacting against the issues which arise in the shop—and by gaining the confidence of the workers, carry on the recruiting campaign which will bring *results!*

—A. LYNN.

The Building of the Union in Struggle— Our Major Task

THE importance of signing up members in the revolutionary unions, during strike struggle especially, cannot be over-estimated. The bosses of the Bay State Upholstery Co., of Boston, Mass., had always boasted that no organization was powerful enough to organize their factory, the largest of its kind in New England.

On March 4 the bosses tried to put into effect the third wage cut of 10 per cent for the workers. The workers walked out on strike and with the help of members of the Upholsterers' Organizational Committee, drew up 14 demands, including the retraction of the wage cut, recognition of the union, and no discrimination against any worker participating in the walk-out. A broad strike committee with representatives from every department was immediately elected and divided into committees with special functions. One of the committees was assigned the task of enrolling the workers into the T. U. U. L. after they had voted unanimously to join the organization. On the first day forty-three members were signed up through the activity of this committee; on the second day the figure rose to sixty-four members. Every member of the strike committee had joined.

On the fourth day of the strike the bosses had given in to practically every demand of the workers with the exception of the recognition of the union. It was brought out by the workers themselves (for the most part, raw elements) that this could be overcome upon the bosses' willingness to recognize the shop committee which was 100 per cent organized into the union. This the bosses were willing to do. The strike was

settled. The strike committee of 17 workers were elected as the shop committee.

Since the strike ended the shop committee has lined up twenty-three additional workers into the union. The possession of a T. U. U. L. card with the \$1.00 initiation fee paid, plus their victory, has created a real organizational consciousness and tightening up of the union at the same time. A Victory Dance and a City Conference for all furniture workers is already in the process of organization to further popularize the union. Two weeks after the strike the boss discharged 5 workers, two members of the shop committee. The shop committee went into action at once to make a test case of this infraction of the agreement. All of the workers were taken back the next day. All of the workers feel that their union initiation fee was the best \$1.00 they had ever spent. At their first regular membership meeting they voluntarily raised their dues 25 cents per month. The factory is 93 per cent organized at this writing. Lining up of members should receive important organizational consideration during every strike struggle.

After the Start It's Easy

CONCENTRATING on a shop means work — not much — if it is well planned.

Our shop nucleus in a metal plant is the result of the concentration drive which the street unit started four months ago. Our shop unit can look back now to a period of three months of activity, *planned* activity. While the work was insufficient in some respects, many definite results can be recorded:

(1) *Shop Bulletin*: When the shop unit decided to issue a regular monthly bulletin, fears were expressed even in the shop unit that there was no outstanding issue to mobilize the workers around. But the second bulletin already showed a wealth of material and the nucleus had a hard task omitting issues that did not seem promising enough for organizational ends.

Thorough inquiries within the shop after the issuance of each bulletin enabled the nucleus to decide which particular issues were most readily accepted and supported by the workers.

Contents and appearance of the bulletin improve now from month to month.

(2) *Trade Union Work*: While meetings of shop connections were not as successful as they should have been, the bulletin was instrumental in helping the workers to overcome a certain skepticism. Feelers have shown that workers who were isolated two months ago are now decidedly with us.

(3) *Work Among Women*: Since two-thirds of the 1,500 workers are women, due consideration has been given to work among women, with the result that women workers are already taking part in preparations for International Women's Day. This fact properly utilized agitationally amongst the workers will have good results.

We have all reasons to be optimistic.

—SHOP IN INDIANA.

Notes on the Work of Block Committees

WHEN we come so close to the masses of workers that we can hear what an unemployed worker's wife is saying while she cooks the food received from the relief agency and what the worker says while he eats it, we will know on what issues the daily struggles of the unemployed can be organized.

An experience of the Councils in Chicago graphically illustrate this. For some time the relief agencies of Chicago discontinued cash relief. Instead, the unemployed were given "relief baskets." The efforts of the Councils to develop a struggle for cash relief failed to result in mass response.

Then our comrades discovered that there was great dissatisfaction among the unemployed because, *there was insufficient coffee and sugar in these relief baskets*. As a result of taking up this issue, the Councils in Chicago were able to develop a mass movement and struggle which was so bitter and determined, that *the city authorities were forced to grant the demand for cash relief*.

In organization forms, however, Chicago as most cities has not yet put into effect such concreteness. The unemployed movement in this city is still organized on the basis of the Party sections. Because the Party has five sections each designated by an alphabetical letter and within these units that are numbered, the councils were likewise designated as Council "A" etc.

Manifestly, unemployed workers who never heard of the Party could see no reason why they should belong to Council "A" or "B" or to Block Committee "1" or "2" etc. The form of organization suggested here is *Ward Councils*. A worker can understand why if he lives in the 37th Ward, he should belong to the Unemployed Council in that ward. He can understand why he should be an adherent of the block committee named after the street within that ward. Perhaps if the block does not provide sufficient basis for a Committee, we can even organize and designate the Committee as a "Precinct Committee" within the given Ward.

In B—— the Council has adopted the following plan in

acting on cases brought to them by workers in need of relief or threatened with evictions. Instead of immediately sending a committee of the Council to demand relief or replace furniture, the committee immediately is sent to the neighborhood of and together with the worker concerned. The neighbors are informed of the case and asked to come together to discuss *What shall be done about this?* The workers are encouraged to themselves suggest the action to be taken. The representative of the Council injects very subtly certain suggestions. Motions are put to a vote. A committee representing the workers is elected to lead and organize the actions decided on. *This committee becomes the unemployed committee of the given block or neighborhood.* It is then linked up with the nearest Council through elected delegates. Thus the workers are themselves involved in actions and aided in the establishment of their own rank and file united front.

—From a Report of H. BENJAMIN.

How Our Block Committee Works

THE Beck Street Block Committee, although a young organization, has nevertheless showed the effectiveness of a block committee in a workers' neighborhood. It came into existence about two months ago as a result of a struggle against an eviction case that took place in 592 Beck Street. Not only is it fighting for the immediate demands for the unemployed in that particular neighborhood, but it has also succeeded in developing its activities in other phases of the struggle. It is known not only on Beck Street, but on the surrounding blocks as well. Nearly every day workers from the surrounding blocks come before the committee with their grievances and ask the Beck Street Block Committee to lead them in a struggle against evictions, for lower rents, and for immediate relief for the needy cases. Many cases of needy families were taken by the Block Committee to the Home Relief Bureaus and the Bureaus were forced to give these cases some relief.

The Beck Street Block Committee is well known in the Home Relief Bureau and when the officials of the Home Relief Bureau see the committee they know they must give them attention, and accept their demands because they realize the strength of this committee. That is why in the whole neighborhood around Beck Street they respect the leaders of the Block Committee and rally in hundreds whenever a call is made by the Beck Street Block Committee for demonstrations or struggles led by the Unemployed Council. After the first victorious rent strike at 592 Beck Street, which amounted to two and three dollars reductions and also the forcing of the landlord not to

evict any unemployed families, the tenants of 581 and 587 Beck Street, houses owned by the same landlord, followed the same example of house 592 and declared a rent strike. With the help of the house committee of house 592 and the Lower Bronx Unemployed Council, they succeeded in forcing the landlord to accept all their demands, which amounted to: (1) Two and three dollars reduction in rent; (2) No eviction of the unemployed; (3) Recognition of the house committees.

As soon as the Block Committee was formed, it began to realize that it was not enough to just win a rent strike and put the furniture of an evicted family back into the house. They began an educational campaign through leaflets, open air meetings, distribution and sale of literature, and began pointing out to the workers of the neighborhood, the role of the Unemployed Council and the Communist Party in the struggle of the unemployed workers. As a result, four of the best members of the Block Committee have already joined the Communist Party.

The workers of this committee are alert to every issue facing the workers in that neighborhood. About two weeks ago a committee found that in 986 St. John Avenue, an unemployed worker, a father of two children, one nine months, and the other three years old, was sick because of lack of food. The Block Committee immediately mobilized the workers of the neighborhood and went down to the Home Relief Bureau and forced them to call the Lebanon Hospital to take the workers to the hospital. Although the hospital did send an ambulance they demanded that the worker pay fifteen dollars for the ambulance. But since the block committee was on the spot well organized, they went to the Jewish Social Service and forced them to pay for the ambulance. This worker, Mr. Dewah, died of starvation on the second day in the hospital. The Block Committee immediately issued a leaflet to the workers in that neighborhood explaining the reason for this worker's death. They held a demonstration protesting against the murder of this worker by the bosses.

In the demonstrations called by the Unemployed Councils, such as the empty-pot-and-pan demonstration on February 27 in front of Boro Hall, and the Open Air Open Hearing in front of Public School No. 54 on March 4, we found the tenants of the Beck Street neighborhood participating by selling literature, distributing leaflets, etc. Last week a grocery was opened on Beck Street. The owner tried to hire non-union help. As soon as the Block Committee found this out they forced the owner to go down to the Food Workers Industrial Union and get two union men from them.

As a result of this struggle the workers in this neighborhood, through the initiative taken by the Beck Street Block Com-

mittee have already organized a workers' club in their neighborhood, which is called the East Bronx Workers' Club. This club is already functioning as a semi-social and political organization of the workers in that neighborhood and is actively participating in the struggles of the workers in the Bronx.

Although very little work was done as yet in a struggle against the agents of the bosses, the Block-Aiders, nevertheless, when the captain of that block came over to one of the members of the Block Committee and asked him to become a captain for the Block-Aiders, this worker replied that the Block-Aiders will never get into that block as long as he is on the block committee. The Beck Street Block Committee is already making necessary preparations for exposing the Block-Aiders as agents for the bosses.

Nevertheless, there are some serious mistakes which must be pointed out for the benefit of the Block Committee so that they can better carry out their work.

1. The struggle for unemployment insurance has not been correctly linked up in their immediate struggles that they carried on thus far. This narrows down the struggle only to immediate demands and the workers will not see the importance of fighting for the main aim of the unemployed—unemployment insurance.

2. The struggle around the Home Relief Bureaus by the Block Committee was not of a mass character. Although quite a few cases were brought before the Relief Bureau, nevertheless all the needy cases in that neighborhood were not mobilized for a mass struggle around the Relief Bureaus.

3. In the course of their immediate struggles, the Block Committee has not correctly linked up the struggle of the unemployed with the struggle against war. Their leaflets and propaganda in most cases have not mentioned the fact that millions are being spent for war purposes and not one cent for the unemployed.

4. Because of the fact that four of the most active members of the Block Committee have joined the Communist Party, the work, instead of being carried on by the non-Party elements, is being carried out by the members of the Party primarily. The immediate task is to call a meeting of all the workers in the neighborhood and give them a report of the activity already carried out by the Block Committee. New elements should be drawn into the Block Committee. At this meeting the campaign against the Block Aiders should begin. The workers should be enlightened on the nature of the Block Aiders and an immediate campaign should be started, through leaflets, open air meetings, mass meetings, etc.

—JOE BRANDT.



The Shop Papers Closer to Organizational Life

THE mimeographed *Shop Paper Editor* is discontinued. Beginning with this issue of the *Party Organizer* the *Shop Paper Editor* as it originally appeared in the mimeographed form, will be printed in this section of the *Party Organizer*.

The change was made in order to bring the shop papers to the organizational problems of the shop nuclei. There was too much of a separation of responsibility in editing and issuing the shop papers between the District Agit-Prop Department and the District Org. Department.

The same main features that we had in the mimeographed *Shop Paper Editor* will be retained and improved upon in the *Party Organizer*. In addition to the *Shop Paper Editor* section of the *Party Organizer*, we will continue the system of individual reviews of all the shop papers received in the Central office, and we will print only such reviews in the *Party Organizer* as are of general importance to all the shop papers.

We will also from time to time supply the Districts with cartoons for their shop papers as we did in the mimeographed *Shop Paper Editor*.

Comrades should communicate with the *Shop Paper Editor*, care of *Party Organizer*.

Shop Paper Reviews

THE *Stock Yard Worker*, the monthly bulletin issued by the Chicago Stock Yards Unit, in its March issue, does one very good thing—it gives the greatest prominence to the Stock Yard Hunger March, which has been held since then. In doing this it ties up the conditions of the unemployed and employed packing-house workers.

It is our opinion that in an issue which is the last one to come out before the Hunger March to the Stock Yards practically the entire issue should have been devoted to this matter of exposing the conditions of the unemployed stock yards workers, in their homes (which also applies to the employed stock-

yards workers); of exposing some of the fake charity schemes operating in the stock yard section; and the concrete problems of the part time workers in the yards should have been taken up. These are the things that cement the struggles of the employed and the unemployed.

One of the biggest, if not the biggest shortcomings of the *Stock Yard Worker* is that the Packing House Workers Industrial Union, its aims, program, etc., are not brought to the forefront. There is so much space devoted in the March issue to appealing to the workers to join the Communist Party, and so little (practically none) to the Packing House Workers Industrial Union that the only result may be that the workers who read the paper will think that we are telling them that the Communist Party is a trade union organization.

The Negro workers are mentioned, but only in a general way. The special problems and demands for the Negro workers, who are so numerous in the stock yards, must be concretely brought out, by giving specific examples of discrimination in wages and jobs, and explaining to the white and Negro workers how this is a bosses' scheme to split their ranks.

There should be more worker correspondence in the *Stock Yard Worker*, and from different packing houses, not practically just Armour's.

The war situation is handled on the front page, and a good job is done with it, but we think that this can be developed further. The stock yards workers should be told exactly how war will hit the stock yards workers; how packing house workers, in such an important war industry, will be virtually conscripted in war time; how war will not bring them prosperity.

Some news about the Soviet Union, especially that connected with the food and packing industry should be in every issue.

* * *

THE *Decker Worker*, published in a clothing plant in Chicago (which is controlled by the Amalgamated), constantly calls on the workers to form department committees, but does not stress enough the *united front* character of the committees. It should always play up the fact that workers are urged to join the department committees regardless of race, creed, political or union affiliation. There is plenty of space devoted to exposing the Amalgamated misleaders but not enough, in comparison with this, to exposing the conditions in the shop, so that the worker might think that we are concerned with only fighting the officials, and not the bosses (the fight against the Amalgamated officials and the bosses, that is the rotten conditions, should be closely linked up by always pointing out specifically how this and that bad condition right in the shop is due to this or that action or agreement of the Amalgamated officials). The

question of how to fight the Amalgamated officials is not concretely dealt with; the matter of building opposition groups in the Amalgamated is not touched on.

The *Decker Worker* plays up the fight for unemployment insurance and relief, mentioning the part-time workers, and also plays up the fight against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. More news from the shop is needed.

* * *

THE *Gray's Harbor Worker* is issued by the Aberdeen Section of the Communist Party in the state of Washington. It has a fine expose of a charity bunch that feeds the workers on 49 cents a day, an article on the role of the banks, one on "Rugged Individualism"; (each of the latter taking up a full page); a poem called "God in the Sky," etc. — but not one word throughout the paper about the conditions and problems on the job, of the lumber workers. Yet *Gray's Harbor* is one of the main centers of the lumber industry in the country and that is its main industry. This won't do. A little less about God and more about conditions and problems.

Our suggestion is that the *Gray's Harbor Worker* be tied up more closely with the every-day problems of the lumber workers, employed and unemployed, with their every-day life and conditions. And tell the lumber workers in the *Gray's Harbor* section about the National Lumber Workers Industrial Union, what its program is, etc.

* * *

THE General Electric plant in Schenectady, N. Y. has been selected as a plant in which the task of building a model shop committee is to be undertaken. So we will have to watch carefully the shop paper put out by the Communist Party nucleus there. That paper is called *The Live Current*, the April issue of which is at hand.

The *Live Current* does something which it would be well for all shop papers to do. It gives prominent space to the revolutionary union in the industry, which in this case is the Metal Workers Industrial League. The demands of the M.W.I.L. for the workers of the General Electric plant are given, although in our opinion those demands are yet too general when they are not reinforced by immediate day-to-day demands in the shop; the address of the headquarters of the M.W.I.L. is given.

Another valuable thing is a column devoted to the activities of the workers, led by the department committees, in the huge General Electric Works in Henningsdorf, Germany.

An achievement in the work in the General Electric plant was the election by the workers of a worker to go with the May Day delegation to the Soviet Union. The *Live Current* tells all about this, and seizes the opportunity to tell the Gen-

eral Electric workers something (but hardly enough) about the conditions of the Soviet electrical workers as contrasted to the conditions of the General Electric workers.

The *Live Current* explains what the function of the I. L. D. is, in the April issue, which is a good point also. It devotes almost two pages to exposure of the Socialist Party in connection with the up-state Socialist paper, *The Citizen*, and its attacks on the militant workers.

A terrible omission in the April issue is the failure to say a word about May Day, except a tiny ad on the back page about the May Day demonstration.

Outstanding faults of the *Live Current* for April are the lack of worker correspondence from the shop; not enough about unemployment, and, not least of the faults, nothing about the building of department committees. Nothing is said about war, nothing about government unemployment insurance.

Shop Paper Statistics

District	February	March	April
1	1	0	0
2	3	3	4
3	2	1	1
4	1	0	0
5	2	0	0
6	1	3	1
7	1	2	0
8	4	5	1
9	4	5	3
13	3	2	1
17	0	0	0
19	0	2	1
Total	22	23	12

NEW PAPERS

Ternstedt Workers Bulletin District No. 7

Forgings Worker District No. 8

Youngstown Worker District No. 8

The statistics of the past three months show that in the month of April we had a serious drop in the number of shop papers issued. Districts 1, 4, 5 and 7 did not issue any shop papers for the months of April. Districts 4 and 5 did not issue any shop papers for the months of March and April. District 8 had a decline from five shop papers in March to one in the month of April. We would like to hear from the District Committees the reasons for such a sharp drop in the shop papers.

We want to call the attention of Districts 7 and 8 which have published new shop papers, that the main problem confronting them is the continuance of the new shop papers. Irregularity

and laxity in the issuing of shop papers reflects seriously upon the methods of our shop work.

Some Political-Organizational Directives on the Issuance of Shop Papers

1. Every functioning shop nucleus is to issue a shop paper. Shop papers must appear regularly once a month. The organization and agitprop departments should be politically responsible for the regular appearance of shop papers.

2. Shop bulletins may be issued from time to time by street units or sections concentrating on a given shop. They are to be issued in connection with various political campaigns of the Party, at the time of a special campaign within the shop, etc. In contradistinction to shop bulletins, a shop paper must be considered as the regularly appearing organ of the Party *within* a shop, published regularly by a shop nucleus.

3. If in a given shop there is no shop nucleus but a broad functioning grievance committee, a shop bulletin may be issued by one of the above-mentioned economic shop organizations. The Trade Union Unity League union papers and *Labor Unity* are to base themselves more than at the present time on shops.

The Trade Union Unity League should be primarily responsible for the appearance of the above-mentioned shop bulletins.

4. Shop bulletins that have been published regularly by street units or sections have undoubtedly created the basis for the establishment of shop nuclei. Steps therefore should be taken immediately for the establishment of a shop nucleus and the appearance of a shop paper as the organ of the newly-established shop nucleus.

5. The shop nucleus to be drawn in more *actively* into the political-organizational preparation of the shop papers. Each shop paper to have an editor who is a member of the shop nucleus. The buro of the shop nucleus should also act as the editorial board. The shop papers must be discussed collectively by the shop nuclei. More initiative should be given to the shop nuclei in the issuing of the shop papers. At the same time the shop nuclei should receive technical assistance in the publication of their papers.

The Agitprop and Org. Departments are to give greater individual guidance in the political-organizational work of the shop papers. The District Buro must also assume *political* responsibility for the content and regular appearance of the shop papers.

6. The section in the *Party Organizer*, "Shop Paper Editor," must receive more attention in the districts. The method established by the Central Office in reviewing shop papers should be followed up by the Districts.



THIS special feature on literature will from now on be a regular feature of the Party Organizer. It will deal not with announcements and reviews of literature, but with methods of achieving mass distribution of literature by the Party and making every member of the Party an active seller of our literature.

Our chief source of developing new methods of literature sales on a mass scale, will be the concrete experiences of the comrades themselves who are active in the field. Articles by rank and file comrades on experiences they themselves have had, are of far greater value than articles written from the top, as the following articles will show.

This month most of the articles were written by comrades from District 2. We urge all comrades throughout the country to write in their experiences for this new section of the Party Organizer, and really make it a source from which comrades everywhere can get real concrete suggestions for improving their work.

Selling to Shop Workers

A WELL-PLANNED and well-executed attempt to sell our literature direct to shop workers was tried out in Section 2, District 2. A special May Day bulletin was issued to the workers in the Premier Shoe Company. In it attractive advertisements were run on three pamphlets, with the announcement that these pamphlets would be on sale on a certain morning at the corner near the shop.

The following is an example of one of the advertisements showing how the comrades linked up conditions in the shop with the pamphlet in question:

We are sure that as soon as this bulletin is distributed the boss will introduce a spy system to find out where we get our information. There is a pamphlet telling about these methods of the bosses:

SPYING ON THE WORKERS

By Robert W. Dunn 10 cents

It will be on sale near the factory on Friday morning.

This advertisement was illustrated with a picture of a rat, labelled "boss rat."

The bulletin was distributed Thursday morning. On Friday morning the nearest street unit was selling the three advertised pamphlets as scheduled. The two other pamphlets sold were *History of May Day*, and *The Soviet Union Stands for Peace*.

It is interesting to note that it was *Spying on the Workers* which sold the best. Why? Because the advertisement had linked it up with occurrences inside the shop. The comrades actually did not have enough copies of this pamphlet on hand to supply the demand, and many more could probably have been sold.

This should prove once more that in our approach to the workers in the shops and factories we must concretize our policy to the workers' every-day problems inside.

This was only the first attempt. The comrades are enthusiastically planning weekly sales at the gates from now on, and expect better and better results as the weeks go by and this sale becomes a regular institution.

—C. F.

Then—and Now

The following two items show what the literature situation was in New York City—which is typical of many other places throughout the country—and how it is being whipped into shape by thorough preparation and close attention on the part of the District Party apparatus.—EDITOR.

Literature on April 6th in New York

(Extract from a letter by a comrade selling literature in District 2, received the day after the April 6th anti-war meeting at the Bronx Coliseum.

I JUST came from the Coliseum, where I handled a few books concerning the war danger. I want to illustrate as much as I can how the literature sales are going on.

It is after 7 o'clock. Comrade Davis herself, the District Org. secretary, is waiting for the literature to arrive because the comrade in charge has not shown up. Masses of workers are passing in. This lateness in the arrival of our literature is costing dearly in lost opportunities to sell.

At the entrance are a squad of Red Builders, agents of the F. S. U., holding each about 50 or more copies of *Soviet Russia Today*. Others, agents from the *New Masses*. An army of agents with bundles of *Labor Defender* from various I. L. D. branches come here to get rid of their "burden." A happy lot

of young kids with the *New Pioneer* and stamps are also at the door. Leaflets from various unions, Needle Bazaar "throw-aways" are distributed. This all is happening at the door. The workers are dragged by their clothing, annoyed by most of them, this blocking the passage and the literature table.

At last the books and pamphlets arrived. Comrades from units have been waiting impatiently; they hurry away with so much enthusiasm with their literature secured at the table. They are the only ones who, if encouraged, might do wonderful systematic work. They are not seen at the door but inside. The District must take measures to plan and organize our literature sales better at our big demonstrations.

Literature Distribution on May Day in New York

The Organization Department of the New York District is putting into concrete effect the decision of the Central Committee to put literature sales on a firm organizational basis. This is best shown by the systematic plans made for covering our huge May Day parade and the meeting at night, with literature sales. Up to now comrades selling literature would circulate around the square and then march with the parade, pamphlets in hand, shouting slogans. By the time the worker on the sidewalk would realize what the slogan meant, the comrade with the literature was already out of reach.

Our parade was 30 blocks long, with workers watching along the line of march on two sides. For literature the line of march was divided off into eight sections, each covering four blocks, and each section covered by one of the Party sections in New York. Sixteen comrades for each section—thus furnishing two comrades on each side of the street in every block — thoroughly covered the entire line of march. These comrades had instructions not to leave their posts until the last of the parade had passed. Of course, before the parade started, the comrades sold in the square.

This method of having one comrade pass back and forth with literature within a limited area is much more effective in making sales. The comrade talks with the worker buying the pamphlet, and enables him to get his name and address on a contact card.

The assignment of literature was also done in a systematic way — four or five days prior to the parade the sections were furnished with the concentration pamphlets for May Day. Some sections at first resisted this system, for they wanted the old chaotic system of trying to use this demonstration for getting rid of old out-of-date literature. But when the plan was explained, the comrades became convinced.

The results were very good in spite of the rain. One com-

rade alone sold 196 copies of *The Soviet Union Stands for Peace*. This shows what concentration will do.

At night at the Bronx Coliseum, the same comrades appeared for duty with the unsold literature they had.

In the Coliseum everyone was surprised at the efficient way the literature sales went on. The District Literature Committee had absolutely nothing to do. Every section did good work, except Section One, which fell down completely.

The cooperation of the District Org. Department is the beginning of getting the Party to realize the importance of literature for organizational and educational work, as well as for financial profit. The rank and file of the Party will very quickly realize the necessity of buying literature for themselves, as well as becoming a means of distributing millions of pamphlets — and thus become individual organizers for the Party.

—ROBERT FRANKLIN, Literature Director, Dist. 2.

Agit-Prop Work

Theory becomes the greatest force in the working class movement when it is inseparably linked with revolutionary practice: For it, and it alone, can give the movement confidence, guidance, and understanding of the inner links between events; it alone can enable those engaged in the practical struggle to understand the whence and whither of the working class movement.

(Stalin).

A Letter From a New Member

I AM a Negro worker and it is needless to mention the extra oppression which I have experienced under this capitalist government which developed in me a consciousness that something was wrong. From day to day experiences I also noticed that the laws of this country corresponded to the method by which the productions of labor were unequally distributed. It was very plain to see that those who actually worked for a living had less than those for whom they worked and that race, creed and color was not the cause of it either. I did not know the solution for this but I searched for an organized group that did and found only nationalists, reformists and opportunists whose policies were narrow and sectarian. Finally I became isolated with my "radicalism." Of course I kept fighting the system but we all know we can do nothing without organization.

At the beginning of the second year of the present crisis I became permanently unemployed and of course as soon as I

lost my job I began to starve outright. In order to get relief, workers had to submit to third degree methods by the charity snoopers, swallow a lot of insults and take the blame for the crisis. This was not enough, the bosses presented their "work ticket" plan of forced labor and used their tools—the politicians, city councilmen, etc., to put it over.

At this time I learned about the Unemployed Council. The capitalist press told how the U. C. was fighting the city council, against putting the work ticket plan into effect, also mentioning that a certain "Communist" was leading the assault. From these newspaper articles I concluded that the U. C. and the Communists were fighting for the working class, but beyond this I could form no opinion.

Here I shall point out certain weaknesses of our Party work and methods which have not been entirely overcome today and which I noticed at that time. *The Party was not sufficiently known to the workers through its own mediums, such as distribution of literature, constant recruiting efforts, open forums, concrete speech making and individual efforts of Party members.*

If it had not been for the capitalist press I don't know when I would have heard anything about the Party and if I had not sought out the meeting place, etc., it is hard to tell when anyone would have invited me. The first meeting which I attended at the U. C. I was treated with suspicion. Also I noticed that the actives were workers whom I had seen and talked with every day or so around the city, state employment office. However, I was shortly afterward accepted into the unit and immediately assigned certain tasks. What the Party was or any definite explanation as to the program of how and why certain tasks were to be done was not mentioned to me and if I had not been persistent as well as alert I would have gotten the wrong idea and dropped out.

By constant activity, reading the *Daily Worker*, the *Party Organizer* and some of the various pamphlets I came to a better understanding of the Party and its program.

R. E. J.—Ohio.

In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate Party opposed to other working class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mold the proletarian movement. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. 10 cents.

Political Initiation of New Members

FOR a new member the first few weeks is the most important formative period. The first impressions that the new members get about our Party may be decisive whether he will remain or drop out of the Party. It is, therefore, most essential to help the new members to learn about the role, activities, and structure of our Party.

The participation of the Party in the class struggle, his life conditions as a worker, have brought the new member into the Party. Now that he is in the Party, he must be made conscious of the leading role of the Party, get an elementary political explanation of the class struggle, and get practical concrete guidance how as a member of the Party he is to learn to play an active and leading role amongst the workers. Such an approach will help in retaining them and involve them gradually into the activities of the Party.

Political Role of Unit

The most important point of politically initiating the new members is the unit. It is there where he gets the first impressions of the Party, where he for the first time sees the Party in its daily activities, and where he will be involved in the life and work of the Party. The raising of the political life of the unit, an improved organizational functioning of the unit, is decisive for the retention of new members.

At the same time we must give the new members an elementary political training which would make them feel more at home in the Party, give them a better understanding of the role and activities of the Party. This will make it easier for them and make them more eager to become active in the Party.

Six Weeks' Course for New Members

The following six weeks' training course is proposed: First week, discussion with the new members, "Why they joined the Party and how to improve the recruiting of new members"; second week, the present economic and political situation in the country; third week, the role of the Party in the class struggle; fourth and fifth weeks, the mass campaigns of the Party and mass organizations; sixth week, the organizational structure of the Party.

Methods of Teaching

What should be the method for this course? A most simple presentation of the general basic problem in each course. The lecture and discussion method to be combined. Reading of certain pamphlets, some sections in some pamphlets can be assigned.

Organization of the Course

How should the six weeks' training course be organized? It should not consist of more than 30 members. Every six weeks a new group to be organized. At the same time when the new member attends the course, he should be advised not to attend any other classes. The unit should during this period give the new member only a few tasks. The District Committee should decide on the organizational form—whether it should be organized on a unit, city or section scale. It all depends on the local conditions. Wherever possible one comrade should be assigned to be in charge of the entire course. At the same time, in view of the nature of the topics and the difficulties of obtaining instructors, various comrades may be assigned for the different topics.

New Members' Course and Fundamentals

There is, of course, a difference between the new members' six weeks' training course and the classes in fundamentals.

The classes in fundamentals are for the purpose of giving an elementary propagandistic theoretical training for the Party membership—a training which is to give a broad understanding of the laws of the class struggle, role and strategy of the Party. The six weeks' new members' training course, on the other hand, is only for the purpose of giving a most general understanding of the role and activities of the Party. It is for the purpose of politically initiating the new members, for the purpose of helping the new members to *begin to think and function* politically in the Party.

The six weeks' training course is not a substitute for the classes in fundamentals. As outlined above it is to serve an entirely different purpose.

Course Is Voluntary

This course must be absolutely *voluntary*. Under no circumstances should it be made a condition for joining the Party or becoming active. It should be started at first in a few sections. On the basis of the experiences of some of the sections, then to be gradually extended.

Just as in pointing out the need of involving the new members in activities, we must guard ourselves against the danger of overburdening the new members with too many tasks, so in discussing the need of the political initiation and training of new members we must guard ourselves against scholastic tendencies. With the proper balance on this point the new six weeks' training course can become an important weapon in the training of the new members.

—S. D.

The Training of New Cadres and Our School System for the Summer

THE resolution of the Central Committee Plenum brings out the great need for the training of new cadres as an important means in bringing about the essential change in the methods of mass work of the Party. In order to help in the training of new Party cadres, the Central Committee decided to carry through, during the summer period, an intensive school system for the training of functionaries.

A *Miners School* under the joint auspices of the Workers School and the T.U.U.L. opened on May 9th in Pittsburgh. The school will last for four weeks and will have students from Tennessee, Kentucky, and Anthracite, the Pennsylvania-Ohio coal fields, Illinois, and from the Minnesota District. There will also be steel workers.

The *Central School* for the training of leading district functionaries will begin on or about June 15 and will last six weeks. About 30 students will attend this school. Of the 30 students, at least twelve must be Negro workers.

In addition to the *Central School*, there will be two *regional schools* lasting six weeks, beginning on July 15th:

a) The *Eastern Regional School* will be held in New York. The students for the Eastern Regional School will come from New York, Boston, Connecticut, Philadelphia and the South. Of the thirty students for the Eastern Regional School, at least twelve must be Negroes.

b) The *Midwestern Regional School*, beginning on July 15th, will be held in Cleveland with students from Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Minnesota, Kansas and Buffalo.

In November, after the election campaign, we expect to establish a school on the Coast, in San Francisco, with students from California, Colorado, the Dakotas, Seattle and Washington.

Since the *Central School* which will be established in New York is scheduled to begin on June 1st, we urge the Districts to immediately act upon the communication from the Secretariat and send in their nominations for the school.

In selecting the students for the various schools, we must combat the tendency of only sending such comrades who can be for the moment best spared and not to send those who are the most active and need the training in order to be able to improve and continue their activities.

In line with the Central Committee resolution, the main apparatus of various kinds in the Party and trade unions; and be whether they have *living personal contact with masses of workers*. This must be considered as the *central requirement* in the selection of the students for the various schools.

In order to enable the Districts to meet the financial requirements of the various schools, the Central Committee decided that the main financial responsibility of the Districts for their students to the Central School shall only be the fare and the school fees will be covered by the Central Committee. Insofar as the regional schools are concerned, the Districts will only bear half of the expense in addition to their fare and therefore they will have to make a twenty dollar payment per student. We advise that the Districts shall immediately arrange to raise finances for the Central School and the regional schools so that there will be no obstacle in the sending of students.

Under no circumstances will we be able to change the dates for our various schools. We therefore urge the Districts to immediately act upon the Central Committee communication and send in a report to the central office as to what immediate steps are being taken to realize the school program for the summer as contained in the Central Committee instructions.

New Members' Classes and the New Pamphlet "The Communist Party in Action"

THE greatest majority of our membership is a new membership. The problem of the training of the new membership, the problem of solving the great fluctuation that exists at the present time in the Party must be taken up as one of the serious problems facing the Party.

Some time ago we took up with the districts the question of establishing new members' classes for a period of six weeks. We will not repeat this time the method and need of these classes as that has been taken up time and again. From the reports we have, most of the districts have such classes. However, we do not know how they function and what the experiences of the Districts are in connection with these classes. We would like in this section of the *Party Organizer* to develop a discussion of the new members' classes and generally on the problem of the training of the new members.

The new pamphlet of Comrade Bittelman is especially written for the new members' classes. We suggest that the topics and system that were worked out originally for the new members' classes be retained and that as the basic material for these classes, we take up the pamphlet *The Communist Party in Action*.

Contents of New Members' Pamphlet
**"THE COMMUNIST PARTY
IN ACTION"**

CHAPTER I. YOU HAVE JOINED THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE AMERICAN PROLETARIAT

Fighting Day by Day under Communist Party Leadership
Developing the Proletarian Counter-Offensive
The Need for a Revolutionary Way out of the Crisis

CHAPTER II. YOUR EXPERIENCES WITH BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY, THE CAPITALIST PARTIES AND THEIR SOCIAL FASCIST AGENTS

Bourgeois Democracy, Fascism and Social-Fascism
"Left" Social Fascism and the Renegades from Communism

CHAPTER III. INITIATIVE—ACTIVITY—DISCIPLINE

The Organizational Principles of Bolshevism
The Quality of Communist Work in the Present Period
Concentration on Shop Work—The Shop Nucleus

CHAPTER IV. BECOME A CONSCIOUS LENINIST

Theory and Practice
Practical Mass Work and the Study of Leninist Theory

CHAPTER V. WE ARE MEMBERS OF A WORLD PARTY

CHAPTER VI. THE CHIEF STRATEGIC AIM OF OUR PARTY

Fighting to Win the Majority of the Working Class
The Importance of Transmission Belts
The Struggle Against Social Fascism
For a Mass Communist Party

CHAPTER VII. THE MAIN LINES OF STRUGGLE

Three Lines of Struggle
Winning the Masses of Exploited Farmers
The Anti-War Struggle Must Be Placed in the Center of the Party's Activity
Developing the Daily Struggles of the Workers

CHAPTER VIII. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST DEVIATIONS FROM THE LENINIST LINE

Bolshevik Intolerance to Opportunism and Opportunist Deviations
The Struggle on Two Fronts

On Coordinating Organization and Agitprop Work

THE slowness with which the Party initiates various campaigns, the lack of continuity and systematic actions and the development and follow-up of the campaigns and daily activities are due, to an extent, to the absence of agitprop work in the preparation, carrying through and follow-up work. The lack of agitprop work is particularly noticeable in times of preparation for strike struggles, during these struggles and following them.

The lack of development of agitprop work in connection with mass work tends to separate agitation and propaganda from organization and to separate organization from propaganda and agitation. The coordination of agitprop and organization activities must be based on the Leninist unification of politics and organization and not, as exists quite often, their mechanical separation.

The growing opportunities and tasks before the Party require a quick response and mobilization of the Party membership for the growing activities on many new fields. *Political sensitiveness and organizational mobility* must therefore go hand-in-hand.

The political mobilization of the Party must be based on clarifying the nature, aims and methods in the daily activities and campaigns of the Party. The units, functionaries' conferences, must become the center for such political mobilization. Elementary theoretical propaganda training gives a broader perspective and deeper understanding for the daily mass activities. Such elementary training makes possible a better political understanding and quicker reaction to the tasks of the Party. The article *The Unit to Become a Political Center for the Mobilization of the Membership for Mass Work* which appears in this issue of the *Party Organizer* deals with this problem in detail.

Mass agitation and mass propaganda are essential to make clear to the masses the aim of the campaigns and the struggles that they are to participate in. Our mass agitation will help to develop enthusiasm, understanding and a faith among the masses for the campaigns and struggles that they are to be mobilized for by the Party. The bourgeoisie is releasing a flood of poisonous agitation in connection with the campaigns and struggles led by the Party. The propaganda of the bourgeoisie, its lies about the Party, must be answered and exposed. Mere denunciation will not be sufficient. Our agitation must be simple, factual, and convincing.

We must therefore consider agitation and mass propaganda as indispensable weapons in the political mobilization of the masses for struggle.

Organizational Measures and Methods of Coordination

On the basis of the political mobilization of the Party, as well as on the basis of the political mobilization of the masses, the work of the organization and agitprop departments must be coordinated.

The general political line and directives laid down by the Central Polburo and District Bureaus for various phases of mass work and special campaigns, should be *concretized* by the Org. and Agitprop Departments. The Org. and Agitprop Departments then are to work out *jointly* the plans for the carrying out of the political directives laid down by the District Bureaus. An exchange of representatives should be established between the two departments.

The District Bureau to take up regularly various major phases of agitprop work. It must also assume the political responsibility for the functioning of the Agitprop Department.

One of the first conditions for the development of agitprop work is the establishment of functioning agitprop departments. All sections and units are to assign comrades for agitprop work. At the present time in practically all sections located outside the district headquarters, there are no functioning section and unit agitprop directors. The district must immediately take steps for the development of agitprop functionaries in their "out-of-town" sections.

In most of the leading districts, the overwhelming majority of the unit agitprop functionaries assumes special importance. Meetings on a section or city scale should be held with the functionaries to explain and train them in their tasks as agitprop directors. Such conferences, however, must not substitute for personal attention and guidance.

The present continuous change of agitprop directors and agitprop committees should be avoided. It is also necessary to strengthen the agitprop departments by adding to them politically experienced comrades.

Mass Agitation

The masses are today in a more receptive mood to listen to our agitation than ever before. We must therefore learn to *simplify* and at the same time *politically* enrich the *content* and introduce a *variety* of form in our agitation and agitational material.

As a result of the continuously deepening crisis, the faith of the masses in the capitalist is steadily on the wane. The ruling class is increasing its agitation, giving its class explanations of the crisis, creating illusions of a return of prosperity, covering up and distorting the growing misery and murderous exploitation of the starving millions. The bourgeoisie is partic-

ularly directing its agitational fire against the waning faith of the masses in the capitalist system and against their *growing sympathy to the Soviet Union*.

The agitation of the bourgeoisie for imperialist war, particularly against the Soviet Union, is on the increase. Here both its pacifist and jingoist propaganda blend.

As against the capitalist way out of the crisis, our agitation and mass propaganda must show the *revolutionary way out of the crisis*. This must be based on popularizing the lessons of *concrete struggles*, by *exposing* the poverty and misery of the masses, by contrasting the *two world systems—decaying capitalism and the Soviet Union*.

The true nature and cause of this crisis must be popularized among the masses. The arguments and statements of the various capitalist politicians must be exposed.

The political role of the Party as the leader of the revolutionary struggles of the workers must be made clear in our agitation and propaganda for the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The wrong ideas and lying conceptions cultivated by the bourgeoisie regarding our Party must be convincingly exposed. Every phase of our agitation and propaganda must serve to free the masses from the influence of bourgeois ideology and to deepen and extend their waning faith in capitalism.

The *Daily Worker*, agitational and propaganda literature, must be developed as the most basic forms of our agitation and propaganda.

The Unit to Become a Political Center for the Mobilization of the Membership for Mass Work

IMPROVEMENT of the inner life of the units, raising the political level of the units must be based on a political mobilization of the membership for mass work. Political discussions of the tasks of the units and the various general campaigns of the Party must be organized and developed within the unit.

The unit is to become the leader in developing struggles among the workers in the shops and territories in which it functions and must mobilize its membership *politically*. The unit must become more and more the center of the elementary, theoretical training of the Party membership. Political training at the membership meetings must be primarily based on the mass activities of the unit and the general campaigns of the Party. *The unit meetings*, however, cannot be turned into classes or lecture forums.

Organizational Steps and Methods

1. Political discussion in the unit should be developed primarily on the basis of mobilizing the membership for the specific *unit mass activities* and the unit's participation in the general campaigns of the Party. Periodical discussion to be organized in the unit *reviewing* the mass activities of the units as well as of the general campaigns of the Party.

Wrong political tendencies manifested and expressed in the districts in connection with various phases of Party work, especially with shop work, must be taken up in the units. The units and sections also must arrange special discussions dealing with wrong political tendencies expressed in connection with their specific tasks or manifested in the work of some individual comrades.

2. Wherever the system prevails of political discussions based *exclusively* on the outlines prepared by the District Agitprop Departments, it should be discontinued. Also, the method of twice a month political discussions exclusively arranged by the Agitprop Department, should be discontinued.

3. Every campaign of the Party must be taken up politically at the unit. At the conclusion of a campaign it should be reviewed in the unit. The basis for such discussions in the units shall be a prepared political statement by the District Bureau and District Agitprop Department. The general district statements should be briefly supplemented by the section or unit buro applied to their local tasks and problems. The District Bureau should bring into the sections and units its important political discussions which have an immediate bearing on the work of the Party. The District Agitprop and Org. Departments should decide on the general topics for discussion in the sections and units.

4. Section and unit bureaus should decide on political discussions based on their section and unit activities (activities of unemployed branches, shop concentration, work in the mass organizations). These discussions should receive the active assistance and guidance from the District Agitprop and Org. Departments.

5. City-wide or section functionaries' conferences should be developed in preparation for the mobilization of the membership for important campaigns, review of important campaigns, or discussion of some serious political tendencies which reveal themselves in the practical work of the district or section. The discussions at the functionaries' conference to be followed up at unit meetings.

6. Special steps must be taken to improve the political life of those units located outside of the district headquarters.

7. In connection with the recruiting drive, the training of new members assumes particular importance. The 6-week

training course for new members as suggested in the article, *The Political Initiation of New Members* printed in this issue of the *Party Organizer* should be organized without delay.

8. The elementary political theoretical training of the membership is essential for enabling it to grasp and understand the basis for the practical tasks, to develop confidence and enthusiasm in the growing practical activities. This system of classes in fundamentals of Communism must become the basis for the elementary political theoretical training of the membership. Such classes must be at once established on a unit scale in exceptional cases on a section scale. It would not be advisable to hold classes on the same night as the unit meeting, as this will make it impossible to develop political discussions on the unit mass work, nor will it allow the carrying through of the regular classes.

9. Propaganda literature is of the greatest importance in the raising of the political level of the membership and in the political mobilization for mass work. The discussion in the units material. *In the center of our reading material must stand and classes to be linked up with reference to definite reading The Communist.*

The Study of Marxism Simplified

NO COMRADE in the Party can doubt the need of theoretical study as an indispensable activity of every conscious worker—least of all the workers from the shops, who have shown the greatest eagerness to study the revolutionary movement, its theoretical foundations, its historical experiences. The difficulty so far has been that for a worker to tackle *Capital* or some of the other basic works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, in his spare time, after a day's grind in the shop, and sandwiched in between his practical activity, was pretty much to expect. It has been done, of course, generally in instances where the worker already had had some theoretical training or experience. This problem has now been solved.

A series of study courses are in the course of preparation by the International Publishers, which simplify the study of Marxism, and give the references or reading. This is the first time in the history of our Party that such effective assistance has been offered to the workers for self-study or for study in groups of the basic principles of scientific Socialism.

Each course has 12 lessons. The first lessons of the first two courses are already available. The course in Political Economy takes up every phase of that subject. The first lesson—

The Theory of Value— is now off the press. It gives a basic analysis of the exploitation of labor by capital.

The course in the *History of the Working Class* has four lessons ready—Lesson I, The Great French Revolution; Lesson II, The Industrial Revolution in England and Chartism; Lesson III, The Revolution of 1848 in France and Germany; Lesson IV, The First International and the Paris Commune.

A study of the historical development of the struggle of the working class is by no means an academic matter. Knowledge of the achievements and failures of the working class in the past, particularly of the high points of the most heroic struggles, such as the Chartist Movement in England, the Paris Commune, which as Marx says, was the first revolution in which the working class was openly recognized as the only class capable of social initiative, and the role of the working class in the bourgeois revolutions in France and Germany — knowledge of the factors at play and the part played by the conscious workers, makes it possible for the working class today to avoid the mistakes, and benefit by the experiences of the struggles at that time.

These courses are thoroughly prepared in each case by specialists of the subject, especially trained to do this work. Each lesson sells for 15 cents.

We earnestly urge all workers to take advantage of these helpful outlines of study. We call upon all unit, section, and district agitprop directors first of all to acquaint themselves with these valuable outlines, and then get all comrades to get them for self-study, either individually or in a group. Thus we can take a great step forward in raising the political level of our comrades, and in developing fresh cadres. Those who have trained themselves through these study courses, will help to fit themselves into the district, regional and national training courses, and also put themselves in a position to do far more effective work in the practical activities of the class struggle.

As far as I am concerned, the honor does not belong to me for either having discovered the existence of classes in present society or of the struggle between the classes. Bourgeois historians before me expounded the historical development of this class war and the bourgeois economists the economical structure of classes. What I did, was to prove the following: (1) That the existence of classes is connected only with certain historical struggles which are characteristic of the development of production; (2) that class war indispensably leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that this dictatorship is only a transition to the destruction of any classes and to society without classes.—Marx.

Material for a Course on Organizational Questions

(Concluded)

H. The united front.

Reasons for formation of united front. How is it composed? What are the forms of the united front? Unemployed committees, strike committees, grievance and shop committees, anti-war committees, special committees (defense, relief, for support of our press, or special campaigns). Relationship of the Communist Party and revolutionary unions and other mass organizations to the united front; chief errors in regard to the united front—failure to understand the necessity of utilizing the united front tactic to win over the majority of the working class; failure to distinguish between the reactionary leadership and the rank and file; failure to win away the workers from their influence; failure to draw in the broadest masses into the leadership of the united front; keeping Party and union and revolutionary mass organizations in the background so that they are not recognized as the driving force in the struggle and thus failing to build the union, the mass organizations, or the Party.

Reference material:

Resolution of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, printed in the October, 1931 issue of *The Communist*.

Resolutions of the 3rd, 4th and 5th Congresses of the Communist International.

V

Creation of Party Cadres

A. To demonstrate on the basis of examples, the connection between social composition of our membership and the policy of the Party.

The New York membership consists mostly of workers from small factories, unemployed, and to some extent of middle class elements, and practically no workers from large factories. The opportunist dangers arising therefrom. The example of the Pittsburgh organization, where we have unemployed almost exclusively, and hardly any steel workers. As a result of the last strike, the Pittsburgh organization has gained a large number of miners. Conclusion to be drawn—face turned to the factories, systematic and unremitting recruitment of workers from the large factories in connection with all Party campaigns. To give the numbers of Party members (utilization of Party registration)—the comparison with the possibilities. Importance of

increasing the percentage of Negroes and women in the leading cadres. Recruiting of new members on the basis of struggle.

B. How do we train new cadres?

1. Politicalization of the life of the units. Link up the educational work of the entire Party membership with the current political campaigns of the Party, by preparing the economic struggle, conducting Party discussions on strike strategy on the basis of concrete experiences. During election campaigns Party discussions on our attitude toward the bourgeois state, bourgeois democracy and the process of fascization. During anti-war campaigns discuss the question of imperialist war, the difference between the Red Army and imperialist armaments. Our attitude on war and pacifism. In connection with other campaigns, to discuss the question of labor aristocracy and the effects of capitalist rationalization, and in contrast thereto, the methods of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. To emphasize particularly strongly the role of the social-fascists and of fascism in all inner-Party discussions. In this connection to deal with the social basis of the social fascists and of facism and their intertwining with the capitalist state apparatus.

2. The division of work among all members is important for training new cadres. Be careful not to overburden the members. Organize collective work by having the members of the committee give concrete reports at all Party meetings on the work for which they are personally responsible, and in this way to stimulate the other members to give reports on their own work. Exercise proletarian self-criticism on this basis, and afterwards to assign new tasks. At the close of the meeting, to adopt a short resolution on these new tasks, in order to have a method of control over our work.

3. To draw in as many workers from large factories into the Party committees especially in the various departments, in order to develop them for specific work and to bind them more closely to the Party. To give collective work a central place.

4. Organization of elementary courses. In this connection, link up with practical daily experiences. (For material, see *Inspector* Nos. 59 and 60. To be reprinted in one of the next issues of *The Communist*.)

5. To organize functionary and general membership meetings from time to time, where good reports should be made on the economic and political situation, in order to give the members and the functionaries a general picture.

6. Formation of solid cadre of functionaries; election of functionaries by the nuclei or elected conferences; check-up on functionaries' conferences through cards; regular semi-yearly election of functionaries after political discussion and report so as to continually draw in new forces and get rid of those who have not stood the test of practical work.