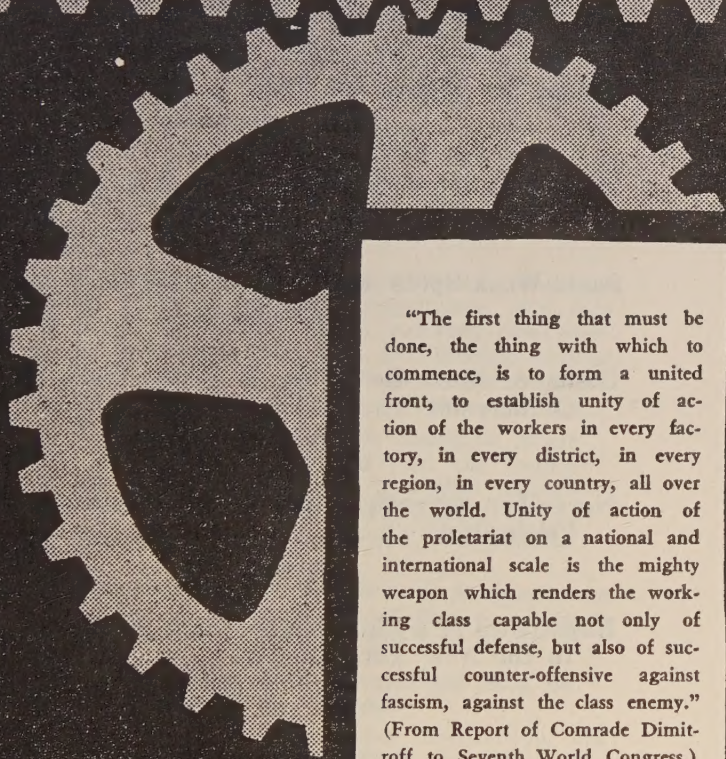


Party Organizer



"The first thing that must be done, the thing with which to commence, is to form a united front, to establish unity of action of the workers in every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world. Unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale is the mighty weapon which renders the working class capable not only of successful defense, but also of successful counter-offensive against fascism, against the class enemy."
(From Report of Comrade Dimitroff to Seventh World Congress.)

Vol. VIII

OCTOBER, 1935

No. 10

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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. VIII

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Make the Decisions of the Seventh World Congress the Property of the Masses

By A. MARKOFF

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL has spoken. It has sent out a ringing call to all the toilers of the world to unite their forces in the struggle against capitalism, in the immediate fight against the menace of fascism and the danger of a new imperialist war.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International was indeed a historic event of world-wide importance. Not only the members of the Communist Parties, not only close sympathizers of the Communist movement but literally tens of millions of toilers watched the proceedings of the Congress. As Comrade Dimitroff in his concluding remarks said:

"The eyes of millions of workers, peasants, lower middle-class employees, intellectuals and the toiling masses of the colonial peoples and oppressed nations are looking towards Moscow, the great capital of the first but not the last state of the international proletariat."

The Communist International has become a tremendous force, a force which inspires millions of toilers in all lands to struggle against starvation, against war.

The Message of the Communist International Must Be Translated Into Action

The World Congress of the Communist International has issued the call to struggle. It has also laid down in a clear and decisive manner the methods of struggle, the tactics and strategy to be pursued in accordance with the general objective situation on the world arena as well as in accordance with the specific conditions existing in each country.

Through the masterly speech delivered by Comrade Dimitroff the Congress addressed itself to the entire working class of the world. It addressed itself to the millions of oppressed peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial countries; it addressed itself to the impoverished and exploited farmers, to

the millions of Negro people in the United States, to the employed and unemployed workers, to the intellectuals and urban petty bourgeoisie. The Congress pointed to the danger of fascism developing in each capitalist country, to the necessity of defeating the attempt of the fascist forces to come to power. It called upon all to fight to destroy fascism wherever it exists.

The Congress declared that only through the united forces of all toilers, irrespective of their political affiliations, can fascism be combatted. The Congress called for the building of a broad united front—a **people's front**, against fascism, against a new imperialist war.

**Our Immediate Task—the Widest Distribution of the Speech
Delivered By Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh Congress
of the C. I.**

In order to translate the message of the C. I. into action, in order to build the united front, the **people's front** in the the U.S.A. we must reach hundreds of thousands, even millions of the toilers in the U.S.A. A wide distribution of Dimitroff's speech in pamphlet form will bring the message of the Congress into the homes of workers, farmers, and other sections of the population. The concrete problems discussed by Comrade Dimitroff, problems which agitate the masses, the clear and simple language—all this will find a response on the part of the reader. Dimitroff's speech will prepare the material for the building of the united front movement. The Congress through Comrade Dimitroff said:

"It is necessary to carry the decisions of the World Congress to the masses, to clarify them for the masses, in short, to transform these decisions into the flesh and blood of the toilers."

**Five Hundred Thousand Copies of Dimitroff's Speech for
Distribution**

The Central Committee of our Party has already taken steps to issue 500,000 copies of Dimitroff's speech in pamphlet form to be sold at five cents. The distribution of the half a million pamphlets will mean that the message of the Congress, the message for a united front in the struggle against the menace of fascism and the danger of another imperialist war, will become the property of many more than the 500,000 who will buy the pamphlet. The agitational and propaganda value of such a distribution is enormous. It will indeed be a great political achievement in bringing the Congress of the Communist International to such great numbers of toilers. It will bring large sections of the population closer to the Communist Party, it will hasten the

organization of united front struggles, it will facilitate in the building of a united front political party in the U.S.A.

Oppressed and Exploited Masses Ready for Action

The experiences which our Party has had in the united front movement around the Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill H.R. 2827, around the defense of the Scottsboro boys, around the issue of the struggle against the imperialist war, etc., demonstrated to us that thousands upon thousands of toilers are ready to join the united front struggles for the defense of the interests of the exploited and oppressed. Our Party has already made certain successes in the organization of united front struggles. But this is only a beginning. We cannot be satisfied with attracting thousands to those struggles, we must begin to think in terms of millions.

In the United States today large sections of the working class, farmers and other elements of the population have begun to break away from the traditional two parties of capitalism—the Republican and Democratic parties. Many of those are either not ready to accept the Communist Party program or do not know anything about the Party. Hundreds of thousands get a distorted idea about our Party through the aid of the bourgeois press which spreads slander and lies about the Communist movement. These masses, nevertheless, are looking for a new outlet, a new avenue. They often become a prey to such representatives of the bourgeoisie as Father Coughlin, Huey Long, Townsend, Upton Sinclair and others who, by means of demagoguery and false promises of a paradise within capitalism, lure the masses away from the class struggle into channels in support of capitalism.

This mass breakaway is due to the deep economic crisis in the U.S.A., to unemployment, the growing misery of the masses, inadequate relief, the attack on the standard of living of the workers, the impoverishment of the farmers, etc. It is our task to give this discontent an organized expression. It is our task to bring these sections into the united front movement, and together with them build the **people's front** against fascism and a new imperialist war. Within the Socialist Party greater and greater numbers are coming out for the united front with the Communist Party. The reactionary Old-Guard leadership tries by all means to prevent the sentiment for a united front of the Socialist Party with the Communist Party. It is our task to see that this sentiment grows. It is our task to bring to the attention of the members the real meaning of the united front.

Dimitroff's Speech a Means of Clarification, a Means of Political Education of the Masses

Dimitroff in his speech gave us a clear understanding of

the class character of fascism, of the danger of fascism and of the means of combatting it. The reading of Dimitroff's speech will bring clarification to the members of the Socialist Party as to the true nature of the united front proposed by the Communist Party, thus increasing the support for the united front within the Socialist Party.

Dimitroff's speech will bring enlightenment to the many who perhaps for the first time come in contact with Communist literature as well as to those whose minds have been poisoned by the filthy yellow press of Hearst and Co.

The Next Step

The first step in bringing the Congress to the masses has been taken by the Central Committee of the Party; now comes the next step, namely, the distribution of the half a million pamphlets.

The Central Committee has made the decision with the full confidence that our Party membership will respond with the greatest enthusiasm to the task of distributing the pamphlet. We will prove to our Central Committee that we merit this confidence. We will take up this task with all the enthusiasm and determination of Bolsheviks. We will carry through this distribution with complete success.

Each District, Section, and Unit of the Party should immediately set a quota for the pamphlet, should organize the distributing apparatus for distribution in the factories, mills, mines, shops, schools, among agricultural workers, among farmers, etc. Socialist competition in the sale of the pamphlets should be introduced in the various organizations.

Bolshevik tempo, Bolshevik determination, will bring results.

Arouse the Masses for Peace

By C. A. HATHAWAY

WHEN this issue of the **Party Organizer** reaches its readers there is every likelihood that Italian fascism will already have launched its war for the enslavement of the Ethiopian people. Hand in hand with this will proceed the sharpening of the war situation on a world scale.

Peace is indivisible! In the present tense war atmosphere an explosion in one sector soon must result in a general conflagration. The opponents of war must concentrate on stopping the Ethiopian war and on preventing it from spreading to set the world aflame. We must work with all our energy

for the defeat of Italian fascism. We must boldly support the Ethiopian people and the anti-fascist masses of Italy. We must arouse the masses for peace!

Our eyes should be fixed on every development in the Ethiopian conflict and particularly on the maneuvers of the imperialist nations during the conflict. We should never lose sight of the danger of war against the Soviet Union undertaken at this time by a fascist alliance—Germany, Poland, Japan. The conflicts between the nations sharpened by the Ethiopian crisis can well be made the long-awaited opportunity for such a fascist attack on our Socialist Fatherland.

Our slogans must be:

For the unity of world labor and of all opponents of war!

For the defeat of Italian fascism!

For the defense of peace! For the defense of Ethiopia!

For the stopping of all arms shipments to fascist Italy!

For the lifting of all embargoes on arms to Ethiopia!

For the closing of the Suez Canal to Italian troops and arms shipments!

For the barring of loans and credits to fascist Italy!

For united action of all nations to prevent or stop war on Ethiopia!

For direct support to Ethiopia and to the anti-fascist masses of Italy!

For support to the peace policy of the Soviet Union and for its defense!

Socialists, Communists, trade unionists, all opponents of war—unite for peace and against fascism!

These slogans should be brought to the broadest masses. Around them the most all-inclusive people's front against war should be built. This means a new approach to the Socialist Party and to the trade unions as the most significant task. It means new and more skilful efforts to reach the pacifist organizations, the churches and the widest middle-class groups. The united front of the workers, building around themselves the broadest possible people's front, is the key to a successful anti-war struggle.

The American League Against War and Fascism should everywhere be given increased aid by our Party. In those cases where it needs additional forces to fulfil its tasks the Party should show its readiness to provide them even though it requires considerable sacrifice on our part. At the same time those Party comrades who are now giving their major

attention to League work should encourage the pushing forward and training of non-Party people for an increasingly active and leading role in the League.

Particular attention, as emphasized above, should be given to the drawing of the Socialist Party and trade unions into the anti-war struggle and into the American League Against War and Fascism. This should be a point of concentration in the immediate campaign around the Ethiopian issue, making full use of the Socialist Party's recent appeal for united action in defense of Ethiopia. All Socialist leading committees and branches should again be approached for united action.

Active steps should be taken to develop actions around the above slogans—united front actions. Meetings, demonstrations, picket lines at consulates should be organized; letters, telegrams and resolutions of protest should be sent to the Italian embassy and consulates. Above all measures should be taken in cooperation with longshoremen, seamen, railroad workers, etc., to **stop** the transportation of war supplies to fascist Italy. Actions similar to the Bremen demonstration should be carried through in every port.

Today, comrades, united action against war and its instigators should occupy the central attention of all leading Party committees. This issue can most likely provide the surest and speediest approach to the broadest people's front.

Some Experiences in Organization of a Labor Party

By B. K. GEBERT

THE central political task, confronting the toiling masses and therefore our Party, is the formation of a broad workers' and farmers' Labor Party. The question of a Labor Party is no longer only in the state of agitation and propaganda. It is a practical concrete organizational problem and it is from this angle that we want to review some of the experiences in organizing a Labor Party.

In reviewing the work of our Party in the struggle for a Labor Party there are two outstanding weaknesses: (a) in a number of Districts we are extremely slow or entirely neglect the undertaking of organizational steps that will lead to the formation of a Labor Party; (b) in a number of other Districts the Labor Party has been formed on a narrow basis with the characteristic of being a "Communist" Labor Party. Before we examine these two outstanding

weaknesses in the campaign for the Labor Party, we wish to review one of the best examples of how to proceed to form a Labor Party. This example is the movement for the Labor Party in the State of Connecticut.

The Movement in Connecticut

On June 30, 1935, representatives from 150 local unions and seven Central Labor Bodies of the American Federation of Labor met in a conference in Hartford called by the Central Labor Union of Hartford. This Conference already represented at least one-third of the local unions of the State with a membership of 41,000. Yet a Labor Party was not formed at this conference, although such a tendency was very pronounced and a number of leading trade unionists felt that we should form a Labor Party at this conference. Our position was that the forming of a Labor Party at this Conference would have been premature and we supported the resolution for the creation of a Connecticut American Federation of Labor Committee for the Promotion of a Labor Party. Among the members of the Committee were elected trade unionists, leading Socialist Party members, including a member of the State Committee of the Socialist Party.

At this Conference, in addition to the trade unions, there were delegates from 14 branches of the Socialist Party, from the Communist Party of Connecticut, from the independent New England Council of Metal & Allied Unions, the Farmers National Association, and a number of other organizations. These organizations were present at the Conference as observers. That is, the Conference considered itself a Conference of the local unions of the American Federation of Labor and felt it premature to include immediately other organizations interested in the Labor Party.

The Conference further decided in its resolution to initiate a referendum in all the local unions of the American Federation of Labor in the State of Connecticut. It decided to issue a pamphlet for a Labor Party which was printed in 25,000 copies. It decided to organize activities to popularize the program and the need for a Labor Party. The Conference further urged the formation of local Labor Parties wherever the objective conditions were favorable. The Connecticut American Federation of Labor Committee for the Promotion of a Labor Party, as well as the unions represented there, undertook to task of presenting the question of a Labor Party to the coming Convention of the Connecticut Federation of Labor. The Connecticut Federation of Labor Convention then went on record for conducting a referendum in the 603 local unions of the American Federation of Labor for a Labor Party. This referendum is now being organized.

It is the task of our Party and the Left-wing group to give

a maximum of support to this referendum with the objective not only of winning the referendum, but to pile up for the Labor Party a huge vote and utilize the occasion of the referendum to discuss the question of a Labor Party in each and every local of the American Federation of Labor, in the shops, factories and mills of the State popularizing the need for the Labor Party among the masses. We are also faced with the problem in Connecticut, which has not yet been solved, of launching the referendum for a Labor Party and the formation of committees for a Labor Party among other organizations, such as the independent unions, farmers, professionals, intellectuals, Negro people, small tax-payers, among the youth and women, also including the Democratic and Republican clubs which have working-class membership, with the objective of winning over these organizations for a Labor Party.

The Connecticut experiences are well-known and have been popularized in the press. Yet it seems we have not learned from these experiences. Among other things, we must learn that it is possible to win for a Labor Party the conservative element in the American Federation of Labor, as well as the Socialist Party element.

Prompt Action is Needed

The outstanding weakness in the struggle for a Labor Party nationally is lack of initiative in taking steps for such a party. For instance, how can a District like Cleveland explain why the Labor Party campaign is not even agitationally brought to the trade unions or any other organizations? In Cleveland we had successes in the trade unions. The progressive element registered considerable strength in the recent elections in the Cleveland Federation of Labor. Yet the Labor Party campaign is neglected. The city of Cleveland is no exception in Ohio. What about Youngstown, Akron, Columbus and other cities? The same holds true for the Pittsburgh District, the city of Philadelphia, and many other industrial centers in the country. These Districts showed that they as yet have not seriously undertaken to execute the decision of the Party, that they do not yet understand that the central political task confronting our Party is the struggle for a mass people's Labor Party, as has been explained in the speech of Comrade Browder at the Seventh World Congress.

We will be faced with a real danger if this attitude of indifference continues, because the issue of a Labor Party is by no means the property of the Communist Party, and we do not want to make it that. It is an issue which now has become nation-wide. A concrete example is Chicago, where the movement for a Labor Party has been initiated

by the so-called progressive element. At the second conference 63 local unions of the American Federation of Labor were present, and through the efforts of these elements, despite the position of the Left-wing that it was premature to form a Labor Party, a Labor Party was formed, officers were elected and a lengthy program adopted. In Chicago, with nearly a quarter of a million organized workers, how can one seriously think of a Labor Party which embraces only 63 local unions? The task in Chicago is to see to it that the 63 local unions are instrumental now in undertaking a mass campaign for a Labor Party throughout the whole labor movement in Chicago and that the entire labor movement is embraced in this movement.

The Kind of Labor Party We Want

The Communist Party has no desire to dominate the Labor Party. It is interested in a Labor Party movement, as a movement that will break the toiling masses away from the Republican and Democratic parties, through which the workers will enter on a road of independent political struggle against fascism, war and monopoly capital. But just as we do not want a Labor Party which we will dominate, we equally oppose any other group forming its "own" narrow Labor Party. Unfortunately our Party in a number of sections of the country did exactly the same thing as was done in Chicago. In one of the counties in Pennsylvania, a Labor Party was formed, consisting of some locals of the independent miners' union, the unemployment councils, fraternal organizations, and the Communist Party. A similar Labor Party has been formed in one of the western states.

In addition to the fairly good development for the Labor Party in Connecticut, we also have a broad movement for a Labor Party in the State of New Jersey, where three Central Labor Unions, 18 Building Trades Councils and a number of local unions went on record for a Labor Party. In the cities of Paterson, Newark and Lodi a Labor Party has been formed, which in Paterson enters the election struggle this year. But the movement for the Labor Party does not run smoothly. In the case of Paterson, some Republican and Democratic Party politicians in the labor movement were successful in their attempt to disrupt the Labor Party by withdrawal of the Central Labor Union of Paterson. Yet in Paterson the overwhelming majority of organized labor is in the Labor Party.

The main problem confronting our Party everywhere is a more energetic struggle for a Labor Party, waging much more consistently a mass campaign for a Labor Party, including independent activities of the Communist Party, which explain why the working class and toiling people

need a Labor Party, with special attention to the Socialist Party, trade unions and workers in the shops. We must call on all the Districts to stimulate the work in each and every city and state for the organization of a Labor Party, with a very careful examination of the concrete situation in each case. We must prevent any premature steps for the formation of a Labor Party. In the big cities, like New York and others, it will perhaps not be possible at once to build a broad city-wide mass movement for a Labor Party and it will be necessary to examine each situation and work for a Labor Party in a given assembly, congressional district or borough. There is no reason why in New York trade union and other committees cannot be formed for the promotion of a Labor Party in the boroughs, assembly and congressional districts, which will lead towards the formation of a city-wide committee for the promotion of a Labor Party. Already a number of trade union organizations have gone on record for a Labor Party and it becomes timely to consider the question of a city-wide conference of the trade unions and later of other organizations to form such a committee for the promotion of a Labor Party. There is need, in addition to concrete organizational steps, mass agitation and propaganda for a Labor Party in the trade unions, shops and working-class organizations, as well as working-class neighborhoods.

The whole political situation in the country, the growing activities of the fascists, the danger of fascism, places the question of a Labor Party as the united front movement most urgently before the working class and the whole people. Our Party must fulfil its task in helping to create a fighting Labor Party. In the words of Comrade Browder in his report to the Seventh World Congress:

"The broadening of our conception of the united-front party, as the lasting coalition of workers, farmers, and city middle classes, to fight against threatening economic catastrophe, against political reaction and fascism, and against the threatening war, requires that we shall even more energetically pursue the struggle for **working class unity**. Such a lasting coalition requires for its success a strong and ever more united working class as the cementing, leading force. And the central problem of working class unity is that of creating a strong and united trade union movement. I want to state clearly, the decisive question in realizing such a united-front party is winning the support of the organized workers. Without that basis we cannot build a party with both feet on the ground. It would become a football for everybody to play with."*

* See *The Communist*, September, 1935, issue, p. 794.

Some Weak Spots in Our Organizational Work

By F. BROWN

THE editorials in last month's **Party Organizer** pointed out the discrepancies between our intentions of carrying out Party decisions and the concrete measures that would guarantee their execution. From the many observations made during the last period on the work of our Party in a few of the Districts in checking up the decisions made during the last Plenum, we find it necessary to make a short analysis of some of the main weaknesses. We will point out only the most outstanding.

Stagnation in Shop Units

In our previous discussions on fluctuation we came to the conclusion that while fluctuation is very high, especially in street units, this is not the case with shop units. However, investigation of a few shop nuclei shows that while we have a relatively low fluctuation in the shop units, we are still confronted with the problem of stagnation.

I shall take the example of the Otis Shop Unit in Cleveland to illustrate this point. This nucleus which one year ago played such an important part in building the union, in coming forward to the thousands of employees with concrete suggestions on how to improve conditions in the various departments, on how to strengthen the union, etc., is today reduced to a unit with only a few active members.

Only in the last few weeks has the nucleus taken steps to revive its activities and increase its membership. At the last meeting of the unit, in addition to the few active Party members, some five or six workers were present. At this meeting the organizational drive for the union was discussed in minute detail. On the basis of the reports given by the Organizational Secretary of the District and the Secretary of the unit, and the discussion in which all the members showed their determination to be the driving force in this organizational drive, the sympathizers who were brought to the meeting decided to join the Party.

Very soon, however, it appeared that these new applicants were not new sympathizers, but that every one was an ex-Party member. The discussion also revealed that these ex-members had been lost to us for a period of from six months to one year, not only because of the shifting of meeting places and other reasons (showing that the bureau was not functioning properly), but for a more fundamental reason which was expressed by one of the young comrades. He stated that he

joined the Otis Shop Unit at the time when the union was built, because he understood that it was only through organization that the workers in the Otis mill could win better conditions, and because he saw that the Communists in the mill were the most active element. At that time however he did not clearly see the difference between his activity as a union member and as a Party member. Besides, he was burdened with many tasks. He did not understand his duty as a Communist to meet regularly, because he did not fully understand the role of a Communist unit. It was only after he had discontinued coming to meetings of the unit that he started independently to read the **Daily Worker** and other Party literature. Today, he declared, he understands why his place is not only in the union, but also in the ranks of the Communist Party. He could have understood this duty and remained an active Party member, if the Party a year ago at the time he first joined the Party had made of him a Communist, had given him the elementary principles of the Communist program, had explained the role of the shop unit, etc.

We cannot consider this an isolated case. There are hundreds and hundreds of workers who join our ranks and leave us very soon because the units, especially the street units, before making Communists of these comrades, burden them with hundreds of tasks, not allowing them an ounce of free time. This is not a new problem. Yet when we take into consideration the emphasis that the last Plenum laid on organizational problems and mainly on the problem of educating new members, and we see what little is being done in the various Districts to carry out the decisions, it is necessary to hammer away again on this vital point, and call it to the attention of the District and Section leadership.

Shop Papers, the Spokesmen of the Party, Neglected

Another problem of vital importance for the unit, which is also being neglected and which shows how formally the decisions of the Central Committee are being carried into life, is the fact that shop papers are still being issued irregularly; that only during certain periods, under pressure of a drive, and for a short period only, are shop papers being issued. Examination of a few units shows clearly that this weakness is due mainly to the little understanding of the units on the role of the shop paper as the spokesman of the Party to the masses in the factories. How do we explain this meagre understanding of the units; clearly by the lack of proper attention on the part of the leadership to such vital problems, to the lack of education in the units, showing concretely to the members of the units the role of the shop nucleus. To illustrate this point: while the comrades in the Otis unit, for example, and in other units in steel are

discussing the organizational drive to strengthen the union, there is very little simultaneous effort being made to issue shop papers. What are the results of this neglect? The workers will see the activity of the individual Party members, of the most militant workers in the shop (the Communists), will see a group of workers active in the organizational drive, yet they will not see the Party, will not see the unit of the Party in the shop as the initiator of the campaign, and thus logically will not be able to appreciate the work of the Party unit, of the Communists.

To illustrate the importance of the shop paper, let us take a positive example of good work. There are shop units that issue their shop papers regularly in which the burning problems of the workers are discussed, in which suggestions are made on how to improve the life in the unions, to conduct certain campaigns, etc. In such shops the workers, without knowing who the Party members are, see and feel the Party, discuss the editorials in the shop paper, the suggestions made by the paper, so much so that many times rank and file workers bring the suggestions made by the Communists to the floor of the union meetings, discuss them in their departments or support the suggestions and proposals when made by some of the militant workers, by the Communists. In such shops the units become a real power, and the masses wait for the shop paper to get their guidance. The red scare spread especially by the Hearst press is being smashed in these shops because the workers realize that Communists are very concrete people that make the most sound proposals to improve the conditions of their fellow workers and are not the enemies of the working class, as painted by the bourgeois press, are not some mysterious instrument that bores from within to destroy the working class organizations, but on the contrary are the best fighters for the immediate interests of the exploited, for the unity of the working class.

Can we bring about a situation where every shop nucleus will regularly issue its shop paper, have its editorial committee, its own technical equipment, will make of the shop paper the real direct spokesman of the Party in the shops, mills, and mines? The good examples show the possibilities of reaching such a stage, but its realization depends on more persistent attention by the leading cadres to the shop nuclei, and by more education in the lower units.

Entire Party Must be Involved in Trade Union Work

Another observation on one of the main weaknesses of our work in the last period. There is no doubt that excellent work has been done not only in orientating the Party to trade union work, but also in having developed in many of the unions, the beginnings of a real rank and file movement.

These are already being felt as the driving force that moves the masses towards more militancy and determination to struggle for their immediate demands, for the right of the workers to organize, for democracy inside the unions.

At this point let us ask the question—how many Party members are involved in trade union work, and to what extent are the shop units and street units actively participating in the work? Not only will we find that the percentage of Party members in the trade unions is still very low, but that the basic units of the Party are as yet not definitely orientated towards this work. The results we have achieved are due mainly to the hard work of the leading bodies who have recently given their major attention to this phase of activity, guiding day to day the Party members in the unions, keeping in contact with rank and file workers who are looking for our leadership. While doing this very important work, no proper measures are being taken at the same time to center the attention of the whole Party, of every individual Party member, on this task. Did the leading comrades in Pittsburgh, in Youngstown and in practically every other District do their utmost to concretize the Party line in the trade union field? Yes! The comrades responded splendidly and the results are the best proof. Yet in Youngstown, for example, in one of the outstanding steel towns in the United States and in the world, where the leading cadres have been active in steel and have been a contributing factor in the results in this sector of trade union work, the units of the Party have not discussed steel for a long time. The street units have not been involved in this phase of activity. The units in Youngstown are very active and are making some progress, but not by concentrating on steel and connecting all their activity with the aim of making the Party in Youngstown the driving force in the organization of the masses of steel workers. The Party in Youngstown is fully aware of this shortcoming and is taking steps to overcome it. The same thing can be said of Pittsburgh in regard to mining and steel, and of the other districts as well!

More Politics in Our Trade Union Work

Another weakness in connection with our trade union work is that while developing a rank and file movement around the immediate demands of the masses in the American Federation of Labor unions, at the same time there is a lack of education, connecting the immediate economic demands with the political problems facing the American working class. This was clearly expressed at the auto workers' convention where the rank and file fought splendidly against the American Federation of Labor bureaucratic machine on all immediate issues, but at the same time their political under-

standing was so weak that the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy was able to have a resolution passed against the Soviet Union.

The contrary example which shows the correct line to be pursued in the rank and file movement was given by the rubber convention where the delegates of the convention defeated the resolution for the ousting of Communists. Not Communists, but rank and file workers stated that the scabs do not come from Communist ranks. This shows that the rank and file movement sees in the Communists their brothers-in-arms, the best fighters. Here again the lesson to be drawn is that while we must continue to give proper guidance to the Party members, to sympathizers active in the unions, we must also involve in trade union work more and more the whole Party, and especially the shop nuclei which in most cases identify themselves with the fractions inside the local unions, the members of which are in daily contact with the masses in the factories and in the unions. The problem of orientating the basic organizations of the Party to trade union work, and of raising the political level of the lower units is one of the burning problems before us. We do not have to look for new formulas, but only to follow and concretize the decisions of the May Plenum of the Central Committee.

It is because of the weak political life in the rank and file movement inside the unions that some Districts, for example, Ohio, Western Pennsylvania and others, are far behind Connecticut and New Jersey in having developed a real campaign for a Farmer-Labor Party inside the unions. The shop papers should be the instrument in presenting the problem to the masses in the factories, and in the local unions in developing discussion among the workers, and in this way stimulating the campaign.

With few exceptions, however, most of the shop papers have either been silent on this subject, or did not present the problem of the necessity of a new broad Farmer-Labor Party involving workers, farmers, all categories of exploited, all strata who are interested in their common problems (social insurance, against fascism and war), taking into consideration also the concrete problems and conditions of their particular shops, and the town where the shop is located. The leadership in the Districts and Sections must not only realize this shortcoming but overcome it.

Decisions Cannot Be Applied Mechanically

Here is a concrete example of how comrades are trying mechanically to apply the Party decisions in regard to concentration on certain industries and key men. A year ago in a certain Section there were registered 60 members; today not a single unit is functioning—there is just a skeleton of

cadres embodying a few of the leading comrades. This is due to the neglect of the District leadership which did not keep close contact with the Section Committee and with some of the most important units, thus permitting the disappearance of the Section Committee, which in turn brought about the inactivity of the units. This case happened in a Section which has a long tradition of struggle, where workers were recruited from mines and factories, and where schools were conducted. The line of leadership there now is to concentrate in specific places, and in this way rebuild the Party through new, sound elements, disregarding completely the fact that in this Section there are still dozens of former Party members, many of whom were recruited during times of struggle, many of whom very probably are still in key positions and are known to the masses in the various localities. At this point we must ask: what do these ex-Party members think of our leading bodies when for months and months nobody visits them, nobody gave guidance or tried to find out what the units were doing, and now they discover that there is a leading body in their Section that is ignoring them? We believe this is not an isolated case, and it is for this reason that we are raising the problem. Yes, it is clear that we must concentrate on important shops, that we must concentrate on key workers, that we have to eliminate elements that are not fit for the Party; yet we cannot neglect elements that joined our Party, were willing to be active, but whose activity was paralyzed not through their fault, but because of the lack of guidance from the leading bodies. This problem must be thoroughly analyzed, especially by the District leadership of Western Pennsylvania.

These few examples, which indicate some of the weak spots in our political organizational work, must spur the leading bodies to a thorough investigation of the status and activities of the shop nuclei, and our activities in the trade union field, along the line of the discussion and decisions of the May Plenum of the Central Committee.

Guidance Must be Given to Party Work in the Countryside

By H. PURO

WE need more such concrete discussion of the Party guidance to our units in the countryside as is contained in the "Party Life" column of the **Daily Worker**, August 20 and 21 issues. It is exactly such guidance that is needed so that we may make further and more rapid progress in our work among the rural toilers.

A practical Party line in the countryside will be worked out just in such a concrete examination and of the planning of the work of our rural units as the Milwaukee District has undertaken.

It is necessary for the Party to develop in all of its leading committees and organs, down to the units and fractions, the necessary understanding of the importance of winning the small town workers, rural workers and the toiling farmers into a broad united front for the struggle for a decent living standard, democratic rights for toilers, and for the struggle against fascist reaction and against war.

In view of the importance which our Party attaches to the building of a broad workers' and farmers' party, a Labor Party, we must realize that this cannot be brought about by just repeating the need for such a broad anti-fascist Party. The toiling farmers can be brought into this coalition of the toilers' political movement if our Party will orientate itself closer to the "soil-busters", taking up their everyday problems and championing struggles for their vital needs.

Our isolated Party units in the countryside are unable alone to orientate themselves properly. It is therefore necessary that Section Committees send able comrades to visit these units; to help them study the vital problems of the farmers in that vicinity; what farm organizations there are, and whether our Party members are members of these organizations or whether our Party members are entirely isolated from the bulk of the toiling farmers. It must be made clear that the main work of our Party units in the small towns and in the countryside is to win over the small town workers, rural workers and the laboring farmers. The Party unit composition itself, wherever possible, must be changed so that it is not composed merely of farmers, but also of small town workers, rural workers and the small and ruined middle farmers.

Since the Party unit includes only a small portion of rural toilers at best, our task is to organize small town workers

and relief workers into a relief workers' organization. Often rural workers and small farmers can also be brought into these relief workers' organizations.

However, we must not be content merely to organize these mixed organizations. The natural tendency for relief workers' organizations is to ignore problems of the farmers not directly connected with relief. Our aim must be to organize the bulk of the exploited farmers into their own economic organization. In many cases where the reformist organizations have a large membership, the Communist and the Left-wing farmers must do everything to make these organizations carry on struggles for the vital needs of the rank and file farmers. In other cases, where the reformist or conservative farm organization has no mass base, it is advisable to establish the United Farmers' League or some other independent farm organization.

By carrying on mass work among the rural toilers, the Communist unit becomes an important lever in shaping the policies in its community and as a result will attach to the Party a broad strata of the rural toilers.

The importance of proper literature should not be underestimated or ignored. While the masses will learn from their own experiences in the struggle, we can win them over permanently only if we will educate them along the class struggle line of policy.

How to carry on this education properly is an important matter. Many city comrades here again disregard the special position of the rural toilers, especially the farmers, and urge upon them the same kind of literature as upon the city workers. We do not yet have a variety of farm literature. But there is some literature. There are programmatic pamphlets put out by the Farmers' National Committee for Action. There is the Program of the United Farmers' League. There is a new pamphlet, **The Farmers Way Out—Life Under a Workers' and Farmers' Government** by John Barnett.*

The first and most vital thing for the ordinary American farmer is to get him to read the **Farmers' National Weekly**, the mass organ of the laboring farmers. We must secure a 100,000 circulation for this paper. This paper deals with the everyday problems of the exploited farmers and therefore is able to interest any toiling farmer sufficiently to become actively interested in the militant mass movement of the farmers.

Along with the **Farmers' National Weekly**, popular pamphlets dealing with vital political movements, and exposing such misleaders as Father Coughlin, Huey Long, Hearst, should be distributed, as well as pamphlets explaining the movements

* Workers Library Publishers, New York, 5c.

against war and fascism, the Labor Party, etc. These can be followed with such pamphlets as **Why Communism**, **The Communist Manifesto**, **Stalin's Foundations of Leninism** (popular edition), etc.

If our Party Districts and the Section Committees will help to direct the work of our rural units toward these channels, we will surely get results and will guarantee the mass participation of the exploited farmers in the formation of the workers' and farmers' party, e.g., a Labor Party.

November Seventh—Involve the Masses In Our Celebrations

By G. MAUL

"THE greatest honor we can pay to our great teachers, Marx and Engels, is to show the world proletariat, how, on one-sixth of the world, in irreconcilable revolutionary struggle, in the great laboratory of socialist labor and thought, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, creative Marxism has been day after day assuming its world historical dimensions, how the victorious proletariat is creating the epoch of which Engels spoke. Writing on the proletarian revolution, Engels said:

"The proletariat seizes public power, and by means of this transforms the socialized means of production slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie into public property. By this act, the proletariat frees the means of production from the character of capital they have thus far borne, and gives their socialized character complete freedom to work itself out. Socialized production upon a pre-determined plan becomes henceforth possible."

"That is what the Bolsheviks did when they expropriated the capitalists and the landlords, removed the shackles of capitalism from the material productive forces and from the greatest creative force in history, the proletariat, and in place of capitalist anarchy established the socialist plan of organization of economy and of society."*

On November Seventh the Communist Parties of the world will celebrate the eighteenth year of proletarian power in the Soviet Union, the first country in which the proletariat, following and guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin

* Engels in the **Struggle for Revolutionary Marxism**. From Memorial Speech on Fortieth Anniversary of Death of Engels, delivered by Comrade D. Manuilsky at Seventh World Congress.

and Stalin, having seized the public power, have organized and are constructing "socialized production upon a pre-determined plan".

The November Seventh celebrations in the United States must this year assume a special significance. In the spirit of the decisions of the Seventh World Congress, and the reports of Comrade Dimitroff and Comrade Browder, we must involve in these celebrations not only the Communists and the Communist sympathizers, but the entire working class. The Soviet Union does not belong to the Communists alone. As Comrade Stalin expressed it, the Soviet Union is the fatherland of the working class of the world, it is the shock brigade of the world proletariat. The Soviet Union leads the world proletariat in the struggle for peace, and today in the society of nations, the Soviet Union stands alone for indivisible and unqualified peace.

The Soviet Union presents to the working class of the world, the alternative to the horrors of fascism and capitalist reaction. In the glorious successes of socialist construction, the toiling masses of the world see in practical reality the results of following the revolutionary path to Soviet Power.

November Seventh, 1935, occurs in a period when the guns of war are already booming, when the soldiers of fascist Italy are already being sent to the battlefields, and the working class of other lands are being mobilized against the day of war.

The celebrations of November Seventh, therefore, must be mass outpourings of workers, farmers, intellectuals, of Communists, Socialists, trade unionists, in mighty united front demonstrations for peace, and against fascism, and for the defense of the workers' fatherland, the Soviet Union. In organizing these celebrations, every effort must be made to involve the widest number of Socialist workers, where possible bringing whole locals of the Socialist Party to the celebrations. In the same manner we should try to bring to our celebrations entire locals of trade unions, Negro and farmers' organizations.

In our agitation and propaganda for November Seventh, which should be closely connected with our campaign for the popularization of the Seventh World Congress, we must make known to the workers, not only the facts of the achievements and successes of the Soviet Union, but also the historical meaning of the Soviet Union as the fortress of world revolution to the working class of the whole world.

In preparation for November Seventh, street meetings should be organized in neighborhoods, in farm localities, and particularly before shop gates. Special editions of shop and neighborhood papers must be issued early in October in which the significance of November Seventh and the

achievements of socialist construction are explained in the simplest and most popular terms, appealing to the broadest masses to join in the celebrations.

This occasion, and the preparation for it, must also be utilized to "reach the millions" with our literature, laying special stress on the pamphlets dealing with the Soviet Union, the Report of Dimitroff to the Seventh World Congress, and the series on Soviet America.

November Seventh this year must be a mighty demonstration of the solidarity of the working class in the United States with the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Union, a real united front demonstration against war and fascism, for peace and working class solidarity. To achieve this, preparations must begin at once. November Seventh must be first on the agenda in every Unit, Section and District.

Make November Seventh a real workers' holiday. Involve the masses in our celebration!

Experiences of a Shop Nucleus in a Strategic Plant in the New York District

By O. GOLD

THE plant employs from ten to twelve thousand workers today. It controls the entire political, economic, and social life of the community. It controls the Chamber of Commerce, the two daily newspapers in the city. The Board of Directors of the banks in the city are all company officials, as well as the Relief Bureau officials who are in the pay of the company.

This plant has been, in theory at least, a "concentration point" for the last four years, and at times had a fairly good sized unit, but the work was of spotty character; there was no continuity and an absence of planned work. The activity mainly consisted from time to time of the distribution of leaflets and a few gate meetings. The work was not followed up and not consolidated. A shop paper was started about three years ago and was discontinued. The result of this method of work was that the whole shop nucleus practically collapsed.

Several months ago the Section Committee, whose major task is concentration on this plant, placed a full time comrade in charge of the work simultaneously directing the whole attention of the Section leadership towards the work of the shop nucleus.

A few weeks later Comrade Browder met with the shop nucleus, and a three months' plan of work with control tasks was worked out and adopted. The meeting with Comrade Browder was a real stimulus to the work of the unit. It imbued the comrades with the understanding of the importance of their work and what it meant to the Party.

The nucleus held serious discussions which centered around the problem of how Communist leadership should be established in the plant around immediate problems of interest to the given types of workers. At each nucleus meeting a check-up takes place on the previous decisions and a discussion takes place on the various phases of work in the plan.

There is an independent union in the plant which was organized during the N.R.A. The union has not carried on any action, did not react to the grievances and problems of the shop and therefore it was in a demoralized state. The few Party members, though members of the union, were inactive. The nucleus never considered the problems of building an economic organization in the plant.

Shop Unit Has Become a Force in the Plant

In line with the plan of work, the question of the role of Communists in the union was discussed at the nucleus meeting, with the result that every comrade signed up with the union. At the nucleus meeting discussions take place on how to bring issues and proposals into the union meeting and in this way the nucleus actually influenced the course of the union, helped to bring the union to life, and orientated the union towards becoming an active force in the plant.

The independent leadership and work of one Party member has organized a department committee and he is coming forward before the workers as a practical leader. This comrade has been in the Party only a little over three months.

The question of recruiting is on the agenda at each shop nucleus meeting. Each comrade concentrates on a circle of three or more friends. At each shop nucleus meeting questions are asked on what progress the comrades make with prospective recruits. These workers ask our comrades questions, and in case they are unable to answer them the unit takes them up and a collective answer is worked out.

The Red Builder, who sells about 50 copies of the **Daily Worker** a day at the gate, made a number of valuable contacts and after a systematic follow-up several joined the nucleus. To date, in checking up on the control tasks set in the plan, 75 per cent of the quota of recruitment is fulfilled,

with only eight weeks gone of the three months' plan of recruiting.

There was, and there still is, some misunderstanding existing among some comrades about recruiting directly into the Party. They contend that the workers do not know what the Party is; that they should first be brought into a study circle or into a mass organization.

The Section leadership had to combat this tendency, pointing out that we must bring the workers into the Party first and then educate them. It still has the task of making clear that new workers join our Party attracted to it by the ideal of communism. It is our task to develop this germ of revolutionary ideology into a sound Marxian-Leninist political conception of our Party. This can be done only if the workers are already in our ranks.

The shop paper is the product of new Party members who are only two months in the Party. The articles are being discussed at unit meetings. The growing political development of the members can be seen by the following incidents. Several months ago there was sentiment for a walk out in one of the departments. At that time the nucleus merely decided to take note of it to be recorded a month later in the shop paper. A few weeks ago six workers were fired for protesting against a lengthening of hours. The unit was instrumental in helping the union to carry through a militant policy of reacting immediately to this incident which resulted in reinstatement of all workers and the organization of the entire department which includes approximately 100 workers. The nucleus also decided to issue a leaflet explaining the lessons of this action.

Special attention is given to individuals in order to develop them into leadership for the Party and the union. As a result of this personal attention to individuals, some of the new comrades have developed to the point where they take charge of the department meetings and other important committees of the union, and one comrade has been assigned to meet and give leadership and guidance to a new shop nucleus in the plant, which is now in the process of formation.

One major problem which confronts the nucleus is how to work within the company union to expose the role of the company union by raising concrete issues and demands.

Another important problem is how to arrange its work so that it has time for education on broader basic issues than the lessons and education derived from discussion of shop problems. There should be more systematic outside visiting of contacts and improvement of general mass agitation around the plant.

AGITPROP SECTION

A Manual on Organization

THE COMMUNIST PARTY—A MANUAL ON ORGANIZATION, by J. Peters, 128 pp., Workers Library Publishers, New York, 10 cents.

Reviewed by **BILL LAWRENCE**

THE Communist Party, a Manual on Organization, by Comrade J. Peters is a clear presentation of the principles of Party organization, which will prove itself indispensable. It will serve especially to combat the tendency in certain sections of the Party to separate mechanically the political issues of the working class from the so-called "small" organizational problems. The lack of attention to problems of organization at times results in failure to consolidate our gains to improve the efficiency of our work, and to build the Party in the process of struggle. The manual is timely because of the thousands of new recruits in our ranks who are daily confronted with such problems as methods of concentration, fluctuation, role of the Unit Bureau, independent leadership, etc. Membership in the Communist Party was defined by Comrade Lenin as far back as 1903, when at the Second Congress of the Social-Democratic Party, he proposed:

"To consider as a member of the Party anyone who accepts its program and supports the Party, both materially and by personal participation in one of its organizations."

This principle is particularly important to us today in view of the increasing tasks of the Party and the necessity of involving every Party comrade in activities so as to enable us to meet the requirements of the moment. Winning the majority of the American workers in decisive basic industries is a vital task of the Communist Party. Quoting the Open Letter on the necessity of winning the workers from the basic industries for the proletarian revolution, Peters proceeds to give valuable directives on methods of concentration:

"The best method is to concentrate our best forces around a factory. This concentration work consists of systematic mass agitation and propaganda among the workers in the selected factory through distribution of the **Daily Worker**, Party pamphlets and other literature at the factory gates or at the workers' homes, combined with the holding of shop-gate meetings. The mass agita-

tion will help prepare the ground for the carrying on of successful work by our members inside the factory."

Why We Build Shop Units

An important part of the manual is the section dealing with the Shop Units. The problem of building the Party in large important enterprises is of decisive importance. A Party with an extensive and firm connection with the workers in the factories is in a highly advantageous position in a period of decisive struggle. In a period of illegality the shop unit is the best means of maintaining contact with the masses of workers. The question of the defeat of fascism and all the forces of counter-revolution will to a great extent be determined in the factories, particularly in basic industries. Here Comrade Peters gives the reasons for the necessity of building the Party in large factories:

- "1. The large factories and railroads are the nerve centers of the economic and political life of the country.
- "2. In the large factories the workers are concentrated in large numbers.
- "3. Workers in these large factories have great influence on the workers in smaller shops.
- "4. The workers in large factories are better trained and disciplined by the process of large scale production.
- "5. Workers in large factories are generally more militant because they are concentrated in large numbers in one enterprise and are aware of their strength."

Continuing on the importance of shop nuclei, the manual points to the advantages of a Shop Unit:

- "1. Workers feel the pressure of exploitation most in the factory where they are employed, and they have common interests and problems, (wages, working conditions, etc.).
- "2. A properly working and politically developed Shop Unit, although it may have to work under the most difficult conditions because of the highly developed spy system, etc., cannot be found out and got rid of by the boss. In order to stop the work of such a Unit, the boss must close the factory. That means stopping production—shutting off the profits.
- "3. The Shop Unit is trained to work in a conspirative manner, in order to safeguard the organization and prevent its members from being fired. Because of this method of work the Shop Unit will remain the most solid link with the masses under any conditions (terror, illegality).
- "4. The Shop Unit registers the reaction of the most decisive elements of the proletariat to every issue. The reaction, sentiment, opinion of the workers brought by the Shop Unit to the higher committee of the Party makes it possible to formulate the best policy or to

- correct and improve decisions. Through the Shop Units, Party Committees are in daily contact with the most important strata of the working class.
- "5. The leadership of the Party gets its strength from the Shop Units by drawing the most developed comrades into the leading Party committees. In this way direct contact with factory workers is established.
 - "6. The Shop Units, through their daily activities in leading and organizing struggles in the factories, gain the confidence of the workers and spread the influence of the Party to wider and wider circles. At the same time the Shop Units bring into the Party the best elements of this decisive stratum of the proletariat, thus improving the social composition of the Party.
 - "7. The Shop Unit is very effective in building real united fronts of workers on immediate issues (Grievance Committee, Shop Committee) and also on broader political issues (terror, election, war).
 - "8. The Shop Units are instrumental in building and strengthening well-functioning fractions in the A. F. of L. and other unions.
 - "9. The Shop Unit brings the **Daily Worker**, this mighty weapon of our Party, directly to the most important strata of the working class."

Relation Between Shop Unit and Fraction

An important point in the manual is the clarification on the relations between a Shop Unit and a leading fraction of the same industry. Some comrades assume that the decision of a Party Unit in regard to the shop are subject to the approval of the leading fraction. Thus, we find cases where the Shop Units may decide on a shop paper, and upon check up at the next meeting one discovers that the shop paper was not issued because the decision was overruled by the leading fraction. Here the manual emphasizes:

"The Factory Unit, or in big factories, the conferences of the delegates of the Units, is the deciding Party organization in the factory. It is responsible for all activity of all individual Party members in the factory. Its decisions are final on every question, and only the higher Party Committees—the Section Committee, the District Committee, and Central Committee, have the right to overrule them. It is necessary to emphasize this fact in order to clarify the relation between the Party organization in the factory, and the leading fraction of the union which has members in the factory."

Two main weaknesses are to be noted in our fractions, particularly in fractions of trade unions, namely: (a) the fractions limit their meetings most of the time to trade union problems and neglect the importance of discussing and introducing the political campaigns of the Party to the

masses of workers in the trade unions, (b) in most cases the job of fraction secretary is limited to technical work. Thus we find in the field of recruiting and building of the **Daily Worker** circulation our trade union fraction presenting a poor picture. At times it requires super-human efforts to get these fractions to move on certain Party campaigns. Comrade Peters makes it clear that the fraction

"... is an instrument in the hands of the Party through which the policy of the Party is brought to the organized masses and through which the Party gives leadership to members of mass organizations. . . . At meetings of a Party fraction the members discuss and decide how to apply the policy of the Party in organization; how to introduce the Party campaigns; how to recruit new Party members from the union; how to get new readers for the **Daily Worker**; and what things can be done to improve the conditions of the members of the organization."

In defining the functions of a Fraction Secretary, the manual states:

- "1. He, the secretary, maintains connections between the Party Committee and Fraction.
- "2. He is personally responsible to the Party Committee for the proper functioning of the Fraction.
- "3. He checks up and sees to it that the Party members function in the Fraction.
- "4. He watches the behavior of the Party members in the mass organization.
- "5. He sees to it that the campaigns are brought into the mass organization (election campaign, May First, anti-fascism, anti-war, recruiting, **Daily Worker**, etc.)."

Development of Cadres

One of the acute problems confronting our Party today is to supply forces and leadership to the increasing struggles of the American workers. Proper leadership is an important factor in the revolutionary movement. Ours must be a leadership able to analyze and foresee development correctly, able to take advantage of conditions and struggles for strengthening the working class organizations and building the Party, a leadership which would not get lost because of a multitude and variety of problems, one that is able to act quickly and intelligently, and will not be subdued in the face of terror and at the same time be closely linked up with, and part of, the masses. To supply such leadership, trained reliable forces are necessary. Where do these forces come from? In the past the tendency was to look up to the National Office of the Party as a sort of an incubator which produces forces. Thus, if an important functionary was needed in a District, or where a strike struggle developed, the given District would wire to the National Office demanding forces. Dealing with this question of forces, Comrade Peters states:

"Where are these forces trained? They are trained in militant actions of the masses. These militant, courageous members are our future leading forces. We must help them, encourage them, school them in action, teach them in training schools, persuade them to study and read fundamental Marxist-Leninist classics. We need thousands upon thousands of such forces, in order to enable us to give leadership to the Leftward moving masses."

The manual suggests further:

- "1. Conferences of functionaries, where discussions about basic problems help to develop our cadres;
- "2. Regular meetings of Unit and Section functionaries, where the decisions of the Party committees are clarified through discussions;
3. Workers' schools; Section, District, National schools;
- "4. Study circles composed of promising comrades;
- "5. Individual study with the help of a more developed comrade."

Another important element in connection with forces is the proper utilization of our comrades. Here too we had some wrong practices in the Party. A District would apply to the National Office for an Organizational Secretary. The National Office offers a number of candidates who may or may not be accepted by the given District. The next day another District may ask for an Agit-Prop Director and the same few candidates are offered, even though some of the candidates may perhaps be more fit for another position in the Party.

Often a comrade placed in the wrong position is not able to give the best in him to the Party and may even prove to be a failure because of being in the wrong place. To eradicate such cases it is necessary that the Sections, Districts, and the National Office have a special apparatus which will know their forces and will be able to determine who is fit for what.

Special attention must be given to the development of native-born proletarian comrades in the leadership of our Party. In this connection the Section Committee and Section Organizer have special tasks to perform. On the whole, the New York Sections have not followed a conscious policy of developing such forces. It is important that the Section Organizer in attending meetings of various Units and fractions shall make it his business to pay particular attention to such elements and make it his task to pay special attention to those comrades to bring them to the fore in the Party.

The importance of a native-born proletarian leadership in the Units, Sections and fractions cannot be overemphasized, especially will it be necessary to have an American leadership in a period of illegality when foreign-born comrades will have difficulties to lead the struggle. It is also the task of the revolutionary Party to prepare now such forces, which

will remain on their posts and carry the banner of Communism under illegal conditions in the face of terror and persecution. The following utterance by Comrade Stalin will emphasize this important point:

"The fight must be intensified for the forging of real revolutionary Party cadres and for the selection of real revolutionary leaders of the Party, of individuals capable of entering the fight and bringing the proletariat with them, individuals who will not run before the face of the storm and will not fall into panic, but will sail into the face of the storm."

Space does not allow to review in detail such important sections in the manual as those dealing with the functions of Unit Secretaries, collective leadership, the tasks of a Unit Bureau, the overburdening of certain members with work, etc. The above cited sections give valuable directives to the Party and if carried out effectively would to a great extent solve some of the organizational difficulties, and increase the efficiency of our work.

An important omission, in our opinion, in the otherwise very good manual is to be found in the section dealing with concentration. Frequently we organize concentration units for a dock, railroad yard or other basic industry where we have no contacts or Party press readers. Not always do we place the proper comrades in these concentration units. The manual should give directives on how to begin concentration—where we have no contacts at all. Our Party is rich with many such experiences, and some concrete examples of good methods of concentration should be cited in the manual.

Where American or native-born workers are employed at a given point of concentration, foreign-born comrades who have difficulties with the language, do not have the desired effect on the workers in the given industry.

A word should have been said in the manual about the necessity of preparing the Party for illegal work.

The best way of closing the review of this manual is by repeating the last paragraph in the preface by Jack Stachel:

"Naturally, the manual will not by itself solve our problems. Nor will it bring the best results if it will be conceived of as a blue print to be applied mechanically. It will be most effective if it is properly understood as a guide to the daily practical problems. In this respect it is necessary not only that we ensure every Party member securing a copy of the manual and reading it—and especially every comrade holding a post of responsibility from the units up—we must organize the collective study of the manual in the units, among the various functionaries in the Units, Sections and Districts."

Towards Compulsory Party Schools

By BEATRICE SHIELDS

THE need to strengthen our cadres and raise the political level of our work was emphasized by Comrade Dimitroff in his speech to the Seventh World Congress. In his concluding words he stated:

"We want to equip our parties from every angle for the solution of the complex political problems confronting them. For this purpose we want to raise ever higher their theoretical level, to train them in the spirit of live Marxism-Leninism and not dead doctrinairism."*

The Central Committee of our Party, at its last meeting, raised very sharply before us the imperative need to make every Section and unit a center for united front activity. To carry this decision into life it is necessary for the Party to train a wider corps of comrades from the units, Sections and fractions, to create the necessary guarantee that the lower organizations of our Party react more quickly to the tasks confronting the Party and working class. We need to broaden and deepen the quality of our leadership and raise the political initiative of the lower organizations.

The Agitprop departments must assume a great deal of responsibility to help change the methods of Party education and training in order to secure the necessary results. This task raises once again the need for closer coordination between the Agitprop and the organizational departments in our Party in such a manner as will enable the Agitprop department to give concrete assistance to the immediate problems of the lower Party organization.

In the past our approach to Party training has been:

1. Low attendance from units to the Workers' Schools.
2. Voluntary classes in the Sections.
3. Occasional study groups.
4. More or less organized weekly discussion in the units.

The work is still very uneven and in most Sections it is not as yet part of our daily tasks and organized systematically as mandatory on each Party member. The question of studying and training is still the property of a few comrades. Although in District Eight numerous classes and schools have been organized in the last year, the results did not sufficiently meet with the tremendous needs of our Party.

Political Education for Every Member

The entire Party organization must energetically begin a systematic choice of students with the view of streng-

* Dimitroff. *Working Class Unity—Bulwark Against Fascism*, p. 95, Workers Library Publishers, N. Y.

thening strategic lower organs of the Party, mainly shop units and trade union fractions. For this purpose compulsory Party schools must be organized in which every Party member will at one time or another attend school. The school should consist of a series of courses—elementary, intermediate and advanced—to fill the need of the various categories of comrades in our Party.

The Sections must approach every unit and every individual Party member with the idea of establishing a systematic flow of comrades to the schools and classes. This will help the Sections get better acquainted with their forces and give closer attention to forces for leadership in the units.

A careful choice of students for specific training will also help us overcome the superficial approach to forces. There is a tendency to characterize comrades in superlatives. They are either "no good" or "excellent". Very often people who were characterized as "excellent" suddenly either become inactive or drop out and the Sections are puzzled. "Who could have believed it?" they say. The frequent changes of functionaries in the lower organs of the Party is due to lack of assistance to enable comrades to carry out their assignments. We must develop a closer study of our forces. We must try to understand their problems, personal or political. We must try to assign individuals to work they are suited for best. When assigned they must be watched, guided and helped over difficulties, until they are steeled to use their own initiative in a given situation. We must learn to know our forces and only in this way will we be able to best utilize them.

The unit and Section Agitprop directors and bureaus should establish a systematic control of the political education of each Party member. The question of the individual Party member and his development into a Communist should become part of the bureau and unit discussion.

Experience of Chicago District

The experiences of the Chicago District in the last full time training school ending August 17 proves beyond a doubt that if students are properly selected our schools can give us immediate results and benefits in our Party work. The District Bureau and the Sections made very careful selection of the most promising comrades in the Sections and fractions to attend the training school. Leading comrades were taken from their tasks in the Sections and trade unions and sent to school. Some resistance was shown to the releasing of leading forces. We had to insist that adjustments must be made for a short time to give the comrades time to study and improve the political quality of their work.

That the approach of the Bureau was correct was proven during the entire life of the school. We found among the leading comrades in the school some outstanding weaknesses. The most glaring weakness of almost all the students was the inability to connect their particular Party tasks with the general outlook of the Party. Very few of the comrades read or were acquainted with the basic Party documents and few read the **Daily Worker** regularly. There was an almost unbelievable lack of knowledge about the Soviet Union. The school in its short two weeks had not only to give the comrades the basic theoretical principles, but had to raise the Party consciousness and political perspective. The school convinced the comrades that without a broad political perspective our work will not advance.

Because the comrades had a keen sense of responsibility and because the school opened to them new perspectives, every comrade showed a great desire to learn. They were convinced that the need for theoretical understanding is indispensable to good practical Party work.

It is also necessary for the Sections and the District not to think that the job is already completed, and to give personal attention to the comrades, organize more advanced courses for them and continue systematically to develop their theoretical understanding of Party problems.

At the District Committee, the work of the two-week training school was endorsed and a series of proposals were adopted further to concretize training of forces in the units and Sections. Six schools will be organized in different sections of Chicago. Students will be selected by the Section Committees and unit bureaus with two aims in view:

1. To select a greater number of shop workers than heretofore attend the school.
2. To choose comrades for specific training to fill the posts of unit organizers and unit agitprop directors.

The courses will be organized in such a manner that out of the three weeks one week will be devoted to specific organizational problems—how to organize a unit, how a unit bureau functions, how to conduct neighborhood and shop work, etc. The comrades selected for the school must understand that after the course they are to assume positions as unit organizers or agitprop directors in the different units.

The District Committee also agreed that this system of training schools will be a good beginning towards a program of compulsory education to be begun in the most important sections of the city during the fall and winter.