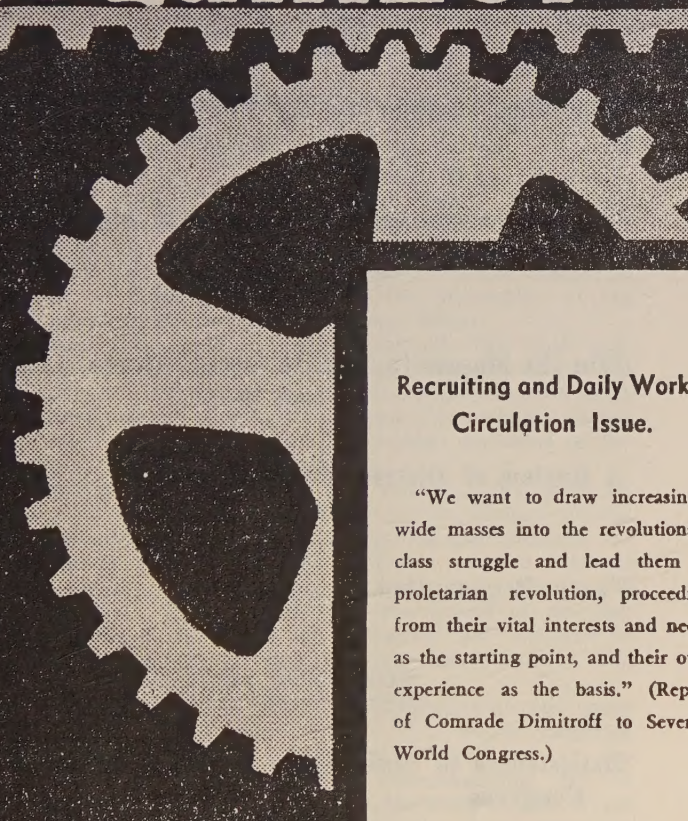


Party Organizer



Recruiting and Daily Worker Circulation Issue.

"We want to draw increasingly wide masses into the revolutionary class struggle and lead them to proletarian revolution, proceeding from their vital interests and needs as the starting point, and their own experience as the basis." (Report of Comrade Dimitroff to Seventh World Congress.)

Vol. VIII

DECEMBER, 1935

No. 12

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CONTENTS

•

Strengthen the Party for the New Mass Tasks	1
By A. W. Mills	
Win Mass Leaders for the Party	6
By J. Stachel	
Improved Organizational Form Will Make Recruiting Drive More Effective	9
By F. Brown	
Win the Masses in THEIR Organizations	16
By Earl Browder	
A Review of District Party Organizers.....	18
By Grace Maul	
Party Registration	23

AGITPROP SECTION

Experiences of Discussions on the Seventh Congress	24
By Beatrice Shields	
A Successful Section Training School	30
By Saul Green	

PARTY ORGANIZER

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Strengthen the Party for the New Mass Tasks

By A. W. MILLS

THE Seventh World Congress decisions have brought clarity into our mass work. The way by which to defeat growing fascism and the growing war menace lies in the formation of the broadest united front of all toilers, in the formation of the peoples front—the Farmer-Labor Party. The formation of the permanent alliance of toiling people requires the mobilization of the whole Party. The winning of the masses away from the capitalist parties requires a definite change in our methods of work, and, above all, the liquidation of the sectarian practices still prevailing in our Party.

Resolutions alone will not carry through the task outlined. Resolutions only clarify the issues. It is the daily hard work of patiently convincing the masses of the need of unity and our determination to give this growing movement organizational forms which will bring the splendid decisions of the Seventh World Congress into reality.

The rapidity with which events develop, the growing mobilization of the reactionary forces in the United States, and the growing attack on the conditions of the workers, require the speedy execution of the decisions of the Central Committee Plenum, so brilliantly outlined in the report of Comrade Browder. The race between the forces of reaction and the anti-fascist forces is on! Whoever will succeed to get the support of the masses will be the victor in the situation.

Can we under these conditions be satisfied with the present numerical strength of our Party? Can we be satisfied with the present circulation of the **Daily Worker**? By no means. Because there is a growing understanding, on the part of our membership, of the historic decisions of the World Congress and the determination to execute these decisions, these questions become now of fundamental importance.

Just think how much more effective our struggle would be for a united front if our Party were rooted in the basic shops and factories and if through our **Daily Worker** we could influence at least one hundred thousand people from the trade unions and mass organizations for a united front.

The laxity in the execution of the previous good decisions to build the Party and to increase the circulation of the **Daily Worker** greatly increases our present tasks. It, therefore, becomes clear why the Central Committee in considering the multitude of the mass tasks of the Party emphasized and put special stress on the building of the Party, on recruiting and keeping the new members, and building a mass circulation of the **Daily Worker**. Now, more than ever, we have the base for a real mass recruiting drive and for increasing the circulation of the **Daily Worker**.

From the reports of the Plenum it was evident that everywhere the Party is involved in mass work. This is expressed in the broader and higher forms of united front, in the beginnings of Farmer-Labor Parties in different sections of the country as well as successes in our trade union work, etc. There is no doubt that in the course of these activities large masses have moved forward. Hundreds of mass leaders previously hostile to us have begun to understand the role of the Communist Party. They see the Communist Party answering the needs of the masses and fighting for unity of the working class. Thousands are now around the Party who work with us, who fight with us, who move forward with us. Do we in the course of our work pay sufficient attention to recruit these honest fighters into our Party? Do we at least influence them to read our press?

The building of the Communist Party, as Comrade Dimitroff placed it, becomes necessary "for the very reason that we want to strengthen the united front. The strengthening of the Communist Party is not a narrow Party concern, but the concern of the entire working class." This holds true also for our press.

Let us examine some important figures. There is no doubt that Detroit is now an outstanding example of the tremendous possibilities if we apply correct united front tactics, but at the same time Detroit, in the course of a splendid election campaign, did not strengthen the Party, did not increase the circulation of the **Daily Worker**. A similar situation is existing in Connecticut. The **Daily Worker** circulation in Detroit amounts to 1313, the average dues payments are 967. The masses in Detroit who through our determined fight moved away from the capitalist parties, who learned their first lessons of independent class action at the polls, provide a splendid field for recruiting into our Party. These militant workers belong in the Communist Party. They belong in a mighty army of readers of the **Daily Worker**. It is our task to win them.

It is precisely the unfolding of broader mass work that brings forward new key problems of an organizational nature,

which must be solved. These questions are—cadres, improvement of our Party units, etc.

Party Units Have Leading Role

Our Party units will have to play the leading role in the execution of the Congress decisions. More than ever the Party units will be faced with the problem of united front. The status of the unit as well as its cadres, whether in the shop, trade union or neighborhood, will be of key importance. It can be definitely stated that the question of cadres, as well as the improvement of the Party units, is closely connected with recruiting. It is these new workers fresh from the struggles, from the united front battles, who will refresh our cadres, who will bring new breezes into our basic Party organizations.

Wherein lies the greatest weakness in our recruiting as well as in the circulation of the **Daily Worker**? The weakness lies in the fact that recruiting, as well as the **Daily Worker** circulation, are to a large extent disconnected from the work of the Communists among the masses.

Party recruiting and the circulation of the **Daily Worker** are not concentrated upon in the shops, in the trade unions, and in the mass organizations where our comrades come into daily contact with the masses, and on the basis of their daily experiences convince them to read our press or to join the Party.

It is therefore necessary, above all, to change the character of recruiting and make it a part of our daily activities.

Tasks of the Drive

The success of the drive will be determined by the solution of the following tasks:

1. Improve the life and activities of the shop nuclei by emphasizing to the fullest extent the decisions of the May Plenum of the Central Committee, which provided for more intimate attention and direct help by the leading comrades in correctly orientating especially these vital Party organizations to influence, organize and lead the struggles of the masses in the shops. The members of the shop nuclei must begin at once to become orientated toward recruiting the most militant workers in the shops for the Party.

2. To build more energetically the fractions in the unions, giving them political life and thus orientating them towards intensifying the recruiting of the most militant elements. The same is true about the fractions in the mass organizations.

3. To orientate the units on a territorial basis to come in more daily contact with the masses, with their problems

and struggles in the territory and by taking the leadership in these struggles bring them into the ranks of the Party.

4. In the light of the organizational resolution of the Plenum and the concluding remarks of Comrade Browder, we shall: (a) Increase the size of the street units and base them on the political sub-division of the city. This applies to larger cities, on the basis of the decisions of the District Committee. (b) Each Party unit shall assign special squads to join the existing organizations in the neighborhood in order to strengthen the ties of the Party with the masses. (c) To begin to issue neighborhood papers, raising and answering the basic problems confronting the masses. (d) To organize systematic educational meeting, open forums, etc.

5. To orientate the Party members in the shops and trade unions and mass organizations to concentrate especially on American, young proletarian elements in the industries.

6. To utilize to the fullest extent the developments of the struggle against fascism and war, the high cost of living and through these struggles to recruit into the Party the most militant women from the shops and mass organizations.

7. More than in the past, the shop nuclei, fractions and the Party members in Negro, religious, and farmers' organizations shall approach the most militant Negro workers with the aim of getting them into our ranks and in this way strengthen the position of our Party among the Negro masses in the shops and in the Negro organizations.

8. To develop the broadest agitation among the masses in our campaign for a Farmer-Labor Party, on the role and program of our Party.

9. A definite orientation towards the rural communities, small towns, building the Party in the hundreds of towns and villages which were hitherto not touched.

The District Committees shall work out detailed plans on recruiting and the **Daily Worker** circulation, which shall include:

1. At all plenums special reports shall be made on the organizational status, recruiting and **Daily Worker** circulation.

2. Special meetings organized by the Party sections, units and fractions, as well as leading Party trade union activists, to be called to discuss recruiting in the light of the tasks of the Party.

3. To assign leading comrades to shop units and important fractions in basic industries to be responsible to change the life in these units, with definite quotas to recruit workers from these shops and industries.

4. To organize around every unit and Party fraction discussion circles on the Seventh World Congress to be utilized for Party recruiting.

5. To organize squads in the Party units which shall pay special attention to bringing back to the Party those workers who dropped out of the Party during this year.

6. To compile a list from each section and fraction of leading trade union people activists in all unions for systematic concentration in the course of this recruiting campaign. (a) The sending of pamphlets, **Daily Workers**, etc.; (b) To reach them personally and discuss with them the need of joining our Party.

7. To prepare special mass meetings in important industries, raising the question of the problems of the workers in these industries and strengthening the Party.

8. To organize mass meetings in the sections and units on the lessons of the Seventh World Congress and the decisions of the November meeting of the Central Committee, which shall also be utilized for recruiting.

9. The day after the Lenin Memorial meeting to bring a large group of sympathizers whom we want to have in the Party. The leading comrade who will speak at the Lenin Memorial meeting will be present at these meetings and discuss with them the need of joining the Party.

10. Each language bureau on a national and district scale shall work out plans of an agitational character, also bringing together groups of sympathizers in the different mass organizations and urging them to join the Party. A campaign is to be carried on in the language press of the need for building the Party.

11. Each district shall organize a special squad consisting of a mass agitator and an organizer to tour the smaller towns in the district or organize mass meetings to recruit into the Party and to build the circulation of the **Daily Worker**.

The decision to publish a **Sunday Worker** of 28 pages which will contain popular articles now provides the opportunity to make this Sunday issue a real mass paper to reach hundreds of thousands of workers' homes.

The preparation for the Party Convention will be successful if we, above all, make a turn in the strengthening of the Party and the building up of the mass circulation of the **Daily Worker**.

Forward to the building of a mass Party!

Make the **Daily Worker** the possession of the masses!

Win Mass Leaders for the Party

By J. STACHEL

NO PARTY MEMBER who attended the last meeting of the Central Committee could fail to become inspired to go out and give his all to the Party. Fortunately we will be able to bring the brilliant and inspiring report of Comrade Browder to every Party member. We are sure that it will have the same effect upon the membership that it had upon those of us who attended the meeting of the Central Committee. It made one proud to be a member of a Party that could have at its head such a figure as Comrade Browder. But this was not all. Of great significance to the whole Party and to our class was the growing maturity of our Party as reflected in the speeches of the members of the Central Committee and other leading comrades.

Whenever one reads of the history of the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union, especially of the period between 1902 and March, 1917, in the light of what happened afterwards (March and October) one has the feeling that here are people who do not merely talk. Here are revolutionaries who will make good their words, their resolutions. More than at any time in the past this feeling crept in in connection with the report of Comrade Browder, and the discussion at the last Central Committee meeting of our Party.

The last meeting of the Central Committee stands out not only because it took place after the Seventh World Congress, but also because it showed that the Party is really facing its problems in the spirit of the decisions of the Seventh Congress. It showed that the Party is engaged in seriously adopting the decisions of the Congress to the complex problems of the masses in this country. We all felt that if the Party continues on the path that it is now travelling, taking into account the present situation in the country and in the labor movement, it will rapidly become a serious factor, and will be in a position to influence and lead ever wider masses of the toilers.

But there was still one thing that was reflected in the reports and the discussion which must cause us all great concern. Our Party is not growing fast enough. In fact it has grown very little in the last months. And precisely in these months the influence of our Party has greatly increased. This question was also discussed at the meeting of the Central Committee. Some steps were taken to solve this problem. Generally we know that this problem consists of two separate problems. First, the fact that we are not recruiting sufficiently. Second, that a large—a too large—number of

those who join our Party drop out. Unless we are able to solve this problem and not wait too long in doing it we will be unable to meet the present situation and utilize it to the fullest advantage to our Party and to our class.

Of course we can solve the problem. We have and are solving other difficult problems. We have already gained much experience and knowledge through our investigation of this situation that ought to aid us in the solution of the problem. If we all make up our mind that this is an important question, and that we must solve it, we will solve it.

Other comrades have written, and will write again, on some of the details connected with methods of recruiting, and how to improve the life of the Party organizations in order to educate the new members, properly distribute work to them without unduly burdening them with routine tasks, etc. In general our Party members and especially the leading comrades could profit by reading once more two documents that deal with these questions. The first was the special letter that was sent to every Party member dealing with the methods of recruiting. The second was the resolution on organization adopted at the May meeting of the Central Committee which thoroughly discussed the organizational status and problems of the Party. There is, of course, much that we have learned since then. One thing we have learned is that we do not yet know all the answers, and that above all we must give up our inflexible attitude on organizational questions. We must all think about these questions, have a better exchange of experience, a bolder approach to our organizational problems, and finally not merely talk about these questions but do something about them.

Here I wish merely to take up one point in connection with recruiting. As I sat at the recent Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City I had the opportunity to observe for two weeks the work of some dozens of militant workers who were there as delegates. They came mostly from among the recently recruited workers such as the auto workers, rubber workers, radio workers, mine, mill and smelter workers, etc. Here were a group of workers most of whom worked in the mines, and factories, who clearly expressed the sentiments of a growing section of the working class. They were the leaders of these workers, sent to the Convention. They fought for most of the progressive measures. Where they were not consistent in failing to grasp the importance of some issues it was only because they did not understand these issues—certainly it was not because they lacked militancy or because they wished to kowtow to the officials. We know that among the workers in the other industries, as for example among the miners, the garment

workers, the textile workers, the building trades, the marine workers, the machinists, etc., there are similar groups that have made their voices felt in the recent period. We have seen this expression in strikes, in union conventions, in struggles on the floor of local unions.

As I watched these delegates I was impressed more than ever with something that we have already discussed on numerous occasions: that it is these natural leaders of the workers that our Party must gather into its fold if we are to become the mass party of the American working class. Our work at the Convention with many of these delegates brought further conviction that the job of bringing them into our ranks will not be a very difficult one, if only we understand their problems, know how to help them, and work with them systematically. Without these elements we can not become a mass party. Unless we bring these forces closer to and into our Party there is no guarantee that they will both become easy prey for all sorts of demagogues. And whoever will win these forces will have won a great deal for the good or for the evil of our class.

In order to win these elements it is necessary that we improve all of our mass work, as well as our agitation and propaganda work. But this alone is not enough. In order to win these elements it is necessary that we establish personal contact with them, in each city and community, in each local union. It is necessary that we establish a basis for our work with these individuals by being most helpful to them in their union and in their shop, showing them in practice how the Communist Party helps to build the union. This more than anything else will break down the prejudice which many of them have regarding the Communists. For let us remember that most of them learn about us not through the **Daily Worker**, but through the capitalist press, including the vicious propaganda of the Hearst press.

Then it is necessary to understand that many of these elements have a background that is hostile to us: their schools, churches, clubs, etc., sometimes even their family. They also have problems sometimes of a personal nature. This requires that we constantly and patiently explain to them our program, our position on all questions which to them appear most vital, that we learn of their personal problems, and show them how they can solve them.

All this can only be done if we approach the problem of winning them for the Party as a job of winning individual workers and not through a mere general approach. But the task will be well repaid. By winning such elements we lay the basis for winning larger groups which follow them in the community, in the trade union, in the shop.

Comrade Steuben of the Youngstown Section has given us a good example as to how effective such work can be. I know personally that through such personal work he has been able to bring a number of key steel workers into our Party. Particularly one case with which I am acquainted will illustrate this. At the last fraction meeting in Youngstown I met a young steel worker who had just joined the Party. This young worker less than six months ago was a member of the Ku Klux Klan. How was this worker, who is typical of so many of the present militants coming forward in the labor movement, brought into the Party? It took months of personal work, helping him in his shop, giving him literature, discussing with him week after week, answering all his questions, and finally convincing him. **More of this kind of work is necessary in our recruiting work.**

Improved Organizational Forms Will Make Recruiting Drive More Effective*

By F. BROWN

BUILD our Party into a mass Party! Increase the circulation of the **Daily Worker**! How many times have we issued these slogans? How many times has the Party resolved to build the circulation of the **Daily Worker** to 75,000, and to double the size of the Party? Yet in spite of our resolves, in spite of the directives from the center, the circulation of the **Daily Worker** increases at a slow pace, and although recruiting is carried on everywhere, our Party does not grow into a mass Party.

There are many reasons for this, and the Central Committee is resolved to discover them and to correct them. A new drive, having as its objectives the realization of these two slogans: to build the Party into a mass Party, and, to increase the circulation of the **Daily Worker**, is being initiated by the Central Committee. This is not an ordinary recruiting drive—but a drive which will really place the Party on the road to becoming a mass Party, a drive in which we will not only gain new masses for our Party, but which will also lay the basis for keeping them. The circulation drive of the **Daily**

* The major portion of this article is from the report given to the November meeting of the Central Committee.

Worker is not an ordinary campaign for new subs, but a campaign to bring the **Daily Worker** to the toiling masses of America, a campaign for subs, which will bring a new army of steady readers to the **Daily Worker**.

The details of this drive, and various aspects of it, are discussed in other articles in this issue of the **Party Organizer**. We want here to deal only with the perfection and improvement of our organizational forms, in order to make this drive effective and able to achieve its ends.

In order to see what improvements and eventual changes must be made in our organizational forms in order that we will more firmly connect ourselves with the masses, gain new members for our Party and new readers for the **Daily Worker** let us examine very briefly one by one the actual organizational forms. It is by such an examination that we will find out where improvements and overhauling are necessary.

Shop Nucleus Is Best Organizational Form

First, the shop nucleus. Is this form of Party organization in the shop necessary? Does it suit the present needs? Are changes necessary? To this question we have a decisive answer. It is the proper and best form. The trouble here lies not in the fact that this is not the best form of organization, but that our shop nuclei, in the main, are still far from fulfilling their proper function—that of **being the Party in the shops**. While we have made some advance in this direction since the last Party Convention, the shop nuclei have not yet increased in membership, because we have not put into effect the decisions of the May Plenum which correctly specified the necessity of more direct guidance by the leading Party forces in order to better orientate the shop nuclei to their role. Therefore we must say: build more shop nuclei, better and stronger shop nuclei, give them more guidance and assistance. Make them real political bodies capable of issuing shop papers, and better shop papers, capable of becoming political leaders of the masses in the shop, **capable of recruiting the best elements**. Make them a real strong influence in the shops.

Second, let us examine our work in the trade unions. In this field of work we have made progress. Through our activities some of the best militant workers have been recruited into the Party. Here, however, we know that the results in the trade union field were brought about by the work of the most active comrades in the trade unions and by comrades from the leading Party committees. All the Party members in the trade unions have not been involved in the daily work of broadening the progressive movement, in becoming the

driving force in building and strengthening the unions. What are the causes of this situation, which once removed, will enable us to move forward more rapidly. First, it is an established fact that where fractions have been built their activities are still inadequate, still sectarian, that the fractions lack political life, that they act purely from a trade union point of view. More than that, the Party members organized in fractions represent only a small portion of the trade union membership in the locals in the trade unions. Second, that the life and activities of the street units in which the majority of the trade union members are organized transfer the activities of these comrades to the neighborhoods. We must solve this problem. Through what forms, by which methods can we activize the trade union members? Can this be done through the fractions? Can we improve the life and activities of the fraction, and how? Or is some change in form of organization necessary?

Life and Activities of the Street Units

To answer this question, let us examine very briefly the life and activities of the street units which still embrace the large majority of the Party members. In my opinion, here lies the main trouble. If we solve the problem of the territorial units we will find the key to the solution of the other important organizational questions. It is well-known that the situation in the territorial units is unsatisfactory, that the life of these units is becoming more and more complicated, to such a point that many units are stagnating and some are even going backward.

Street Units Overburdened With Tasks

This situation is due to two main causes: First, to the fact that these organizations are overburdened with tasks, and second, their actual composition. On the first point, the territorial units are failing in their main task of connecting the Party members with the neighborhood organizations, of orientating them toward deeper penetration of the masses in the neighborhoods. When we consider the tasks that a street unit is supposed to accomplish: (a) influencing and organizing the masses in their territory, (b) penetrating the neighborhood organizations, (c) concentrating on a factory in their neighborhood, (d) developing and organizing the unemployment movement, (e) spreading the Party literature and Party papers, distributing the shop papers in front of the shop gates, distributing material for the various campaign, (f) conducting all kinds of campaigns (election, anti-war, anti-fascist and defense), and then if we consider that the units are supposed to guide and check on the activities of the individual

Party members in their respective organizations, it becomes clear that these organizations have a herculean task on their shoulders, with duties and tasks in all directions which bring them to a practical standstill, to an inner circle. The Party members who attend the meeting are overburdened mentally; by the end of the meeting they do not know where or how to start.

If we consider that many of the tasks are connected with the raising of funds, so much so that a good unit member, besides paying his dues, must buy the papers and pamphlets offered him and contribute either to the election, **Daily Worker** or defense campaigns, and at the end is offered various colored tickets for affairs, both District and Section, to cover headquarters and other expenses, not to speak of other colored tickets which are smuggled into the units for mass organization affairs—then we cannot be surprised that good workers who enthusiastically join the Party get cool because they consider the Party asks too much of them, not only by overburdening him with activities, but that it is too expensive. Let us read a letter sent to the center a few days ago:

“An awful calamity happened to my Unit of the Party, and the tragedy is still greater when I know that the same thing is happening to all other units of our Party. We lost four members, all Americans, good elements, among whom one was an ex-serviceman. This one came to the Unit meeting and told the comrades that he does not like the life of the Unit, he hates to come to meetings because he sees nothing else at these meetings but leaflets, tickets, peddling of all kinds. Another one was very active to begin with. Then he disappeared. We visited him and brought him back to our meeting. He says he cannot come back into the Party. He will remain a sympathizer. We did not press the reason for his action because we thought that he does not want to confess before the bunch of comrades.”

Another comrade explained that he started to distribute the **Daily Worker** and was unable to do this work, yet the Unit insisted. Another received a box and was sent out immediately to collect in the street. He could not do it, but the Unit insisted and this comrade was lost. Besides, in this Unit there is no political education to retain these members. He states here:

“Comrades, unless something is done on the top (sections, districts, etc.), unless this avalanche of all sorts of letters, instructions, tickets and ‘mobilizations’ is stopped, all our talk about retaining members in the Party will be in vain.”

Maybe there is a little bit of exaggeration in this letter and the comrade that writes should have tried to remedy the situation by stepping in vigorously because he is a leading comrade. Nevertheless, this gives a picture of what is going on in the street units.

On the second point, because of the fact that the majority of the employed workers are still in the street units and they are also trade union members, we find that these comrades find their life most difficult because of a duplication of work. While the trade union comrade is supposed to conduct a campaign in the territory under the guidance of the unit, he must also conduct a similar campaign in the union. This leads to friction, limits his activity, and, above all, hampers the political development of the comrade, especially the new members.

What Is the Solution?

How can this be solved? First, by gradually eliminating from the Party units the many tasks which belong to mass organizations. This demands a drastic change in the building of mass organizations, the I.L.D., the American League Against War and Fascism, Unemployment Councils, by assigning proper forces trained for this purpose. I say "trained" because only by doing so will we break the sectarianism which the Party members bring into these organizations and orientate them to building the mass organizations on the basis of their program, together with the non-Party members who will be drawn in if these sectarian habits are broken.

Second, by stopping the selling of tickets for non-Party organizations.

Third, by orientating the territorial units to their main tasks of connecting themselves with the masses in their neighborhood organizations, to agitate in the neighborhoods the problem of immediate demands for the workers, linking up the various campaigns with this main task. This calls for the issuance of neighborhood papers, as the spokesmen of the Party, on the various issues confronting the workers. The moment the territorial units start to work on such papers, the orientation of the units will change. They will begin to approach the various problems arising in the neighborhood more concretely and better connect themselves with the masses.

At this point we have to ask the question: Is the actual organizational form of the street unit suited to such tasks, to such needs? Not at all. If we want to make the territorial units political bodies in a given territory, capable of grasping the problems of the masses as well as the political problems arising every day, then the neighborhood unit cannot be built on the basis of streets and blocks, but on the basis of a given geographical and political entity.

In the last few years, the Party orientation has been to build the districts on a state basis, and for the districts to identify themselves with the state organization of the Party. If this is correct for the districts and the sections, it must also be applied to the sections and the territorial units.

Such a change implies, of course, the enlargement of the territorial units, especially in the larger cities like New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, etc. By such a reorganization we will be able to solve another problem, which in turn will strengthen the activities of the Party on a territorial scale, namely, the problem of education. With our present small units, because of their weak leadership, the educational activities and social life is poor. We must move away from the bedroom, and have the units meet in the various existing halls, with units of 50 and 60, and not of 10 and 15 as at present. Thus, we will be enabled to have the possibility of selecting better leadership, leadership capable of presenting the political problems more effectively and leading the units in their work.

More than this, we should experiment by devoting two out of the four meetings a month to education, to the discussion of the political problems that present themselves to the Party nationally, in a particular city, in the territory of the unit, setting aside the other two unit meetings for the assignment of activity, dues, etc. We should even try bringing two or three units together at least at one of the educational meetings, so that this meeting will take on the character of a forum at which a capable comrade will present the political problems to be discussed and lead the discussion.

Adopt Organizational Structure to Needs of Situation

At this point, the question arises: are we deviating from the Party structure if we propose such changes? Are we taking over the structure of the Socialist Party the moment we reorganize the neighborhood units and sections on the basis of the existing political divisions? Not at all. The fundamental difference remains, namely, that the main weight of our Party organization must lie in the factories, the trade unions and mass organizations. We only want to be more realistic, more practical and adapt our organizational structure to the needs of the situation. The second question is—were we wrong before, at the time that we reduced the size of the unit? The comrades will remember that the size of the units were reduced at a time when we started vigorously to mobilize the masses of unemployed, at the time when the reduction of the size of the units was a preparation for eventual illegality of our Party, not to be caught unprepared. Today, however, the needs of the boldest united front movement, the building of a Farmer-Labor Party, demand from

our Party a form of organization that can speak and connect itself with larger masses. A division of large units into groups of active comrades to perform the various daily tasks will in itself be a good preparation for eventual necessary retrenchment in the future.

Today the problem is to come more boldly to the masses with the program of immediate demands, and our task is to organize ourselves accordingly. The American workers that join our ranks will feel much better, will feel at home in a unit of 50 or 60 that meet in a hall than in a small unit of 10 or 15 crowded into a bedroom, sitting on the beds and floor. This situation, however, cannot be uniform for the whole Party. In small industrial towns, in company towns where protection is needed, we must organize according to the situation. In such places the small units are a necessity. The same applies to the South and in states where large units would be a target for the spy system and for reaction. In larger cities, by enlarging the units, we will be able to get rid of a duplication of activities of the comrades active in the trade unions.

Comrades, the reorganization of the territorial units, by which we will be able to solve some burning problems and prepare ourselves for new improvements, and eventual change in our organizational forms, is already a big task that will require real concentration of energy. A too drastic change all along the line, without the necessary preparation, without the necessary experience, is not advisable.

Our aim must be better to adopt the organizational forms to the needs of the present day without the loss of one single member, but on the contrary by strengthening our connections with new thousands of workers, with those militant workers that lead struggles, that have eagerly listened to the decisions of the Seventh World Congress, with the thousands that demonstrate under the banner of the anti-fascist, anti-war struggles, with the thousands of potential Communists outside of the Party.

This implies not only new organizational improvements and changes, but at the same time a real turn in the political education of the Party membership. This also implies a real turn in the development of new cadres, taking into consideration the needs of the districts for the purpose of strengthening the leading Party committees in the sections and units.

Insofar as the still high fluctuation in our Party is concerned, the low political level of the basic organizations, the lagging in recruiting, this is due mainly to the weaknesses of the leading bodies, to the links between the top leading committees and the units. While today we can register an increase of over 2,300 dues payments over October last year,

yet from January up until October we recruited only 13,500 workers, in comparison with 17,400 of last year.

Mobilize for Recruiting

This shows immediately that one of the main organizational tasks in connection with the improving of our organizational forms is to mobilize the whole Party, shop nuclei, fractions, the Party membership in the neighborhood units, to intensify recruiting.

The growing menace of fascism on the one hand and on the other the more determined resistance of the masses to the continuous attacks on their living standards, on the democratic rights won after hundreds of battles in the last decades, demand that our Party becomes a more positive factor in the life of this country. Our Party must be the driving force in the forging of a powerful united front movement of millions of toilers as the bulwark against fascism—the leader of the American masses on the road to a better and secure future.

We will accomplish this historic mission by making of the 30,000 Party members, of thousands of potential Communists outside of our organization, of the militant trade unionists in America, builders of the Party of the American working class.

Win the Masses in *Their* Organizations*

By EARL BROWDER

DISCUSSION has been held on the necessity of making more flexible our Party organizational forms. We have not answered finally the questions involved in this. We have only indicated a line of experiment, trial and testing. We have emphasized that while we must be quite fearless in the development of the new forms we must always be that kind of a Bolshevik never to lose a thing of the old while we are transforming into the new. There must be no wild experiment, no unchecked, uncontrolled experiment, but with careful and with political control, bold experiment to find those organizational forms that will fit our Party most quickly and thoroughly to the needs of the mass movement.

* Excerpt from Summary to the Discussion at the November meeting of the Central Committee.

In this respect perhaps we can develop more in detail the working out of some forms and methods of activizing the thousands of our Party members who are in street units not directly connected with factories or immersed in trade union work, to make more fruitful and organized the work of those Party members who constitute a large proportion of our membership. How can we do it? Perhaps we should take a review of all of those Party members, through the units and sections, and find out if they have any systematic organized work, or if they work from day to day without plan. If they have no plan, let's form them into squads of five to ten or twelve, assigning them according to a plan, according to the special work for which they are best fitted, to the penetration of mass organizations where we do not now have any contact. In every Section the main body of the workers are in one kind or another of mass organization. There is no single neighborhood in America which is not organized. We affect these organizations only from the outside, however. We affect them, a few of them, by our united front approach when we make proposals to them, and when they turn down our proposals, that ends it. Or we affect them by having some of their members attend our street corner meetings, or some, by accident, get our leaflets, and a rare one may read our paper. But generally all of this influence comes from the outside, and none of it from work carried on within these organizations. But at least nine out of ten of these organizations could be influenced by our Party membership.

Our Party members will never get into these organizations, unless they go in as part of an organized movement in which they get some suggestions and directives and help from the Party. But once they have that, they would be glad, because it would give their Communist agitational and propaganda and organizational work a more sound basis. They would no longer be running around from one corner to another to sell a few Daily Workers, each time to a different person, with no follow up. They would be concentrating their work in the place where they have the same masses week after week, month after month, and would be working among them from the inside of their organization.

What a tremendous change that would make in the effectiveness of our work. What a saving of all of this energy that is being poured out by all our comrades, much of which is lost because it is badly directed. Why can't we give it some systematic, intelligent direction? I think if we would have a discussion on this in every one of our sections, we would find thousands of good ideas springing up everywhere to put it into life. We don't want to give any cut and dried organizational proposals for it, but let us try to get the dis-

cussion going about it. Let us try to get something developed in life.

This applies to every kind of organization. It applies especially to Negro organizations, church organizations of all kinds, neighborhood clubs, Parent-Teachers Associations, every kind of organization, including Republican and Democratic neighborhood clubs, Townsend organizations, Epic and Utopian and all the rest of that type of groupings.

If our comrades begin to work along these lines, with these organized squads, trying everywhere to have a group of persons working together, thus giving stability and continuity to the work, much can be accomplished. If only one or two comrades work alone, there is a danger of their getting lost. They should work in squads, according to plan, going into these organizations and getting acquainted with their life. They should not try immediately to stand up and let everybody know "here is a Communist coming to give us leadership", which only results in our comrades being thrown out. But modestly become part of the organization, speaking to the members from the point of view of helping to solve the problems for which they come together. By such a tactful, helpful activity, our comrades can become leaders, I believe, in a few weeks of such work.

A Review of District Party Organizers

By Grace Maul

DURING the course of last year, an increasing number of districts have begun the issuance of organizational publications, **Party Builders**, **District Party Organizers**, etc. The **Party Organizer** greets these District Organizers, and welcomes the mass concrete signs that the Districts are taking the political-organizational questions of our Party with great seriousness.

In the May issue of the **Party Organizer** we reviewed two of these District Organs, the **Michigan Organizer**, and the **New York Party Builder**. Since that time, the **New York Party Builder**, which had excellent and promising beginnings, has ceased publication. This is unfortunate. In a District the size of New York, such a publication is almost indispensable, and could be made to play an important part in the life and activity of the Party. It is our earnest hope that the **New York Party Builder** will soon reappear. In this connection also it should be mentioned that the **Harlem Organizer**, the organ of the Harlem Section, which

appeared during a number of months in the winter of this year, and which from the point of view of an interchange of unit experience, and the development of correspondents and reporters from the units, was one of the best papers published in the Party, has also ceased publication. The weak point in the **New York Party Builder** experience of the lower units was the strong feature in the **Harlem Organizer**. Perhaps instead of these two papers, the comrades from the Harlem Section and from the District could issue one paper regularly, combining the best features of both publications.

To balance the loss occasioned by the demise of the **New York Party Builder**, during the last few months the **Wisconsin Party Builder** has appeared on the scene. District 12 has issued its **Monthly Guide** and District 8 has published two issues of the **District Eight Organizer**. It should be said that the **Michigan Organizer**, since its first issue in April, has appeared regularly, and is in fact one of the best of these District Party Organizers.

The Michigan Organizer

The **Michigan Organizer** is to be commended for the continuity of its work. For example, the July issue raised the question, editorially, of the campaign against the high cost of living, citing the experiences of New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, etc., and giving concrete suggestions about the organization of such a campaign. This campaign was taken up by the Party, and the August issue devoted a great deal of space to the highly successful meat strike carried out in the City of Detroit. The principal editorial drew certain lessons from the development of the strike, pointing out in particular that this strike resulted from the carrying into life of the slogan of the May Resolution of the Central Committee: "Every unit a center of mass activity." To illustrate this point, experiences were given of units which had been isolated from the masses, but when work was begun in the meat strike, the comrades began speaking to the people, holding open air meetings, selling issues of the **Daily Workers**, etc. The units began discussing methods of organizing the workers and the life and vitality of the workers were quickened. Another article in the August issue explained how the meat strike was organized, the role of the Party and the Section, and pointed the way to future work among the masses who had been stirred into militant struggle during this strike. The September issue dealt with recruiting during the meat strike, calling attention to the serious neglect of recruiting

in the first phases of the strike, the efforts made to change this situation, and the results obtained when the fraction in the Women's League realized the importance of this recruiting. The September issue also dealt with the role of the Negro women in the meat strike, the excellent organizational work done by these women, and the importance of continuing the work. The Agit-Prop Section of this issue studied the leaflets issued during the strike, discussing the merits of the leaflets and the outstanding shortcomings.

It is precisely this sort of continuity for which we must strive in our work. One feels in reading the **Michigan Organizer**, not only that the meat strike pervaded every phase of Party activity in the units and sections, and that it was a well coordinated action, but that the District utilized the strike to teach the comrades how to work, politically and organizationally, and through such struggles to build the Party and carry out the Party campaigns.

The **Michigan Organizer** in general reflects the activities of the District giving a good deal of attention to the Labor Party, to the struggle for Negro rights, to work among the youth, work in the factories, and in the American Federation of Labor, dealing with all these things very concretely, with experiences to illustrate each specific phase of work. Considerable attention is also devoted to technical work, with suggestions and hints on the mimeographing of leaflets, shop papers, etc., with a very high example of excellent technical work being set by the **Michigan Organizer** itself, which from a technical point of view is the best of all the District Organizers.

We have devoted so much attention to the **Michigan Organizer**, first, because it is one of the first in the field, and it is possible to examine it on the basis of six monthly issues, and secondly because it is one of the best of these District publications.

Wisconsin Party Builder

There have been two issues of the Wisconsin District **Party Builder**, both of which have been on a very high level. Issued in magazine form, with 46 pages, it carries more material and deals with more aspects of the work than the other District magazines. From a technical point of view this magazine does not come up to the high standard set by the Detroit District. The mimeographing is not clear and easily legible. It does not set a good example for the units and sections to follow. This criticism does not apply to its cartoons, which are excellent and well produced. However, politically and organizationally, this maga-

zine ranks very high, and in the opinion of this reviewer is the best of all the District magazines. The aim of the **Party Builder** is stated in the first issue as follows:

" . . . to aid in the improvement of the entire work of the Party through an open analysis of our tasks, problems, weaknesses and accomplishments. It further aims particularly to orientate the Party towards shop work, problems of the united front and recruiting, towards the carrying through of its control tasks and decisions . . . This bulletin is not to serve as a substitute for personal leadership of our Party forces—it is rather to serve as an added means to our functionaries and activists in carrying through this work."

From an examination of the two issues of the **Party Builder**, it appears that at least the first part of this aim is being realized. Every phase of Party life, every campaign of the Party, finds its reflection in the magazine. Although the material in the first issue was apparently largely written by Party leaders, and is largely directive in character, even here the material is presented on the basis of experience in the shops and the units. The second issue is an improvement over the first in that in addition to the more directive articles by the leading comrades of the district, it is filled with concrete experiences from the various sections and units. Much of this material, as well as that from the **Michigan Organizer**, has already appeared in the **Party Life** column of the **Daily Worker**.

One great weakness in the **Wisconsin Party Builder** is the absence of anything, either in the form of directives or experience, dealing with the struggle against war and fascism. This is a shortcoming that cannot be minimized. A month before the first guns were fired in the war of Italian fascism against Ethiopia, which may also prove to be the first guns of a World War unless the toiling masses of the world are rallied to stop it, the Wisconsin District issues a guide to Party activities, and finds nothing to say to the Party on this question. Although the article dealing with the campaign of the sixteenth Party anniversary speaks of popularizing and distributing Dimitroff's report to the Seventh World Congress, there is no indication of the fact that this entire report dealt with the establishment of the united front for the struggle against war and fascism. This must be corrected in future issues of the **Party Builder**.

Organs of District 8 and District 12

The **Monthly Guide** of District 12 and the **District 8 Organizer** fall far below the standard set by the publications already reviewed. Both publications tend to fall into the

class of directive bulletins not directed to the membership as a whole, and to the unit leadership, but primarily to the Section Committees. Neither of them contains concrete experiences, from either the Sections, or the lower units of the Party. This general criticism does not apply, however, to the **Monthly Guide** of District 12 during the course of the lumber strike, at which time it contained excellent material, not only analyzing the strike, and setting forth concrete tasks, but also giving experiences of the lower bodies of the Party in this strike. Since that time, however, the **Monthly Guide** has again become a directive bulletin. We are sure that if these two districts will correct this shortcoming, they will find that their magazines will be more effective in directing and guiding the work of the Party, and in improving the life of the units.

All of the District Organizers deal extensively with recruiting and fluctuation, but only one (Wisconsin) speaks of improvement in this respect. District 8 speaks of "the slowness with which we are mobilizing the membership" for the recruiting drive of the District, District 12 finds that "we are not building the Party at the same rate that our political influence is growing", the **Detroit District** finds it necessary to issue a serious warning to the sections, instructing them to take immediate steps to remedy the present abnormal situation and stabilize the dues payments. The recruiting and fluctuation figures from the Districts bear out these conclusions, indicating that in spite of the attention devoted to this phase of our work, we have not yet learned how, in the course of our daily activities, to bring the workers under our influence into the Party, and how to hold them after they have been recruited.

This review would not be complete without mentioning the very excellent **Young Communist League Builder**, a printed publication issued monthly by the District Committee of the Young Communist League. This is a 24-page magazine, containing an agit-prop section of seven pages. It is the liveliest of all such publications, reflecting very concretely the splendid activity of the New York Young Communist League. The District leadership of the Young Communist League is to be congratulated upon the issuance of this magazine, and the excellent material it contains.

The Districts issuing these District Organizers have set an excellent example for the rest of the Party to follow. These organs can become effective instruments in guiding the work of the comrades in the shops, the trade unions, and in the units. They can serve as a medium for the exchange of experience, as the instrument for the establishment of socialist competition between the units and sec-

tions, and although not a substitute for personal leadership and guidance, certainly they are an excellent substitute for the out-moded, and we trust, now obsolete, abstract directives from District to Section and from Section to Units. What effect do these Party Organizers have on the life and the activities of the Districts where they are issued? We would like to hear from the Wisconsin and the Detroit Districts on this question. The answer to this question may inspire the other districts to follow your example, and we will see every District issuing a Party Builder or a Party Organizer.

Party Registration

EVERY Communist Party unit in the country will hold special meetings beginning this month.

The purpose—registration of the Party membership for the exchange of Party books for the year 1936.

But that is not all!

The registration campaign must serve to bring back to the Party those members who have dropped out.

Special committees should visit these workers to convince them that in light of the tasks of developing the Farmer-Labor Party, their activity in the Party is essential.

But if these old members are to be brought back permanently, if the curse of the membership fluctuation is to be overcome once and for all, there is still more to be done.

The entire inner life of our Party units must be overhauled, methods of involving members in mass work must be re-examined, so that Party activity becomes more attractive and fruitful.

These are the questions to be discussed during the registration campaign. Make these next few weeks the turning point in the building of a mass Communist Party.

AGITPROP SECTION

Experiences of Discussions on the Seventh Congress

By BEATRICE SHIELDS

THE responsibility placed upon the Communist Parties at the present time by the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International is to establish a united proletarian front and a broad peoples' front to block the offensive of fascism and the danger of war.

Comrade Browder in his address at the Congress gives the key to our task in the U.S.A., as follows:

"We propose a joint struggle in which the workers will become conscious of themselves as a class, know their class interests and historical mission and unite solidly under their leadership all other strata of the suffering toiling population and thus prepare to lead America forward to the new society—to socialism."

To carry out this work our Party must improve its fighting fitness and overcome all sectarian remnants. It means that the ideological understanding of the Party must be strengthened.

The workers all around us are being politicalized. They demand answers to numerous questions. The workers are searching for class leadership, and the urge for working class unity needs direction. The fire of criticism at the Congress was, for this reason, directed against sectarianism.

Sectarianism is the wall that keeps us from the masses and keeps the Party from marching in step with developments. To tear out these mistakes and hangovers by the roots is the only guarantee that the road to energetic work for the unification of the working class and the broad extension of unity to the peoples front will proceed unhindered. We must see that our Party grasps fundamentally the changes in the world situation and in the U.S.A.

There must be created a firm conviction and consciousness in the lowest units of our Party that our Party is the responsible initiator and organizer of the broadest fighting front of workers, farmers and other middle class elements for peace, freedom and bread—for socialism.

The discussions of the decisions of the Seventh Congress

of the Communist International, if properly conducted, can become the best means for arousing the Party to improve its political life. It can bring to the surface every unhealthy sectarian tendency. It can serve to root out and destroy all the sectarian hangovers. It can clarify and fortify the Party with a deeper understanding of Marxism-Leninism, which is the firm basis of the reports and resolutions of the Congress.

In the Chicago District, the discussions on the Seventh World Congress have been proceeding systematically for the past two months. The reports have stirred the Party to political discussions and questions as never before. During these discussions, much was revealed that must be carefully analyzed in order more consciously to guide the Party to greater clarity.

First, the discussions showed that among the leading functionaries in sections, units, and mass organizations there is an unbelievable lack of basic theory.

A brief description of the first five weeks' discussions conducted by the District Bureau with the members of the Section Committees and the unit organizers clearly shows the weaknesses existing among the Party members. The method of discussions was to have comrades prepare reports on the various topics. Generally speaking, the reports were very faithfully prepared and presented. Most of the reports, however, showed a very superficial approach to the problems involved. Many of the reporters simply memorized the points raised in the speeches and resolutions. Few clearly explained the meaning of these points in the light of their own experiences. Some, on the other hand, dealt mostly with the experiences of the sections without connecting them up with the general outlook of the Party.

Value of United Front With Socialist Party Questioned

An old timer in the Party, but not a worker, reported on the Socialist Party and the united front. He was given this assignment to give him an opportunity to correct his previous wrong expressions on this point. The reporter, however, did not correct his wrong conception, but attempted to take the Seventh Congress into partnership in his error. He stated that the Communist Party was wasting its time on the Socialist Party—that the Socialist Party is small in numbers and is insignificant. All that needs to be done, according to him, is to destroy the **Forward** and that the **Freiheit** can do the job. He argued that the major emphasis should be made to gain the middle class that has suffered badly during the crisis.

The reaction of the 50 odd comrades to the reporter was instinctively correct. A very lively discussion followed.

Indignation was expressed. Comrades were ready to label him with all kinds of "isms", but few were able clearly to explain and convince him of the need and meaning of unity with the Socialist Party.

The inability of the comrades to explain and clarify the question was more serious than the commission of the mistake. With such weakness where is the guarantee that these comrades will be able to properly lead the units and sections to establish united fronts with the Socialist locals? The discussion in which sixteen comrades participated revealed that the role of the Socialist Party and the key importance of Socialist-Communist unity are not clear. It is clear that we have not taught our Party sufficiently the real meaning and history of the split and the extent of the organizational and ideological influence of the Socialist Party. If this were clear, then the need "to make every unit and section the center for the united front" would be speedily realized.

We have not as yet translated either to our Party or to the Socialist workers, the political significance of such a move in terms of what actual benefits it will bring the working class. It was necessary to show, as Comrade Browder points out:

"There can be no doubt that the split in the Socialist movement, the long struggle between the Socialist and Communist Parties, served to repel large masses of workers who, not understanding the issues involved, turned their backs on both Parties and upon socialism in general. This in turn weakened the power of socialism to attract the non-proletarian strata around itself and gather the allies of the Revolution."

Since the split in 1919, thousands of workers are sitting on the fence and watching every move towards unity. These masses want socialism but must be put into motion to struggle for their demands and for socialism. Experiences in Chicago and elsewhere have proven that unity with the Socialists brought a greater number of workers into action than could be mobilized by the Parties separately.

Sectarianism Prevents Clarity on Basic Changes

From those corners of our Party, in which Right opportunism was the chief characterization of all their work, comes a basic and stubborn resistance to the turn in our tactics. Some leading comrades in the Lithuanian work, some old time trade unionists and a number of others are clumsily looking for a justification for not having carried out the line of the Party previously. They argue that now the Communist International and the Party are correct. They say they agree with the change of tactics in the trade

unions, with raising the question of the Labor Party, and with our attitude towards the Socialists, but they are afraid that if the Party follows the line of broad united fronts with "everybody" this will lead the Party far to the Right. But to all that, they add, now that the Party has changed its tactics, it must admit that it had been mistaken before.

These expressions show how far the comrades have drifted from the needs of the masses and the changes in the economic and political situation. They cannot see the Party as a living organism, whose greatness consists in its ability to change its tactics to meet new demands. Comrade Stalin's slogan, "New Conditions, New Tasks", as a fundamental principle of our Party is not understood. Has anything new happened in the world and the U.S.A. since the Sixth Congress of the Communist International?

The Seventh Congress points out that numerous changes have taken place since the Sixth Congress. The Sixth Congress met on the eve of the economic crisis and a developing revolutionary upsurge. A year after the Sixth Congress, the economic crisis crashed upon the strongest fortress of capitalism, the U.S.A. Huge strike waves and colonial revolts swept the world. Capitalism from 1929 to 1935 has tried in vain to get out of the crisis.

The Seventh Congress met at a time when the power of the capitalist class is getting more and more shaky. The bourgeoisie is intensifying its attempts to solve the crisis at the expense of the masses through war and fascism. The struggles of the masses increased and intensified. Armed struggles have taken place in many countries of Europe and in the colonies. The Chinese Red Army has gained great victories and has extended the Soviet system over vast areas of China. Socialism is victoriously built in the U. S. S. R., which helps to sharpen the struggle between socialism and capitalism the world over.

Comrade Foster in his article in the October **Communist** summarizes very clearly the changes that have occurred in the U.S.A. since the Sixth Congress. He states:

"The U.S.A. for the past years has been a scene of intense and increasing class battles, both economic and political. Among these struggles are the most intense strike waves in American history: a broad struggle of the unemployed for unemployment insurance and relief; strikes and other struggles of the poor farmers against low farm prices and monopoly control; a wide and insistent movement among war veterans for the soldiers' bonus; a strong agitation among the Negro masses for equality; big anti-war strikes and other demonstrations among students; an extensive movement of the aged for government pensions; struggles of the petty-bourgeoisie against

trustification and high taxes; wide radicalization among the intellectuals, etc."

Comrade Foster further very eloquently portrays the moods of the American masses in these struggles, which reveal clearly the temper of the times. In the same article Comrade Foster says:

"Never were the masses so stirred. They are conducting their struggles with unparalleled tenacity and bitterness. They are awakening politically and manifestly beginning to shed their capitalist illusions. They are starting to think, however confusedly, in terms of revolution. The U. S. S. R. gains in popularity among them. The trade unions have grown and strengthened their position in industry. A new spirit of unity and militancy grows on all sides."

That some of the leading comrades in our language work cannot see these changes and feel this spirit is no accident. Even a superficial examination of their work will prove why. First, the basic forms of organization in the clubs—singing societies, dramatics, etc. are too much of the old type of the social and educational center. Although such organizations have their place and such forms of cultural activities should be encouraged, they cannot take the place of class struggle organizations suited to the demands and needs of the masses of foreign-born workers. The poverty stricken unemployed and impoverished masses no longer find it possible to spend money on dances, concerts and drama only. The crisis has created a deep need for struggle for their basic needs which these organizations do not fill. The failure of the language mass organizations to change quickly to meet this need has resulted in stagnation and separation from the masses. In those places where the comrades have attempted any united front activity for struggle, the response has been excellent, as witnessed by the united front for unemployment insurance among the Czechoslovakians and the negotiations for united fronts among the Italians and Armenians.

The language organizations have never adjusted themselves to the basic tasks of the Party in the basic industries. In the Chicago District a great percentage of the workers in steel, packing and mining are foreign-born. Numerous decisions have been made to send language organizers into the field, and utilize the language papers for systematic news, editorials, etc., about the unions and shops. These have not been carried out. The importance of such work is not understood and there is an actual resistance to this basic work.

The language organizations are separated from the work

of the Party and from the masses in heavy industry. It is no accident, therefore, that from that source comes the opposition to tactics outlined by the Seventh Congress.

However, formal acceptance and blind obedience without conviction is dangerous. There is too much of a tendency, especially among the Lithuanian comrades, to beat their chests and swear that they will do what the Party says. This is not leadership, but deceiving oneself and the Party. The Bureaus must make an actual change in their work and life in order to be able to understand and apply the line of the Party properly.

In the Party generally and in all discussions the reaction of the comrades was healthy. Most of the comrades, especially the younger ones, showed that they were closer to the masses and to events. They felt the temper of the masses and expressed their reactions. These comrades welcomed the timely change in our tactics in order to gain the masses and move further to our basic ultimate strategy—the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

Influence of Reformist Conceptions of the State

We found an alarming lack of knowledge about the Soviet Union in general, and the meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular. A young school teacher who has been in the Party about two years reported on the nature of Soviet and bourgeois democracy. He cast doubts on the amount of political democracy in the Soviet Union, but emphasized that there is complete economic democracy there. He showed a failure to understand how the proletarian dictatorship can be both a dictatorship and a democracy at the same time. This confusion comes from the ideas of liberals, some Socialists and I.W.W. who attempt to separate politics from economics. This confusion is due to their refusal to see the system of society dominated by a definite class, in whose hands are the means of production and the wealth of the country, and that the state is the instrument of the dominant class. Any attempt to separate economics from politics gives objective aid to the bourgeoisie who try to make the workers believe that the state is "above class" and is "impartial and neutral" in all disputes.

It is this basic confusion of the role of the state that prevents a proper appreciation of the nature and role of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers' state.

More Clarity—Broader Cadres Needed

Many more questions were raised in the discussion which will be clear when the basic questions are clear. Space does not permit to go into all of them. The discussion had many

positive features which lays a healthy base for advancement. The discussions were of a higher political level than at many previous meetings of such a nature. Many more comrades participated actively in discussion. A definite group of comrades showed an excellent political growth. Conscious attempts were made to apply the lessons of the Congress to the practical problems confronting the Party in the sections.

As a result of these central discussions, the sections are all conducting systematic discussions with groups of comrades, who in turn lead the discussions in the units.

We must utilize the material and discussions of the Seventh Congress to accomplish the task set in the resolution of the January Plenum of the Central Committee that "work must be intensified on the training of cadres for the Party". Our guarantee that the Party will quickly adapt itself to the new demands of the hour is for every unit of the Party consciously to become a political factor in the promotion of the united front in their shops and localities, and to prepare a great number of comrades to be agitators and organizers among the masses.

Special attention must be given to help the language organizations solve their problems and refresh their leadership. As Comrade Browder declared in his report on the Seventh Congress:

"We must have more trained and developed leaders in the lower organizations of the Party and in the mass organizations. We must have bold promotion into leading posts of those workers who display the capacity to lead and organize the masses. We must have a ruthless elimination of those in leading posts who are petrified, who cannot move with the times, who cannot bind the Party ever closer to the masses, who are fearful of every move towards the masses."

A Successful Section Training School

By SAUL GREEN

Agit-Prop Director, Section 7, District 8

EARLY in September, following the decision of the District Committee that every Section organize a Section Training School, Section 7 opened its Training School. It was planned to run for three weeks, three nights a week, three hours each session. Its announced program was as follows: first

week—Principles of Communism; second week—Fascism, Trade Union Tactics and Problems of the United Front; third week—Party Organization. Members of the District Committee and Section Committee were chosen as instructors.

A quota of students was set for each unit in Section 7, based on the size and strategic importance of the unit. In addition, a quota of five students each for Section 12 and the Y.C.L. was set. Some units furnished one student each, and some units, two or three. The units were instructed to pick the most active and most devoted members as students. The letter to the units warned that the unit selections were subject to approval or rejection by the Section Committee.

This was an important point, for two reasons. First, it emphasized to the units the importance of this school. Second, it caused the choice for the school to be regarded as an honor; something worthy to strive for. This was as it should be. One of the weaknesses in our Party is the fact that there isn't sufficient competition for positions of responsibility and leadership among our unit members. At the present there is too much of a tendency for Party members to evade responsible assignments. It is necessary to develop in the minds of our members the feeling that it is an honor to be a Party member and a still greater honor to hold a position of leadership. This cannot be stressed too highly.

As a result of the proper emphasis being placed on the school, almost every unit supplied its quota. In fact in some units there was even some competition among the members for a place in the school. There was a total of 30 members—of which 23 were Negroes and 7, white. The composition of the students was as follows: 2 railroad workers, 4 white-collar workers, the rest being workers of various sorts.

One of the difficulties had been to find a place for the school. Section 7 is in the Chicago South Side, mainly in the Black-Belt. Under the condition of police terror there, it was very difficult to find proper quarters. We were forced to accept an old rather dilapidated basement. In spite of this difficulty the school was very successful.

To begin with, there was a member of the Section Committee present at every session to see that everything was in order. A School Secretary was elected who called the roll at every session and saw to it that the required tuition fee was paid up by every student. If any student was absent at any time his unit was notified. The result was that the morale of the school was high and there were very few absences.

The method of instruction was mainly through questions

and wide discussions among the students, with a minimum of lecturing. This method proved to be very effective as the interest of the students was at all times at a high pitch. Very often when the time for adjournment came, the students insisted on continuing the class for 15 to 30 minutes longer in order to clear up certain controversial points. When one considers the uncomfortable quarters, the interest was very gratifying.

Some of the lessons this school taught us are as follows:

1. There is an intense hunger for Party education in the south side among the Negro workers.
2. These workers are impatient of hackneyed phrases. They cut right through these phrases and seek for the live meaning beneath. Therefore, lecturing is the least satisfying method of teaching and the method of question and answers is the most effective.
3. The success of any school in this Section is guaranteed by good organization, effective preparations and proper popularization.

Encouraged by the success of the Training School, Section 7 decided to tackle the problem of the education of its new members. We had a fair number of new members as a result of our recruiting drive. It was felt that it was important to give them a groundwork of the theory and practice of our Party at the very outset. It was important that they learn the role of the Party and their own role in the Party at the very beginning in order to reduce fluctuation in Party membership.

The plan for a school for new members was worked out as follows: It was to be on a continuous basis. Every new member was required to attend and complete a course at this school as his first assignment. This was compulsory. Each course ran for four weeks, one night a week. As new members joined the Party they were automatically assigned to the school which was to start the first Friday of every month.

It is hoped that with proper organization and preparation this new members' class will also be a success. If it is, then one of our important problems will have found a solution.

