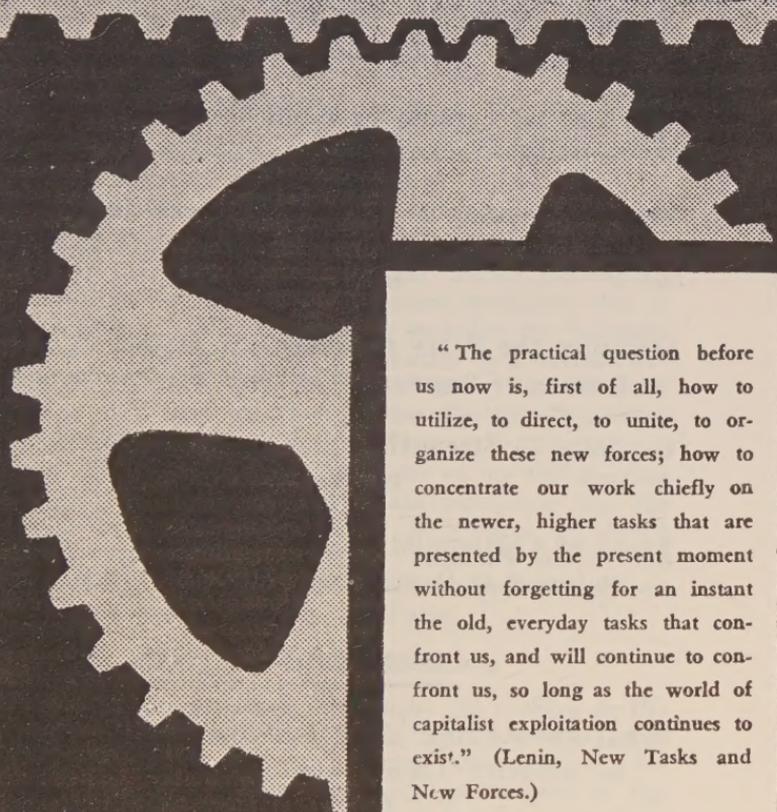


# Party Organizer



“The practical question before us now is, first of all, how to utilize, to direct, to unite, to organize these new forces; how to concentrate our work chiefly on the newer, higher tasks that are presented by the present moment without forgetting for an instant the old, everyday tasks that confront us, and will continue to confront us, so long as the world of capitalist exploitation continues to exist.” (Lenin, *New Tasks and New Forces.*)

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No. 1

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*Issued by*  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A.

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# PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. IX

JANUARY, 1936

No. 1

## Open Wide the Doors of Our Party to the Workers!

*(Decision on Party Recruiting Made at the November Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.)*

**T**HE increase in the membership of the Party and the circulation of the **Daily Worker** lag far behind the rapidly growing influence of the Party. We must overcome this in the shortest possible time, in order to stabilize the influence of the Party and to be able to go forward in a much more accelerated tempo. Therefore the tasks already in the main laid down at the May meeting of the Central Committee must be carried into life.

The two main organizational tasks set up by the meeting of the Central Committee are (a) mass recruiting into the ranks of our Party, (b) the building of a mass circulation of the **Daily Worker** and the Party press as one of the means of reaching, influencing and organizing broader masses, as one of the means of building the Party.

### Legions of Potential Communists

The struggles and activities throughout the country in the recent period have shown that there are thousands upon thousands of militant workers, **potential Communists**, who agree with our program, who militantly participate in the daily struggles, many of whom even consider themselves Communists, who need only to be approached and asked to join our Party.

Evidence of this is seen in the Terre Haute strike, as well as in other strike struggles, in the anti-fascist and anti-war demonstrations, in the response of the Negro masses to the Party position on the Negro question and in defense of Ethiopia, in the tremendous interest shown by the non-Party

masses in the reports of the Seventh World Congress, and the enthusiasm of non-party workers everywhere to the proposals of our Party for the building of a broad united front and for a Farmer-Labor Party.

### Open the Doors of the Party!

These facts indicate that the problem before us is to open the doors of our Party, to come more boldly to these masses and convince them that their task is to build, together with us, the Communist Party into a mass Party, to build their own party, and make of it the driving force that will forge the powerful united front movement of the American toilers, that will be capable of stopping fascism, of defending the democratic rights of the masses, and of leading the American toilers on the road to a better and more secure future.

To solve these two main tasks, the Plenum resolves:

1. To revive to the fullest extent the letter to the individual Party members of last year in which the Central Committee not only brought the daily task of recruiting to the consciousness of the Party, but concretely specified the methods to be followed.

2. As a prerequisite to the success of the first task, it is necessary, (a) to attack boldly the question of improving the life of the Party organization by improving those organizational forms that will guarantee a better distribution of forces and division of activities, and thus enable the Party to get the best political and organizational results in accordance with the new developments and tasks confronting us today; (b) to improve the political education of the Party membership, and more energetically to tackle the problem of developing new cadres, especially for the purpose of strengthening the leading bodies in the sections and units.

The Central Committee decided upon an intensive recruiting drive in conjunction with a real effort towards improving the political life and activities of the lower organizations. The recruiting drive is to start immediately and last until May 1, 1936, with its first definite objective—40,000 dues-paying members by the time of the National Convention.

## The Central Committee Launches a Drive for the "Sunday Worker"

**F**OR years the Communist Party has made one of its main tasks the building of the **Daily Worker** into a mass organ, as a prerequisite toward reaching larger masses and building our movement. The fact that this year's financial drive was a success, that workers contributed over \$60,000 to make possible the publication of our central organ, shows immediately the tremendous prestige of the **Daily Worker** among the most advanced workers in the United States, shows their devotion and loyalty to our Party through the **Daily Worker**.

Taking into consideration the fact that the largest amount of contributions came from New York and vicinity, that in New York it was possible in one year's time to gain 6,000 new readers by solving some elementary organizational tasks, giving the Metropolitan area two-thirds of the entire circulation of the **Daily Worker**; and, on the other hand, that the Saturday edition of the **Daily Worker** increased greatly throughout the country, making it almost half that of the total circulation, we have proof that:

1. We can build a mass circulation of the **Daily Worker** in the metropolitan area, which in turn will aid the circulation nationally, thus greatly increasing the income as a whole;

2. We can build a real mass circulation of a popular **Sunday Worker**, which, by concentrated effort, in a very short time will double the present circulation of the Saturday edition;

3. The largest industrial centers, such as Chicago, Detroit, etc., will be enabled to concentrate on the building of a mass circulation of the popular **Sunday Worker** and very soon be able to publish their own weekly papers.

The Central Committee therefore decided, in consideration of the above, to launch a mass circulation drive for the **Sunday Worker** which began December 1, with the aim of reaching a circulation of 100,000—10,000 of which must be in subscriptions, the drive to last until the Party Convention.

The main prerequisite for a successful circulation drive of the **Daily Worker** is the building of a real mass circulation apparatus as part of the organizational apparatus of the Party, which will guide and follow up the campaigns day by day. Such an apparatus in the Center will have to be emulated on a District and Section scale. As part of this apparatus there must be considered the **Daily Worker** correspondents in the various cities, for the purpose of better co-ordinating the political with the organizational needs of the paper.

## Personal Contact Is the Key to Recruiting and the "Sunday Worker" Campaign

By A. W. MILLS

**T**HE whole Party is beginning to understand the urgent necessity of the speedy application of the decisions of the Seventh World Congress. Everywhere these decisions are being discussed. Plans are being worked out which will enable us to reach larger masses for the Farmer-Labor Party, for the building of a broad united front against fascism and war. These increased mass tasks bring very sharply before the Party membership the need of building the Party, as well as the need of building a mass base for our new link with the masses, the **Sunday Worker**.

The preparations for the recruiting drive and the **Sunday Worker** have revealed many serious weaknesses of our Party. The great need for the qualitative improvement of the individual work of each Party member has above all been glaringly revealed. It is clear that lack of contact with the masses is an obstacle to our reaching new people with our press. This makes it obvious that the drive cannot be limited to the general control tasks set by the Districts and Sections. The drive must reach every Party member, and must first of all be based on the improvement of the qualitative mass work of the individual Party member.

What does this mean concretely? Each Party member should begin today to examine very carefully how the decisions of the Seventh World Congress affect his own work, his relations with his fellow-workers, his connections with mass organizations. Recruiting or reaching people with our press is not a momentary thing. It is a patient process of convincing people on the basis of their own experiences. It requires the most friendly approach to people. It demands the utmost patience with workers who are confused and still under the influence of misleaders. In short, it is a process of individual concentration.

What are the methods of this individual concentration? Let each comrade, at the beginning of the drive, make a list of the workers with whom he will be in touch during the coming weeks, analyze the characteristics of these people, carefully examine why these workers are not in the Party, and devise an individual method of approach to each contact. These connections should be collected in the units from each Party member, and become the unit's "list of sympathizers".

On the basis of these lists, the units should decide what literature shall be given to these workers, what discussions should be organized in order to answer the problems of the workers.

We will discover many interesting things in our methods of work. We will discover the obstacles which have been preventing these workers from joining the Party, of which the unit has not been conscious, and which therefore have not been discussed. The broadening of our work, which has already been achieved in many places, has brought forward new connections, new militant workers, who with a little personal attention will find their way into the Party and become good workers in the revolutionary movement.

### Planned Individual Concentration is the Key

At the functionaries' meetings in Chicago and Cleveland, tremendous possibilities for recruiting were revealed, and many obstacles were uncovered. The principal obstacle has been a mechanical approach to people—the lack of a human approach to the new masses who are moving in our direction.

"Why are these people not in our Party?" asked one Party functionary. The answer to this question revealed that there is a wide-spread impression among non-Party people that joining the Party means complete subordination of the individual's life to the activities of the Party. They think that if they join the Party they will have no time for their families. They fear that they will be called upon to do impossible things; that their preferences in the matter of work will be subordinated to some mechanical decisions of the Party unit, etc. We must patiently explain to the masses of workers that these are wrong conceptions about our Party, and more important, **we must prove to these workers that this is not a true picture of our Party.**

This raises the whole question of changing some of our mechanical methods of work in the Party units. A Detroit Section Organizational-Secretary related an interesting experience in this connection. In unit X, a Negro woman was recruited into the Party. This new comrade did not come to the unit meeting. The Unit Organizer visited her and she said she was sick. He asked if she was working. She said "yes". He came back to the unit meeting and proposed to drop her from the rolls. Some of the new members were reluctant to do this, and decided to send another comrade to visit her. The comrade discovered that she had been taken to a hospital. When this was reported to the unit, a decision was made to "wait and test this new comrade when she came out of the hospital". Fortunately a new Party member raised the question of sending a committee of comrades to the hospital. The unit reacted to this proposal very mechanically, stating that this was not

the business of a unit, but was on the contrary very sentimental and non-Bolshevik. But some of the new members were used to different methods and despite the opposition of the Unit Organizer sent a committee to visit the new comrade in the hospital. The sick comrade was happy to see a Party committee and inquired eagerly about the work of the Party. She learned that the unit had difficulties in finding a meeting place and offered her home for a unit meeting. At the next meeting her husband invited some of his friends from a large shop to attend the open Party unit meeting and himself joined the Party.

These may seem small things, but in the life of a worker small things are very important, and if overlooked will drive workers from the Party.

The opportunities for recruiting are very great. We must impress upon the masses that the doors of our Party are open to honest, militant workers. The new steps of enlarging the units, holding more educational meetings, sending comrades into mass organizations, individual attention to workers, a more friendly attitude to the workers with whom we are working, will help to make our Party grow, which is a prerequisite to the formation of a broad mass movement.

#### **Leadership by Example**

The leadership of our Party must prove to the membership by personal example that it is possible to recruit. To tell the membership that they must recruit is not sufficient. The membership must be mobilized first by example. Throughout the country we have more than a thousand unit organizers. There are hundreds of functionaries in the Section and District Committees, the language organizations and in the trade unions. We have an army of at least three to four thousand active leading people. Imagine for a moment that these active cadres begin serious recruiting among the masses with whom they are in contact. Is it too much that these comrades, who can so easily and well explain the program of the Party, should personally recruit three Party members within the coming months? This would mean an increase of 10,000 in our Party membership. But more than that it would have a tremendous effect on the whole Party membership. The example set by the leadership would be a realizable task for every Party member. This may look like simple arithmetic. But is it too much to demand that our leading people recruit at least one Party member a month for the next three months? Has not our Party the right to demand participation in the execution of the tasks from every leading comrade? The Chicago District Plenum correctly decided that each comrade who participated in the Plenum should assume individual respon-

sibility for recruiting. Such recruiting will be qualitative. It will bring the key people in the trade unions, in the mass organizations, into the Party. Who can recruit better than those comrades who are the leaders in mass work?

An important phase in the recruiting drive is the individual check-up and the recognition which will be given to the thousands who will distinguish themselves in the drive. In some districts the comrades are preparing special individual control cards, with control tasks set by the individual comrades on the basis of their ability, connections, etc. These cards are to be turned in to the District Convention with reports on the individual achievements. Those who have distinguished themselves in recruiting and in the **Sunday Worker** and **Daily Worker** drives will be invited as honorary delegates to the District Conventions, where at a special session they will relate their experiences and be honored as Party Builders by the Party. From these comrades one or two delegates will be elected as special delegates to the National Convention of the Party. We must begin to show our appreciation of those people who through their tireless efforts prove to the Party that things can be done and done in a big way.

Everything that has been said about recruiting can be applied to the **Sunday Worker**, which is an integral part of the recruiting campaign. If we are able to secure one hundred thousand readers for the **Sunday Worker** we will have greater possibilities for increasing the **Daily Worker** circulation and for building the Party. Everywhere there is tremendous enthusiasm for the **Sunday Worker**. The Party has felt the need for it. Now the Central Committee is supplying us with this weapon. Let us make use of it!

#### Unit Control Tasks

The Party is beginning to realize the importance of these tasks. The job now is to master them. The quotas set by the Districts show the desire of the Party. But desire alone will not solve the problem. Let each unit make the following check-up:

1. Have we visited all contacts with the **Sunday Worker**?
2. Have we organized week-end canvassing for the **Sunday Worker**?
3. Have we brought the **Sunday Worker** to the trade unions and mass organizations?
4. Have we organized shock brigades which will participate in the competition?
5. Have we informed the key people in the trade unions, and those active in the mass organizations, of the **Sunday Worker**, on the basis of their special interests in the various features in the **Sunday Worker**?

6. Have we ordered a special bundle for the first issue in order to introduce the paper?

7. Have we involved non-Party people in the drive?

8. Is the distribution apparatus ready to bring the **Sunday Worker** into the shops, trade union halls, churches, lodges, etc.?

9. Is every comrade involved in the drive?

We are preparing for the National Convention of our Party. The drive for new members and for circulation for the **Daily Worker** and **Sunday Worker** are two main organizational tasks before the Convention. Can we afford to come to the Convention with our objective unfulfilled? This question must be answered by every Party comrade.

The period we live in requires the fulfillment of our task. The new events make it possible for us to do it. The Seventh World Congress has told us how. **Our job is to do it.**

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## Organize the Party to Reach the Masses

*(Decision on Organization Made at the November Plenum of Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.)*

**T**HE reorientation of our Party for the speedier development of the united front and the building of the Farmer-Labor Party requires a thorough overhauling of our organizational apparatus.

It requires first of all a thorough study of the organizational improvements which will increase the ability of our Party organizations to carry through more effectively the decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International.

To accomplish this there is needed a thorough examination of the lower organizations and their weaknesses, and a study of the experiences gained by the Districts in carrying out the decisions on organization of the May Plenum.

The principle to be followed in the solution of these organizational problems is this: that the Party members shall be enabled to spend the majority of their time in approaching, contacting and convincing their fellow-workers in the shops,

trade unions, mass organizations, neighborhoods, etc., of the correctness of our Party's program on immediate demands, and organizing them, instead of being occupied with inner-Party activities.

### **Build the Shop Nuclei**

The present custom in territorial units of overburdening members with a multitude of tasks results in diminishing the mass activities as well as the educational work of the units. This in turn lowers the enthusiasm of the members, and fails to develop their understanding of the tasks to be carried out.

The central task of our organizational work remains the building of the shop nuclei and the strengthening of the existing shop nuclei by recruiting the best elements, the key people in the shops. We must bring about a real turn in this phase of our work. This means more and better shop nuclei. It means giving these basic Party units more guidance, and making this guidance more concrete, in order to make them into real political bodies, capable of issuing more and better shop papers, and becoming the real political leaders of the masses in the shops.

### **Enlarging Certain Units**

1. Our experience shows that the small units in cities cannot properly tackle the political problems in their territory. It is suggested, therefore, that in certain districts we try a system of enlarging the street units and basing them on existing political subdivisions. This should make them capable of approaching more effectively the political problems of their territory, and thus improve their leadership, political education, and social life. Such Party organizations will exercise a far greater appeal to the American workers, and will better enable us to maintain close contact with them.

### **Educational Meetings**

2. The Central Committee suggests that in certain districts the plan be tried of devoting one or two meetings a month to education exclusively, the other meetings being devoted to assignment of activities, etc. Party dues, however, shall be collected at all meetings.

Moreover, to make these educational meetings more attractive and successful, two or three units can be brought together so that the meetings take on the character of forums, with leading comrades as speakers, and with a definite time set aside for questions and discussion.

In those places where larger unit meetings would endanger

the existence of the Party, further study should be given to the problem of the best form of organization to be adopted in the given conditions.

3. Each unit should carefully study the character of the various organizations in the neighborhood, and discuss the possibility of assigning groups of comrades to each organization in order to strengthen our ties with the organized sections of the neighborhood.

#### **Industrial Nuclei**

4. The need to reach the masses in industry and in the trade unions presents us with the problem of finding more **suitable** organizational forms than our present street units in order to carry through more effectively the main tasks of the Party. This task is especially made difficult at the present time by the organizational weakness of the street units. It is therefore necessary in general to apply a more flexible policy in our forms of organization.

a. In order to reach the masses more effectively and to facilitate the formation of shop nuclei, we shall bring together in one unit Party members working in the same building or industrial area. This type of unit will function as a transitional form, in order to strengthen our work in these particular shops, with the aim of building shop nuclei.

#### **Pre-Convention Experiences**

b. From now until the Party Convention, we shall try to get necessary experience from experiments carried out in New York and Cleveland, bringing together trade unionists in certain trade union locals of industries for the purpose of bringing the Party campaigns to the masses in those particular locals or industries.

In the course of the pre-Convention discussion, these experiences should be brought forward so that by the time of the National Convention the accumulation of these experiences shall result in definite concrete decisions for the improvement of our Party organization.

# Organize to Strengthen and Build the Party

By MAX STEINBERG

**O**UR Party has important tasks and tremendous responsibilities. The Seventh World Congress gave us a new tactical orientation, which in the words of Comrade Dimitroff, will enable us to

“ . . . secure the mobilization of the broadest masses of the toilers for a united struggle against fascism and the offensive of capital, **only if we strengthen our own ranks in every respect, if we develop initiative, pursue a Marxist-Leninist policy, and apply correct flexible tactics, which take into account the concrete situation and alignment of class forces.**”

The New York District has many achievements to record. It has organized and led many splendid actions on a city wide scale, and is more and more becoming a political force in the City of New York. However, when we examine the work of our Party in the lower organizations, we do not find the same initiative in developing the struggles in the neighborhoods, in the trade unions, and among the broadest masses of workers. The New York District gave an example, in the Bremen demonstration, which is an inspiration not only to our entire Party, but to the working class of the world. But with only a few rare exceptions, there have been no actions in the neighborhoods against war and fascism. The units of the Party in most instances fail to follow up the actions of the district and sections in their own territory, connecting them with the needs of the masses in the trade unions, mass organizations and neighborhoods.

Our Party units in the main are not the political guide to the membership in their every-day activities. Our street units are not acquainted with, do not discuss and do not react to the issues which are of immediate concern to the widest masses of people in their neighborhoods. Our units are not connected with the life of the communities. The discussions on the general situation and our main tasks are therefore mere generalities. The result is that the districts and sections succeed in mobilizing the membership who are willing and responsive for general campaigns, but locally they are unable to develop struggle, to lead popular movements.

This is due to many causes. Most of the units lack strong and capable leadership. The best mass workers among our membership are not the leaders of our units. Our unit leader-

ships are on the whole not connected with the masses and have no experience in struggle. In a unit of 25-30, there are often only four or five comrades who are at the disposal of the unit, for unit activity. Naturally with such small "actives", with poor leadership, with a poor inner life, there can be no initiative, no reaction to the neighborhood issues. This situation is also responsible to a great degree for our failure to increase the rate of recruiting, which is still far too small. To this can be ascribed the great turnover in membership.

It is therefore obvious that in order to carry out the new tasks which have been set for our Party by the Seventh World Congress and by the November meeting of our Central Committee, we must first solve our organizational problems.

### Organizational Proposals

The New York District Committee has discussed this question in great detail, and is proposing the following organizational measures, as a means of strengthening our Party, and rooting it more deeply among the masses:

1. To enlarge the street units from the present average to about 50-75. This will result in (a) a greater number of comrades actually at the disposal of one unit for work in the neighborhood; (b) the reduction of the number of units in each section, making it possible for the Section Committees to pay more attention to the units—this will result in better and more continuous leadership; (c) the possibility of securing a better unit leadership. In many cases some of the section leaders will become leaders of the units. (d) The units will be in a position to assign groups of comrades to work in mass organizations as proposed by Comrade Browder at the Central Committee Plenum. It will also make it possible for the leaders of the District to lead important discussions in the units. (e) The discussions will be on a higher political level, and more interesting to the unit membership; (f) the units will establish headquarters and will become visible to the people in the neighborhoods; (g) these units, as a result of a better inner life, and because they will be in contact with the masses, not only will recruit, but will also keep the members in the Party.

In making this proposal, we realize of course that units of such a size are not always practical or necessary. In some sections the units will of necessity remain small. Also it must be borne in mind that in order to safeguard the Party in days of oppression, these large units will have to develop the group and captain system.

2. To reorganize our sections on assembly-district lines. This will help the sections and branches to orientate more on the coming elections. It will be an organization that can

better approach and unite with Socialist organizations which are functioning on the assembly district basis. It will give us an organization that will be closer to the Farmer-Labor Party organization, which when formed will be based on the assembly districts. The people in the neighborhoods will recognize us as a political party, because we correspond to their conception of a party.

3. At the present time, with the growth of our Party, with the many tasks before us, making it necessary for the District Committee to be more keenly alert to every development on all political issues in order to give proper leadership to the whole Party, it is necessary to release the District from much of its routine work. It is also necessary to pay more attention than heretofore to Section Committees, units and fractions, to guide and assist them so that they in turn can give better leadership to the Party membership. In order to accomplish this, we propose to establish County Committees in the city of New York. These will be in effect sub-district committees in each borough, which will be authoritative bodies to make decisions and lead the sections in the respective boroughs. This will make it possible for the District Committee to assume more responsibility for the work of our Party on a state-wide scale beyond the boundary lines of the New York District, and thus become a more powerful political factor in the State of New York as a whole.

4. To begin the building of Communist Voters' Clubs. We have in New York some 52,000 men and women who voted the Communist ticket. These are, in the main, people who can be utilized greatly in fulfilling many of the tasks of our Party, especially around the question of the united front, the Farmer-Labor Party, the struggle for relief, among masses that our present membership does not reach. Among the 52,000 Communist votes, in addition to the Party members and those who are members of mass organizations under the leadership of the Party, they are undoubtedly tens of thousands who are in mass organizations which we have not yet penetrated, and who are in one way or another connected with the neighborhoods, trade unions, etc. These people can be of tremendous help to our Party in the coming election campaign. If we succeed in reaching them, and organizing them into these clubs, many of them will come into our Party. This does not mean that we will organize them into narrow, sectarian clubs, give them a multitude of duties and tasks, isolate them from their friends and contacts. This kind of a club would not serve the end we wish to attain. We want clubs, which will hold meetings—not too frequently—which will serve as centers of social life and activity, which will broaden our contact with the masses.

In connection with cadres, we have made some beginnings. We have evening training schools in the District and in many of our sections. We are now starting two full-time training schools on a District scale. However, we cannot be satisfied that we have brought forward the necessary consciousness for developing new proletarian cadres. We propose to concentrate on this throughout the entire District, so that between now and the Convention of our Party, we shall have training schools in every Section, for the specific purpose of developing forces from among the workers in basic industries, from among the native proletarian workers.

We propose to check up immediately and see to it that every Section establishes a special cadre commission whose task shall be to go down to the units and fractions, examine our forces and prepare students for the schools, comrades for the conventions, for Section and District Committees, for functionaries, etc.

#### Farmer-Labor Party Tasks

As tasks to be fulfilled between now and the Convention, in connection with the Farmer-Labor Party, we propose:

1. The establishment of committees for the promotion of the Farmer-Labor Party in those trade unions where such resolutions were adopted.

2. To establish real broad representative committees in the neighborhoods for the promotion of a Farmer-Labor Party, and strive to create a broad representative committee for a Farmer-Labor Party on a city-wide scale.

3. We propose that our entire Party—districts, fractions, sections and units—concentrate on a drive for recruiting immediately, and as a task between now and our Convention, to have a minimum of 12,500 dues-paying members.

4. We propose the initiation of a circulation drive for the **Daily Worker**, to reach a circulation of 30,000. This is not a new task. The February Conference undertook to reach this quota by May 1. At present we have a little over 21,000. It is necessary really to concentrate in the coming ten weeks and get our whole Party into motion for the fulfillment of this task.

These proposals do not offer a full solution to our problems, but we think that they will greatly improve work. We must bear in mind, however, that it will still depend in the main on the seriousness with which we take our decisions, on the amount of energy and effort that we put into our work. It will depend on the Party member as to whether these improvements will be accomplished that will make our Party the leader of the working class in its struggle against the forces of reaction.

# Tasks of Communist Party Convention Outlined

*(Statement of Central Committee, C. P. U. S. A.)*

**T**O the membership and organizations of the Communist Party of the United States

Comrades:

This is a call for the Ninth Convention of our Party. The November session of the Central Committee decided that the Ninth Party Convention be held in March, 1936, and that the Convention discussion be opened with the publication of the Browder report and the resolutions adopted by the Central Committee.

The Ninth Convention of our Party will be held at a crucial time in the history of our country and of the world. Capitalist reaction is mobilizing. The working class and the toiling masses of America are faced with new onslaughts on their well being and on their most elementary democratic and civil rights. Mass unemployment continues its devastating work among the working class. The farming masses are in crisis. The improvement in business, which is heralded by both capitalist parties as the end of the crisis, signifies largely improvement in the profit of monopolies, while poverty and insecurity continue to be the lot of the overwhelming majority of the toilers.

## Tasks of Convention

The Ninth Party Convention will undertake to show the American working class and all toilers the correct road to the solution of their immediate and burning problems, the chief problem of struggle against poverty and insecurity. It will undertake to point out to the masses how best they can serve their interests in the forthcoming presidential elections by building the Farmer-Labor Party. The Convention will further develop the approach of our Party to such movements as the Townsend movement, the Epic plan, etc., with the aim of winning these movements and the masses around them for the Farmer-Labor Party and for the struggle against the capitalist offensive, reaction, fascism and war.

The danger of a new world war is becoming more acute due especially to the war of Italian fascism against Ethiopia, to the war of Japan in the Far East, and to the war preparations of German fascism.

The Ninth Convention of our Party—on the basis of the Seventh World Congress decisions—will have to devise ways

and means of further mobilizing the masses of the United States in the struggle for peace, to preserve the peace of the United States and to combat all war-mongers and especially the fascist war makers. The Convention will have to find a way of winning the American masses to the peace policies of the Soviet Union, the chief bulwark of peace, and to win the masses for collaboration with the U.S.S.R. in the struggle for peace.

### **Farmer-Labor Party**

The national election campaign of 1936 is already in full swing. The reactionary circles of monopoly capital, the Morgan-Dupont interests, operating through the Liberty League, Hearst and other reactionary agencies are desperately trying to put into office an administration that will systematically use all reactionary and brutal measures of oppression against the masses to make them carry the burden of the crisis. These reactionary monopoly interests are seeking to establish such methods of governmental rule as will enable them to resort also to fascism in order to keep the American masses enslaved. This is the chief source of the danger of fascism in the United States. This calls for the widest mass mobilization into a united front and for a Farmer-Labor Party. For it is clear, as established by the November meeting of the Central Committee, that the toiling masses cannot depend upon Roosevelt and his administration to stave off the growing danger of reaction and fascism.

The Ninth Convention of the Party will, therefore, have the task of formulating such policies for our Party as will enable it best to help strengthen the economic and political power of the American working class and all toilers in the struggle against the capitalist offensive and capitalist reaction, in the struggle for the Farmer-Labor Party. The Party Convention will have to determine the line of policy and tactics for our Party in the national presidential elections.

### **The United Front**

To solve this central political task, the Ninth Party Convention will have to formulate our next practical steps in the struggle for the united front, especially the united front between the Communist and Socialist Parties, the next steps in the widening movement for the organization of the unorganized into industrial unions and for the strengthening of the trade union movement generally, the extension of our work among the toiling farmers, the women and the youth, and the further promotion of the national liberation movement of the Negroes.

In order to enable our Party to carry through successfully

the policies that the Party Convention will decide upon, it will have to devise further ways and means of increasing the Party membership, developing capable cadres and of adjusting the Party organization to the political tasks of the present period.

The November Plenum of the Central Committee has laid the basis for the Convention discussion on the political and organizational questions which the Party Convention will have to act on. The Party membership and all Party organizations are called upon immediately to organize a systematic discussion on all of these questions.

### Rules for Carrying Out the Convention

The rules for the carrying out of the pre-Convention discussion, the basis for representation, and the rules to be followed in the process of electing the delegates to the Convention, are as follows:

1. The pre-Convention discussion shall be opened with the discussion on the decisions of the Plenum and the Seventh World Congress, and is to last throughout the months of December, January and February. The decisions and resolutions of the November Plenum, plus the material that will be issued in preparation for the Convention, will furnish the documents for the pre-Convention discussion.

2. The representation at the Convention shall be based on one delegate for each 100 dues payments, drawn from the average dues payments of the last three months of 1935, and the 1936 registration.

3. Delegates to the National Convention shall be elected by the District Conventions, on the basis of recommendations from the Section Conventions.

4. The representation to the District Convention shall be based on one delegate to each 15-25 members, depending upon the size of the various districts, allowing a larger representation from the smaller ones.

5. The representation to the Section Conventions shall be based on one delegate to each 5-10 members. Here, also, as in the case of the districts, these figures allow larger representation from the smaller sections.

6. In all Conventions, special emphasis shall be placed on having larger representation from the shop nuclei.

7. At all Conventions, fraternal delegates shall be invited, especially fraternal delegates from (a) fractions in the unions to the Section and District Convention (also rank and file members of fractions); (b) from mass organizations. Besides these, the members of the leading committees shall be invited to Section, District and National Conventions.

8. In all Districts, the **Section Conventions** shall take place during the **first and second week of February**.

9. The **District Conventions** shall take place during the **third and fourth weeks of February**.

10. In the election of leading committees—Section and District Committees—special emphasis shall be laid upon proposing the best active proletarian workers, workers in the trade unions, and tested comrades.

11. In the election of members to the District Committee we shall be guided by the principle of taking into consideration cadres with the status of at least one year's membership in the Party.

12. As a prerequisite to the election of members to the Section Committees the candidates must be in the Party not less than six months in order to be eligible.

13. District Organizers shall be elected at the District Conventions, and Section Organizers shall be elected at the Section Conventions. If it becomes necessary to make any changes in the District or Section Organizers, these shall be made at special conferences, called for this purpose.

14. The transportation of the delegates to the National Convention must be taken care of by the Districts themselves. The Central Committee will take care of the food and lodging of the delegates during the Convention period.

15. To finance the National Convention there will be a special assessment stamp amounting to the dues of one month. From the amount collected, 50 per cent shall be sent to the Central Committee, and the other 50 per cent shall remain in the Districts for the expenses of the District Conventions.

The material for the discussion is being printed in special supplements in the **Daily Worker**. At a later date, the Agit-Prop Commission will send out the draft resolutions. In the meantime, the material of the last Plenum of the Central Committee, printed in the **Daily Worker**, the Seventh World Congress resolutions, Comrade Dimitroff's speech, Comrade Browder's speech, etc., which already have been printed, are the main documents for the discussion. The districts shall see to it that all sections and units shall be supplied with the supplements of the **Daily Worker** and the other material already issued.

## AGIT-PROP SECTION

### What Does Lenin Mean to Workers and Farmers of America Today?

*(Model Speech on the Lenin Anniversary Prepared for the Central Agit-Prop Commission.)*

By M. J. OLGIN

**L**ENIN died twelve years ago. But his work lives on. His work, as expressed in the Soviet Union, in the Communist International, in the revolutionary movement of the workers and toilers in the capitalist countries, in the revolutionary movement for liberation among the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, has now proceeded much further ahead and has assumed greater proportions than was the case when Lenin died. At the head of the world revolutionary movement of all the oppressed and exploited we have now the disciple, friend and collaborator of Lenin, Comrade Stalin.

When we workers commemorate Lenin on the anniversary of his death, we not only pay tribute to a great leader of the workers and all the oppressed. We draw strength from the example of the Revolution which he led and brought to victory. We survey our own problems in the light of Lenin's views—the views of Marxism adapted to our present times. We mobilize ourselves to strengthen our organizations and to advance our struggle for liberation from under the yoke of capitalism along the same lines as was accomplished by the Russian workers and peasants under the leadership of Lenin.

What does the example of Lenin teach us here in the United States at the present time?

It teaches us, first of all, that "without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement". The movement of the working class, and the movement of all the exploited and oppressed, must not be something accidental, sporadic, or temporary. It must have a plan. It must have a purpose. It must have a clearly defined road. This means that the workers must understand the society they live in, they must know which forces are operating in it, they must clearly see what place they themselves occupy among the

social forces, they must realize whither society is moving. Only in this way shall they be able to choose the proper means of struggle at the right moment. This understanding of society is furnished only by Marxism-Leninism. It is because Lenin investigated deeply, and understood clearly, the development of capitalism in Russia; because he understood that the working class had become the most revolutionary class in Russia; because he realized that the peasantry was a tremendous reserve of revolutionary energy to support the working class in the impending revolution; because he was never deterred by the apparent strength of tsarism and of the Russian ruling classes, but looked into the root of social development and clearly conceived the imminent outbreak of revolutionary movement—that he was able to map out a correct program for the revolution in Russia and to lead it to victory.

We here in America must follow in the footsteps of Lenin. We must understand the forces that undermine the very existence of capitalism in spite of its apparent strength. We must realize the contradictions which gnaw at the very vitals of the existing system. To take two examples. We must understand that as long as there are about 15,000,000 unemployed who are living close to the starvation line there can be no permanent improvement of the economic situation, no real recovery, because there can be no healthy growth of the home market. We must understand that as long as there is rivalry among the capitalist governments for markets and spheres of influence, and as long as these governments are feverishly arming, the danger of imperialist war is ever present. These and similar conditions we must examine in the light of Marxism-Leninism. We must realize that the crisis of capitalism is not of a passing nature. We must make it clear to tens of millions of workers and farmers that **the revolution in the U. S. A. is inevitable** and that only the overthrow of capitalism will secure for them a decent life of abundance.

Lenin teaches us the great, the paramount importance of the **Communist Party**. From the early days of his activity and up to the very last, Lenin's major interest was directed towards organizing, strengthening and perfecting the Bolshevik (Communist) Party as the vanguard of the working class. Just as there can be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory, so there can be no victory of the working class and the toilers without a revolutionary well-disciplined and well-knit Party heading the struggles of the masses, and marching towards the ultimate goal. The American workers have every reason to be proud of the recent activities of their Communist Party. The Communist Party has linked itself more intimately with broad masses of workers.

It has become a political factor. It has begun to disquiet the reactionaries, in the first place the large-scale manufacturers and the overlords of finance capital who are launching against it a vicious drive through the Hearst agencies, the Liberty League, the "shirted" organizations and a number of other fascist and semi-fascist bands. The workers' reply to all this must be a tremendous increase in the size and activities of the Communist Party. When the Communist Party will be several times its present numerical strength this will immensely increase the fighting power of the American people, enabling them faster to advance towards their final liberation. A strong and well-organized Communist Party is the prime need of the working class, the oppressed farmers and all those who are suffering under capitalism. **Join the Communist Party!** This is what we learn from the great example of the activities of Lenin.

### Lenin and the United Front

Lenin teaches us further that it is not sufficient to have a strong Communist Party. It is necessary to have strong **labor unions** capable of offering resistance to the employers and of taking the offensive. This can be achieved only when the unions are **mass unions** permeated with the militant spirit, with initiative and democratic control of the rank and file. And this can be realized only where the unions are built on the industrial basis. It is necessary, according to Lenin, to **have the working class as a whole organized to fight capitalism**. This means the **United Front** as the decisive step towards the political unification of the entire working class. All his life Lenin strove, not only to organize the Communist Party, but to bring about a fighting political unification and consolidation of the workers as a class. With all his revolutionary ardor, with all the weight of argument and organizational pressure, he fought against the "Old Guard" Socialists of his time, the Menshevik Liquidators, who wished to put the sole hope of the working class in cooperating with, and developing, the bourgeois-parliamentary system of Russia. The Liquidators taught that the salvation of the workers lay in being camp followers of the bourgeoisie. Lenin taught that in the fighting political unity of the working class is the salvation of all those enslaved by capitalism. Lenin's example should inspire us here in the United States to work for the **united front and the ultimate unification of the working class**; to work for a common fighting front against capitalism—for strong unions and other workers' organizations, against wage-cuts, against fascist inroads, against the war danger, against reaction, against any encroachments on the rights of the masses, and for the final overthrow of the capitalist system.

**Build the united front of labor!** is the clarion call of Lenin's life and teachings to the workers of this country at this hour.

The Russian revolution, the greatest achievement of Lenin, was accomplished not only by a united working class, of which the overwhelming majority fought for the revolution even if it did not belong to the Bolshevik Party, but also by millions of other toilers, notably the peasants. Today, when we are commemorating Lenin, we must pledge ourselves to the building of a **broad People's Front** against fascism and war, embracing workers, exploited farmers, small businessmen, professionals, and everybody who is ready to offer resistance to the reactionary power of Wall Street. Such a people's front, represented in the political field through a **Farmer-Labor Party**, would strengthen immensely the anti-capitalist forces, make it possible for the people of the United States successfully to resist the attacks of the exploiting minority and to march ahead from gain to gain until this system of hunger, misery, and degradation shall be destroyed. **Build the Farmer-Labor Party!** This is what the example of Lenin teaches us here in the United States.

The greatest lesson, the world-wide lesson we learn from the theory and practice of Lenin, is that **it can be done**. Capitalism **can** be overthrown by the armed uprising of the people headed by the working class under the leadership of its Bolshevik Party. The old state machinery of capitalism can be scrapped. A new state organization can be established—the **state of the Soviets**. In this new state the working class is the leading force, expropriating the former expropriators, fighting back their counter-revolutionary onslaughts, uniting around itself the broadest masses of the formerly exploited people, organizing production and distribution of goods on a Socialist basis, socializing agriculture, raising the cultural level of the masses to hitherto undreamed of levels, creating a free, abundant life. **Yes, it can be done!** This was shown by the example of the revolution successfully completed under the leadership of Lenin. This was shown by the example of the Civil War successfully fought and won under the leadership of Lenin. This is shown by the example of the First and Second Five-Year Plans and the completion, in the main, of the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the great leader and strategist of the workers and toiling masses of the world, Comrade Stalin. **Yes, it can be done!** It will be done in other countries when conditions are ripe!

Lenin teaches the workers, Lenin teaches the masses of every oppressed nationality in the world that there is only one way in which **national oppression** can be abolished for-

ever—and that is the social revolution under the leadership of the working class, the establishment of Soviets. Imperial Russia was the prison of nationalities. It crushed under its iron heel the Ukrainians and the Tartars, the Armenians and the Georgians, the Uzbeks and the Tadjiks and the Jews and dozens of other peoples. It exploited them mercilessly. It treated them worse than colonial slaves. The Bolshevik Revolution made an end to all that. The Bolshevik Revolution transformed the whole country into a brotherly union of independent and closely cooperating peoples on the basis of national self-determination. In our country where the Negro people are crushed even more brutally than were the subject peoples under the tsar, the example of Lenin, the theory and practice of Leninism teach us the urgency of united struggle of Negro and white toilers for Negro rights, for the abolition of jim-crow laws and practice, for economic, political and social equality of the Negro people, for the right to self-determination in the Black Belt, which means their right to establish their own state power as a majority in that territory. Black and white, unite and fight against national oppression, for national freedom and the right to national self-determination!

This is what the voice of Leninism teaches us.

#### **Lenin's Heritage—the Soviet Union**

Twelve years have passed since the death of Lenin. During those years the capitalist world has declined after a spurt of relative and unstable "prosperity". The Soviet world has been rising steadily, growing, learning, maturing, increasing the output of its industries to a degree that astonishes the world, opening up new vistas of unprecedented Socialist productivity of labor by arousing the mass initiative and the creative impulses of the workers themselves as exemplified by the Stakhanov movement, increasing agricultural production on a collectivized, Socialist basis, reaching ever greater heights of culture, reshaping humanity, creating a new kind of humanity fundamentally different from that of capitalist countries, developing love and friendship among the numberless nationalities that form the U.S.S.R. The globe is now divided into two major sectors—the capitalist sector and the socialist sector. The capitalist world is on the downgrade. It is torn by numberless irreconcilable contradictions. It has unleashed the bloodhounds of fascism to tyrannize over the masses, to reduce their standards of living, to crush and degrade them in order that the overlords of finance capital may garner greater profits and in the hopes of checking the rising tide of revolution. It is threatening to extinguish the remnants of hard-won democratic rights. It is arming fever-

ishly and furiously for new wars, and it has already started wars in various sections of the globe, as shown by the brutal attack of Italian fascism upon the people of Ethiopia, by the ravishing of China by Japanese imperialism, and most recently, by the attack of Japanese military forces on the Mongolian People's Republic with a view to forcing a military invasion of the U.S.S.R. It is full of malice and venom, hates and fears. It stands in conscious dread of its own deterioration. It is in a process of rapid decay.

As against these dark forces of the capitalist world, the magnificent structure of the Soviet Union rises as a great example for the masses of every country to follow. It shows all the oppressed and exploited what their life could be if the incubus of capitalist exploitation were removed. It shows them the road to their own liberation. It gives them inspiration, courage, hope. It has actually paved the way towards socialism, having enriched the experience of the international proletariat with the actuality of a socialist revolution and the building of socialism. The Soviet Union is the great bulwark of world peace. It uses its tremendous and steadily growing strength, which is due to the growth of its economic power, to the unity of its people behind the government, to the splendid Red Army and to the support of millions upon millions the world over—to prevent war.

In a world where greed and hatred rule, the Soviet Union is the only country which has renounced wars of aggression and which is using its immense power to keep the peace of the world as far as it is possible under such unstable conditions. And it is just because the U.S.S.R. is the example of a better mankind that it is hated by the capitalist sector and that war against it is being fomented by the two strongholds of reaction—Nazi Germany in the West, imperialist Japan in the East. Should actual war be started against the Soviet Union, it will be a war in which world imperialism as a whole would soon be mobilized against the Workers' State.

When we commemorate Lenin on the twelfth anniversary of his death let us send our flaming revolutionary greeting to our beloved Soviet fatherland, to its Communist (Bolshevik) Party, to its great leader, Stalin! Let us send our brotherly greeting to the millions who build the Soviet Union and defend it against the enemy within and without. Let us pledge ourselves to apply the teachings and the practice of Leninism to our own country, to build the United Front and the People's Front in order to smash the warmongering machinations of the Morgan-Dupont-Hearst forces, to resist a new world slaughter, to build the Farmer-Labor Party against fascism and war—for decent living conditions and democratic rights for our people. Let us pledge ourselves to unite all forces in

defence of the freedom of the Ethiopian people! Let us unite powerfully in defense of the Soviet Union, the land which is the stronghold of the world proletarian revolution.

Long live the Soviet Union! Support the Soviet peace policy—the main bulwark of world peace!

Defend the freedom of the Ethiopian people!

Rally to the revolutionary banner of Lenin and of Stalin!

Open wide the doors of the Party to the workers!

Every Party member a Party builder!

Forward to a wide mass circulation of the Daily Worker and Sunday Worker!

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## Workers' Education and the United Front Movement

By E. DAVID

WITH our new advances in trade union unity and, in many local movements, for a Farmer-Labor Party, the C. P. U.S.A. has shown not only a sensitivity to the demand of the masses, but is also giving these movements farsighted leadership. It is inevitable that with the increasing labor and class consciousness there will be a growing demand for labor classes—for workers' education throughout the country. Workers who are shedding their illusions about the New Deal, about the Democratic and Republican parties, who are accepting independent political action along with militant trade union policies, will also begin to seek independent workers' education.

A group of fifty-three Chicago unionists called a conference recently at which the Farmer-Labor Party of Chicago and Cook County was organized. The opening statement of their position reads as follows:

"Organized labor has long recognized that only bona-fide labor unions can win better conditions in industry. It is now realizing that it must also organize its own party if its political interests are to be effectively advanced.

"All thinking workers reject with contempt the idea of company unions in factories. They are now realizing that the Republican and Democratic parties are nothing but political company unions financed and controlled by the employers and functioning against the workers in politics the same as the company union functions against them in industry."

Can we not add with equal assurance that the workers will soon learn to reject with contempt the ideas of the ruling class? To meet the demand for training in revolutionary theory, we have established workers' schools in most of the larger industrial centers and in some cities throughout the nation. We have inner Party schools—in the units, sections, districts and center. There is undoubtedly an improvement in the theoretical awareness of the Party members. The growth of these various types of schools is evidence enough of both the quantitative and qualitative response to theoretical training. But if we assume that a broad anti-fascist people's front movement will grow in this country, then we must concretely ask ourselves what steps are we taking to meet the growing demands for labor education among the masses. Broader and more popular forums as well as study circles have been suggested, and these are being put into action. Important pamphlets are being published and sold in hundreds of thousands of copies. But have we given sufficient thought to the problem of adapting our tactics in our theoretical struggle so that they fall in line with our new tactics in the economic and political field? It is obvious that we must learn how to reach with theoretical training the hundreds of thousands of workers who are turning away from the regular capitalist parties and the erstwhile accepted bourgeois ideology. Our perspective must include classes in the trade unions, classes in the Farmer-Labor Party centers, and classes for the anti-war and anti-fascist movement.

Will the workers' schools attract all the honest elements from the above-mentioned categories into their classes? Some may come, but the majority of them will not attend because, first, they have not heard of the workers' schools, and secondly, those who have heard are not yet ready to attend a Communist school. That the ruling class is well aware of the trend towards labor education can be seen by the government experience in workers' education classes. A study of the workers' education movement in England, for example, gives sufficient proof that the desire of the masses for labor education can be directed into reformist and bourgeois channels by labor misleaders. College professors and "objective" scholars are called in to "educate" the workers.

### **Bring Marxist-Leninist Education to the Masses**

What steps can we take, not only to counteract similar trends here, but to help establish labor classes under competent Marxist-Leninist instructors? Many of these classes— it must be repeated—will be outside our regular school system. First of all, then, we must involve our more active

comrades both as students and teachers in our schools. Our trade union fractions and our fractions in mass organizations must be alert to any educational moves being taken in their organizations in order to help exert proper guidance. They must also stimulate an interest in workers' education. To those active functionaries in the mass organizations, who are so busy that they claim they have no time for theoretical training, we must point out that in their position as leaders "it is their specific duty to gain an ever clearer insight into all theoretical questions and constantly keep in mind that socialism, having become a science, must be pursued as a science, that is, it must be studied." (Engels.)

Second, we must establish special classes to train teachers in order to develop cadres for the particular purpose of guiding these labor classes. We must also strengthen our own classes in trade unionism and American labor history, as these subjects will be greatly in demand. We must develop popular courses in economics to serve as an introduction to Marxism-Leninism. Particular attention should be given to promising and advanced students as prospective teachers for these classes.

Does this mean that we shall eventually liquidate our workers' schools? Decidedly not. Our own school system must be extended and deepened. Our schools will, among their other general aims, now additionally serve the immediate purpose of preparing teachers for these labor classes which will spring up in the very near future. Furthermore, these labor classes and labor schools will eventually become feeders for the workers' schools. Our outlook must be one of reciprocal relationship between these two main types of labor educational institutions. Just as in advocating a Farmer-Labor Party we do not envisage the disappearance of the Communist Party, but on the other hand see its strengthening, similarly in the educational field we should plan for the expansion of our workers' schools. In fact, it is only as our Party schools grow that we can be assured that the labor educational demands of the masses will be adequately met.

In the **Communist Manifesto** we read:

"The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand practically the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."

If this viewpoint—the great need for theoretical training

alongside our practical revolutionary activity—penetrates deeply into the Party ranks, there will be not only a heightened interest in Marxism-Leninism, but a sound preparation for the tasks that are facing us as we travel in the direction of an independent political party of the workers, farmers, professionals and lower middle class people—the **people's front** against war and fascism in the United States.

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## Education, Mass Agitation, and Literature

*(Abridged Draft Resolution, Michigan District, C.P.U.S.A.)*

**T**HE enormous tasks of building a mass movement against fascism and war, uniting all forces in the labor movement for a Farmer-Labor Party, building and unifying the trade union movement, demand not only that the Party be strengthened and improved organizationally, but also that far more attention be given to the rapid training of new forces and the political education of the membership generally. The organizational improvement of the Party itself depends to a great extent on the training and education of forces equipped ideologically to cope with the new conditions and new tasks.

At the same time that systematic, organized work is begun for the education of the Party membership, the Party must begin to multiply its mass agitation tenfold, learning to speak to thousands and tens of thousands of workers in simple, popular language, dealing in the most positive and constructive manner with all the burning issues confronting the masses today.

### I. Party Education

1. The main center of work in the theoretical development of the Party membership must be in the units, making the unit itself an instrument for education. This task will be made easier through the organization of larger street units and the reorganization of the inner life of the Party.

2. An educational discussion must be conducted at every unit meeting. These discussions must be prepared and organized by the unit educational directors, with help from the Section educational director and the District agitprop department. **All leading comrades of the District must regularly lead unit discussions, but section and unit forces must also lead such discussions.**

3. Section classes for training of functionaries and classes

for the training of trade union comrades must be established. Size and form of these classes (weekly class, week-end courses, etc.), will be determined by the conditions in the Section.

4. A campaign must be waged against the lack of interest in theory existing in the units by popularizing Party theoretical literature. The solution of this problem will depend to a great extent on the reorganization of the Party life so that comrades have free time for study and reading, and when the bulk of the Party membership is brought into close, living contact with broad masses of workers, they will be compelled to turn to theoretical literature to find their bearings in the complex situations that confront them.

The development of forces must also be attained by more political discussion at special functionary meetings on a District and Section scale.

5. Much more attention must be paid to the **education of new Party members**. Special short classes for new members must be set up in the Sections, using material especially prepared for this purpose. Attendance at a new members' class must be a requirement for all recruits, and it is even possible that such classes may be combined with a brief initiation ceremony and a social evening, where a spirit of friendliness and comradeship will be established between the new members and the older Party members. Special attention must be given to the systematic training of comrades in shop units, and forms and methods in accord with their conditions of work in the shop must be worked out and applied.

## II. General Education

Party forces must do much more in the future in developing educational work among non-Party workers.

1. Street units must seek to establish all possible forms for this work. Neighborhood classes or discussion groups should be organized, with discussions on current events, the Farmer-Labor Party, the high cost of living, unemployment, war and fascism, trade union problems, etc. If possible, these discussion groups should be combined with little social affairs, serving coffee and cake, etc.

In many cases, enlarged units will be able to organize lectures in neighborhood halls on popular topics.

2. Regular educational forums can be established, both on a District scale and in some of the important Sections. It is proposed that such forums be established on the East Side, in the Negro territory and in North Detroit. Such forums cannot be made narrow Party organs. Wherever possible, they should be sponsored and conducted by committees of non-Party people, representing or belonging to neighborhood clubs and organizations, trade union locals, etc. Non-Party speak-

ers should be invited to speak at such forums, debates should be organized, etc.

Educational programs in mass organizations can be sponsored by the initiative of Party members. Great possibilities exist in the I.W.O. and other mass and fraternal organizations. Where organized forums are not feasible, it is possible to organize lectures on a Section or neighborhood scale.

3. To render the greatest possible assistance to units, Sections and mass organizations, a District Speakers' Bureau shall be organized, and factual material shall be compiled and made available. Speakers shall be paid a nominal fee by clubs, forum committees, etc.

4. The Workers' School must be reorganized and broadened to appeal to wider sections of the working class, but direct Party support to the School must also be organized on a much wider scale than at present. Subjects of particular interest to trade unions, such as courses in trade unionism, history of the labor movement, parliamentary procedure, etc., should be introduced. Cultural subjects should also be added to the curriculum.

The Workers' School should become a factor in the development of the united front, mainly by establishing closer connections with other workers' educational movements—the Labor College, Socialist schools, trade union schools, etc. The possibilities of a conference of such various educational groups for the purpose of discussing methods of teaching, text-books, aims and purposes, and exchange of material should be considered.

The leading committee of the school must be strengthened and broadened and the interests of the students in the welfare of the school must be stimulated by developing self-criticism and involving them in the administration of the school.

### III. Mass Agitation

In this most important field of work, the greatest possibilities exist for the development of new and popular forms, at the same time enriching the content to the highest degree.

Our main tasks here consist in building up agitation on really mass proportions with constant, systematically issued material on the following most important issues:

1. Farmer-Labor Party—to popularize the results of the Toledo, Detroit and Port Huron labor campaigns, as well as the experience in other sections of the country by means of articles and leaflets, connecting this issue up with current economic and political questions, through shop papers, lectures, forums, speeches, etc.

2. Organize the unorganized and trade union unity—to popularize these slogans by means of leaflets and articles

and to explain the lessons of the Motor Products strike; through leaflets, shop papers, lectures, the **Daily Worker**, etc., constantly to press the A. F. of L. to organize the unorganized and to achieve unity, particularly in the auto industry.

3. **Fight against fascism**—to expose the aims of Father Coughlin, the Constitutional League and similar groups; to combat the Hearst press in a systematic way. Here, however, care must be taken to distinguish between the aims of Father Coughlin and the illusions of his followers, striving in a convincing way to show the real intentions of Coughlin at the same time proving to his followers that only the Communist Party seeks to obtain the demand of true social justice.

4. **Civil Rights Conference**—the activities of this organization must be popularized and given active support by the Party membership.

5. **Struggle against imperialist war.**—Here it is necessary to explain Party policy and to combat illusions with respect to the isolationist policy of the fascists, and the neutrality policy of the government; to popularize the achievements of the Soviet Union and its peace policy; to attempt to reach the widest possible sections on the basis of the fight for peace; to carry on the most intensive agitation immediately in behalf of the Third Congress Against War and Fascism to be held in Cleveland in January.

6. **Townsend Plan** and similar reformist groups—in our agitation we must seek to reach the Townsend followers by supporting their aims of adequate pensions for the aged but combatting the illusions of the possibility of securing these aims without struggle, or through the old political parties, especially combatting the inflationary policies of Townsend.

6. **United front and our relations with the Socialist Party**—to make the united front the center of all agitation, proving on all occasions the necessity for the united front and the persevering efforts of the Communists in that direction; to carry on agitation among Socialists for the necessity of the united front, at the same time answering in a popular and friendly way the objections of the Militant Socialists on the questions of the united front and organic unity.

7. **Works Project Administration**—to attack the whole program of the Roosevelt government reduction of the W.P.A., exposing the reactionary attacks on spending and assisting through agitation to build the W.P.A. union and to achieve higher wages.

All of these must be connected up with all local issues. The test of the vitality of local Party organizations will be their ability to link themselves with the immediate issues and to get out on their own initiative leaflets and other forms of agitation with regard to the above question, as well as the

sales tax, the milk question, workmen's compensation, unemployment relief, etc.

Leaflets must be issued in much greater quantities than at present, and particular care must be exercised in the form and make-up, as well as in the content. A real battle must be waged for the establishment of shop papers. Neglect of this work must be fought as a most serious danger. All possible assistance must be rendered shop units by the District and Sections in getting out shop papers. The present situation, where only two papers exist in the entire city of Detroit, must be considered as impermissible and unpardonable.

The improvement in the distribution of literature must be regarded as one of the most serious tasks of every Section and unit. The sale of popular pamphlets is the duty and responsibility of every Party member. The recent experiences of two comrades working in big shops, one of whom sold hundreds of copies of **Why Communism**, the other of whom sold 50 copies of Dimitroff's report **inside the shop** simply indicate the opportunities that exist for a mass sale of literature. These possibilities exist everywhere—hundreds of copies of **Soviet Russia Today** were recently sold at a lecture given in the Art Institute by the Free Press; the same can and must be accomplished in every neighborhood where clubs and fraternal organizations and trade unions hold their meetings. House-to-house canvassing with the Coughlin pamphlet immediately after the Coughlin broadcast; the sale of literature and pamphlets in beer gardens where workers gather; the sale of literature at busy intersections where thousands of workers pass on their way to and from work; sale and distribution of pamphlets in trade unions and mass organizations through fractions—all these and other forms must be developed in the shortest possible time. The possibility of organizing groups of unemployed comrades to devote full time to the systematic sale of literature should be discussed in the Sections.

Special efforts must be made to establish contact with cultural groups wherever they exist in mass organizations, particularly in the trade unions, and union comrades should enroll in trade union classes, etc., to take part in discussions.

The plans for the establishment of a permanent weekly paper, of a broad, popular mass character by the United Labor Conference, must be assisted and the Party must give it aid and the paper itself developed into a powerful instrument for the united front and the building of a Farmer-Labor Party.

The Party must assist existing workers' cultural groups to broaden them, and contact must be established with other similar groups with the perspective of a federation of the organizations in the cultural field.