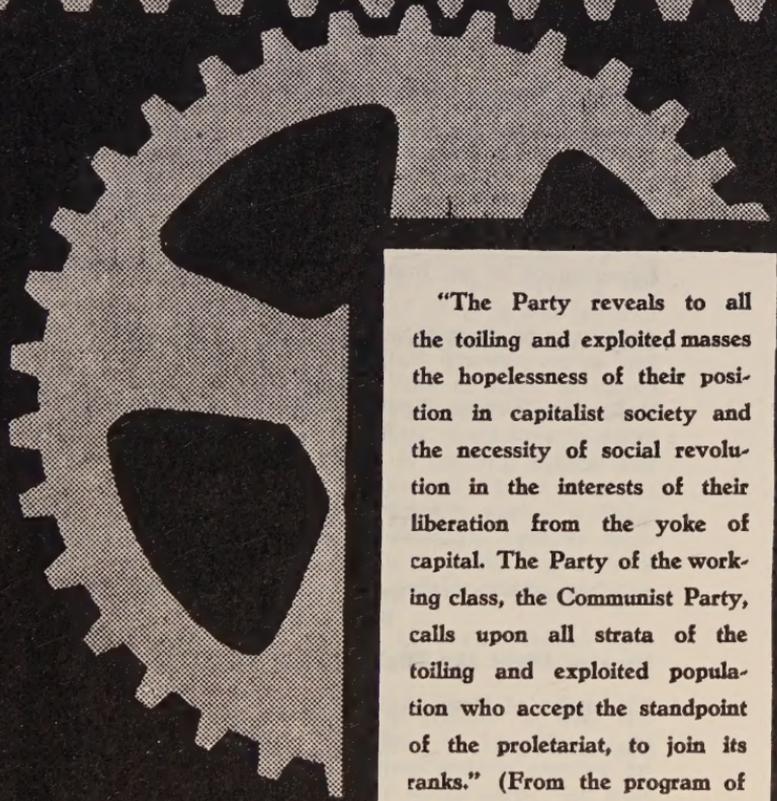


Party Organizer



"The Party reveals to all the toiling and exploited masses the hopelessness of their position in capitalist society and the necessity of social revolution in the interests of their liberation from the yoke of capital. The Party of the working class, the Communist Party, calls upon all strata of the toiling and exploited population who accept the standpoint of the proletariat, to join its ranks." (From the program of C.P. S.U.)

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PARTY ORGANIZER

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How to Conduct the Pre-Convention Discussion

By S. D.

HOW can we start the Ninth Party Convention Discussion?" The question can be best answered by making clear what a convention period is in the internal life of the Party. It is the time when it is the duty and right of every Party member to examine the work of the Party; it is the time when it is the right and duty of every member of the Party to ask: "How is the Central Committee carrying out the line of the Communist International? How is the District Committee carrying out the line of the Central Committee? How do the Section Committee and Unit Bureau carry out the line of the District Committee?" This is what is called "democratic centralism" in the Communist Party organization.

A new member of the Party at the unit discussion meeting might ask "what is this line?" There is nothing mysterious about the line of the Party. The Communist Party is not a sect. The line of the Party is for a certain period a daily guide to action to win the masses for struggle against capitalism. The line of the Party—this guide to action—proves its correctness only at such time when the masses begin to learn to accept it as their own.

Now let us begin with the problem of a Convention Discussion in a unit of the Party. How should the unit carry on its Convention Discussion?

It should examine its work, its activities to win the masses for struggle in light of the line of the Party. It should discuss how the unit and its membership carries on united front struggles against fascism, what steps the unit has taken in the building of a Farmer Labor Party, how the unit and its membership has worked to advance the cause of trade union unity, of organizing the unorganized, of building the industrial unions, how the unit has improved its internal life and come closer to the masses.

Of course, the unit discusses its own activities throughout the year, but what makes a unit Convention Discussion of its own work different from the regular unit discussions? It is the fact that in Convention Discussion periods the member-

ship reviews more thoroughly and examines its practical work more carefully in the light of the line of the Party and the Communist International.

How can we make these discussions most fruitful? By considering the individual collective experiences of the membership. How shall these experiences be discussed? **They shall be discussed from the viewpoint of how the masses accept the line of the Party.**

No matter how correct the line of the Party is, if we are removed from the masses, it will remain in the "files". It is most essential that particularly in Convention Discussion periods we learn to better know how the masses feel, how they think, what they say, what their attitude is toward various movements in the country. It is only then that we learn how to carry out the line of the Party. It is then that we learn what the problems and difficulties are in carrying out the line, what issues and slogans we must raise, what new methods of work we must develop in order to make the line of the Party that of the masses.

Just imagine if every Party member would bring in his or her experiences from their close contact with the masses, and when all of these "little and individual experiences" would converge on one central point—the National Party Convention—how this would serve to enrich and deepen the line and work of the Party.

Some comrades may ask, "where can we obtain the material for the Convention Discussion?" It may be found in the live activities of the work of the unit, of every Party member. This is the material for the Convention Discussion. "But we need a guide for the discussion", others will say. Quite true! The guide for discussion is embodied in the line of the Party, as contained in the resolutions and decisions of the last Central Committee Meeting of the Party, and in the report of Comrade Browder. Of course, the basis for all of our discussions at the present time are the reports of the 7th World Congress of the Communist International.

There is another important source of material for Convention Discussion; the Convention Discussion Section in the **Daily Worker**. This section serves to exchange experiences.

It is a Party forum for the collective discussion on the problems facing the Party on the eve of the Convention. Why not compare the experiences of one district with the problems of another district? Perhaps some unit in a district considered certain problems in the mass work difficult to solve at the very time when these same problems were successfully solved by another district of the Party? How often are valuable experiences of Party workers lost because the knowledge of successful experiences—yes, and experi-

ments—are confined to a small number of Party members? How often are mistakes of one District repeated by another District? At times, one District even “improves” upon the mistakes of another District. Let the whole Party learn from each other how to repeat good examples and avoid a repetition of bad examples.

How about using the Convention Discussion in the **Daily Worker**? How about contributing to the Convention Discussion in the **Daily Worker**?

Now we come to the old cry “how can we involve the membership in the discussion?” The answer is “allow and encourage every Party member freely to discuss his own experiences in relation to the work of the unit and the fraction; allow him especially to relate his experiences and his contacts with non-Party workers.” If any member of the Party has any doubt or unclarity about the line or work of the Party, let him speak his mind freely. This is democratic centralism in a Convention Discussion period.

One thing we must avoid and that is to make participation in the Convention Discussion an “assignment”. At one unit meeting in New York City, after a report was made, the chairman made it compulsory for every member present to participate in the discussion. Such a method only stifles discussion. A Party unit meeting is not a public school class room.

The Convention Discussion in the Party units or fractions should not be lost. The whole Party should benefit by them. We would suggest that following such discussions brief resolutions be drawn up summarizing the discussion and particularly drawing lessons from the work of the unit and outlining an improved plan of work. This will enable the Central Committee and the District Committees to study the experiences of the Party. The Central Committee values the opinion of the membership of the Party. Such resolutions, based on discussions, will enable the Central Committee to learn to know the opinion of the Party membership in detail. We would also suggest that following discussions in the Party organizations comrades should be asked to write short articles for the Convention Discussion section in the **Daily Worker**.

Why are conventions so important in the life of a Communist Party? Because they establish the line of the Party and also because they examine the work of the leadership of the Party, they elect the leadership of the Party. At a Party Convention the Central Committee gives an accounting of its work to the entire Party. What is true of the National Convention is also true of the District and Section Conventions. Everywhere in the Convention Discussion period, the

work of the elected bodies of the Party organizations is to be reviewed and approved by the Party membership.

As the most advanced Party of the working class, our Party is continually training new cadres for leading the mass work of the Party. It is in convention periods that the Party particularly reviews its forces and advances those who have been closest to the masses and those who have understood how best to bring the line of the Party to the masses. Convention Discussion periods in the life of the Party are not only carried on for the purpose of discussing the line of the Party, but also of bringing forward new Party forces into leading positions in the Party from bottom to the top.

The present recruiting drive in the Party is taking place in the very midst of our Convention Discussion. The problem of recruiting is in many respects the problem of keeping the new members. The problem of keeping the new members is in many respects a problem of helping them to understand the line and work of the Party. Could there be a better period for political training of the new members of the Party than a Convention Discussion period? Let every unit bureau, every leading Party organization, while organizing and leading the discussion in the respective Party organizations, bear in mind the new members of the Party.

February is the Decisive Month in the Recruiting Campaign!

By A. W. MILLS

IF the recruiting drive is to be a success, the month of February must be a decisive month. Simultaneously with the writing of this article, the Org. Department has received reports which indicate that extensive preparations are being carried on by the districts for the drive. However, with the exception of a few districts, no real achievements can be recorded in the recruiting of new members. While the preparations play an important part, nevertheless, no time can be wasted without actual recruiting.

Recruiting for December—with 1,788 new members—does not indicate a real change in our work toward mass recruiting. We do not yet have the figures for January, but from the preliminary reports, no such change was made to indicate a successful recruiting drive. Here is the recruiting table for the month of December:

District No. 1—	26	District No. 16	—10
2—	1,077	17	— 0
3—	92	18	—31
4—	0	19	— 3
5—	25	20	— 4
6—	85	21	—42
7—	43	22	— 0
8—	51	23	— 0
9—	32	24	— 2
10—	4	25	—17
11—	3	26	— 5
12—	60	27	— 0
13—	124	28	— 4
14—	40	16N—	3
15—	0	16R—	5

The table is self-explanatory. With the exception of New York, where in the one month of December the Party organization recruited 1,077 new members, other districts did not increase the speed of recruiting above the normal recruiting capacity of the Party. The recruiting increase in New York is primarily due to the fact that concrete organizational steps were taken to combine recruiting with the registration of the Party membership. On the night registration was carried on in the New York units, over 500 new

Party members were recruited. The registration was made a real political event. Its purpose was not only to register the old Party members, but at the same time to bring into the Party the hundreds of workers we are influencing.

From the above table we can also see that there are still districts in the Party which after a whole month of activities do not recruit a single member into the Party. These are Districts 4, 15, 22, 23 and 27. In some of these districts real mass work is being developed but still the Party does not take in a single member during a whole month.

How can we explain such a situation? How can we expect to have a recruiting drive under such conditions? The explanation lies in the lack of measures taken by the districts to recruit new members, and above all, in the lack of attention paid by the district leadership to the recruiting Campaign. What are the next steps?

The Steuben Letter

The letter of Comrade Steuben to the Section Organizers asking them to begin recruiting, to change methods of work, and the challenge which he issued to the Section Organizers can become a real stimulus in the recruiting drive. We are sure that if the Section Organizers and members of leading bodies in the Districts, on the basis of their contact, begin to recruit, this will stimulate the whole Party membership to bring in the thousands of workers who are ready to join our Party. The letter of Comrade Steuben must not only become the property of the Section Organizers. It must be discussed at all Section Committee meetings and be utilized to take steps to improve the work, as well as to place definite individual responsibilities upon the leading comrades to recruit new members.

Thus far, we have received only a small number of responses to the challenge. With the exception of the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Districts, there is no indication that the letter was discussed and steps taken to utilize this letter for a real drive.

We, therefore, urge each section committee to read this letter carefully and to take steps immediately to work out the most concrete plans for recruiting.

Meetings of Party Sympathizers

Practically in all the plans, we find provision for meetings of Party sympathizers in the different phases of mass work. These meetings should be called immediately. For example, a meeting of sympathetic trade unionists, with a proper explanation of the role of the Party, can bring in

many new members; meetings of non-Party activists in the fraternal movement, meetings of sympathetic Negro workers, etc., at which we bring forward the line of our Party, and urge the workers to join the Party. We are sure that such meetings, if properly prepared, where we can explain the role of the Party and the need of strengthening the Party for the struggles ahead of us, will get many new members for the Party.

In New York, such meetings have proven to be successful. Similar meetings can be organized everywhere. We must, however, make every possible preparation so that these meetings do not only become general explanations of the Party program and the need for a united front, but must emphasize that by joining the Party, these workers will be able to strengthen their work in the trade unions, in the fraternal organizations, etc.

Open Unit and Section Membership Meetings

During the month of February, each unit should prepare an open unit meeting. The preparation should be as follows:

1. To work out a concrete list of individuals with whom our Party membership is in contact;
2. To invite these people to the Party units by personal and written invitation;
3. The speech at the meeting should be very well prepared to serve the objective;
4. To carry through recruiting at the meeting.

Such meetings, if well prepared, can bring definite results.

During the month of February, the comrades will receive individual letters addressed to sympathizers by Comrade Browder. They will also receive individual letters addressed to women by Comrade Bloor; to Negro workers, by Comrade Ford; to trade union workers by Comrade Foster. These letters will be sent to the units and preparations should be made to send these letters to the thousands close to the Party, and after that organize personal visiting of these workers to convince them to join the Party.

These activities will bring forward a number of new experiences which should become the property of the Party. In order to make the campaign a live one, these experiences are needed in order to print them in the **Daily Worker** as well as to answer the numerous objections which the workers give for not joining the Party. It is only upon our ability to answer these objections concretely and above all to convince the workers, that we will be able to have a successful campaign.

District Average Dues Payments

	Oct. Dues	Nov. Dues	Dec. Dues
District 1	— 806	802	1,079
2	—9,264	10,408	13,188
3	—1,260	1,197	1,583
4	— 369	270	454
5	— 618	710	972
6	—1,638	1,972	2,494
7	— 948	1,141	1,315
8	—2,654	3,032	3,007
9	— 595	930	1,364
10	— 167	66	43
11	— 107	194	302
12	— 965	1,033	1,397
13	—2,131	2,572	2,532
14	— 551	549	868
15	— 564	589	901
16	— 51	52	67
17	— 215	232	140
18	— 551	510	633
19	— 277	315	511
20	— 205	96	241
21	— 397	249	247
22	— 275	0	100
23	— 0	0	17
24	— 81	75	97
25	— 148	123	260
26	— 195	329	395
27	— 853	509	875
28	— 225	160	189
16N	— 50	16	35
16R	— 8	5	50
	26,168	28,136	35,356

Recruiting in New York District

By J. ROBERTS

IN the statement of the Central Committee on the tasks of the Communist Party Convention which appeared in the **Party Organizer** last month, the following appeared:

"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 adjusting the Party organization to the political tasks of the present period."

It is in line with this statement that we wish to discuss the recruiting drive in this article, the results achieved so far in New York and the methods used in achieving them.

At the last District plenum, our District adopted as one of its control tasks the building of the Party to 12,500 dues-paying members by the time of the National Convention. During the month of December, 1,000 new members were recruited into the Party.

Special Methods

Why was it possible to recruit 1,000 new members in December, almost as many as in the three previous months? The answer to this question lies in the fact that a concerted drive, plus new methods of recruiting, made these results possible. About three weeks prior to the unit meetings of December 3, the District Organization Commission decided to utilize the three weeks period of registration which was to begin December 3 for mass recruiting. On this day we decided to hold open unit meetings, and for three consecutive meetings thereafter, to which the unit comrades were to invite their friends, shop mates, fellow workers in trade unions and mass organizations and sympathizers in the neighborhoods. The Organization Commission assigned leading comrades of the District to every Section, who met with representatives of the units. At these meetings a drive was initiated to bring non-Party members to the December open unit meetings. The **Daily Worker** was utilized for publicity. A special letter addressed to every Party member stressed the importance of attending these meetings and bringing their friends along.

The setting of a definite date for all the units to hold open unit meetings helped to create an atmosphere whereby

the comrades saw a definite perspective for these meetings and began to develop socialist competition.

It is clear that without these well-planned steps the 1,000 new members would not have been in the ranks of the Party. This achievement was utilized to further intensify the recruiting drive leading up to the Convention. The following steps have been decided upon for recruiting for the month of January:

January 15—meeting of all Party fraction secretaries in trade unions to discuss recruiting.

January 18—conference of non-Party trade union activists with Clarence Hathaway as the main speaker.

January 25—conference of non-Party activists in fraternal and cultural organizations with Amter and F. Brown as the main speakers.

January 28—open section membership meetings to deal with pre-Convention discussion and recruiting, to which the comrades are to bring their contacts from the trade unions, mass organizations and neighborhoods.

February 1—city-wide meeting of all new Party members who came into the Party during December and January, to discuss their impressions of the Party and to mobilize them for further recruiting.

While at the time of writing we have not yet complete figures on recruiting and the figures for the first week in January are lower than that of an average week in December, there are indications that the number recruited for this month will closely follow the recruiting for the month of December. While all the Sections will hold open membership meetings on January 28, two sections have already held such meetings, with the following results: at a membership meeting of Section 27, Lower East Side, 14 new members were recruited. At a meeting of Section 8, Brownsville, 26 new members were recruited, including two Negroes. It is interesting to note that about a dozen workers recruited at the meeting in Brownsville were brought to this meeting by a new Party member who only a year ago was considered a Whiteguard and whom our comrades would not touch with a ten-foot pole.

Open Wide the Doors of the Party to the Workers

There are thousands of workers in New York immediately surrounding our Party, ready and fit to become Party members. We still neglect the task of bringing them into the Party. This was clearly indicated at a conference of new Party members which was recently held in New York. One of the new comrades had the following to say:

"Had the thing been presented to me in the same way he (the recruiter) presented it to me I would have been a member of the Party two years ago, because I was a member of an Unemployment Council for that period of time. I had taken part in demonstrations, in picket lines, but I had never been asked to join the Party."

There are hundreds of such cases in New York. By overcoming this negligence in approaching individual workers to join our Party, we will develop recruiting on a mass scale.

Recruit Key People Into the Party

In the course of a day's work, in meeting with comrades on various problems facing them, one constantly hears such remarks as the following regarding leading people in the trade unions, shops and mass organizations: "This or that president or official of a local union has formerly been considered a reactionary, faker, misleader and even fascist, and now he is working very closely with our forces." It is true that we have gone a long way in breaking down this attitude towards leading people and officials in the trade unions and mass organizations. Our comrades are learning that not everybody who is not with us is against us, with the result that these people are working very closely with the progressive forces and our comrades.

This has been accomplished in a number of shops and trade unions, including the basic industries, such as marine, power, etc. These people can and must be won over to our Party. The Conference where the problem of building a Farmer-Labor Party in New York was discussed, held in New York on January 18, with about 400 leading trade unionists, of whom over 50 percent were non-Party members, proves this. This conference, if properly followed up by our comrades in the trade unions will bring dozens of these mass leaders into the Party. Comrade Stachel, in his article "Win the Mass Leaders for the Party", which appeared in the December issue of the **Party Organizer**, stated the following:

"It is necessary that we establish a basis for our work with these individuals... showing them in practice how the Communist Party helps to build the union... By winning such elements we lay the basis for winning larger groups which follow them in the community, in the trade unions, in the shops."

Leadership by Example

The points raised in the letter of Comrade Steuben to the Section Organizers were thoroughly discussed at a meeting of

Section Organizers after an introduction by Comrade Ford. It is clear that the leaders of our Party can develop broad contacts with the non-Party masses in the community, trade unions and mass organizations only if the methods of work of our leading comrades are changed. This is necessary particularly in New York where the Party sections and fractions are much larger than in the other districts and where it is necessary to give a great deal of attention to inner-Party problems.

The Steuben letter must become a topic for discussion in the District and Section Committees and extended to the unit organizers and unit bureaus. With the readjustment of the Party organization which is being carried through in New York (enlarging the units, readjusting the territory of the sections on assembly district lines), it will be possible for these bodies to become the leaders in the territories and will develop branch organizers and the executive committees of the enlarged units as leaders in the communities, only if these comrades will develop broad contact with the key people in the communities, local unions, and mass organizations.

By intensifying the drive for a Labor Party in New York, by adopting the methods of work of our leading comrades as indicated in the letter of Steuben, and by utilizing special methods of recruiting, similar to those indicated above, we shall be able to report to the coming Convention of our Party that New York has fulfilled its task in building the Party in this period.

Penetrate the Small Industrial and Agrarian Towns

By F. BROWN

EVEN as early as this spring the **Party Organizer** discussed the problem of penetrating the hundreds of small industrial towns in the various states, and made a whole series of suggestions for the planning of activities for the summer months. Only a few comrades responded so that the problem arose again at the last Plenum of the Central Committee. The building of the Party not only in the small industrial centers, but in the agrarian centers of the country, is of the utmost importance. It is a problem that we must solve in connection with the recruiting drive.

Comrade Shaw, in writing from Illinois, states:

"In Southern Illinois as pointed out at the last Central Committee meeting there is to be found indications that if these towns will be neglected by us they will become the recruiting ground for the reactionary forces. This danger appears more glaring especially in the small farming and industrial towns. These towns are bankrupt, industry deserted, 30 % of the small towns in Illinois are without light, small storekeepers are bankrupt and many of the small banks have not opened their doors since 1933. In the mining towns we find young men of 33 who have never had a job. The only hope of the youth is that some old miner dies so that they can take his place. The housing conditions are horrible; for years the mining and farming sections have not been repaired. The whole territory looks dilapidated. The small towns are being used by the big corporations as a union-smashing scheme."

This is not the situation in Illinois only, but in practically all of the small industrial and rural towns all over the country. It is especially in the small towns where our propaganda does not reach that the masses are very easy prey to all sorts of demagogic currents. The sections as organized today in most of the cases, with only one comrade (the Section Organizer) able to pay attention to the various units sometimes distributed over a large territory comprising a few counties, are unable to properly concentrate in the industrial, agrarian or rural towns where the Party is not yet established.

The problem of building the Party in these small towns is dependent upon the solution of two major points:

1. A better organizational readjustment of the sections outside of the large centers. This means that the sections must be based more on the political division of the states, etc. Furthermore this calls for the development of new forces for the purpose of strengthening the actual leadership in the sections and for additional forces for better readjusting the sections and for building new ones. In this respect more than in the past, in organizing the various training schools, section and district training schools, we must take into consideration the development of more forces coming from the small towns.

2. More planned assistance from the districts, and within the limit of possibilities, from the Center. This means that the districts must decide on which towns to concentrate. One of the leading comrades, one of the best agitators should go out, for example, on a tour, touching the three or four towns in which it is decided to build the Party. These tours must be well planned, with the meetings arranged in advance. The Party press can be effectively utilized to some extent in advertising the meetings in the small towns, and especially to make connections. The **Daily Worker**, plus the rest of the Party press reach hundreds of towns in which the Party is not organized. Correctly utilized, the connections can be very valuable in preparation for the meetings.

The few experiences gathered in the last period show that the building of the Party in the small towns is not at all difficult. The **Daily Worker**, the Central Committee, and the Districts have received especially in the last few years hundreds of letters from workers in the small towns asking for speakers, for organizers to build the Party. Most of the writers are workers who at one time or another worked in the large centers and came in contact with our movement. There are cases where the most developed of such type of workers, tired of waiting for an organizer, built the Party themselves.

In the small towns, more than in the larger cities, it is possible to approach and recruit into our ranks leading workers and farmers, those militant rank and file trade unionists, leaders of the trade union movement who were brought to their position because of their loyalty to their fellow workers, those who are known and respected by the whole community. In preparing the meetings in the small towns we must make special efforts to speak primarily to these elements. We will in this way not only solve the problem of building the Party in the small industrial and rural towns, but also the problem of recruiting into the Party those elements who are in close contact and have

influence over large sections of the population in their communities.

In planning the penetration of new towns we must at the very beginning keep in mind the necessity of taking all those measures which will insure the life and growth of these newly built units by continuous guidance. This means that in certain places where the sections have a stronger leadership, one of the members of the Section Committee will have to be responsible for the new units—in other cases the same comrade sent out from the districts.

In the spring and during the summer months when traveling is much easier, special groups of Party members from various centers can be built to visit the comrades in the small towns and thus create a bond between the comrades of the larger cities and those in the small towns. Such visits will not only encourage the comrades in the small towns in their work, but at the same time will take on the character of educational meetings at which the comrades should exchange their experiences.

The recruiting drive should be utilized to the fullest extent in carrying into practice the decisions of the last Central Committee Plenum. While the smaller districts will find some difficulty in getting the proper comrades to send out, the larger centers, by preparing the tour for one of the leading comrades, will gain considerably in extending the Party organization. Such tours require, of course, a certain expense which could be covered if not completely, at least in part, by mass meetings. To make the start possible, it is advisable that the larger districts build a special fund for this purpose. It will not be difficult to bring together a group of sympathetic people who will contribute to such a fund.

The details on how to organize the meetings, recruit and build the units are contained in the directives on the Recruiting Drive.

The workers and farmers of the small towns are waiting for us, demanding that we bring the Party program into small industrial and rural communities, that we help to organize the masses in these territories. The Recruiting Drive should be the beginning of the campaign for penetration into hundreds of new towns. A successful campaign not only will broaden out the Party organization, will increase the number of Party members, but will broaden the Party influence tremendously in new territory.

Experiences of an Industrial Unit in Washington

By R. E. RAY

ABOUT nine months ago, as the result of consistent trade union work on the part of two comrades, we were able to recruit three workers into the Party, all from the same trade union. Due to the fact that these were building trades workers not remaining on any one job for any length of time, we did not have the basis for the organization of a shop nucleus. The Section Committee felt that if we placed these comrades in street units, they would be confronted with the following situation:

1. The fact that our street units are not composed of workers from the neighborhood, but are based on the activity of these comrades in the mass organizations. The problems discussed at the units, not being directly related with the closest interests of these workers, would not have much appeal to them.

2. The street units are not in a position to give these new comrades the necessary concrete guidance and attention, because (a) most of the time was taken up discussing the numerous problems of the other comrades in the units, (b) other comrades in the unit not being connected with or having any trade union experience could not concretely link up and properly guide the work of each individual comrade as it applied to his specific situation, (c) attendance at the street unit means one night each week and because practically all of the trade union comrades attended not only their local meeting, but meetings of the various central bodies of the A. F. of L., special sub-committees, as well as devoting a certain amount of time in making personal contacts and developing the rank and file movement practically all their nights were taken up. These workers felt, and very correctly so, that it was their privilege to take a night off and stay home with their families occasionally.

Another problem, which reflected itself in the reluctance of these comrades to attend street units as well as open Party affairs, is the fear they have of expulsion from the A. F. of L. and the consequent loss of employment.

These conditions made us feel that the only way in which we could keep these comrades in the Party, as well as build our Party among this group of workers, was through creating the proper organizational form and method of work to overcome the difficulty faced in the street units.

With the establishment of this (semi-)industrial unit and

our subsequent experiences we came to the following conclusions:

1. The life and activity of this unit was centered around those problems which meant most to these workers, those issues which confronted them daily. As a result the meetings were of greater interest to these comrades and the participation in the discussions and plans were much broader.

2. It became possible to give concrete guidance and personal attention to each comrade and his particular problems. The type of leadership these comrades received was of a high quality because it expressed the collective opinions and experiences of all of the comrades in the Section who were engaged in this phase of work.

3. This unit eliminated fractions thereby enabling the comrades to spend several nights a month at home or engage in some other work.

4. The fact that they met at the homes of people they knew dispelled any fear these comrades had of being known openly as members of the Party.

For the first time we were able to make **the campaigns of the Party and particularly the question of recruiting, an integral part of the life and activity of that unit**, rather than being just "another" problem for the unit to take up. In discussing recruiting each comrade brought forward names of workers whom he had contact with. These were discussed systematically and politically by the entire unit, which proposed the necessary steps to be taken to draw each of them closer to the movement and into the Party. Similarly, our **Daily Worker** drive, Lenin-Memorial meeting and other such issues were raised in this manner. **Resulting from this policy this unit has been able to more than double its membership.**

During the development of this unit many difficulties arose, some of which were overcome and many are in the process of being solved. However, the basic problem of finding the suitable organizational form within which this group of comrades could effectively conduct their Party activity, we feel is solved. The Section Committee after paying the most consistent attention to this unit feels that had it not been for the form adopted, the gains that we have made in the trade union field would not have been realized, and that these comrades would not have been drawn close to or have remained in the Party.

Why We Do Not Recruit

By B. K. GEBERT

THIS question must be placed before the whole Party today after the Central Committee decision to intensify the recruiting drive and after the challenge issued by Comrade Steuben, Youngstown Section Organizer, that we are not making noticeable progress in recruiting. To answer the question I will give here a description of a general Party membership meeting in one of the steel towns in Western Pennsylvania.

Twenty-one comrades were present at the meeting. The Section Organizer is an active leading comrade and gave a very good report. He described the problems confronting the Party in the Section and dealt with the work in the trade unions and company unions and what steps should be taken to organize a committee for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party. He spoke of recruiting and promised to recruit twenty members himself. He spoke of the increase in the sale of the **Sunday Worker**.

Discussion followed. Comrade after comrade gave a report. They spoke of the work being done in the company union, contacts our comrades have with key people, etc. Another comrade discussed how the Party unit was responsible for organizing a lodge of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Tin and Steel Workers of America. A third one discussed the problem of how to revive a defunct lodge of the A.A. A miner told how in an important local he himself was elected delegate to the International Convention together with another progressive. A food worker said that he established contact with a group of militant workers and they were about to launch a Food Workers Union of the A. F. of L.

They were good reports, indicating that our comrades are active in the labor movement. **Yet not a single one of these comrades said a word about recruiting into the Communist Party.** Oh, yes, one said, "After the Section Organizer recruits 20 people, it will be easier for us to recruit workers into the Party." It is clear from this that the problem of building the Party does not enter the minds of our comrades who are working hard to build a labor movement, united front, working within the mass organizations, etc.

Can we blame our comrades for this? I must emphatically answer, no! We have not as yet discussed with our membership concretely how to recruit, how to convince the worker to become a member. We did not focus the attention of our membership on the need and necessity of building a mass Communist Party.

A representative of the District Committee took the floor and he opened his discussion precisely around the question of how to recruit and discussed it in detail. He said it was necessary to convince non-Party active people in the trade unions, in the mass organizations as to the reasons why they should become members of the Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class, so that they can become Party fighters, Party workers in the organizations of which they are members. In so doing they would also prepare and pave the way to achieve the final aims of the working class, the freeing of itself from the yoke of capitalism.

What was the response of the membership after such a presentation? The majority of the comrades present made pledges to recruit into the Party. They pledged to recruit twenty-seven members by March 1. If the Section Organizer will recruit twenty, and we are confident that he will, and the other members recruit twenty-seven, this will change the face of the Party in that section. The Party will strengthen its ties with the decisive workers in that region—steel workers and miners. It will bring into its ranks new cadres. We must have human material to execute our mass policies and this human material can be found precisely in the ranks of the working class.

The Party and workers here in Western Pennsylvania went through many heroic struggles, fought many battles. They are ready to join our ranks if we have a persistent policy of building our Party, and get rid of seasonal activities, that is, the planning of work for a certain period for a certain campaign without a long range perspective. Long range perspectives and stabilization of our activities will really build the Party.

Rally the Women Against Fascism and War

By MARGARET COWL

“WE are always going to lack just that necessary margin to win,” said Comrade Browder at the November Plenum of the C.C., “if we do not organize and mobilize the women and this is not taken care of in the natural course of the work.”

In the trade unions, in industries employing women, our women comrades should come forward with suggestions for the protection of jobs for married women. This is a burning question today for women workers in many shops and fac-

tories. Modernly equipped industries in the East are intensifying competition with similar industries in the South and Mid-West. The first item to be attacked in lowering the cost of production is wages. Women will be used more than ever before to lower the wages of all workers. The principle of lower wages for women already exists. An attempt to spread this is being made by the passing of such laws as Section 213 of the National Economy Act which disqualifies married women in government employ. (See Department of Labor reports from Washington on how women are replacing men even in heavier industry).

Equal pay for equal work now is a practical demand. But it must be coupled with a demand for increase in wages for women, otherwise wages for men will be reduced on the pretense of granting equal pay.

At present in many places there is an intensified campaign by employers supported by feminist women's organizations to declare minimum wage laws for women unconstitutional in those states where such laws exist. The working women must be organized against this drive to lower workers' wages. The A. F. of L. at its Convention in Atlantic City included minimum wage laws for women in its social legislation program. We must popularize this. We must use this to get action in A. F. of L. unions to organize women into the A. F. of L. We must help the Women's Trade Union League (A. F. of L.) in this and, wherever none exists, help to organize a branch of the League.

We will not organize women against the dangers of fascism unless we see to it that our women comrades become active in women's mass organizations, as pointed out by Comrade Browder. There are numerous organizations where our women comrades must become active. Their work should result in united front movements against fascism, against war.

Farmers' wives have exhibited much sentiment against war. We should not be afraid to hold informal women's large meetings, inviting women from the neighborhoods, from women's organizations, to discuss the best forms to fight against militarization, against appropriations to local armories by the government, to combat high prices.

In Minneapolis and Detroit the women discovered that the best form of organization to combat high prices was the organization of the women in the neighborhoods into women's clubs; these clubs hold town or city conferences to which they invite trade unions, and all other workers' and women's organizations. Thus, they organized a Women's League Against the High Cost of Living which had a two-fold character: individual women members in the neighborhood and a

united front of all workers' and women's organizations in the entire city. Where possible, it is advisable to organize women's continuation committees for peace. These, of course, must result from certain conferences where women's organizations were represented. These conferences cannot be conferences where only our closest sympathizing organizations participate. In other places it may be possible to form unification committees within women's organizations for the purpose of getting concerted action by women's organizations for the repeal of Section 213 (defined above), against attempts to pass laws restricting women's rights in the municipality or state, for maternity insurance, equal rights for Negro women, against militarization in the schools, government restriction of monopoly prices, etc. In some places, women will be interested in a movement to repeal the anti-birth control laws.

Organizational forms should be elastic and should fit into the given situation. A guarantee that these local organizational movements will not roll off into feminist trends is the organization of Party fractions, and ideological guidance.

Districts should set up an apparatus to carry out the plans for work among women. To celebrate International Women's Day on March 8th, and then forget about work among women until the following year, is not carrying out the suggestions of Comrade Dimitroff. March 8 should serve as a day on which we herald the mobilization of masses of women in the fight against fascism and war. We must intensify work among women much before March 8 and continue it with the new contacts even more strenuously after March 8. Otherwise, it will be an approach to work among women not worthy of Communists.

Letters were sent out the latter part of December to all District and Language Bureaus about March 8. Some Districts have not given any attention to this letter as yet.

The Party wants particularly to mark International Women's Day this year by celebrating the 45 years of excellent work in the labor movement by our Comrade "Mother" Ella Reeve Bloor. That is why the Organizational Commission of the Central Committee has printed special membership application cards with "Mother" Bloor's picture. The District recruiting most women into the Party by March 8 will receive a hand-painted portrait of "Mother" Bloor. Comrades in the Districts, enter into this competition, help build the Party in the same determined spirit of our untiring and devoted Comrade, "Mother" Ella Reeve Bloor.

AGIT-PROP SECTION

The Farmer-Labor Party Campaign in the Shop Papers

By EMMA YANINSKY

THE building of a Farmer-Labor Party is today the most important task of our Party. Yet, if we examine our recent shop papers we shall find that most of them are lagging behind on Farmer-Labor Party agitation. Some of the papers omitted the Farmer-Labor Party issue, while others have exhausted the issue with one general declaration for a Farmer-Labor Party.

Irregularity of Appearance

In Connecticut, Detroit, and a number of other important centers, where there were movements for independent political action, a number of shop papers discontinued their appearance. From Connecticut, for instance, we received only the October issue of the **Live Wire** of the General Electric Company, and none since. What has happened to the other shop papers in the District, we are in no position to say.

In Detroit the shop papers in the most important factories, like the Ford, the Chevrolet, the General Motors, and the Dodge, did not come out for many months. In fact from these important factories we have not seen a single issue during the whole election. The November issue of the **Book-Cadillac Hotel Worker** made no mention of independent political action, while the October issue had one item on the Sugar election campaign without even mentioning the fact that he was the candidate on the united labor ticket.

Not much different is the situation in Cleveland. There, too, we see a marked decline in shop paper work, and those issued carry nothing or very little about the Farmer-Labor Party.

United Front Agitation

But some of the articles, though too general from the point of view of Farmer-Labor Party agitation, are worthwhile quoting because of their popular language. As an example, we give the article from the **Carnegie Worker**, Youngstown, Ohio, which we quote in full:

"There are two classes of people in the Ohio works. One class is the workers, the other, the owners and stockholders. The workers do the work, and the owners get the money. We have to be either on the side of the workers, or stick up for the interests of the bosses and stockholders. The City Council and all government officials also must take sides. Either they serve the rich and go against the poor or vice versa. How are we to know who are the best men? There is one test that very well tells the tale and that is by asking all candidates: What have you done for the working class people before the elections?"

This article, so simple and convincing, lacks completeness. While it presents the class nature of politics, it fails to draw the necessary distinction between the capitalist parties and independent political action of the working class. It fails to draw the logical conclusion—the building of the Farmer-Labor Party. Instead, it proposes to vote for candidates on the basis of their individual pre-election records. This mistake, though unintentional, reveals that the unit did not discuss how to concretize the Farmer-Labor Party issue in the Carnegie Steel plant.

The October **Live Wire** has an open letter to the Socialist Party calling for a united front action on four points: To organize the unorganized metal workers in Bridgeport; adequate relief for the unemployed, prevailing trade union wages on W.P.A.; against the sales tax; defense of democratic and civil liberties.

It further states:

"In the event that the Socialist Party accepts these demands as a basis for united action, the Communist Party is willing to withdraw its candidates and support the candidates of the Socialist Party for re-election."

This open letter is a departure from the old sectarian approach. The comrades are becoming aware of the existence of various groups in their plant and of the necessity to approach these groups on the basis of their background and political maturity.

It was also good judgment to concentrate first on the Socialist workers for united action; but it is to be regretted that this good beginning was not followed up. The question of unity is a vital one for the workers of General Electric. They certainly wanted to know what happened to this appeal. Was it accepted? Did it work out? What were the lessons? To utilize our shop and neighborhood papers not only for raising issues, but also for answering questions which arise in the minds of the workers in connection with these issues,

is the next step toward the improvement of our agitation for a united front and a Farmer-Labor Party.

The **Lodi Dye Worker** (New Jersey) has come out regularly for the past four months. It is one of the few papers which, back in September, mentioned the setting up of Department Labor Party committees and attempted to show how a labor administration will benefit the workers. Yet the article on the Bergen County Labor Party conference, which we quote below, sounds more like an old-time letter of instructions to the units than an agitational article for a Farmer-Labor Party and for the establishment of department Labor Party Committees in the Lodi Works.

“Labor Party Committees must be set up in every department in the U.P.D.W. Plant. Also, and this is very important, the hundreds of needle trades workers who live in Lodi must be involved in the building of the Labor Party. Committees must be set up in the Lodi Branch of Local 145, I.L.G.W.U. as well as in all the small shops which operate in Lodi. . . .”

The word “must” appears entirely too often. Instead of saying “Labor Party Committees must be organized” the article should have proceeded to show why and how to establish such committees in the departments. Also on the broadening out of the Labor Party the article should have shown the importance of drawing in the various organizations and shops in Lodi and told what the Lodi Dye workers can do for it at and after the conference. In other words, the shop paper should have occupied itself with the task of agitating and mobilizing the workers of the Lodi works for the Farmer-Labor Party and for action at the Bergen County Labor Party conference rather than concentrating on instructions to the conference.

Dealing with Daily Problems

The workers in the shops and neighborhood where we have Communist units are no exception. They are also influenced by the various damagoc theories. Therefore, our shop papers must not shrink from these problems, but frankly discuss them with the workers. Furthermore, the comrades must realize that one general article, no matter how good, will not do the job. The Farmer-Labor Party has more than one angle. There is the struggle for peace and the role a Farmer-Labor Party can play in it. There is the Soviet peace policy which we must popularize as the living example of what a workers' government contributes toward keeping up peace. There is the struggle for maintaining as much of the privileges the workers still enjoy under this capitalist democ-

racy. There is the struggle against Hearst, Father Coughlin, who have their spokesmen in the shops and neighborhoods, and the struggle against those who are trying to line up the workers behind Roosevelt as a means of saving the United States from fascism. Every one of the questions can be broken up in a number of others.

In Comrade Browder's speech at the recent Plenum, he spoke about "the demand for opening the closed factories", and the one dealing with the question of public works. He analyzes these in great detail and shows how these can be brought forward as practical proposals which will sound logical and realistic to the masses of workers. A thorough study of this speech and a discussion of how to apply it to the life of your neighborhood and shop will do much in transforming our general, often sectarian, agitation into a live program which the workers will be ready to accept as their own. We want to see the units take the initiative in this work.

We hope that the next shop papers will reflect the change in our agitation; but we feel that this is not only a job for the units. The District and Section Committees, particularly the Agit-Prop and Shop Paper Committees must at once set the apparatus in motion, and carry through discussions with the units, on our agitation for a Farmer-Labor Party.

How to Fight the High Cost of Living

THE little pamphlet by Martha Thomas on the **High Cost of Living**, issued under the direction of the National Research League of Chicago, is a good example of how to concretize our fight on this burning issue of the day. It deals with the problem as it affects the Illinois workers and furnishes our agitators in the Chicago District with factual material to use against the Liberty Leaguers who try to place the blame entirely on the New Deal, although it was the monopolists who in the early days, with the blessing of the New Deal, pushed through higher prices and have benefited with swollen profits.

One of our most important tasks is to show the workers that the fight against the high cost of living is a fight against the trusts who make profits out of high prices at the expense of the farmers and workers. This can be done only if we link up the fight with every concrete issue facing the worker—higher wages, more relief. We must propagandize by using facts that apply in every specific community or locality. Thus, the pamphlet by Martha Thomas deals with the

problems of the Illinois workers—their wages, their expenses, etc. A similar pamphlet should be issued by every District.

In doing this the districts should avoid certain shortcomings of this pioneer work. Pamphlets should be written in more popular language and the facts should be dramatized with illustrations, etc. The Republican Party is carrying on a gigantic campaign around this issue, blaming the New Deal for the high cost of living. We must meet this ballyhoo with arguments based on facts. We must issue short, lively pamphlets dealing with the situation as it affects the lives of workers in every town and city in the United States.

(Write to the National Research League for copies of the pamphlet. The address is: National Research League P.O. Box 1254, Chicago, Ill.)

Example of Good Agit-Prop Work

(From the minutes of a recent meeting of District No. 8
[Chicago] Agit-Prop Commission Meeting)

Study Circles

COMRADE X reported on the development of study circles in his Section. There are five study circles in existence with a total membership of 120 people, only fifteen of whom are Party members. Study circles have been utilized to penetrate the Sons of Italy organization with definite Ethiopia resolutions, and contacts were gotten in this organization. The study circle is responsible for starting the struggle against the high cost of living in that neighborhood. Another study circle which includes seven Socialist Party members is bringing excellent results.

Methods of struggle. Every study circle has a leader. The question and answer method and a brief summary by the leader is the method used. The program of study is not uniform in all circles. Some are reading Browder's and Dimitroff's reports; others are discussing **What is Communism?** others are discussing election issues.

Legislative Program

Decisions:

1. To make a study of recent bills and draft amendments for these bills as well as new bills which should be proposed and introduced in the Farmer-Labor Party struggle.
2. To issue a model leaflet to the sections on urgent problems of the day: (a) Sales tax, (b) Old age pensions,

(c) Freedom of the press, (d) City budget (this was made necessary due to the fact that the sections are not issuing any independent material and that numerous issues have been neglected and no agitational material is issued).

3. Comrades X, Y, and Z were assigned to write these sample leaflets as a model to the Sections.

Stakhanovism

By IRENE

IT is clear that we have not paid as much attention to the Stakhanovite movement as it deserves.

To agitate among the masses, giving them a correct analysis of this movement, means instructing them in the achievements of socialism as well as combatting the slanders of the bourgeois, anti-Soviet press.

What Is the Stakhanov Movement?

The Stakhanov movement is a new and higher stage of socialist competition. Its goal is the practical strengthening of socialism and turning the socialist country into a land of plenty. In his speech Stalin pointed out that in Stakhanovism the Soviet state had not only found the means for making socialist society wealthier than has been made possible in other lands by the capitalist system of economy, but also that it is a stepping stone from socialism to communism.

“For socialism to achieve this goal, a life of plenty and culture for all members of society, the country must have a level of labor productivity that exceeds that of the foremost capitalist countries.”

The Stakhanov movement has a deep revolutionary character.

The following conditions made Stakhanovism possible:

1. A radical improvement in the material conditions of the workers; a higher standard of living is a spur to greater activity, to higher norms of production.

2. The absence of exploitation, which transforms the character of labor, from one of compulsion and slavery into voluntary, joyful work that bestows honor and glory on zeal and achievement.

3. The development of new technics of production.

4. The new people, the real force behind the Stakhanov movement.

What Are the Characteristic Features of Stakhanovism?

1. It abolishes the old technical norms and the old production plans and balances.

2. It breaks down the old attitude towards technics, norms, and capacities.

3. It creates higher technical norms; it increases production plans and project capacities.

The Productivity of Labor Under Socialism

The increase in the productivity of labor is invariably a sign of general progress. That was the reason that capitalism was able to crush feudalism by introducing higher norms of labor.

The higher productivity of labor, creating an abundance of commodities, forms a basis for the ultimate and complete victory of socialism. Socialism cannot be built upon a foundation of poverty, as the advocates of equalization claim. The productivity of labor under socialism surpasses that in the advanced capitalist countries. The theory that existing technical norms have been brought to their highest development, and the attempts to falsify the scientific limitation of norms, are advanced with the aim only of preventing the development of socialist economy. The Stakhanov movement has a special importance in that it is preparing the conditions for the transition from socialism to communism. It will gradually abolish the difference between socialism and communism on the principle of distribution and will remove the distinction between mental and manual labor.

The raising of the cultural and technical level of the working class, the rise of a new generation, and the development of skillful cadres, made possible the rise of the Stakhanov movement.

What Helped to Develop the Stakhanov Movement?

First of all Stakhanovism is a movement coming from below. This explains its great popularity and its rapid spread throughout the country. Conditions were completely ripe for its rise. It received a powerful impetus from the introduction and development of new technique and new equipment in the mills and factories of the country.

The main problem is to broaden and deepen this movement, to break the resistance of lingering ignorance and opportunism by comradely persuasion and thoroughgoing

propaganda against all blocking tactics. The Stakhanov movement, as a great achievement of socialist methods of work, is meeting with hostility from the counter-revolutionary camp, especially from the Socialist "Old Guard" leaders and the Trotskyites, who are feverishly spreading the lie about speed-up under the Soviets, charging that the Soviets are going back to capitalism. The motive for this counter-revolutionary fiction is identical with the slander spread several years ago about compulsory labor in the Soviet Union. But we must expose this new lie and make it suffer the fate of its predecessor—in the trash basket of history. Let us answer the Soviet-haters of all brands by popularizing more intensively the achievements of the Soviet Union and by making the call for the defense of the Soviet Union the living slogan of the American masses.

What's On?

By S. D.

YES, what is on? We were anxious to find out. We then made a little study of the "What's On" column in the **Daily Worker**.

The column which announces lectures and meetings organized by the Party organizations does not tell us what are the issues that agitate the workers most. We could not find a single lecture that would tell the workers what the Communist position is on the Townsend plan. There are at present millions of people who are interested in this movement. Our Party has a definite position on this wide mass movement. Our Party was the first political organization in the country which initiated the movement for social insurance. Why not give a series of lectures on these topics?

Taxation and the high cost of living are disturbing every working class, farming, and middle class family. The reactionaries, the Hearsts and Liberty Leaguers, are making taxation and the high cost of living big issues in their campaigns for fascism. Why don't we organize propaganda meetings to fight against the high cost of living, to fight for shifting of the burden of taxation from the poor to the rich?

A few months ago the Party organizations arranged forums and lectures on the Farmer-Labor Party. But of late these lectures have been discontinued. And the building of a Farmer-Labor Party is the central task facing the

Party today in the struggle to prevent the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in the United States! What about lectures and discussion meetings on Coughlin, Hearst, and the like?

If there is any issue that we have continuously to make clear to the masses, it is the war issue. The ruling class always keeps its war preparations shrouded in mystery. The present Munitions Inquiry tears the holy veil off the faces of Morgan and President Wilson. Here is a golden opportunity to use these revelations. Let millions of people know the truth about the last world war! Let them know that it was a war to save the profits of Morgan and not to make the world safe for democracy. Hundreds of lectures and forums should be arranged in every district on the Morgan inquiry. To tell the people the truth about the last world war will help us in the fight against a new world war. The reactionary press, to combat the effects of the Morgan revelations, is repeating the old propagandistic lie that the last world war "abolished bread lines, brought silk stockings, meant prosperity". By doing this they wish to imply that a new world war will bring back prosperity. We should not forget that an entirely new generation has grown up since the last world war. Let the old generation which experienced the horrors of the last world war tell the new young generation of the "prosperity" blessing of the last world war.

Meetings, discussions, lectures, using the facts revealed at the Morgan inquiry, will be a mighty agitation-propaganda weapon in our struggle against war and fascism.

Our study of the "What's On" column shows that the lectures and forums are being held in the main in the large cities. What about the small towns which are strategic industrial centers of the country? Yes, what about the small farming communities? And let us not forget that the radio reaches today the smallest communities in the country!

A number of cities hold forums regularly. But what about reaching the workers in neighboring towns and villages? What we need is more section mass agitational and propaganda meetings. While we have been carrying on agitation and propaganda in the large cities we have hardly made a serious beginning in our agitational propaganda work in the small towns; yes, and in the working class sections in the large towns.

A very attractive form of mass propaganda is public debating. The Browder-Thomas debates have become public political events in the cities where they had been held. Such debates could be organized throughout the country by

the local comrades. Debates could be held, not only on national issues, but on local issues as well.

Was there ever a time in this country when the people were so eager to listen to discussions of public issues, as they are today? Let our agitation and propaganda deal with the issues that agitate the millions. Let us organize our agitation and propaganda in such a manner that will bring our voice closer to the ears of the millions of people anxious to find a solution to their economic and political problems.

Let's Get on the Radio!

THE Central Committee Plenum raised before the Party the question of mass agitation in the task of winning millions for the united front against fascism and war. Comrade Browder emphasized that the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party in the United States is a struggle to convince and organize millions of people for united action against fascism and for the immediate demands of the masses. This task of reaching and convincing millions now becomes a key task of the Party.

We, therefore, must begin to organize our agitational work in such a manner that we can actually carry through this major task. A most important way to do this is through the radio.

The ability to put the Party on the radio gives us a minimum guarantee that we can reach with one speech thousands of workers' homes and actually counteract the poison spread every day in the week through this powerful instrument of bourgeois propaganda.

From previous experiences in Cleveland, Philadelphia, and other cities, we note that with proper attention to this question, we can place the Party on the radio. From an experience in Philadelphia we learn that for a fifteen-minute speech on the radio, in preparation for the last Lenin Memorial meeting, the Party paid \$25, and continued such speeches for about three or four weeks.

We are sure that the mere fact that the Party goes on the radio will create such enthusiasm to involve the Party membership and close sympathizers to raise a special radio fund, and make it possible for the districts to go through with regular radio talks.

Furthermore, the plan to place the Party on the radio

can be carried through if we very carefully work out the following program:

1. Investigate the whole field and get local stations which will agree to accept Communist speakers for ten or fifteen minutes each week.

2. In case we cannot get it officially through the Party, we can do it in the name of a forum, the **Daily Worker**, or **Sunday Worker**.

3. To prepare publicity in advance whenever radio talks are to be held.

4. To organize groups of listeners in the homes of Party members which can be utilized for organizational purposes, for discussions, and also to make collections, which will make possible the carrying through of this undertaking.

If we prepare this in advance, we are sure that in the near future, in every major locality, we can have systematic radio talks, which will immediately change the character of our agitation, and enable us to reach tens of thousands of workers with our message.

Quite often our agitation is of a hit-and-miss character. We are sure that each Party District, if it will discuss this question properly, and if it organizes and sets up a special committee to investigate the whole matter, will be able to show splendid results.

Do You Know About Labor Research Association Notes?

BY special arrangement with Labor Research Association, the Agit-Prop sends out monthly two of Labor Research Association's excellent 10-page, mimeographed bulletins—**Economic Notes** and **Labor Notes**. From one to twenty copies are sent to each of the various districts which, in turn, are supposed to pass them on to Section Organizers.

How many in the districts and sections actually read these **Notes**? Those who do read the **Notes** are unanimous on their value. Some of the regular features in **Economic Notes**, for example, include the profits of leading companies, the current economic situation, monthly reports on rise in cost of living, periodical reports on the rise or fall in real wages, financial control of important industries, high sal-

aries of leading corporation executives, facts on cost of war (see January issue).

There are analyses of the economic effects of certain legislation. For example, Roosevelt's silver and gold acts—which often appear obscure—have been simply explained and their effects examined. There have been extracts from **Rulers of America**, Anna Rochester's forthcoming definitive book on finance capital in the United States. Other books are reviewed, and the most important facts of interest to readers extracted.

Labor Notes was formerly known as **N.R.A. Notes**. **Labor Notes** devotes special attention to legislation affecting labor, to labor board hearings, government and politics, strikes, employers' tactics, killings of workers in labor struggles, use of militia in struggles and so on. For instance, as early as last November, **Labor Notes** publicized the War Department's pamphlet on "Domestic Disturbances" which later received such widespread publicity.

Some District Organizers report that they read Labor Research Association's two monthly bulletins and find them useful. Others report that they are placed away in a drawer "for future reference", but actually are never consulted and do not even get to the sections!

We particularly stress the value that our shop papers can derive from the constant use of the material supplied in the Labor Research Association's **Economic Notes** and **Labor Notes**. In this connection, we commend as an excellent example the manner in which the **Shop Paper Guide** for January, 1936, issued by the Agit-Prop Commission of District 8, devotes a page to charting the profits of industrial corporations having plants in Chicago, by giving a comparison between the profits received in the first six months in 1934 and in the same period of 1935. Such material, if it were presented regularly by the Shop Paper Guide, or other Party bulletins in all of our Districts, would be very helpful to our sections and units in equipping them with concrete data wherewith to expose the brazen demagoguery of the bosses and their propagandists.

Another point to remember is that the Labor Research Association's bulletins are not exclusive, to be read only by those at the top. Hundreds of rank-and-file workers have subscribed to them. In some cases (students, teachers, A. F. of L. organizers) these **Notes** are the first and only contact with the militant labor movement. Some organizers have sent in the names of people who have later been drawn into our movement as a result of their contact with these **Notes**. For this reason Labor Research Association now has a special limited offer. For one dollar you get both **Econom-**

ic Notes and Labor Notes for 10 months—or one of them for 20 months. Send in your subscription or that of a friend, fellow worker or neighbor to Labor Research Association, 80 East 11 Street, New York City.

New Members Class Outline

Reviewed by Harry Martel

Educational Director, Section 20, District 2 (New York)

THE problem of recruiting involves, not only enrolling new members, but also preparing these members for their proper functioning in the Party. One of the most important ways in which this can be done is through the organization of new members' classes. Such classes must afford to the new member that minimum knowledge of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Party organization which is indispensable for his work as a Communist among the masses. In the endeavor to organize these classes properly throughout our Party, the Commission on Party Education published a draft program for a new members' course in the September issue of the **Party Organizer**.

Districts and sections have been asked to send in their opinions and criticisms. The California District has responded to this call with an outline for a new members' class.

An examination of the outline reveals the fact that it is an attempt to give concreteness to the draft program in accordance with the conditions prevailing in California. This is, of course, as it should be. A good variation of the draft program is the introduction of notices informing the instructors what key problems are to be emphasized in the discussions. This is an excellent idea for any kind of outline.

However, the outline under review does not go far enough. The laudible desire for rendering the course concrete and for compressing within four sessions the material in the draft program seems to have been realized at the expense of an adequate treatment of some of the important international problems and the tasks of the international proletariat.

For instance, the Soviet Union is mentioned only in Lesson I, and then only in connection with the material conditions and cultural level of the workers of the U.S.S.R. There is nothing at all about the triumphant building of socialism which has changed the relation of world forces to the advantage of the revolutionary proletariat. There

is not a word about the Soviet peace policy in the discussion on the united front. Is it not important that a new member get an immediate understanding of problems that are agitating millions of people? How can the slogan "Defend the Soviet Union" acquire the character of immediacy and central importance to the new members unless the latter understand our position on sanctions, on aggressor nations, on neutrality, etc? And if these questions are not brought out for the new member, how can we hope that he will be able to explain what we are fighting for to, let us say, a confused Socialist worker?

In connection also with the discussion on the united front against fascism, the experiences of our brother Communist Party in France, emphasized by the Seventh World Congress as correct policies, are conspicuously absent. And why, when we discuss the structure of the Communist Party, is the Comintern not even mentioned? It is surely important for one who has not yet done any work in the Party to understand the relation of the Comintern to the world proletariat. We want this new member to know immediately how to answer the poisonous propaganda about "dictation from Moscow", etc.

Certainly also, the struggle against fascism involves the struggle against chauvinism. The new member must therefore be given some inkling at least about the national and colonial questions. But the outline under review does not even take up the question of the Philippines, an especially important question for the California District.

There are other important omissions also. For example, the question of trade union unity is of paramount importance. Yet it is not found in the outline. Neither is there anything on the achievements, the significance, and the lessons of the San Francisco General Strike, which provides a treasury of illustrations and thought about the meaning, the character, and the difficulties to be overcome in the building of the United Front.

In conclusion, we wish to take up one point in connection with the method of teaching new members. New members are to be carefully nurtured; this means that the instructor must learn how to draw out of them their own experiences and then bring concretely to them those generalizations adapted to the level of their understanding. This would not only concretize the course but would also enable the instructor to give personal guidance and advice to the new members for their further political education.

Who's Paying Increased Taxes*

Prepared by Labor Research Association

IN his message to Congress on the State of the Nation (January 3, 1936), Roosevelt declared "no new taxes, over and above the present taxes, are either advisable or necessary". This was considered a "sop" to his reactionary opponents harping on the "lack of confidence of business arising from fear of higher taxation". The capitalist class does not and never has shouldered the burden of high taxes. This is clearly shown in material recently compiled for Labor Research Association and Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance by Dr. Joseph M. Gilman.

We cite below briefly only a few of his significant findings concerning the trend of taxation during the crisis years:

Increase in Federal Taxes Between 1933 and 1934

	Per cent range of increase	
	Unmarried persons	Married persons
Less than \$5,000 a year	33-75	70-75
\$50,000 a year	5	5
\$100,000 a year	3	3

Proportion of Total Federal Income Tax, 1930-1933

Paid by those with incomes:	1930	1931	1932	1933
below \$5,000 a year	2.1	3	13	11
\$100,000 a year and over	50.3	44.5	33.5	37

Indirect taxes increased: At same time income tax burden was shifted from upper to lower income classes, the "proportion of federal indirect taxes increased more than two-fold". "Indirect" taxes are those that in the end are paid by the masses of workers and farmers'. The following changes took place between 1930 and 1934:

Proportion of **indirect** taxes in federal revenue **increased** from 31.8 per cent to 66.1 per cent.

Proportion of **direct** taxes in federal revenue **declined** from 68.2 per cent to 33.9 per cent.

In other words, "Between 1930 and 1934 the tax burden of the poor was proportionately more than doubled; that of the wealthier classes had been more than cut in two".

* We urge all workers to read in this connection the articles of Comrade Sam Don on taxation, in the **Daily Worker** of January 17 and 20. The column is headed: "They Say and We Say."