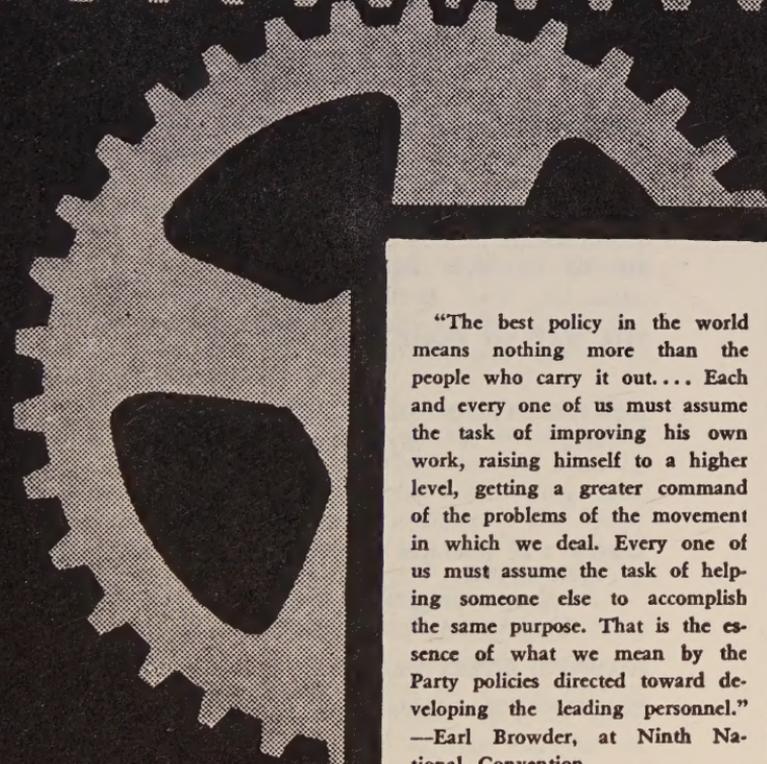


Party Organizer



"The best policy in the world means nothing more than the people who carry it out... Each and every one of us must assume the task of improving his own work, raising himself to a higher level, getting a greater command of the problems of the movement in which we deal. Every one of us must assume the task of helping someone else to accomplish the same purpose. That is the essence of what we mean by the Party policies directed toward developing the leading personnel."
—Earl Browder, at Ninth National Convention.

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PARTY ORGANIZER

VOL. IX

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No. 7-8

For a Mass Party of 100,000 Members

THE NEW DRIVE launched by the Ninth Party Convention must be planned in the most minute detail by every Party organization, state organization, Section, and unit. In all organizations, every Party member must be mobilized for carrying out these plans. We must know exactly what we want to achieve through this drive—not only the winning over of thousands of new workers, farmers, professionals, Negro workers, women, young workers, but primarily workers from basic industries, from A. F. of L. unions, from the ranks of the progressive elements; workers outstanding for their loyalty and honesty in the eyes of their fellow workers.

Our aim is not only to strengthen the Party numerically, but at the same time to strengthen the Party among the organized masses. From now on, every campaign, every activity, must be connected with the building of the Party. The leading committees of the Sections and units must understand that every activity the Party conducts has as its aim not only the achievement of the goal set, but at the same time strengthening the influence and growth of the Party among larger masses.

Fifteen thousand members in A. F. of L. unions, 5,000 Party members organized in shop units, other thousands organized in fraternal and cultural organizations—these are a real lever in the building of our Party. The problem before us is to make every Party member duty-bound to be actively engaged in recruiting his fellow workers and friends into our ranks.

Make Drive Part of Election Campaign

The recruiting drive must be made part and parcel of the election campaign. Our Party must come out of this campaign not only with greater influence on the life of the country, but a Party with a doubled membership.

The Election Campaign Committee has already arranged the

tours for Comrades Browder and Ford, our candidates for President and Vice-President. Other tours are being arranged. In addition, every state organization will send out its own speakers. We must see to it that every mass meeting becomes a big political event, prepared in advance, for the purpose of not only mobilizing the largest masses around the election platform of the Party, but simultaneously to utilize these meetings as recruiting ground of all those people who are ready actively to participate in the campaign; of all those who agree with our platform, who will propagandize for our platform; who will agitate for the Party among the masses.

To make the drive successful, every District, every state and Section organization must set up a special apparatus (membership committees plus other leading comrades) who will see to it that all the mass meetings taking place during the election campaign shall be utilized to the fullest extent for recruiting tens of thousands of workers, to follow up the new contacts, assign the new members in the speediest possible time. Such an apparatus and continuous guidance by the leading committees are of utmost importance in order to carry through the recruiting drive most successfully.

During the drive we shall develop new methods of recruiting, taking into consideration the various situations in industries and localities. For example, at every meeting we should circularize special cards among the audience so that the workers who would like to come to other meetings may receive notice of same by placing their names and addresses on the aforementioned cards. This card should be utilized not only at mass meetings, but also at neighborhood meetings, etc.

The distribution of literature at mass meetings in front of factories, in the neighborhoods, must also be one of the main features during the election campaign which will help the recruiting drive.

Publicize Radio Broadcasts

In view of the fact that in practically every state our speakers will be on the radio, and Comrade Browder will speak on national hookups, it is necessary to publicize these broadcasts widely, to organize meetings and gatherings on a neighborhood scale at the time of the radio talks, see that every radio speech shall end with an appeal to the listeners to express their opinions on our platform and to write to our headquarters. This point again emphasizes the importance of an apparatus

that will follow up every letter during the election campaign recruiting drive.

To conduct a most successful drive it is necessary that each state organization launch its own drive on the basis of a well-worked out plan, which shall define concretely the tasks of the branches, of the industrial units, of the shop units, of the comrades active in the trade unions, in fraternal and cultural organizations.

The discussion on the decisions of the Ninth Party Convention must be utilized to emphasize the role of every Party organization, of the individual Party member in the recruiting drive.

Concentration in Basic Industries

The concentration state organizations especially must link up the recruiting drive with the organizational drive in the steel, auto, and rubber industries. The Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois Party organizations must set the goal of getting into our ranks hundreds of steel, auto and rubber workers to strengthen the Party position in these basic industries; to strengthen the progressive forces in the unions. To bring the campaign into swing, we propose that special functionaries' meetings be called, that functionaries be assigned to the lower organizations for the purpose of making them conscious of the drive, in helping to work out the plans in their particular sphere of activity.

Special meetings should be called of those comrades who are working in the unions, in factories. Special meetings of sympathizers should be organized. One of the most important tasks is the calling of special meetings of Party members (there are 7,000 of such members) who are working in factories where there are no nuclei organized as yet.

This drive, besides having as its aim the doubling of the membership, must at the same time have as its goal the increasing of the number of shop nuclei, industrial units, branches, of activating the thousands of new Party members in the A. F. of L. unions, in mass organizations under the influence of the Party and those far from the Party. (Veterans' organizations; parent-teacher organizations; fraternal and others).

Recruiting by Example

As in the last recruiting drive, recruiting by example must be one of the main features. In the last recruiting drive 46 Section organizers were able to surpass their quotas. Yet the majority

of Section organizers and leading comrades remained far behind. In this recruiting drive we must stimulate the competition not only between the state organizations and Sections, but between units, between leading comrades, between individual Party members.

The pledge of the leading comrades, state committee members, Section committee members, especially Section and unit organizers to recruit a certain amount of Party members will have a stimulating effect in developing the competition between the individual Party members, especially the Party members in the factories and trade unions.

Education

In working out plans, the leading committees must take into serious consideration the problem of keeping the new members, which means the problem of education of new members. In this respect we shall utilize the discussion of the Ninth Convention to make clear to the units the necessity of improving their inner life as a means of retaining new members. It will be necessary also to arrange for short courses for new members.

In the plans we must also include the problem of the penetration of small towns, in which we want to build the Party, the methods to be pursued and the proper assignment of forces.

We must be on guard that the recruiting campaign shall not be considered separate from other activities of the Party.

We propose that each state or district organization work out its plans at once and send a copy to the Central Committee immediately.

The Unity and Discipline of the Communist Party*

EARL BROWDER

THERE ARE PEOPLE who profess to find in our unity and discipline an argument against the Communist Party. They

*Excerpts from speech summing up discussion of his report at Ninth Party Convention.

describe it as mechanical uniformity and an inner-party dictatorship. We can only smile at such lack of understanding.

The Communist Party has iron unity and discipline. This is based upon an inner-party democracy of a richness and completeness which no other political party can even dream about. It is based upon an active membership, fully participating in shaping every angle of Party life, of which there is no counterpart in any other existing organization. It is based upon that confidence which grows out of the experience of finding the Party emerge successful from every testing in struggle of its policies.

What our critics have in mind, when they attack our Party unity and discipline, is usually their opposition to decisive action to carry out the Party policy. When they speak for "democracy", what they really defend is the unlimited freedom of discussion without ever coming to a binding decision, the freedom of factions and faction struggle, and the right of irresponsible gossip—three characteristics of the inner-party life of the Socialist Party which we do not envy them, which we have no wish to take over. Our discussions must always be directed toward a decision which binds us all; without this there is no true democracy. We tolerate no factional organization within our Party which destroys the Party's capacity for action. We burn out any tendency to irresponsible gossip with a red-hot iron; criticism means the right openly to raise questions in the Party units and committees, it excludes the gossip of the small cliques, the cafeteria tables, and mutual admiration circles.

What is the central weakness in our work of building a mass Party on these principles of Lenin and Stalin?

It is the insufficient number of politically trained and technically skilled leading people, the shortage of adequately prepared officers to lead the mass army which we are recruiting.

The best policy in the world turns out in life to be no better than the people who execute it, who must apply it to the thousand variable conditions of daily life. Application of policy among the masses is first of all a problem of securing a high quality of leading personnel.

This becomes our central problem in Party building, at a moment when great masses are swinging over to our side, when in the shortest possible time we must transform these masses into an iron army of the revolution.

We are not adequately providing a leading personnel to these masses who are coming to us. We attack this problem in

a desultory, unorganized, and mechanical fashion, without thinking out the problem fundamentally. The result is the too slow growth of our Party, and the still high losses from among our new recruits, the still low quality of much of our work among the masses.

Is there any shortage of potential leading forces which can meet all our needs? Not at all. Among the new tens of thousands coming into our ranks we have all the forces we need. *But we are not using them adequately.* Our leading forces tend to petrify in closed circles of the oldest Party comrades. The new active elements, potential leaders, are not systematically brought forward and trained for their tasks.

Unless we remedy this weakness in our work, we will be unable to accomplish the next task, that is, the building of a Party of 100,000 members of even higher quality than our present Party of fifty thousand.

New Forms of Party Organization Help Us to Win the Masses*

F. BROWN

TODAY the slogan of building a mass Party is not a far-distant aim, but an immediate one. Let us examine how we stand organizationally and view the tremendous possibilities before us. We have on hand figures of the Party registration of January, 1936, and the figures of dues payments up to May. In this period some readjustments took place which changed the number of Sections, the number of neighborhood organizations, etc. Nevertheless, the figures of January, 1936, give us a good basis for an analysis of the organizational status of our Party and for drawing very important conclusions which will help us in our future work.

In January, we registered a 31 per cent larger membership than at the Eighth Convention. From the first of January up to the end of May, our membership increased by 41 per cent. Judging by the control held in May, we can safely say that

*Unpublished excerpts from report at Ninth Party Convention.

fluctuation has decreased considerably. On the basis of the latest reports, we can state that there is no more than 20 per cent turnover, which gives us a membership of 41,000, that is, 70 per cent greater than at the Eighth Convention.

Composition of Membership

On January 1, 1936, our Party membership was composed of 73.9 per cent men and 26.1 per cent women, of which latter, 12.3 per cent are in industry and 10 per cent are housewives. These figures show that since the Eighth Convention we increased the number of women in our Party, which at that time was 9.7 per cent of the total membership. Not only that, but the number of working women has increased. However, this still shows a low percentage of women in the Party in comparison with men, especially if we take into consideration the large number of women in industry. During the recruiting drive, from January to the end of April, 2,000 more women were recruited into the Party. We are witnessing a general improvement over the past, especially in the recent period.

In January there were in the Party 90.5 per cent white comrades and 9.5 per cent Negro comrades. In comparison with the 9.1 per cent Negro workers in our Party at the time of the Eighth Convention it can be seen that the percentage of Negro workers in our Party is practically the same as two years ago. When we consider that in these two years major struggles have been conducted for Negro rights, for the Scottsboro Boys, for Herndon; when we consider the mass movement developed around the Negro Congress, the struggles developed especially among the Negro masses against the fascist invasion of Ethiopia, we must become alarmed at these figures and draw the conclusion that no real efforts have been made by the whole Party to connect such struggles with mass recruiting of Negro workers. It is true that, especially after December, through the activities around the Negro Congress, our comrades were able to entrench themselves in many Negro mass organizations and recruited very influential Negro workers into our ranks, so that between January 1, 1936, and the end of April, 1936, the number of Negro members recruited into the Party increased the total Negro membership by 50 per cent. Yet the main conclusions drawn before still remain true.

In January there were in the Party 47.8 per cent native born workers and 52.2 per cent foreign-born workers, with 64 unclas-

sified. These figures again show that the Party was not yet consciously attuned to the recruiting of native born workers. These figures have changed a bit with the recruiting drive. From January to the end of April we find that out of the membership recruited, 66.3 per cent are native born and 33.7 per cent are foreign-born. We can see that the trend of recruiting more native born, especially in relation to our activities in the trade unions, is a good sign of the correct orientation of the Party on this vital problem.

On the first of January, we registered 60 per cent employed, 34.4 per cent unemployed, and 5.6 per cent unclassified. Very probably many of the unclassified are project workers. If we add the members recruited up to the end of April there should be in the Party today 52.6 per cent employed and 47.4 per cent unemployed. But because of many changes since January, many of those listed as unemployed are today either employed in industries, or on W.P.A. projects. Here we see that the power of attraction to our Party is still great among the unemployed workers. This is not bad. The problem, however, is to increase the attraction of the Party towards the employed workers at the same time, and especially toward the workers in the basic industries—native American and foreign-born as well.

Our Party in the Basic Industries

Today we have 122 more shop units than in 1934, with 2,888 more Party members employed in them than in 1934, and 536 more shop units with 4,610 more members than in 1930. If we consider, however, that 48 per cent of these shop units, with 7.3 per cent of the total membership are located in the New York state organization alone, and that between the Eighth Convention and the Ninth Convention the objective conditions were favorable for the building of the Party in industry, we must draw the conclusion that in spite of the gains, our Party committees have not given consistent attention to the building of the Party in industry. The figures show further that 21.3 per cent of our members are in factories employing less than 100 workers, 4.4 per cent are in factories employing 100-200 workers, and 5.6 per cent are in factories employing 200 to 500 workers. This shows a total of 31.3 per cent of our members employed in what can be termed light industries. In contrast with this we see that in factories employing between 500 and 1,000 workers and above 1,000 and 2,000, 7.2 per cent of

our members are employed in what can be termed basic industries. Again we see how weak we still are in building the Party in basic industries. More than this, if we consider that at the time of the registration 38.4 per cent were employed in factories and we only had 15.5 per cent in shop units, then we must immediately see that we have another 22.9 per cent of our Party membership in factories where if correctly guided they could have become a vital force in building new shop units. Years ago we concentrated our work of building shop units in many factories from the outside, but today, besides the thousands of members organized in shop units, there are thousands of other Communists already inside the factories in which we want to strengthen our position.

The figures of the registration show 25.6 per cent members in the A. F. of L. unions, 13.3 per cent in independent unions, and 1.4 per cent in company unions. In addition, during the recruiting drive, up to April, 2,136 more A. F. of L. members joined our ranks, and 768 more from independent unions. By this time, with the unification process, most of the Party members in the independent unions are now in the A. F. of L. This is a real gain in comparison with 1924, when only 6 per cent of the Party members were organized in fractions inside the A. F. of L. and 15 per cent in the revolutionary unions. Not only did we more than double the Party membership in the trade unions, but approximately 36 per cent of our Party membership are today in the A. F. of L.

Over 15.2 per cent of our Party membership are in unemployed organizations, mainly the Workers' Alliance; 62.9 per cent of our Party members belong to various organizations such as the I.W.O., 20.7 per cent; the I.L.D., 7.9 per cent; the F.S.U., 1.6 per cent; the American League Against War and Fascism, 4.3 per cent; 9.1 belong to various sympathetic organizations; 17.9 per cent to language and cultural organizations. But there are very few who are members of organizations not under our influence. Only lately (and chiefly in New York and other large centers) we find Party members active in other organizations such as the Townsend and Coughlin clubs, veterans' organizations, the Parent-Teachers Association, etc.

From the registration figures we also note that the Party is drawing young people into its ranks. There are in the Party 10.7 per cent under 25 years of age; 20.2 per cent between 26-30; 16.7 per cent between 31-35; 16.8 per cent between 36-40; there are 64.2 per cent under as against 35.7 per cent over 40. If

we add the figures of the recruiting drive we see that the trend is towards recruiting younger people. Out of those new members analyzed, 75 per cent are below 40. Of those figures, 51 per cent are below 35.

Figures on the length of time in the Party are not complete. Some 10,000 were not classified. Yet we can see that the overwhelming majority of the members have been in the Party from one to three years.

Regarding the composition of the membership; instead of giving category by category, because it would take up too much space, the membership has been divided into several main divisions. In analyzing the composition of the trades of the Party members we find 10,474 come from light industry, 1,345 from agriculture, such as farmers, agricultural workers, sharecroppers, etc.; 3,307 housewives; 3,527 relief workers; 1,300 miscellaneous, unclassified; 6,221 professional, and 5,000 from basic industries.

These figures indicate the big disproportion between the Party members coming from basic industries and those coming from light industry, and those not involved in production. It is readily evident that anchoring the Party in the basic industries (which does not mean that we neglect the penetration of light industries, or close the doors of our Party to professionals, students, housewives, and others), remains one of the main problems. The recruiting drive shows that lately the trend of recruiting is towards the basic industries. Yet, the percentage is still too low in comparison with recruiting of workers from light industry and especially of professionals and other categories. From January to the end of April, 1,151 workers from basic industries were recruited. At the same time we recruited 2,724 workers from the light industries.

In the Party there are 2,600 veterans, of which, according to statistics, only several hundred belong to the American Legion and other veteran organizations. This figure shows an improvement, and the big possibilities in penetrating such important organizations, especially if we consider the efforts of the reactionary forces to utilize the veterans' organizations as instruments in the struggle against the working class.

In regard to nationality, I will only mention a few. We find in our Party a substantial increase over the Eighth Convention in the number of Germans, Italians, Spanish-speaking, Polish, and Jewish workers, etc., not so among the immigrated Irish workers of which there are but too few in the Party.

The figures further show that only 64.9 per cent of the Party membership in January read the *Daily Worker*, 38.7 per cent the *Party Organizer*, and 32.3 per cent *The Communist*. If we consider that the Party press is one of the main instruments for education of the Party, these figures must sound an alarm to all leading committees.

Building a Mass Party

In summarizing the analysis of the Party statistics, if we especially consider the forces in the industries, in the trade unions, we see that we have created a real base for the building of our Party into a mass Party. While turning the Party in the direction of developing mass struggles, we must at the same time take all those measures, political and organizational, that will make of our Party a more flexible organization, to be able to connect itself more strongly with the masses and their organizations. We must adapt our structure and organizational forms not only to the new political needs, but also to the customs and to the organizational traditions of the new thousands of workers who are ready to join our ranks.

We must make up our mind that in order to draw thousands of new workers into our ranks, and to keep them, we must adopt the simplest structure and forms of organization which workers can administer. There should be a minimum of machinery, but a most simple and effective minimum. In brief, we must *Americanize* the Party in its form and structure, in its simplicity, in its practicality. By doing so, we shall increase the power of attraction also through more appropriate forms of organization and methods of work. By doing so, the Party does not deviate an inch from its program, from its fundamental political organizational principles. We are not modeling organizational forms after the Social-Democratic Party, insofar as our basic organizational form still remains the shop unit. Our main objective is to entrench ourselves stronger with the masses in their places of work, in their organizations. On the contrary, we will succeed in building a stronger Party, concentrated in the basic industries, in the trade unions, and establish a more flexible organization, connected with the everyday problems of the masses.

Leading Mass Struggles in Ohio*

JOHN WILLIAMSON

WHAT HAVE BEEN the developments in the working class and its organizations in Ohio since the last Party Convention? After a period of militant struggles in the auto, rubber and steel industries, of which the Toledo strikes were most outstanding, a certain lull set in. This coincided with the first pick-up in industrial production. In recent months we have experienced and helped organize a new upward militant swing in the labor movement. This found its first expression in Barberton but was best dramatized by the Akron Goodyear strike which has served for Ohio the same purpose that the 'Frisco longshoremen did for the entire Pacific Coast labor movement. . . .

Our central aim is unity of action and unification and strengthening of the working class. Despite the confusion which exists, we definitely see the shaping of these forces. If properly influenced, they will not only entrench and strengthen the trade unions with consequent improvement in the conditions of the workers, but also achieve a mighty movement of independent political action of the toilers of Ohio.

What are these forces? The mighty strike movement as evidenced in Akron and the movement of solidarity of all labor developed around it. The increasing strength of the progressives not only in local unions but in central labor unions of the state and particularly in rubber and auto industries and in a number of craft unions in Cleveland and Toledo.

The growing consciousness of the need of fighting fascism in all its multiple manifestations, the mass movements, despite their confused character, for old age pensions, the movement for unemployment and social insurance; the fighting moods of the W.P.A. workers—all these indicate the growing anti-capitalist sentiment developing in Ohio.

We have been a factor in these developments despite outstanding shortcomings in our work, such as insufficient political-

*Excerpts from speech at Ninth Party Convention.

ization of our Party forces within the union; participation of only part of the Party in these various phases of mass work and no real Party growth in the basic industries and inside the A. F. of L., as well as a general weakening of our shop nuclei work.

The Progress of the Farmer-Labor Party Formation

We set ourselves the task of strengthening and clarifying this anti-capitalist sentiment, strengthening through struggle the workers' organization in defense of their daily interests, and, above all, to mold all these forces into a mighty people's front—a Farmer-Labor Party of Ohio. . . .

In Akron, there has been launched under the initiative of the Central Labor Union and with the participation of all the rubber locals and fully one-third of the craft locals, a real all-inclusive Congressional Labor Party, which has adopted a platform and leading candidate, and which gives promise of sending to Congress this fall the first Ohio Farmer-Labor Congressman.

One of the sharpest debates was around the question involving inclusion of the Socialist and Communist Parties, but the C.L.U. delegation, plus other union leaders, took the floor citing the work of the Communist Party in the Goodyear strike and declaring "if the Communists were good enough to be on the picket line with us, then they are okay in the Farmer-Labor Party."

Following the establishment of the Congressional Party, county conventions are being held or have already been held in Kent and Akron proper.

Our Party must be on its toes and not think the battle is won, because it must be clear that we have not yet experienced a head-on clash with the old party forces within the labor movement. Furthermore, it is not enough to win the local unions—we must win the local union membership. This means also repairing those obvious shortcomings of the Akron Farmer-Labor Party conference—the lack of fraternal, farmer, Negro and youth participation. The Akron Farmer-Labor Party convention was a real tribute to the work of our Akron Party. But the job is just started. It must be finished in Akron itself by the Akron toiling population, by the Akron Party and with the growing and developing native Akron leadership. . . .

The Socialist Party and Farmer-Labor Party

It is important to note the attitude of the Socialist Party with reference to these Farmer-Labor Party developments. Comrade Browder has explained the confused and sectarian attitude nationally. How does it express itself in disuniting the working class in Ohio—a so-called "Militant" state? At the state convention the issue was evaded, although a general resolution on the united front was adopted. At first, in Akron, when the question of a local Farmer-Labor Party was raised, the Socialist Party stated it was utopian to think the C.L.U. would initiate such a movement and that they would not go along unless the C.L.U. was involved. With such a negative attitude, they did nothing to develop the movement. Once the organization was initiated by the C.L.U., they sent delegates. When we pressed for joint work, they warned about insufficient trade union base, and the danger of a replica of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party.

In the convention itself, they adopted a sectarian Leftist position. After it is over, they are spreading rumors that it was only a Communist affair; and that it has not got enough farmers' or trade union representation support to be a serious factor. Now the Socialist Party of Akron; upon the initiative of a handful of poisonous Trotskyites, sent a letter to the Akron Farmer-Labor Party withdrawing from it, stating in part as follows:

"The conditions surrounding the formation of the Summit County and the 14th Congressional District Farmer-Labor Party indicate that it is not a true representation of workers and farmers of the district.

"1. Almost no farmers participated in the formation of the Party. To start a Farmer-Labor Party without farmers in it is not only ridiculous—it is suicidal.

"2. The attitude taken by the convention toward farm problems indicates that the new party may serve to drive a wedge deeper between city workers and farmers. Refusal to grant farm workers equal representation with city workers on the executive committee indicates an attitude of distrust. Nomination of no farmer candidates, along with the opinions expressed by delegates, suggests that this party may increase the antagonism between labor and the farmer.

"3. Only a relatively small segment of the trade union movement is supporting this party enthusiastically. The general attitude is passive. The participation of this party in local politics therefore will not mean that the masses of workers and farmers are aroused by the need for political action against the capitalist class.

"4. The leaders of the so-called Farmer-Labor Party have declared for the re-election of President Roosevelt. This shows clearly that the new party is merely a capitalist party pretending to be a party of the working class.

"5. In view of these facts, the Summit County Socialist Party will not affiliate with the proposed Farmer-Labor Party, and will continue its fight for political action of the working class, including both city and farm workers, against the capitalist class which robs and exploits them.

"We call upon all workers who desire to use their right to vote in the best interests of the working class to vote for Norman Thomas for President, and for the entire Socialist ticket, because it is only through socialism that the working class can free itself from the tyranny of capitalism."

The Socialist Party in Akron which is completely isolated from the big rubber unions and from the Central Labor Union undertakes to judge and find guilty the Akron Farmer-Labor Party for not having sufficient trade union representation.

It seems that the Goodyear local union which conducted such a heroic strike composed of 700 rubber workers does not satisfy our Socialist comrades; nor the Goodrich local or the Firestone local, which have 6,000 members each, nor the Central Labor Union which has 103 local unions affiliated to it. Such type of criticism and policy on the part of the S.P. is unprincipled and leads directly to disuniting the working class and only lends aid to the American Liberty League and the rubber barons. It furthermore dramatizes the fact that the S.P., according to this exhibition, is not serious-minded even in its resolutions concerning a Farmer-Labor Party.

Such type of policy is an aid to the American Liberty League and the rubber barons. We must expose this position sharply although we should at all times adopt the most patient attitude to winning the workers within or around the Socialist Party.

. . . . I think we must recognize the sit-down strikes of Akron as a new form of strike struggle, which will tend to

appear everywhere. After long periods of unemployment, the workers instinctively want to hold their jobs. However, experience in Akron shows that these sit-down strikes at this stage of political development of the American workers are most effective for enforcing correction of an immediate grievance. It is not yet developed to the point of the workers staying in the factory for days or weeks and getting support from the outside. The Goodyear strike started as a sit-down strike, but when the food supply was shut off the men walked out and closed the plant. I think we must expect a widespread repetition of sit-down strikes and should therefore draw lessons from Akron. . . .

Party Membership and Leading Personnel

In conclusion, I want to deal with some problems of Party membership and personnel. In this coming period, we must expect the development of mass struggles not only on the part of the shop workers, but among other strata of the toiling population. In the course of these developments we must expect new forms of struggles to develop. At the beginning some of these struggles will be of a defensive character. Instead of one Akron, we can expect the influence of the Akron strike area to spread to other industries. We also see new attacks by the bourgeoisie on all fronts. The sharpest expression of this is the present attempt to cut the average unemployment relief from \$27 to \$12 per month. There is also a new effort being made to collect old taxes and to foreclose property by the federal government, as a result of the Home Loan Act. And a new wave of evictions, both of tenants and home owners, is in evidence.

To meet this situation we must have a well-organized Party, based on revolutionary understanding and steeled in battle. With changed conditions, we must use new tactics of struggle. We must say frankly that our Party has been confronted with some serious shortcomings lately. To understand and to correct these weaknesses, we have to examine the years of growth of the bulk of our Party membership—the type of activity they were used to, the extent of their revolutionary training and the development of leading personnel. What is this problem?

1. The bulk of the members have come to the Party during the period of economic crisis and depression.
2. Many of them were trained solely in the demonstrative

type of activity, primarily amongst the unemployed where we became expert organizers and demonstrators. Much of the response for other political demonstrations had as its core these same excellent unemployed fighters. They were in a struggle for existence. Our Party showed them the way. They got a hazy understanding of the Party, but no real fundamental understanding. Their enthusiasm came from their struggle for bread.

3. In the recent period, as we turned our attention to the trade unions, we recruited many excellent American trade unionists, including many leading elements. Their Party activity took on an essentially trade union character. They did not get a rounded-out picture of our Party as the revolutionary, political party of the entire working class and did not see our general political responsibilities as a revolutionary Party. The good assistance we gave them in their trade union problems and struggles satisfied them as to the role of the Party. Outside of that, they saw carried on by another group of Party members demonstrative actions and big mass meetings or affairs, which they were willing to leave to someone else. Only in isolated instances was there a blending into a rounded-out Party understanding and activity.

4. Today, with almost every Party member re-employed in industry or on W.P.A. work, certain things are happening. As a result of being more economically independent, there is developing a different atmosphere among many Party members. There is a feeling of more family life, of the need of more time at home, for increased pleasure. While in the past their Party spirit, fervor, and attachment were kept up primarily through the demonstrations and similar type of activities in the struggle for existence, today this is no longer so. In other words, since we neglected adequate political training in the past, we now face a critical question of substituting revolutionary consciousness on the basis of Marxist-Leninist understanding for the purely spontaneous and elemental class feeling and spirit.

5. On top of all of this, there are still remnants of sectarianism in some of our Party practices—lack of understanding of our united front policy. Within the Party itself, we have some organizational methods and practices which are not typical of any other American organization and are not at all necessary for effective work. Here I refer to the multiplicity of meetings without regard to specific purpose; a certain pyra-

midning of our meetings; the creation of functionaries who don't lead but are clerks; a dues system which is unknown in any other labor organization; an organizational structure which does not correspond to the political subdivisions in which we must operate among the masses.

What is needed in this situation? Some comrades tried to solve the problem by mere organizational adjustments. However, this is not the solution. Some months ago we consolidated street units into larger branches, but precisely there, when it was approached as an overnight business and as a purely organizational question, we ran into trouble. Organizational shuffling is not the solution. First, we must understand the roots of the problem. We must understand that the changed economic conditions have not eliminated the class struggle or the developing big class battles. We must prepare the Party for these—to give guidance and leadership, to become better entrenched, to grow stronger politically and organizationally. We must tackle the shop units and give them special attention. Similarly, the branches must be transformed into real political bodies of leadership and education for the members. Above all, we must devote special attention to training our best forces for leadership of the shop nuclei and the branches. When this political problem of leadership at the bottom is solved, then the solution of many other problems will be easier. We do not want less work, but fewer meetings which achieve nothing. We want more productive activity, a higher type of work from every Party member. If we coupled that with effective recruiting, especially of shop workers and trade unionists and presented a real system of education connected with the day-to-day work, we would effect a change in the Party. All this does not mean a loosening up of Party organization or less discipline. On the contrary, with a better politically developed membership, we will have a higher quality of work and more effective discipline.

Building the Party in Rural Areas

FRANK BROWN

AFTER SOME recent experiences in Kansas we are justified in concluding that there are great opportunities for organizing the Party in small towns. That this be done is particularly important at present, with fascism showing its fangs more and more and the war danger growing daily. Further, we must root ourselves in the small towns, in the extensive rural areas of the country, because we want to build the Farmer-Labor Party and fight for civil liberties and the immediate and lasting interests of the rural masses. Party roots in small towns among the unemployed and workers employed in small industry will serve as good bases from which we can reach out among the poor farmers and farm workers, helping and guiding them in their struggles.

The crisis has especially left the door open to us for this work. In practically all small cities and towns unemployment is heavy in proportion to the population, while the industrial population has become smaller and the small farmers are not finding their problems solved through the Rooseveltian "New Deal".

For decades reaction has always relied upon the backwardness of the rural masses for support of its policies, and, today, fascism will find amongst them a fertile breeding ground for its program of war and plunder if we do not get busy and do something about it. Here is a problem which we must and can solve, *much more rapidly than heretofore*, namely, the organization of the rural masses. It is indispensable that we build solid Party units in the small towns.

As to the ripeness of the situation for the building of the Party in the rural areas, we have, of course, first of all the terrific pressure of the economic crisis which stunned the small towns and the entire countryside. There are also some valuable traditions that we can go back to and utilize, notably the Populist movement, the struggles of coal miners in the Pittsburgh area, the strike struggles among farmers (in the North) of not so long ago and the farm cooperative movement. In Kansas, too, we have the glorious tradition of John Brown,

the great Negro liberator. At Osawatomie, John Brown's "home town", there will soon be established a Party unit!

In Kansas we have organized ten units in small towns during the last four months, and there are now at least 20 towns in the state where units can be formed after a few visits to them have been made and some preliminary work done. Usually a town is visited about three times before the unit is finally established. There are hundreds of towns, 1,500 in Kansas alone, and over 3,500 in Missouri. It is particularly important that we concentrate on towns having 2,000 to 20,000 population (77 of these in Kansas and 94 in Missouri). In many of these towns we also find a number of oil and coal workers, cement workers, workers in milk condenseries, etc.

We have set ourselves the task of recruiting 500 members in Kansas by January 1. After considerable travel and experience in the field my personal opinion is that we shall have units in 100 towns in the state by that time. When units are more or less completed they will average about seven members each, but eventually the average will be still higher. Missouri is equally ripe for this work. It is mostly a question of going ahead—doing the work, finding the comrades who can help make contacts and organize units.

The question arises: how are we going to keep these units alive and functioning? For this we have in mind the establishment of "depots" or "stations" in a territory comprising one, two or three counties, where we have the most developed and the most active comrades, and it will be up to these comrades to see to it that the units function within the prescribed section.

For convenience and as a practical matter we organize the Party on a county basis. Two such "stations" are now being set up in Kansas (Montgomery, Bourbon and other counties). These "depots" will also have the task of organizing new units in neighboring towns. I want to emphasize this latter point as there is a constantly growing interest on the part of the comrades to spread the influence of the Party into new areas. This is a desire and wish that must be constantly fostered and nourished by us because here is a valuable means by which the Party can grow.

Besides the "stations", we have a "special" Party representative for the state, who organizes and looks after the "stations" and builds new units in unorganized territory. This comrade devotes his full time to the work. With the growth of the units two such representatives in the state are required.

Organizing Units

When we come to a small town we usually have an address of some radical or sympathizer, one with whom we are likely to discuss the purpose of our visit. He will take us to his friends and a rather informal house meeting of four or five sympathizers may be called at this time at which the capitalist system and the problems we face are explained (outstanding issues), and we state what our Party proposes to do about them, that the Party has the only way out for the workers and poor farmers, that it is essential for the building of the united front and the Farmer-Labor Party, etc. If our friends are ready to join the Party they sign application cards immediately; otherwise another and probably an enlarged meeting is called within about a week. *The work is followed right up to a successful conclusion—until the unit is established.*

As to the papers and literature we use in the small towns: From the outset the following are emphasized: *Sunday Worker*, *Farmers' Weekly*, the Townsend and Labor Party pamphlets and *What Is Communism?* To these we must now add the *Champion of Youth*. The *Sunday Worker* is given preference. A thousand or more copies of this paper will be distributed in Kansas before the end of the year. Sometimes it is a good plan to press orders for our paper and literature *at first*, have sympathizers read and digest some of the principles, etc., before a unit is organized. We collect money for these orders on the spot and see to it that they are sent in at once.

After the organizer has visited a town and made contacts there, he should, while away in other places in the state, send the comrades a letter of encouragement now and then, offer suggestions as to the conduct of the work. I find that this is of great value. A friendly greeting in this way plays an important part in cementing our forces while the units are new and inexperienced.

In addition, a Party "News Letter" will soon go out to the units, explaining issues and work in the mass organizations and showing what the units are doing for the Party (achievements in dues payments, recruiting, the *Sunday Worker* and *Daily Worker* and literature sales, organization of new units, etc.).

What shall these units do? What are their tasks? We emphasize that they distribute the *Sunday Worker* (order a bundle of five or ten copies), that they make further contacts for the Party and recruit new members into the units, that the

members read the *Sunday Worker* and *What Is Communism?* *This is about all we have them do in the beginning.* From the very first it is important that we bring out the splendid Americanism of our Party, the legality of the Party, that we fight for our civil liberties, etc. We must explain who the Reds are.

Then it is emphasized that they join the local Townsend club and work with it for old age pensions; that they press for action on relief cases before the county commissioners; that they make contacts among militant farmers, drawing them into the Party; that they build the Kansas Allied Workers (affiliated with the Workers Alliance of America); that they organize the workers in the local industrial plants; that they popularize the Farmer-Labor Party and arouse the masses against fascism and war.

The fight for Negro rights in Kansas is also an outstanding issue. Though there are no jim-crow laws in this state, nevertheless, jim-crowism, segregation and discrimination are fully in force. Experience shows also that it is possible to line up on the side of the worker-farmer movement in the small towns, the small businessman and professional people, which is of great importance in our fight against fascism and war and for civil liberties.

Since agriculture occupies a prominent place in Kansas as well as in Missouri, a major task of these units is to cement the alliance of town workers and poor farmers upon the basis of a common program of action against exploiters (joint actions for relief, civil rights, etc.); to defend the farmers against eviction and foreclosures; fight for cancellation of debts, for production loans without interest and help activize existing farm organizations. Since the Soviet Union clearly shows how the farm problems finally must be solved also in America, state farming and the collectivization of agriculture in the workers' fatherland are being popularized. A bulletin dealing specifically with burning Kansas farm issues will be given out at the end of the year and distributed among the farmers. By next year, I think, the Party itself should issue a national Communist farm paper to give a clear line on issues facing the poor farmers. The need for such a paper will increase more and more and we will and must build bases in the rural areas from which it can draw support (centers of distribution, etc.).

The great ally of the city workers—the farmers—must be

organized and activized in the fight against fascism and war for the building of the Farmer-Labor Party. This must be done, first of all, by establishing Party units in the small towns.

Survey of Shop Paper Work

EMMA YANISKY

FLUCTUATION and irregular appearance of shop and neighborhood papers make it almost impossible to establish the number of shop and neighborhood papers issued in the country.

At best we can state only the approximate number of units engaged in shop paper work during this last year. About 200 units, including neighborhood units and units in W.P.A. and relief offices, were engaged in shop paper work. Of these, half are being issued in New York City. A good number of these have been coming out for a few months, were discontinued and again reappeared in May, 1936. During this year there were five new shop papers started in steel plants, two in mining, several waterfront, metal, food, etc. As against these stand out a far greater number of discontinued shop papers in railroad shops, automobile shops, mines, etc. The most redeeming part of this work is that we have succeeded in encouraging some Districts to start or revive the issuing of shop papers. Seattle District has started several shop papers this year. Pittsburgh District revived its work for a short while. Butte, Montana, has recently started out with a very good mining paper. Buffalo, New York, succeeded in reviving the shop paper in the Bethlehem Steel Company and started a new shop paper in the Wickwire Steel. Just now we have received the first shop paper from the South.

District Shop Paper Guides

Besides the Cleveland District, we have at present *Shop Paper Guides* in New York and Chicago. Thus three Districts are issuing *District Shop Paper Guides* and are making reviews of their papers. In New York, Section 24 is issuing its own *Section Shop Paper Review*.

One of the difficulties in shop paper work is the lack of permanent machinery to direct it. Most of the Districts have no standing shop paper committees. If there happens to be a comrade who is interested in this work he will try to promote it; when this comrade leaves, the work slows down. A good example is Detroit, where, after a comrade left the District Shop Paper Committee, some shop papers died a natural death.

In connection with May 1st we saw an effort to revive some of the papers. Let us hope that this is not just a sporadic outburst of activity in connection with May 1st, but an honest-to-goodness effort to stabilize the work.

Coordination of Work Necessary

Existing shop paper committees are often too much divorced from other work of the Districts and Sections. There is no other work in the Party that is so dependent upon the work of the other departments as shop papers. The entire shop life is part of the work of the shop paper committee.

Particularly is it necessary to establish close connections with the Trade Union director, the Shop Work directors and the Org. Department. For instance, the shop paper carries a number of articles on fascism and, as far as the shop paper committee is concerned, it has fulfilled its task. Who is to see to it, however, that this agitation is translated into concrete organizational results? There is no follow-up. This also holds true about recruiting of Party members and getting readers for the *Daily Worker*.

In the units where we had great difficulties, where shop papers were discontinued, or where the question of "temporary suspension" of the shop paper came up, the problems, in most cases, were a result of incorrect approach to trade unionists and the result of a lack of understanding of trade union problems. In one of the shops in New York City, in the food industry, the shop paper rallied the workers around their shop grievances. As a result, the workers got many concessions from the management. The workers stuck to the paper and supported it financially. They looked to it as the champion of their rights. The unit members and sympathizers in this union were satisfied with this paper, but—*the comrades neglected to build the union in this shop*. No one insisted that the prestige of the paper be utilized for the building of the union. The company, however, utilized this weak link in our work. Through their

spies they found out the most active comrades. They were discharged. The union was too weak to take action against these discharges.

This gap between our agitational and organizational efforts can be eliminated. We must find a way of coordinating the work of the various Section Committees with the work of the Shop Paper Committees. One general measure to be suggested here is that the question of shop papers must not remain the concern only of the Shop Paper Committee. The Trade Union Department, Shop Work directors and Org. Commission must become aware of the shop paper as a means of promoting organization. Discussing policy with the comrades in the trade union and shop fractions or units, the comrades of these departments must show how the role of the shop paper can be utilized for the purpose of bringing the Communist Party to the workers as the fighting party for the workers' interests and as the builder of the trade unions.

They must impress the comrades in the units with the idea of bringing forward the role of the Communist Party in the struggle for industrial unionism and in the struggle for a Farmer-Labor Party.

Comrades often say: "We are known as Communists in the union and the workers know that we are the builders of the union." A small group of Communists in the union may be known to the immediate trade union actives but what about the large masses? There are times, especially in the first stages of building the union, when comrades cannot expose themselves too freely. We may expect that the reactionaries will try to stage a fight against the Communists in the unions and mass organizations. To rely, therefore, on the prestige of individual comrades means to subject the Party to the danger of isolation.

We must build the prestige of the Communist Party while building the prestige of the individual Communists in the unions and mass organizations if we want to maintain ourselves in these organizations.

Shortage of Forces

The "shortage" of forces also affects shop paper work. Particularly has this been true during the last eight or nine months! However, there are enough comrades today in the Party who could be utilized for work on shop paper committees. Teachers, journalists and other intellectuals, who joined

our Party within the last few years, can be helpful in directing the shop paper work. It is true that many of these comrades have little experience with shop problems and especially with trade union problems. But with the proper cooperation of the other departments, these comrades can adapt themselves to the work.

Section 24 of New York has a committee of such comrades and in this section we see a constant growth and improvement of the shop papers. This section handles as many papers and more than most of our Districts. They have shop papers in important plants such as in power, meat packing, and others.

Contents of Shop Papers

Our shop papers today are local papers. They have plenty of shop news. The old problem of shop news in our shop papers is pretty much solved. The remaining problem is how to localize the Party campaigns, how to utilize life and conditions in the shop while bringing forward our Party campaigns. But even this problem is being gradually solved. In many shop papers we find excellent examples of articles where political issues are discussed on the basis of local problems. But on the whole most of our papers still retain a good deal of the old sectarian methods.

Most of our shop papers are still examples of what we have to tell the workers and are not enough the means through which we can listen to the workers. Our shop papers have no "Question and Answer" columns. Nor do they have an "Open Forum" section in which they take up the opinions of workers in the shop. Particularly do our papers fall short on recruiting into the Party, popularizing the *Daily Worker*, and the struggle against fascism.

The general ad "Read the *Daily Worker*" is about all the attention the *Daily* gets in the shop papers. The comrades seem to take it for granted that the workers know all about the *Daily Worker* and all they need is a reminder to read it.

Equally, the Party recruiting drive finds little or no space in our Communist shop press. The usual fill-in ad "Join the Communist Party" is often all that is meant to take care of recruiting.

With such large percentage of new members in the units, we should be more sensitive to the questions and problems that worry workers outside of our Party. Why can we not have

the new Party member write what it was that bothered him before he entered the Party and how he had finally made up his mind to join?

To make our Party a Party of human beings, who live and laugh just as everybody else does, still remains a task before us. Our papers often tell the Communist position on this or that important problem, but seldom do we find an article on the kick one gets from doing Party work. We always play up the gloomy side of life with hardly any relief in sight before the social revolution; yet our Party has picnics, outings, affairs, and such things. It is this side of the Party life that we must present as well as our principles on the many serious workers' problems.

The home life of workers is also of concern to us. The life and troubles of the workers do not end when he leaves the shop or mine. Our understanding and the sympathetic approach to home problems furnish one more very effective way of reaching the masses. The Communist Party is human; it is realistic; it is interested in every side of the worker's life. So must also be the Communist shop paper.

The Way to Fight Fluctuation

A. S.

FLUCTUATION IN MEMBERSHIP continues to be an outstanding weakness of our Party. Fluctuation is particularly demoralizing to those comrades who are good at recruiting, because they seem to see the fruits of their own fine work offset by the "casualty" lists of the membership elsewhere. The open door of the Party becomes a revolving door. Had our Party been able to keep all the members who at one time or another have belonged to it, or if it could have reduced fluctuation to a permissible figure of, say, 10 per cent a year, it would now be as large as the Communist Party of France, the leading Party of the Western world.

The key to correcting this evil situation lies in better sponsorship for new members. *Each recruit should have a sponsor.* If a recruit is brought in by personal contact and persuasion, his

contact should be his sponsor. If he is brought in at a mass meeting or demonstration, the Section Organizer, in assigning him to a unit, must at the same time make the unit leader his sponsor. If this new recruit is isolated in the country or elsewhere, the Section Organizer must himself be the sponsor until the new comrade can be placed in a unit and the unit organizer can take over this responsibility.

Personal Attention Necessary

Personal attention to each recruit by his sponsor is one of the important ways of cutting down our turnover. A new comrade joins the Party in the heat of a strike struggle or mass meeting, or due to friendship and admiration for some comrade already in the Party. The struggle finally subsides, the meeting adjourns, the demonstration is over. In the first few weeks after joining a new comrade needs help in successfully adjusting himself to the Party life. Close personal assistance from his sponsor is vital. If a person is recruited through friendship for an old comrade the latter's continued friendship is as important after joining as it was before.

Comrade Stalin said: "We must solicitously and carefully cultivate people as a gardener cultivates his favorite fruit tree." So must the sponsor care for his recruit, explaining theory, suggesting action, helping and encouraging him. (And he himself must of course be willing to learn all he can from them.) Difficulties of theory, confusion as to responsibilities or organization, are likely to arise. The sponsor should expect them, and be ready to meet and solve them.

Regarding the fundamental question of discipline, the sponsor must remember that signing an application card does not make a recruit into a full-grown Bolshevik. Discipline should first arise from internal conviction, not from outside pressure. Fit assignments to the new comrade's abilities and interests as much as possible. Take time to handle personal situations with sympathy and understanding. As a minimum requirement, the sponsor should work very closely with the new comrade for the first six weeks.

A sponsor should be intelligent enough to see beyond a zealous convert's superficial, if ready, acceptance of assignments to the permanent reaction beneath. He must try to see that the new comrade, in spite of possible unfavorable circumstances around him, comes to find in his Party work the

greatest degree of personal satisfaction. Not that our comrades in recruiting should suddenly become neurotic-conscious or interpret political deviations as psychological complexes! But let us use judgment in our work with prospects and new comrades in the Party and at least treat them with as much consideration and thoughtfulness as we would our other friends and acquaintances.

Theory—The Armor That Cannot Be Pierced

More training in theory for new comrades is the other main instrument needed by the Party to cut down fluctuation. Lenin said that without revolutionary theory revolutionary fervor was worthless. So no matter how skilled a comrade may be in organization, writing, agitation, etc., he is a potential source of membership fluctuation if he does not have a sound theoretical training. To have studied the Marxian theory, the works of Lenin and Stalin, the resolutions of the Seventh World Congress and our Ninth Party Convention—once these are mastered, there is little chance for a comrade to fall by the way-side. Party work then becomes life work; and, in the minds of our comrades, the thin steel strands of theory are wrought into unbreakable weapons which we need for our victory.

How to Pay for That Radio Program

LOWELL WAKEFIELD

AS A NEWSPAPER MAN I hate to admit it, but there's a punch and a glamor to radio that's hard to beat. Out here the most colorful political figure is perhaps County Commissioner John C. Stevenson (radio speaker, they call him) whose following is in great part built on his evening radio program.

The Commonwealth Federation, too, and its executive director, Howard Costigan, base much prestige on the Federation's fifteen minutes over KIRO each weekday night.

We Communists have used the radio twice recently; each time with real effect. Our city election campaign this spring hit its crest with a Sunday afternoon talk over KJR, major

station here. We feel many of the 6,700 votes the Party polled can be traced to that speech.

Again, at a Pacific Northwest Party conference on the eve of the Ninth National Convention, we broadcast our keynote speech.

The enthusiasm over that last determined the conference to try for a regular series of Communist broadcasts. Now here, as elsewhere, radio costs money. We must pay \$45 for fifteen minutes on a secondary station.

Our final session of the District Conference was open to the public. Several hundred packed the largest hall we are at present permitted to rent in the city. As chairman, I tried to hook up that radio enthusiasm with a collection. The results were surprising. We took in well over \$60.

How? Instead of the usual call for five-dollar bills, then one-dollar bills, etc.; by now so well calculated to bore any of our audiences, I took up a collection of (or sold) *minutes*. Radio time for the program we wanted was to cost three dollars a minute. By selling the first minute, then the second, etc., we succeeded in getting \$45, a fifteen-minute program, paid for in three-dollar lots. (The balance of the collection was the usual silver offering.)

This suggestion might prove of some value in other cities, bent, as we are, on raising money for radio time.

One thing is certain: collection speeches are an art and more time should be spent on them. (Not time at the meeting, but time in preparation.)

:-: AGIT-PROP SECTION :-:

Reach the Million Masses with Marxist-Leninist Literature

*Resolution adopted by the Ninth Convention
of the Communist Party, June 27, 1936*

THE NINTH CONVENTION of the Communist Party notes the growth of our literature distribution work as reflected in the increased circulation of the pamphlets and books of our major publishers and of our Party theoretical organs as follows:

	1930 (First year of crisis)		1934 (8th Convention)		1935	
		Index		Index		Index
Pamphlets and Books—pieces	263,744	100	1,192,815	452	2,336,380	886
The Communist—average issue	2,682	100	7,190	264	9,044	337
The Communist International— average issue	1,000	100	2,464	246	5,672	567
Party Organizer—average issue	2,000	100	6,374	318	9,722	486

Along with these increases in distribution there have begun an increasing appreciation throughout the Party of the important role which theory and our literature play in the revolutionary movement, the establishment in a number of Districts of the beginnings of an apparatus for mass literature distribution, an improvement in our publicity work, the establishment of about 50 large and small bookshops throughout the country, a lowering of the prices of books and pamphlets, and a greater measure of financial responsibility in the handling of literature funds, especially on a District scale. It must be emphasized, however, that these improvements are in the main only in their rudimentary stages and that a further advance in literature distribution must depend upon a still greater popularization of the political importance of literature work, in mass as well as Party education, a further strengthening of our apparatus, and improvement in our methods of work.

I

Among the *major problems* of literature distribution which we have scarcely begun to solve are the following:

1. A systematic, planned and timely publication and distri-

bution of literature dealing directly with current campaigns and immediate issues of the class struggle in the United States. Lack of sufficient literature dealing with sectional problems, various strata of the population, elementary revolutionary education, American history, etc.

2. The integration of literature distribution with all our Party activities, and the consideration of this problem by leading committees and bureaus of the Party in connection with planning and organizing all activities and campaigns; the task, particularly of the Educational Departments, of playing a leading role in guiding and promoting the distribution of agitational and propaganda literature, and in the systematic utilization of literature in the educational work of the Party.

3. The systematic training of cadres for our literature work and the creation of a stable literature distribution apparatus from the highest to the lowest organs of the Party.

4. Qualitative improvement in our literature distribution through emphasizing the major task of systematic distribution in the shops, trade unions, and other mass organizations, and house-to-house canvassing, instead of confining distribution only to Party units and branches.

5. The establishment of circulating and reference libraries in District and Section centers, units, and in trade unions and mass organizations.

6. The establishment of sales of our literature through bourgeois outlets, book stores, newsstands, and a systematic effort to have more of our books placed on the shelves of public libraries, through the organization of regular public demands.

II

Certain dangerous tendencies have evidenced themselves in our literature distribution work which militate against the broadest distribution of our literature, as follows:

1. The tendency to depend upon distribution through retail sales in our book shops, and the failure therefore to build the Party apparatus for mass distribution as the major channel of literature distribution.

2. The tendency to discontinue distribution of titles of our literature after they have been out a few weeks by considering that the literature is already old; this even applies to our theoretical literature.

3. The failure of many of our book shops, in their sales

and promotion work, to differentiate sufficiently between our Marxist-Leninist literature and the literature of other publishers.

4. Insufficient appreciation of the political importance of the distribution of literature on the achievements of building socialism in the Soviet Union, and other international problems affecting the working class.

5. The tendency to consider our theoretical organs, particularly *The Communist*, and *The Communist International*, as inner-Party literature, and the failure to promote a broad mass sale of these magazines.

6. The grave danger which lurks in allowing bills to accumulate and allowing literature funds to become dissipated, especially in the Sections and units; in the purchase of stock for bookshops without taking into account the possibility of turnover and payment within the time limits imposed by business principles; the tendency in some places to allow the overhead expenses to continually run above the gross profit margin; and the tendency in certain places to utilize funds obtained from the sale of our publications to purchase books of outside publishers, thus tying up and expending funds which should be sent to the Center, and not only limiting the possibility of further publication, but seriously impairing the efficient operation and financial stability, and even threatening the existence of our publishers.

III

For the further development of our literature distribution work the Ninth Convention establishes the following *key tasks* for the Party which must be thoroughly discussed and carried into life from the highest to the lowest organs of the Party:

1. A thorough ideological campaign to raise the entire membership to a consciousness of the importance of mass distribution of our Marxist-Leninist agitational and propaganda literature, placing major emphasis on systematic distribution in the shops, trade unions, other mass organizations, and house-to-house canvassing.

2. Planned and timely publication of literature, written in the language of the masses, dealing with concrete current problems and the immediate struggle for a better life.

3. In connection with the development of Party education, the training of new and old members, the development of cadres, integration with school activities, and the education of broad circles of workers around our Party, a mass distribution

of Marxist-Leninist classics must be developed. The question must not be of reaching only a few but of greatly enlarging the present extent of distribution under the slogan of "Theory to the Masses".

4. Popularization of the need, and the political importance for the education of our Party members and the working class in general, of the distribution of pamphlets dealing with problems of an international character (C.I., Soviet Union, brother parties, anti-war, etc.).

5. The organization of the widest possible distribution of literature dealing with the issues of the election campaign as planned by the National Election Campaign Committee.

6. Utmost attention by Party committees to the linking up of literature distribution with all Party activities, and the organization of the Party apparatus for literature distribution, with a leading role being played by the Educational and Org. Departments.

7. The systematic building and strengthening of our literature distribution apparatus; the systematic training of cadres for this purpose through functionaries' training classes; and the issuance of a manual on literature distribution in which shall be embodied the best experience of the Party in this field of work for the guidance of our Party comrades and functionaries.

8. A stabilization of the literature distribution apparatus and establishing its efficient business-like working through mobilizing all comrades in charge of literature at their posts, eliminating them from other major responsibilities, and establishing that literature functionaries should not be changed without consultation and agreement with the higher organ of the Party through which their literature is purchased.

9. The further improvement of our publicity work in connection with literature in all our Party organs, especially the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. The issuance as soon as practicable of a regular periodical publication which shall contain lively news from the literature front, reviews and previews of books and pamphlets, mobilize for literature distribution in all campaigns and activities, and carry on an exchange of experiences between the Districts on literature distribution.

10. The establishment of circulating and reference libraries of all literature promoted by us, in Districts, Sections and units, and as much as possible in trade unions, other mass organizations, etc.

11. A systematic broadening of our system of bookshops

throughout the country, bearing in mind the basic importance of well organized mass activity and the mass distribution of literature as the basis from which the bookshops will gather sufficient support to be self-sustaining.

12. All measures to be taken to promote the dissemination of our literature and other Left-wing publications to the widest strata of the population through the additional media of book clubs, libraries, bourgeois book stores, etc.

13. A thoroughgoing improvement in financial responsibility, especially in the lower organs, through constant check-up and a persistent campaign of criticism.

14. The lightening of the financial burden on our publishing houses and the releasing of funds for further publication and distribution through the organization of our bookshops on the basis of corporations or cooperatives with funds raised locally to finance same and with partial assistance from our publishers.

15. The improvement in the distribution of our Party theoretical organs and the *Party Organizer*, setting the following tasks to be accomplished by May 1, 1937:

The Communist—15,000 circulation; *The Communist International*—12,000 circulation; and the *Party Organizer*—20,000 circulation.

IV

The inherent weaknesses in our work are already beginning to reflect themselves not only in impeding further progress, but, in many places, causing retrogression to set in. Where political mobilization of the membership and the Party apparatus for literature distribution work are not maintained and developed literature sales inevitably decline, and furthermore the accumulated literature bills are usually not paid by the Sections and units. This means not only that mass literature distribution goes down, but that the District literature departments have to pay for the literature represented by outstanding bills in the Sections and units by selling and cutting down the supply of books on the shelves of our bookshops. In turn the bookshops, because they do not have sufficient books to sell, lose sales and begin to work on a deficit, which further complicates the work. This situation must be speedily remedied by carrying out the above outlined key tasks, and wherever literature funds have been misused taking immediate measures to replenish them.

The spurt forward which has been made in our literature distribution work has made possible the publication of larger

editions at reduced prices. We must maintain and increase the level of distribution if we are not to be compelled to return to a higher price level. In only a few instances, however, have our Marxist-Leninist books reached a broad circulation. District literature departments and bookshops must orientate on a much larger circulation of such books, which is the only guarantee of greatly reduced prices. In this connection minimum quotas should be established by each District for all Marxist-Leninist book editions.

The question of "old" and "new" literature must be viewed in the light of the fact that our publishers cannot publish, especially at popular prices, merely for immediate use. Utility in winning the broad masses (individually and collectively), and for consolidating our movement, rather than time of publication, must become the guiding line in determining what literature to distribute.

The main objective in the sale and rental of books in our bookshops and circulating libraries should be the dissemination of our Marxist-Leninist literature. Other literature and books handled and promoted in our bookshops and circulating libraries dealing with economic, social and political problems, along with books on the popularization of science and other educational and cultural material, should be of such a character as to stimulate the Leftward swing of the masses, aid in the consolidation of our movement, and advance the cultural interests of the workers. With the assistance of the Educational Departments our literature departments should guard against the smuggling into our bookshops and other distributing centers of literature alien and inimical to the interests of the working class.

Our slogan "Reach the Millions" raised in the January, 1935, Plenum of the Central Committee has been only partially successful. We have only in exceptional instances reached beyond the confines of our Party membership and immediate sympathizers in sales of our pamphlets. Our task in the forthcoming election struggle is to reach many millions of workers, farmers, and impoverished middle classes with the literature of our Party. The five million mark must be the minimum goal in 1936 for the distribution of books and pamphlets issued by our publishers.

Our slogan of "Theory to the Masses" must also be utilized in raising the political level of our membership and broad circles of workers around our Party as well as the broad masses

with which our membership comes in contact. This slogan must not be lost sight of, but, on the contrary, must be especially emphasized during the election struggle when millions of toilers will be reached with the word of our Party and will turn to us for further guidance.

Planning Literature Sales at Election Meetings

Preparatory to the Meeting

DETERMINE a sufficient time in advance exactly which pamphlets are to be the concentration literature for that particular meeting.

Order sufficient quantities of these pamphlets in plenty of time, as well as other related propaganda and theoretical literature which will be of interest to the audience.

Inform the specially assigned speakers and the chairman which titles are to be concentrated on, and make arrangements to have these popularized from the platform.

Obtain or prepare a few attractive posters announcing the election pamphlets. On these posters the local Workers Bookstore should be advertised.

Preparations in the Hall

The Literature Director and his committee should be in the hall at least an hour before the doors open to the public.

The posters should be distributed throughout the hall so that they can be viewed from every part of the hall. A few of the pamphlets, or their covers, can also be displayed by tacking them to the speakers' table.

The bulk of the election pamphlets which are to be concentrated on at the meeting, particularly the low-priced one-cent and two-cent pamphlets, should be arranged in bundles of five or ten with a light rubber-band around each bundle.

Specially assigned comrades should be stationed in regular positions throughout the hall, usually in the corner aisle-seats, each with a sufficient number of bundles to cover his section of the audience. The Literature Director should note down the

name of each of these comrades and the number of bundles with which they have been entrusted, in order to be able to check up the exact amount which must be turned in or the equivalent in unsold pamphlets.

Prepare the literature table.

The Literature Table

The table should be as large as possible, and placed so that the workers will see it as soon as they enter. At the same time it should be far enough away from the speakers' table not to disturb the speakers or audience with the sounds of conversation, wrapping or unwrapping of packages, etc.

The greatest variety of books and pamphlets should be attractively displayed on the literature table, *besides the election pamphlets*, even pamphlets and books which are sometimes considered "old" merely because the older Party members are familiar with them. We must always remember that this literature is new to the thousands of workers surrounding our Party and who are just being drawn into active interest and participation in the class struggle. Books and pamphlets should be displayed separately, not jumbled together, and each kind neatly arrayed in piles.

A few capable comrades who are familiar with the literature, who can answer questions as to the contents and usefulness of the pamphlets, and call attention to the literature table, should be placed in charge of it. Efforts must be made to sell every worker *at least one pamphlet*. The selling of a pamphlet is as important as the speech.

Cooperation from the Platform

The literature should not be merely announced from the platform. The *main speaker* should stress the importance of this literature as an organized part of his speech. If the occasion is a lecture, the speaker himself can popularize *all* the pamphlets. But if it is a mass meeting, the main speaker should popularize only one or two of the most important pamphlets, pointing out at the end of his speech that these pamphlets are vitally necessary for a further understanding of the issues and questions being discussed at the meeting. He should call on the audience to buy these pamphlets in bundles of five or ten and point out that they will be sold by

comrades on the floor. He should immediately be followed by a specially assigned comrade with a good speaking voice, who will give a stimulating talk on the other election pamphlets, describing the contents and explaining the necessity for reaching the broadest number of people with these pamphlets, calling on every one present to buy a bundle for distribution among their friends.

Selling in the Audience

As soon as the specially assigned comrade begins to speak, the other comrades, who have been stationed in the corner aisle-seats, will arise and move through their section of the audience, holding up the pamphlet so that everyone can see it and read the title, calling upon them to buy a bundle. These comrades should cover their section row by row, so that everyone can at least see the pamphlet. Often, workers in the audience, even though they do not have the money to buy the pamphlets at that particular meeting, may buy it at later meetings if the title and accompanying talk impress them.

As soon as the literature period is over, the comrades should report to the Literature Director with the money they have collected and the bundles which have remained unsold, for a check up.

The literature table should not be dismantled until the last of the audience has left, as many sales are made while the people are on their way out. Some, who have not made up their mind whether to buy bundles, may decide later to stop at the literature table to purchase a copy or two. Comrades should also be stationed at the main doors leading out, with bundles of the pamphlets, and loudly call upon the workers as they are passing out to buy them.

Suggestions for Literature Slogans to Be Used on Streamers as Hall Decorations

“Socialism is a science and must be studied as a science.”—Frederick Engels.

“Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.”—Lenin.

“When an idea seizes hold of the masses it becomes power.”—Karl Marx.

The Election Campaign Pamphlets

JOE FIELDS

OUR PARTY is entering the 1936 election campaign with all the energy and resourcefulness at its command, fully conscious of its responsibility as spokesman of the working class in the present critical period, determined to bring its program before the broadest section of the American people.

With its growing maturity, our Party has learned how to appraise correctly and evaluate those needs and demands which are closest and most vital to the working class. It has learned how to apply correct tactics in the struggle to win these demands. But it has also learned how to speak to the masses in their own language, in the popular language of the people. Our election campaign pamphlets are living proof of this.

Let us examine these pamphlets:

1. *The Communist Election Platform*, price 1 cent, containing new photographs of Browder and Ford and a short biographical sketch of each, presents a program which expresses the burning needs and hopes of millions, a program which the vast majority of the people are ready to support, a program for democratic rights and for economic security.

2. *Acceptance Speeches: Browder and Ford*, price 1 cent, contains the nominating speeches of Robert Minor and Mother Bloor and the acceptance speeches of our Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates in the 1936 elections. These speeches of Earl Browder, "the new John Brown of Osawatomie", and James Ford, native son of Alabama and twice candidate for Vice-President of the United States, carry an appeal which is directed to millions of the sons and daughters of the American working class, rallying them to a broad people's front in the form of a Farmer-Labor Party.

3. *Who Are the Americans?* by Earl Browder, price 1 cent, contains the first chapter of Comrade Browder's latest book, *What Is Communism?*, together with a short biographical sketch of the author and excerpts from his report to the Ninth Convention. It is a splendid weapon for shattering once and for all the illusions spread by the bourgeois press that Communism is a

"foreign importation" and that Communists advocate force and violence. To the contrary, Comrade Browder boldly designates the Communists as the only real "sons and daughters of the American Revolution".

4. *The New Soviet Constitution*, price 2 cents, is a powerful instrument for educating the masses to the significance of socialism, to the benefits it holds for the majority of the people, and for rallying them to the defense of the Soviet Union. Particularly after the wave of favorable publicity the Constitution received in the bourgeois press, this important pamphlet must be considered an integral part of our campaign literature, and must play an important part in all our electioneering.

5. *Democracy or Fascism*, by Earl Browder, price 5 cents, contains the splendid report of our Central Committee to the Ninth Convention together with Comrade Browder's closing summary. It is a crystal-clear analysis of all the issues and problems facing America today, and a clarion call to all progressive forces to unite in a broad Farmer-Labor Party of struggle against the menace of fascism.

Popularizing Our Election Campaign Pamphlets

All these pamphlets, as well as a host of others on the Liberty League, the Black Legion, Coughlin and Lemke, short biographies of Browder and Ford, etc., which will be published in the course of the campaign, lend themselves to the widest *popularization*. In the present momentous period they can and must play an important role in extending and consolidating the influence of the Party. Because they express the real sentiments and the burning needs of a majority of the American people, they offer an unparalleled opportunity to our Party for winning new friends and recruits. They open up the possibility of actually carrying into life our fighting slogan, "Reach the millions!"

But the factors which should act as the most powerful stimulus to the distribution of our campaign literature, and create the widest interest and demand for it among all strata of the population are the series of fourteen coast-to-coast radio broadcasts, reaching every nook and corner of the United States, which will take place weekly between now and November 3, Election Day, and which will carry our platform to millions of workers, farmers and middle-class people for the first time. These national hook-ups, besides innumerable local election

broadcasts, will be linked up with the two intensive speaking tours which will carry our candidates, Comrades Browder and Ford, through sixty-five key cities of the United States. At the same time, other outstanding working class leaders, such as Mother Bloor and Robert Minor, will campaign in a host of additional states and cities.

All these factors point to a campaign which will make history for our Party and mark a turning-point in the direction of its becoming a mass Party of the American working class. But these advantages, these splendid opportunities will be wasted unless every District and Section *organizes* and *plans* its campaign, co-ordinating it with the national campaign, mobilizing its full membership for the most intensive drive to reach every shop, trade union, mass organization and neighborhood in its locality with our election pamphlets.

We propose, as a first step, that the Literature Director or a leading member of the literature department, act as a member of the Election Campaign Committee, this to apply on a District, Section and Branch or Ward scale. The closest cooperation is also essential, particularly during the period of the election campaign, between the literature and educational departments, as a means of effectively covering every campaign meeting, forum, rally or picnic, whether indoors or outdoors, with our literature. We urge that quotas be adopted by every Section and unit, and that socialist competition among the Party organizations be initiated and encouraged. We also suggest that the election pamphlets, because of their low price, be sold in bundles of five or ten for distribution by our friends and sympathizers as well as our Party members. We further suggest that every campaign meeting or rally, particularly those at which our candidates or other outstanding leaders speak, be built up and popularized widely, to bring the largest possible audiences to hear our candidates and the program they represent.

We point to the statement of Comrade Browder in his Ninth Convention report: "Circulation of books and pamphlets in 1935 reached almost two and a half million copies, compared to slightly more than a million in 1934; but clearly the five million mark must be the minimum for 1936. Press and literature are the fundamental weapon of mass education."

The 1936 election campaign gives us the opportunity. Let us fulfill and *surpass* the goal set by Comrade Browder.

Training Personnel— the Need of the Hour*

F. BROWN

IN ANALYZING the reasons for the political and organizational deficiencies of the lower organizations we found that the main weakness is due to a common cause, namely, to the low political understanding of the lower committees in applying the policies of the higher committees to their organizations, in developing the proper methods of work, in helping the comrades in their daily activities.

The problem of improving the political education of every Party member, of creating capable agitators and organizers, of educating the thousands who join our ranks, of making of the units political bodies, depends primarily upon the ability of the lower leading committees.

In Cleveland, a unit organizer pleaded to be sent to the Workers' School because he wanted to be able to answer the many questions asked him by his fellow workers. He wanted to learn the Communist program, to know the teachings of Lenin. What he knows of our Party is that it is the only Party that, in deeds, has at heart the improvement of the conditions of those who toil, leads the daily struggles and has a program for a better future. How many such comrades are there in our ranks among the thousands who recently joined the Party, who came to us from the unemployed ranks and never had an opportunity to get a real Communist education.

Let me present an instance, typical of a thousand such, to emphasize the importance of political education, the necessity of making Communists of the good fighters in our ranks.

A young, robust boy who has gone through hardships during the last few years is finally getting a job in a factory. His feelings are those of great satisfaction. He is glad that he no longer is forced to hang around street corners; glad he is no longer a burden on the family. But after a few weeks this boy begins to feel the exploitation, the speed-up. He begins to hate the boss. He becomes militant. After a little while because he is intelligent, because he reads, he begins to think and together with other young intelligent workers in his shop

*Unpublished excerpts from report at Ninth Party Convention.

reaches the conclusion that something is fundamentally wrong with the actual system, and he asks himself a question: Why shouldn't we organize not only to improve our economic conditions, but also to bring about a change which will prevent people who do not work from making profits; and those who sweat, who produce everything, from just getting miserable wages? He begins to argue: Why couldn't the workers manage production collectively? We construct collectively automobiles, why couldn't we run the plant for the benefit of those who work, for the benefit of the masses in general, and not give billions of dollars in profits to the companies, to the multi-millionaires? How can this worker be characterized, a fighter who acquires such an ideology? *He becomes class conscious.* Is he a Communist? He has not yet read the Communist program. He doesn't know how to bring about the change that is going on in his mind. He wants to fight against exploitation, wants to eliminate it, *but doesn't know the way out as yet.* Finally, he decides that the Communist Party is the only organization that fights for the improvement of the conditions of the workers, that this Party also teaches the way out. He joins our ranks. He is a Communist because he joined our Party, *but not yet a real Communist*, capable of convincing his fellow workers of the correctness of the way out proposed by our Party. There are many of these young, capable, intelligent workers in our ranks, and the problem of educating them, of strengthening our Party politically, of bringing forward new leading forces, is of decisive importance.

Hence the development of the present leading forces, the development of hundreds and thousands of Party members into capable leaders of units and Sections, is the key to solving the problem of raising the political level of the entire membership, to improving the inner life, to making the units political bodies capable of leading masses in the struggle to build the Party into a mass Party.

We must increase not only our schooling system—more schools in the various states, Sections, nationally; but we must train the leading forces in the lower organizations by guiding them in their everyday activities, by making clear to them the political problems that face the Party. Every functionaries' meeting, every meeting of the leading committees must be utilized to further the political development of the leading comrades.

Our Party has grown numerically and is more mature. Yet

the weight of the manifold tasks, especially in the Districts, falls on the shoulders of a few comrades. Here we see that the building of a larger corps of capable, devoted leading forces, able to handle the various phases of work, is decisive for the improvement of the political and organizational abilities of the Party. Yes, we have made some headway in this direction. There are in our Party 6,525 comrades who have graduated from Party schools, 3,000 from Section schools, some 700 from District training schools, a few hundred from national schools. We must consider these results only as a slight beginning. We cannot speak any longer in terms of hundreds, but of thousands of leading forces that are needed in industrial centers in the South, West, Northwest. Comrades, you remember how a few years ago in a short time the Party was able to develop a mass movement in Iowa, Nebraska, and in the Dakotas, in winning real influence. Yet, because of our restricted number of forces, we were unable to take advantage and build a mass Party in these sections which today would be a tremendous asset in the campaign for a Farmer-Labor Party. There were similar situations in the South in connection with the textile struggles, with the struggles for Negro rights, of the sharecroppers.

We must produce the necessary forces, build them. They are here. They are within our reach. They are among the 40,000 members of the Party and the 10,000 members of the Young Communist League.

We must be more bold in getting these forces, more determined in training thousands, especially when splendid comrades are coming to us today from the trade unions with trade union and struggle experiences, when forces of the younger generation are joining our ranks.

Simplicity in Leaflets

Review of Pittsburgh District Guffey Act Leaflet

JOHN MELDON

IN ATTEMPTING to judge the value of leaflets issued by our Party, emphasis must of course be placed upon the political correctness of the subject matter, but of equal importance is the problem: *does the person to whom the leaflet is addressed understand every word of it?*

Too often, our Districts have been plagued with the issuance of leaflets, show papers, etc., that are perfect in respect to political content, but the workers and others for whom the material was written could not understand half the contents because of the careless selection of words and phrasing.

Simplicity of expression, therefore, is half the problem; "line" is the other half. With the correct combination of the two, the agitational matter issued by our Party units, Sections and Districts is one of the most effective instruments at our command to reach, influence and convince the masses.

Comrades active in the field—among the miners, and workers of most basic industries—are aware of the fact that two categories of these workers are difficult to reach through our leaflets and printed matter—the semi-literate native and the foreign born, who read only their own national press.

It would not be exaggerating to state that over the course of years, while many excellent leaflets have been issued, and have in many instances proved invaluable in certain situations, at the same time there have been literally reams, if not tons, of such material so much sheer waste, simply because the workers the leaflet was intended for could not read it, could not understand "the \$14 words", to use a characteristic phrase of the miners and steel workers.

A recent leaflet, issued by Western District of the Communist Party, is an excellent example of the use of clear-cut, simplified language. Issued on the heels of the Supreme Court's outlawing of the Guffey Coal Act, some 50,000 printed handbills were distributed throughout the soft coal towns of Western Pennsylvania.

The value of this particular leaflet, aside from its timeliness and content, was its clarity. Even miners who have had little

opportunity for schooling can read, understand and be convinced by this type of leaflet.

Another important fact about the Pittsburgh District Guffey leaflet was the political alertness of the Party—in issuing the leaflet before the ink of the Supreme Court decision document was hardly dry. While the capitalist press of the great steel and coal areas was featuring the Supreme Court decision on the front page, and interpreting the decision from a purposely distorted bourgeois point of view, 50,000 or more miners and steel workers, the former, particularly, were able to read, at the same moment, the Communist analysis of the usurped powers of the Supreme Court and its carrying out of the wishes of the Republican-Liberty Leaguers.

There are certain serious weaknesses in the Guffey leaflet. There was not sufficient analysis made of the Guffey law itself. *There was a tendency in the leaflet to regard the Guffey Act as a completely progressive piece of social legislation.* While the Act had certain progressive features about it; *i.e.*, in its “binding” of the coal companies to recognition of and collective bargaining with the United Mine Workers of America, at the same time the very fact that the Guffey Act tended to strengthen a monopoly in the industry was not pointed out.

A paragraph should have been written into the leaflet, showing that the Supreme Court decision actually outlawed only the labor clauses of the Guffey Act and that a loophole was left open for preserving the features of the Act that would benefit the coal operators. Within a few days after the Supreme Court decision, the “little Guffey Act” was introduced into Congress without the labor provisions of the previous Act. The “little Guffey Act”, minus its labor clauses, was merely a device for rigging coal prices and strengthening monopoly.

The leaflet does, however, state correctly, that “no matter what laws are passed, the miners must rely on their own organized strength, militant leadership, and mass action; and how wrong were those leaders of the U.M.W.A. who placed all the hopes of the miners in the Guffey Act!”

The leaflet throughout places emphasis on the need for a Farmer-Labor Party, and calls upon both the miners and steel workers to organize strong unions. The role of the Communist Party both in helping build the unions and aiding the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party is explained.

On the whole, the leaflet answers its purpose of explaining the class nature of the Supreme Court; of the wavering atti-

tude of the Roosevelt government; of the need for working class organization—the unions, the Farmer-Labor Party and the vanguard of the whole movement, the Communist Party.

Too few such leaflets were issued by our Party nationally. The Supreme Court decision on the Guffey Act affected the welfare of the toiling masses nationally. The subsequent slaughtering of the New York State minimum wage law is proof of this. More leaflets were needed. Some centers of our Party were more alert on this matter than others. The West Philadelphia Section of the Communist Party, certainly not a coal area, nevertheless realized the full significance of the Supreme Court decision in outlawing the Guffey Act, and issued a rotographed leaflet immediately. Although not as well written as the Pittsburgh leaflet, its main fire was concentrated in the right direction—against the onslaught of Liberty League reaction.

Both leaflets correctly called for a curbing of the powers of the Supreme Court and a constitutional amendment.

Educating Leading Personnel in Philadelphia

CARL REEVE

THE WORK of educating and training Party forces has improved in the Philadelphia District since the Ninth Convention of our Party. Two District schools are being conducted. The first school term in the anthracite mining field has just come to a successful conclusion. There were 28 students from the four anthracite mining Sections who took an intensive full time two-weeks course based on the National Convention reports and decisions.

A larger District school will begin in Baltimore the last week in August. This school will have approximately from 50 to 60 students coming from all sections of Eastern Pennsylvania, from Washington, Maryland, and Southern New Jersey.

The anthracite school is being followed up immediately with evening schools and classes for comrades who were unable to attend the full-time school due to their work.

In connection with the Baltimore school, it is planned to hold

three classes a week in the evenings for students not attending the day school.

Additional educational activities are developing in the Sections since the National Convention. In the Kensington Section in Philadelphia a well-prepared evening school will begin at the end of this month. This school will have nine sessions of three hours each to run over a period of two weeks and will be based on the main reports at the National Convention, linked up of course with the local situation. In this school, as in most of the other schools, the class will consist mainly of Comrade Browder's report to the National Convention and the Convention decisions. Supplementary reading is being assigned from the following pamphlets: Browder's *What Is Communism?*, Dimitroff's *Report to the Seventh Congress*, the Labor Party pamphlet and Foster's pamphlet on industrial unions.

Section New Members' Classes

In the Reading Section, which has been backward up to this time in the training of forces, the Section Organizer, Comrade Dean, is teaching Principles of the Class Struggle and Current Events every Sunday morning. This class is also taking up the National Convention decisions. Other Sections have begun additional educational work since the National Convention. In the South Side of Philadelphia, a new members' class is being conducted for the past few weeks. This class draws its members from the two biggest units in the Section. The West Philadelphia Section has successfully launched a new members' class. The Strawberry Mansion Section has begun a small new members' class. The discussions around the National Convention decisions demonstrate the need for more political education, particularly in the units. Much confusion exists regarding the policies of our Party in the election campaign, our attitude toward Roosevelt, etc. One political discussion has been held in most units on our policy in the election campaign. This discussion is based on control questions prepared by the Educational Department of the District regarding pages 11 to 24 of Comrade Browder's convention report. Each question is assigned to a different member of the unit to insure more discussion. General membership meetings have also been held to discuss the election campaign policies. Some Sections such as Section 6 of Philadelphia have already begun systematic political discussions of the National Convention decisions at their

weekly Section functionaries' meetings. The first unit discussions on the election campaign will be followed up with discussion on other important phases of Convention decisions and reports (reports of Ford, Krumbein, Minor, etc.). It will be seen from the above that there is an encouraging advance in political education since the National Convention. However, there are many serious shortcomings to be overcome.

In the first place, not all Sections are paying equal attention to this problem. Some Sections, such as the lower anthracite Section, continue to underestimate the problem of training our forces. As an example of this, the lower anthracite Section did practically nothing and sent only two students to the District school there. The first necessity is that all Sections equally draw the lessons of the reports of Comrades Browder and Krumbein on the training of forces and begin to carry these reports into action. A number of the Section classes which have been started are still too small and in many cases there is irregular attendance. One of the main reasons for this is the failure of the units and the Section organizers to put their full weight behind this educational activity.

The enlarging of the Philadelphia Workers School should mark further progress in the development of the educational activities of the District. More attention must be paid by every leading comrade personally to guide and train the new younger forces.

The Next Step

A. MARKOFF

THE NINTH CONVENTION of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. will go down in the history of the revolutionary movement in America as one of the greatest landmarks in the growth and development of the Party.

The Ninth Convention of the Party demonstrated the high degree of maturity of the Party. It showed that in the period since the Eighth Convention the Party has grown numerically and made decisive steps towards becoming a real mass Bolshevik Party in the U.S.A. The presence of a large number of delegates from basic industries, the high percentage of native American elements, the relatively large number of Negro dele-

gates and women are signs of the growth and maturity of our Party.

When we consider, however, the strength of our ranks in the light of the tremendous tasks facing the Party, we must admit that it is far from adequate. The struggle against reaction in the United States, the struggle for peace, etc., require the mobilization of millions of toilers. The message of the Party must be carried to every corner of this country. Hundreds, nay, thousands, of speakers, agitators, propagandists, teachers, organizers, etc., are needed. Millions of pieces of literature will have to be distributed during the election campaign.

Certainly, there is no room for self-satisfaction. The realization that our Party has made great progress since the Eighth Convention should serve as a stimulus for the further building of our Party, to double its membership by Election Day; to train and develop an active leading personnel, equipped with the knowledge of the revolutionary theory of Marxism and Leninism and the ability to apply this theory to the practical work of organizing and leading the masses in the struggle against reaction, fascism and war.

The next step is to carry the decisions of the Ninth Convention into life. There is potential and real leadership amongst the thousands of members of the Party. It is our immediate duty to equip these members with a clear understanding of the Party tasks, with a knowledge of the role of the Party, with an understanding of the methods of work within mass organizations, trade unions, etc.

Can this be done? To a Bolshevik such a question is alien. A Bolshevik says: *It must be done; it will be done.*

Where to Begin?

The starting point should be the systematic organization of the discussion on the Ninth Convention. Large membership meetings as well as open meetings have already been held in many sections of the country. This is important, but more must be done. A corps of discussion leaders must be trained to lead discussions in the units. These comrades, selected by the Section or District leadership, meet once a week. A topic dealing with one of the problems of our Party is presented in the light of the decisions of the Ninth Convention. The presentation should be made by a leading comrade who is able to enlighten the discussion leaders on the various phases of the

topic. The presentation is followed by a thorough discussion. Questions should be invited. The comrades must be told that they should feel free to raise any question that agitates them, the widest freedom for discussion must prevail. The comrades present at such meetings or conferences will in turn lead discussions in the units. Within a relatively short period of time this type of work will produce trained workers and the entire level of our membership will be raised.

In the units the discussion leader should organize his material with a view to covering the presentation of the subject in one-half hour. The report in the unit must be presented in a manner that will stimulate discussion and questions. Here again the widest opportunity for questions and discussion must be given.

The material used in the discussion should not be limited to the reports and speeches made by the leading comrades at the Convention. Editorials and special articles in the *Daily Worker*, in *The Communist*, in *The Communist International*, in the daily press generally, should be used in addition to the material of the Convention.

Very often an editorial in the *Daily Worker* on an important current event will lend itself well as a starting point in a discussion.

Another very important form of training of our Party personnel is the periodic conference of functionaries. Once every two weeks or at least once a month such conferences should be held for the purpose of discussion of political and organizational problems of the Party. These conferences must be educational in every respect.

Systematic Education

Hand in hand with the above a whole system of theoretical education is essential. The New Members' Course is of first consideration. This should be conducted on the basis of new members' conferences. About four sessions are enough to give the new members an elementary understanding of the meaning of Communism, of the role and structure of the Party, of the immediate issues and tasks.

Special studies for more advanced comrades can be carried through by means of evening classes. The experiences in the New York District, which has carried through two evening courses, already demonstrated that this form of education gives

positive results. For this purpose it is necessary to select a number of active comrades, release them from any tasks of the Party, except attendance at unit meetings, for a period of eight to ten weeks, and organize these courses on the basis of two evenings and one afternoon, either Saturday or Sunday, each week. With the careful selection of the students and instructors and with the proper organization of the topics for study, this type of education will give the Party a great number of active leading comrades.

The problems of the organization of full-time schools such as the two-weeks schools, the four or six weeks schools on a District and Regional scale, must receive the immediate consideration of the Party organizations. In this connection, the question of instructors is decisive. At the present time, the number of capable instructors in our movement is extremely small. It becomes therefore necessary as one of the first steps to organize courses for training teachers and propagandists for our movement. This, of course, cannot be done by the Sections and in many instances even the Districts are not sufficiently equipped to carry through such courses independently. The National Educational Commission of the Party will have to make this one of the first problems and promote the teachers' training courses on a national, District or regional scale.

The Workers Schools and especially the New York Workers School must immediately plan for the training of new teachers not only for New York but for other parts of the country.

Utilization of the Workers Schools

At the National Convention of our Party, the Commission on Education emphasized this point in its resolution. The Workers Schools through the years of activity succeeded in developing a technique and facilities for educational work. This presents the opportunity for the Party organizations to utilize these institutions for the training of their membership and thus carrying through the main aim of our education, which is the rapid mass theoretical development of the rank-and-file membership. The Workers Schools, therefore, must become an integral part of our work and must receive the closest cooperation and guidance by the leading committees of the Party.

The Workers Schools have another important function to perform. These schools are our means of reaching outside workers, intellectuals, etc. The Workers Schools must broaden

their base, introduce popular courses dealing with American problems, with problems of the labor movement, so as to attract large sections of the population. Our basic theoretical courses must be concretized so that the students will find in Marxism-Leninism the real theoretical guide in the everyday struggles.

Circuit Schools

In many of the states it will be necessary to send out a corps of instructors to various small towns for the purpose of carrying on education. The form of circuit schools should be adopted. In this phase of our work the instructor can combine organization work together with the theoretical education. The best results can be obtained by sending a comrade to spend a week or two in a town where he can carry through not only educational work through classes but also help the leadership in formulating plans for organization work in the particular town.

Literature

One of the very basic tasks in connection with the political education of the masses and Party members is to increase the distribution of the Party literature, the Party press, etc. Our comrades must be taught how to read and understand Party documents, editorials in the *Daily Worker*, special articles in *The Communist* and *The Communist International* and the necessity on the part of each member to become a distributor of Party literature and the Party press. It is necessary to develop an understanding that each Party member becomes a builder of our Party through personal discussions with workers, by supplying his friends, shopmates, etc., with current Party publications.

We must popularize the idea of doubling the Party membership by the November elections.

Personal Guidance

There are many active leading Communists within trade unions and mass organizations who are not in a position to devote time to attend regular classes. A system of self-education for those members, plus personal guidance by leading comrades, will become a very effective instrument in the political development of our members. The organizer, organizational

secretary, the educational director of the particular locality must select one or two of these members, be regularly in touch with them and personally guide their education and development. Direct personal discussions with the comrades are the most valuable and where the distance is too great for personal conferences this should be done by regular correspondence. The leading comrades of the Central Committee and the Workers Schools should be made responsible for this phase of work.

Correspondence Courses

The Workers School of New York has announced a correspondence course to begin this fall. Many communications have already come in from various parts of the country which show that our members and workers outside of the Party are eagerly awaiting the appearance of that course. A course like that can reach hundreds of people for whom this is the only means of getting a Marxist-Leninist education. It is essential that this course be started as early as possible.

It is our opinion that the above outlined plan of work is not too ambitious and that even with the limited forces that we have we can carry it through successfully provided we proceed in a determined manner to carry our decisions into life.

