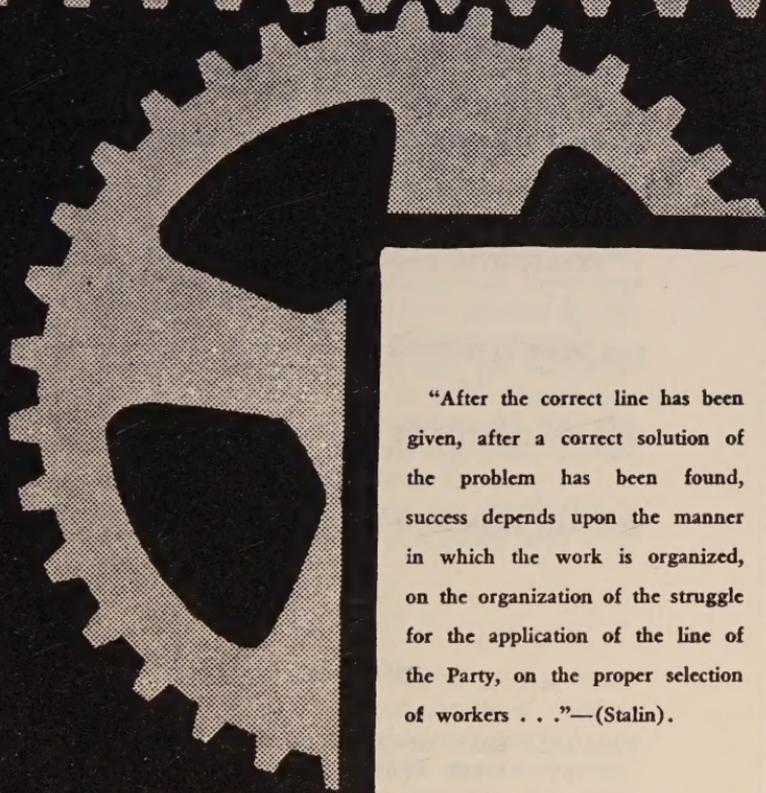


# Party Organizer



"After the correct line has been given, after a correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends upon the manner in which the work is organized, on the organization of the struggle for the application of the line of the Party, on the proper selection of workers . . ."—(Stalin).

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Vol. IX

SEPTEMBER, 1936

No. 9

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

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# PARTY ORGANIZER

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## Election Rallies Are Recruiting Grounds

F. BROWN

THE ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION given our presidential candidates, Comrades Browder and Ford, at packed meetings, the enthusiastic acceptance of our election platform by ever new masses, again proves the great possibilities for building our Party into a mass Party, of making the recruiting drive decided by the Ninth Convention part and parcel of the election campaign.

Up until now, however, these possibilities have not been fully utilized. No real efforts have been made to make the election rallies recruiting grounds. This is mainly due to the fact that the recruiting drive has not yet been properly organized, that we haven't worked out plans to the most minute details.

At the Ninth Convention of our Party we stated that a Party of 50,000 adult and young members is a strong basis upon which we can further build the Party.

### *What Has to Be Done?*

1. In our Party we have 600 shop nuclei with over 5,000 members. Besides this, we have over 7,000 members working in industries, a large majority of them in the unions. The aim of these forces in the industries should be to double their membership. To achieve such an aim, it is necessary that every shop nucleus and industrial unit must immediately not only discuss the drive, but concretely decide what each individual Party member shall do to approach their fellow workers and the methods to be utilized in the drive. This collective discussion can help the individual members in their recruiting activities.

Every unit meeting in the month of September, which, by the way, is the anniversary month of the Communist Party, should have on its agenda as the first point—recruiting.

In the factories the election campaign gives us a splendid opportunity to approach the workers through distributing our literature, by calling them to special meetings, etc.

The Section Committees should assign leading comrades to help the shop units during the drive.

2. Special meetings of the Party members active in the trade unions should be called specifically to decide the task of the individual Party members in the unions in regard to recruiting.

Today our forces are known in the unions, are respected, and have many connections with scores of progressive people. It is the task of our comrades to strengthen their contacts, invite the progressive elements who support our program, who work hand and hand with us, and make them understand that their place is in our ranks.

3. At every meeting the branches in the various territories shall also have recruiting on their agenda. Discuss concretely the tasks of the comrades in the neighborhood organizations on how to improve the house-to-house canvassing, how to utilize their open air meetings and the open meetings of the branches for recruiting.

We have in our hands powerful instruments that can help us in reaching workers and winning them for the Party. We have such instruments as the Party election platform, the new 25c edition of Comrade Browder's book *What Is Communism?*, and other pamphlets issued by the Party in this period.

The recruiting drive will be successful only if we understand how to utilize every campaign and every activity for the recruiting of individual members. We must prevent comrades who are active in the election campaign or in the steel drive from forgetting all about the recruiting drive. There must be no meeting during the election campaign whether under the auspices of the units, Section, City or State organizations, no election mass rallies at which the candidates speak, without an appeal for membership. The meetings must be well organized, with the necessary amount of literature, with application cards, with the comrades assigned to distribute the material and solicit new members. All candidates should be impressed that their task in the election campaign is to be Party builders.

The French comrades gave us a splendid example of how to build the Party during the election campaign. It was during the last election campaign in France, through the activities of the candidates, that the Party was built in new towns and was strengthened in others. We can do the same. We can build

the Party in hundreds of new towns where our candidates go to present our platform to the masses.

The decisive question for a successful recruiting drive is the improvement of the organizational apparatus on a state, city and section scale. Thousands of members are lost because of the inefficiency of the organizational apparatus, lack of guidance and checkup on the activities of the units.

It has been some time since we have decided to establish Membership Commissions, the task of which is recruiting, checking on dues payments and attendance. This apparatus is indispensable. Experience already proves that where the membership commissions are functioning we register definite gains. This is not enough. It is necessary that from now on the state and city committees shall have recruiting on the agenda at every meeting where the membership commissions, leading comrades in the sections, trade unions and mass organizations shall be called to report about the developments of the campaign.

In the last recruiting drive a big stimulus was given by the intensive recruiting activities of the leading comrades. In this drive, not only the Section Organizers must be involved in competition, but all the members of the elected Party bodies and the leaders of the various fractions in the trade unions and other mass organizations.

There are thousands and thousands of comrades in responsible positions from Unit Bureaus up. It is by the example of these comrades that we will be able to swing into activity the whole membership of the Party.

## Decisive Measures for a Successful Election Campaign

A. W. MILLS.

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN THIS YEAR assumes special significance. The Party has set itself the task of mobilizing the broadest possible masses to defeat reaction, to strengthen the building of the Farmer-Labor Party, for independent political action of the toiling people, and to build the Party in the course of this campaign.

The election campaign must be considered a great struggle.

In this struggle our Party has set itself definite objectives, which, if carried through, will result in strengthening the position of the toiling people of this country in the fight against fascism, for better conditions, for social insurance, for peace. The major objectives of the Party in this election fight are to defeat the Liberty-League-Hearst-Landon combination, to strengthen the forces for the building of the Farmer-Labor Party, to roll up a large vote for the Communist candidates, and to strengthen the Communist Party numerically and in fighting ability. The correct and energetic execution of the election campaign becomes the central task of the Party for the next two months.

Utmost clarity of the political aims and the tactical line of the Party is the basis for the carrying through of any Party campaign, particularly in as important a campaign as the elections of 1936. It is above all necessary to explain to our Party membership again and again that, through the most broad and aggressive Communist campaign for Comrades Browder and Ford, we can accomplish the above-mentioned aims. Through a real energetic campaign we can influence and convince large sections of the toiling population from which source fascism is springing, alarm them to the fact of the mobilization of the reactionary forces, win them for the need of defeating these forces at the polls. Through an energetic Communist campaign we can and will strengthen the forces for a Farmer-Labor Party because in all of our activities we have the accomplishment of this task as one of our major aims. There is not a doubt that the Party is conscious of these tasks. The character of our Nominating Convention, the opening guns of our campaign in Madison Square Garden, conclusively prove that our Party is now taking the election campaign seriously and is preparing to develop the campaign on a real mass scale.

The key to the execution of the correct tactical line of the Party in the 1936 elections is correct organization, based on ability to involve the largest possible masses in the campaign as such, the activation of our Party membership and the creation of such forms of organization which will enable us to bring the issues of the campaign to the greatest mass of people.

Events in recent weeks, expressed in increased attacks on the unemployed masses, in practically every state, the policy of the Republican Party of consciously putting the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the masses, as evidenced in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, show only in fragmentary form what the Republican-Liberty League combination will do if

they come to power. The reaction of the steel magnates to the organization drive among the steel workers, the increased terror in the steel towns, are precisely the expressions of the reactionary policies of the Liberty League-Republican combination.

Our election campaign, therefore, will be a vital factor if we, at the beginning of the election drive, concentrate our forces to develop real struggles of the unemployed masses, expose the character of the drive of the reactionary forces and defeat these attacks in every community and in every state. We must therefore view our election campaign first as a campaign of struggle for the immediate demands of the masses, as a campaign for putting into motion the largest possible strata of workers against reaction and for independent political action of the toiling people, for the building of the people's front.

With this as the center, the proper conduct of the election campaign will depend upon the *organization of the drive*. There is no doubt that the correct tactical line of Party organization, especially in the election campaign, will decide the extent to which we will reach millions of people and become a real factor in the central task of defeating reaction in this country.

There are numerous organizational tasks in the election drive. Let us just mention a few without which we cannot conceive of a real mass campaign:

### *I. Placing the Party on the Ballot*

The first task we are confronted with is to place the Party on the ballot in as many states as possible. We have already passed up a number of states. It is true that in certain states tremendous difficulties were placed against us. But with proper organization we can overcome these difficulties. In many places we are off the ballot due to our own negligence. Kansas is the outstanding example. The inability of the Party to place itself on the ballot in Kansas, which is the special experimental ground of the standard-bearer of the Liberty League, Landon, is one of the gravest of shortcomings. The Party as a whole must immediately take the necessary steps to organize groups of comrades, to involve sympathizers in collecting the necessary amount of signatures and over, in order to ensure the Party being on the ballot. We have already had reports from many places, especially New England, that the Republican Party is arbitrarily trying to rule the Party off the ballot and is utilizing the smallest possible excuse. We must have so many signatures over the necessary

quota that, no matter what these reactionary gentlemen may try to do, they will not be able to rule the Party off the ballot on account of lack of signatures. An election campaign without the Party on the ballot is really not an election campaign. The responsibility therefore for the actual development of a real mass election campaign lies first in *placing the Party on the ballot*.

## *II. The Apparatus for the Campaign*

In order to carry through the broadest possible campaign we must immediately take steps to organize a broad apparatus involving Party and non-Party people, representatives of different strata of the toiling population.

We have the immediate job of organizing election campaign committees in every organization, in every community, trade union and neighborhood. These should be organized as Browder and Ford committees, Browder and Ford clubs, composed of Party and non-Party people who are ready to work in the election campaign for the Communist ticket. There are thousands of workers, professionals, who, agreeing with our program in full or in part, are willing to work with us in the election campaign.

## *III. How to Organize These Committees or Clubs*

*In the trade unions.* Facts prove that our comrades in the trade unions are involved in many activities in the election campaign, either through participation in various Farmer-Labor Party movements, or in the Non-Partisan Leagues, etc. While these activities are important, the Party fractions must understand, however, that it is their job as Party fractions to bring the Communist campaign, the issues, the platform, to the attention of the union membership. By bringing forward the Communist platform, the issues involved in this campaign, we will be able to strengthen the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party. Not everywhere will we be in a position to do this openly, but in all cases our comrades have the opportunity of organizing committees or clubs composed of Party and non-Party people to work actively in the Communist election campaign.

Such committees can do the following:

1. To arrange for the organization of trade union symposiums to invite all parties to discuss the issues of the campaign.
2. To organize systematic discussions in the trade unions

and other mass organizations on the major issues in the campaign.

3. To organize systematic sale of election literature.
4. To utilize national and local radio broadcasts.
5. To organize discussion groups on the platforms of the parties.
6. To issue leaflets concretizing our election demands, etc.

Every Party fraction, whether in a trade union or other mass organization, should immediately discuss in a concrete manner how these committees can be organized, composition and program. Such election committees in thousands of organizations, in trade unions, in Townsend and Coughlin clubs, will create the guarantees that our campaign will be brought into these organizations. It is in these mass organizations that our Party is able to reach millions and convince large sections who are today influenced by Landon or Lemke.

*In the neighborhoods.* There is no doubt that the Party branches will play an active role in the mobilization of workers in the neighborhoods. The open unit meetings, the mass and open air meetings will reach larger masses. While this is good, we must set ourselves a broader task, that of involving non-Party workers in the whole conduct of the campaign. We may use various forms for this purpose; first and foremost the securing of election headquarters. It is not too difficult a task for each branch to consider very seriously the opening for the next two months of election headquarters, preferably on busy streets. Around such headquarters, nicely decorated, can be organized all sorts of activities, involving Party and non-Party people, such as organization of women's committees, youth committees, children's groups, which will have the job of conducting the drive in the neighborhood. In such headquarters we can organize daily meetings on various subjects, issue campaign bulletins, sell election campaign literature, organize canvassing, etc.

### *Reaching Millions*

In order to become a real factor determining events in the country, the task which the Seventh World Congress placed upon us, we must now reach millions. The whole Party must be orientated in this direction. Splendid beginnings are being made in every locality but these are only beginnings. We must take the following steps:

- a. *Mass meetings.* Every District should work out a detailed

plan of penetrating every locality with our local tours, speaking to the largest possible number of people.

*b. Utilization of national tours* is an important element in the election campaign. So far, tours have been arranged for Comrades Browder, Ford, Minor, Bloor and Hathaway. Many other leading national comrades will tour the country. These meetings must become real mass rallies where the leaders of our Party speak to tens of thousands of people and arouse interest in every town.

*c. Literature.* The election platform must be in the center of our literature distribution. We cannot limit ourselves to the sale and distribution of thousands of platforms only. With a force of 50,000 Communists, with tens of thousands around the Party, we should be able to dispose of at least five million copies of the election campaign platform. Local leaflets will play a tremendous role in concretizing the national issues and bringing to the attention of the masses what these reactionaries are doing locally to carry through their national drive against the masses. The Party press, the *Daily* and *Sunday Worker*, the language press, must receive special attention. The election campaign will depend on whether we talk by hit or miss or whether we reach these masses daily with our position on the problems of the day. The press, therefore, the *Sunday Worker* and the *Daily Worker*, as well as the language papers, is one of the key mediums through which we can reach the masses and convince them of the correctness of our program in this election drive.

*c. Radio broadcasts.* Radio talks provide us with a splendid opportunity to give organizational form to our election activities. Imagine the power which our Party will be provided with if every Party member who has a radio in his house makes it his or her task to invite friends, neighbors, and shopmates to listen to our radio campaign talks, and formally or informally constitute themselves an election club. If nothing else is accomplished after the radio talk but discussing the issues involved, arming these workers with literature, taking up small collections, laying the basis for discussions in the shops and unions, what a powerful instrument our Party would have in this election campaign!

It is out of these committees and clubs that we must build up the broader election campaign committees. We set ourselves the task at the Party convention to organize 10,000 Browder and Ford Clubs. Which unit will start off the drive? Which fraction will be the first to fall into line? How many individual comrades will assume responsibility of organizing radio broadcast

clubs or regular meetings? Which branch will be among the first to open headquarters?

### *Financial Drive Must Be Success*

In order to carry through this program in all its magnitude, we must make the financial drive for a quarter of a million dollars a part of the election drive as a whole. It will be impossible to carry through such an intensive campaign without raising the necessary funds. That this can be done we have no doubt. Just review the success of the *Daily Worker* campaign, the successes of the campaigns of our language press, and you will readily see that these thousands of loyal workers around our Party are ready to sacrifice everything to help our Party conduct the struggle against reaction.

## Solving Membership and Recruiting Problems

JUDITH KNIGHT, *Section 11, Brooklyn*

WHATEVER SUCCESS has attended the recent work of the Membership Department in Section 11 has been due to the application of four principles:

1. *Publicity*—prompt reaction to any positive achievement, no matter how small, by any branch, unit, or individual in the Section.

As many means of publicity as possible were used.

A *recruiting chart* was posted in the Section headquarters, and it was the job of a member of the Section Membership Committee to bring this chart up to date every Monday night, when she was stationed in the Section headquarters to attend to any membership matters that might come up. The chart showed the standing of the units and branches in regard to recruiting; also the names of those individuals who had been given Seventh World Congress Recruiting Awards. (Awards were given out only when the Section Membership Department

received a receipt showing that the recruit had actually been given his Party book.)

A *weekly letter* was sent out to the Membership Directors of the units and branches giving the above information and dealing with any other matters pertaining to membership and recruiting.

*Public presentation* of Party books to recruits and awards to those who did the recruiting at each unit or branch meeting, with a short speech of a minute or two by the Branch Membership Director was insisted upon by the Section Membership Department. This was usually followed by spontaneous applause, the new member felt he was really accepted formally into the Party, the one who did the recruiting as well as the entire membership of the branch were stimulated to further recruiting; and a general sense of buoyancy and achievement pervaded the meeting after the few minutes given to the membership director, which was most beneficial to the inner life of the branch as a whole.

2. *Regularity*—a routine of membership work was established and adhered to rain or shine every week.

Wednesday night, meeting with branch membership directors to take up their problems, receive applications, transfers, follow-up reports on contacts turned over to them by the Section Membership Department; Monday and Tuesday night, branches received Party books for application cards turned in to Section Membership Department the previous Wednesday, also the weekly Membership Department letter.

The New Members Class, with the cooperation of the Section Educational Department, was kept going continuously without a gap, a new term every five weeks.

The idea behind this regularity and routine is that no matter how difficult the situation of the organization as a whole may be, if one department operates systematically, it can serve as a sort of carrier to the other departments and the thing may spread throughout the whole organization. Section 11 suffered from the fact that practically its entire membership was new—less than a year old. Yet the Educational Department in turn may serve as such an impetus to other departments. Of course, the Section Committee is working to raise the level of the work of the Section as a whole, but in the meantime the individual departments do not have to twiddle their thumbs and bewail their lack of this or that. They can strive to accomplish certain ends within their own domain, and when they

do this, the results reach out beyond the limits of their own department.

3. *Personal Attention*—to new members especially and to old members as well.

The instructor of the New Members Class was asked to write out a short estimate of each student as regards political development, experience in the movement, and recommendation for work most suited for. Where the Section Membership Department was successful in getting these from the instructor, they were sent to the Unit or Branch Executive Committees with instructions to call in the new members for a personal talk to find out what they would like to do, etc.

Comrades who came into the Section in regard to membership matters were given undivided attention by the Membership Department and as much time as they wanted to discuss their particular problem.

The attempt was made to have the comrades feel that there was an apparatus established in the Party that took a personal interest in them, not just to see that they paid dues, not just to "check up" on their attendance in truant officer fashion, but actually to know what the comrades were doing, how they were fitting into the work, etc.

To a certain extent this attempt was successful.

4. *Positive Approach*.—Occasionally a delinquent branch or unit was put on the carpet. But positive achievements, no matter how small, were stressed. This was done, not from any Pollyanna desire to shut our eyes to difficulties and shortcomings but because we were convinced that the example of achievement begets further achievements. If Unit 15 could do recruiting, then Ovington could do it too, if the example was held up to them, and if these could do it, then Boro Park Branch could do it, as soon as they established an apparatus for it. And this is exactly what happened when we fulfilled our quota for the Ninth Convention Recruiting Drive.

In addition to these four points, it is important to add that the Membership Department took advantage of all help and guidance from the District Membership Department. The monthly meetings conducted by the District were of great help, as were also the classes for branch membership directors conducted by the District. Once the District Membership Director came to address all the membership directors in the Section. The meeting was very successful and the effects were very beneficial.

### *Shortcomings*

The shortcomings of the work, such as the fact that there was not sufficient contact with the shop nuclei; that there was not a strong enough Section Membership Committee built up; etc., are known to the incoming Branch Membership Director. This is a comrade who was promoted for good work on the Section Membership Committee and as Branch Membership Director. She will develop the work further and will strive to rectify the shortcomings of the past. The Section Committee has received a number of proposals for improving the work among which are such proposals as the limitation of the term of office to not less than six months or more than one year; proposal to give the Section Membership Director complete jurisdiction over transfers in order to eliminate red tape; and others.

The Section Committee will probably agree with the proposals. And since the new Membership Director is experienced in the work, the outlook is for a bigger and better Membership Department in Section 11.

## The Steel Drive and the Tasks of Communists in Mass Organizations

BILL GEBERT

THE DRIVE UNDERTAKEN by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the C.I.O. to organize the steel industry has been on for the past three months. The drive is national in scope. Fourteen strong national and international unions are affiliated to the C.I.O. Local headquarters of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee have been set up in all important steel centers. Hundreds of mass meetings have been held. Literature has been issued. The second issue of *Steel Labor* has appeared. Many thousands of steel workers have already joined the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of America. The McKeesport Tin Plate Company (a subsidiary of U. S. Steel) has received the following demands which were unanimously adopted by its company union representatives:

"All men receiving \$3 per day to get a 33 1/3 percent increase.

"All \$4 men to get a 25 percent increase.

"All \$5 men a 20 percent increase.

"All \$6 men a 15 percent increase.

"All \$7 men a 12 percent increase.

The company union also asked that a 40-hour week be guaranteed.

The same company union, by a vote of 12-2, denounced discrimination and intimidation of workers on the part of the management of the "Plate".

In the Pittsburgh district nearly 40,000 steel workers, through the company unions of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, placed demands for \$5 per day minimum for common labor, a 40-hour week, etc. And in the Calumet Steel district, representatives of the company unions representing 47,000 men are in favor of the S.W.O.C. A similar trend is developing in and around Pittsburgh.

### *Involving Mass Organizations*

It is obvious that the organization of the steel industry will bring about a fundamental change in the structure, character, scope and effectiveness of the trade union movement nationally and it will give impetus in organizing other mass production industries basically remaining unorganized. The movement for unionization will also serve to accelerate the next historic step on the part of the American working class, its liberation from the influence of the parties of capitalism and bulding the mass anti-fascist Farmer-Labor Party jointly with farmers and other toilers.

To speed the process of organization of the steel industry it is essential to involve the mass organizations of the workers. Practically every steel worker is a member of some sort of fraternal social organization. To reach these steel workers we should not overlook this very important channel. The fraternal organizations as a rule consist of an overwhelming number of workers and in some cases the leaders of fraternal organizations are friendly toward the idea of organized labor. Of course, we have the International Workers Order, which has already played an important role not only in involving its membership in helping to organize the steel industry, but helped very much in initiating a movement among other fraternal organizations.

The first concrete step toward involving fraternal mass organizations in support of the steel drive was the conference held in the William Penn Hotel on August 8, 1936, in Pittsburgh. This conference was represented by the officers of the national and district fraternal organizations. The total membership represented was 278,000. The conference unanimously adopted a resolution declaring: "We see in the effort of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee to organize the steel industry the carrying forward of the true ideals of genuine fraternalism and cooperative effort among the workers of every religion and nationality to improve their standard of living." Therefore, the conference decided to pledge full support to the organizational drive; to bring the message of the drive to the membership and decided to issue a call for a broad conference for the extension of the drive in the steel industry.

But even more important is the initiative the fraternal organizations have taken in the respective steel towns. In McKeesport, Pa., a number of fraternal lodges are part and parcel of the local movement to organize the steel mills. Similar steps have been taken in a number of other steel towns in the Pittsburgh district, as well as other districts.

Here we may see in practice the realization of solidarity of labor. Workers of different organizations are combining their efforts in order to establish a powerful industrial union in the steel industry. We may further add that a large number of foreign-language papers have adopted a very friendly attitude toward the organization drive and are supporting it.

#### *Conferences of Local Organizations*

The committee elected at the Pittsburgh conference of fraternal orders is now preparing a broad mass conference of all fraternal, cultural and social organizations in Western Pennsylvania. This conference will have the objective mainly of reaching the local organizations and discussing how the work can best be developed in the respective steel towns and how help can be given by these organizations to increase the union membership in helping the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in building the union. The conference will take place in Pittsburgh in the middle of October. In addition to the local lodges, the conference will be attended by representatives of many national committees of the respective fraternal orders. It will also be necessary to draw into this movement, now con-

sisting primarily of organizations of the foreign-born, such local organizations as the Eagles, Odd Fellows, Moose, etc. The steel drive, therefore, should take on the character of a community support in behalf of the drive.

Every force should be drawn in to aid the steel drive in preventing the Steel Trust from mobilizing any support in behalf of sustaining the open shop, terrorism, provocation, low wages, and above all, to clearly understand that the organization of the steel industry into a powerful industrial union will be a powerful bulwark against the advancement of fascism in America.

The Communist Party can continue to lend tremendous help in this drive. There is unlimited opportunity for Communists in fraternal organizations, for the national bureaus of the respective papers, really to play an important role in the American labor movement. The movement which began on August 8 lends such an opportunity. Our task is to see to it that we play this role and that our work in all the organizations is unified in the respective towns in the common effort to speed the process of building the industrial union in the steel industry.

## For More Efficiency

H. G., *Branch 2, Brooklyn*

ONE OF MOST SERIOUS SHORTCOMINGS in our Party organizations is a total lack of businesslike efficiency on the part of many comrades. This often takes the form of the most shameful wastefulness of Party material: papers, literature, leaflets, etc. Recently I was struck by a situation that emphasized the enormity of this kind of waste. Some comrades, in cleaning out a local center, were preparing to throw out literally hundreds of back copies of our press, *Champion of Youth*, etc., that had accumulated. Many bundles of papers had not even been opened. Stacks of leaflets, going into thousands, were to be discarded because it was too late to have them distributed. Pamphlets on current topics were stuck away in corners untouched. Probably at some future date they will be thrown away because they will have become out of date. Upon inquiry, I was told that loads of materials like these were discarded

every now and then because no one seemed to care what happened to them.

I believe situations such as this can be found throughout our Party organizations. If it were possible to estimate the amount of waste for a period of a year that we allow to go unheeded, the figures would be very astounding. It is a situation that calls for the most ruthless criticism. Those who are responsible must be seriously called to task. If papers or pamphlets cannot be sold the least we can do is to distribute them free. It should be a special task of every Party branch to distribute back copies of our press as a means of advertisement.

When we consider what a struggle it is to raise the funds that we need even for the most elementary tasks, it hurts very badly to see any kind of waste and inefficiency. In the Soviet Union there are severe penalties for those who are guilty of criminal wastefulness. Why shouldn't we begin to bring this spirit into our Party work? Why shouldn't we pay more attention to stopping up the leaks, as small as they may seem? In situations such as described above, I believe it would be proper to bring those comrades to trial and examples made of those who are guilty. Our Party must be educated to greater efficiency in our work. One way is to put a stop to the enormous amount of wastefulness that exists. Let's learn how to work with the most businesslike efficiency in a period when efficiency is often the decisive factor.

## Improving Methods Of Unit Education

JACK DENNIS, *New York*

THE GREATEST DIFFICULTY in our units is to arrange interesting discussions. The usual practice is to assign a comrade to give a talk the following week on some current problem. The comrade comes in with his prepared talk, talks for one-half hour or hour, while the others sit around, too often bored, listless and fatigued after a hard day's work. The comrade who leads the discussion in many cases is not a good speaker and yet in this manner of presentation, everything depends on being a good speaker. At the end, the chairman asks for questions.

There are not any questions. The chairman gets sore. He bawls out the comrades and makes them feel that it is their duty to ask questions because he feels that it is his duty to create discussions. Result: the chairman is all in a lather, the comrades, many of them new ones, feel guilty and the speaker feels that he hasn't done his job.

What's wrong with this picture? The main thing is that the comrades have not been drawn into the discussion. If they were, they would enjoy themselves at unit meetings and they would learn much more than they do by listening to a long speech in which they feel that everything has been covered and there is nothing left to be said.

One way of getting comrades into the discussion has recently been employed with some success in some of our sections. This is to have the discussion first and the speech afterwards, in the form of a summary. The Section Educational Department mimeographs a list of questions on the particular subject for discussion, let us say the C. P. position in the coming elections. The questions are then read one at a time by the discussion leaders in the units. He asks different comrades to answer each question. Our experience has been, that the other comrades are very ready to contribute further clarification after the first comrade has made an attempt to answer. Naturally, the discussion leader must use tact and not treat the comrades as if they were back in school. Also the question must not come out of thin air. They should be questions which workers are asking. In one case, Section 18, the questions used were those asked of the Section Organizer by the functionaries when he reported on our position in the coming elections. The comrades vied with each other in an effort to give answers worthy of a Section Organizer and the discussion brought out many points which were of value to the comrades in the units.

In using this method, the discussion leader by no means plays a passive part. He must study the questions very carefully before the unit meeting. He must steer the discussion in answer to a particular question so as to bring out in bold relief the difficulties involved in the answers given. This must not be done in an artificially argumentative manner, but in the way in which workers under the influence of the bourgeois press or under the influence of other working class parties would actually raise these questions. The discussion leader must make it his business to know more about the questions than anybody else. Then, when the discussion is finished, he can

sum up, giving the answers to the main points of the discussion. Here, too, he must use his judgment, as in some cases where the discussion has been quite adequate, it would be much better to proceed to the next question rather than to repeat at length what has been already said. Thus, by this method, we have the discussion first, and the speech afterwards. (The discussion leader must take special pains to call on all comrades, particularly those who are not in the habit of saying anything at unit meetings.)

### *Discussion in Shop Units*

Another method of creating discussion is one that applies particularly to shop units where the comrades refuse to be weaned away from a discussion of union problems. The idea is to base the discussion on an article written for the shop paper. The comrade who leads the discussion presents our position on whatever the question happens to be and then, when he is finished, he reads his article in the shop paper on that particular question, explaining to the unit why he wrote the article as he did, in terms of his understanding of the workers in the shop and his previous explanation of our position. In those units where the comrades don't like to discuss anything that is not closely related to the shop, this will be found to be an effective method for improving and broadening the educational work. Naturally you cannot do this with every article for the shop paper, or it will never come out. In cases where there are not shop papers, the same thing can be done with leaflets. This will increase leaflet production in the shops and produce such leaflets as meet the needs and sentiments of the workers in the shops.

Still another method is to mimeograph a fair-sized quotation on a particular subject from the bourgeois press, from *Social Justice*, from the *Socialist Call*, etc., and ask the comrades in the unit to answer it. This will help develop the comrades in answering the arguments of the opposition. Like the first method, to which it is similar, it should create a broad discussion if properly steered by a discussion leader.

In all of these methods, the appropriate literature should be recommended to the comrades a week in advance, so that they too can be well prepared for the discussion.

Another method which the educational director of a branch might apply during the election campaign is to tune on the

radio in the branch on a speech of one of the bourgeois politicians, provided it isn't too long. When the speech is over, have the comrades get up and answer it. Such a meeting can be an open meeting to which you invite the people of the neighborhood to come and hear so and so, a bourgeois candidate over the radio, and hear Communists answer him from the floor.

### *Conclusions*

These methods are only suggestive, but they are based on a principle which will allow for plenty of ingenuity on the part of the section and units. That principle is: to have discussion first and main speeches afterward. It means that we will find methods for getting the comrades, particularly the new ones, to participate in discussions before our leading theoreticians have put the case so well that there is nothing left to be said. Comrades don't learn by listening alone. They learn by attempting themselves to answer, by making mistakes and being corrected. This doesn't mean that we shouldn't have any speeches of the bold type. We must have fewer of them and better ones and we must alternate them with the new methods suggested in this article.

## The San Francisco Earl Browder Meeting

M. CARSON

THE LARGEST MEETING ever held in San Francisco under the direct auspices of the Communist Party had attracted 3,000 people. This was during the gubernatorial elections of 1934, immediately after the general strike and its accompanying terror against the Party.

When the Browder committee was established to arrange the Browder meeting, all comrades agreed that there were 10,000 people in the Bay Area who would listen to Browder, were they reached and notified of the date and place of his meeting. This was the largest undertaking the Party had ever attempted, and immediately a corps of comrades went to work.

Publicity was varied. In the printing field the committee

decided that, instead of the usual general leaflets, special leaflets addressed to special categories of the population would be emphasized. Special leaflets were gotten out, addressed to the "Waterfront Workers", "To the Trade Unionists", "To the Professional People", "To the Negro People", "To the Supporters of Tom Mooney", etc. The only general announcement was an attractive plugger card folder, and the announcement of the Browder meeting was emphasized. One hundred-word announcements on the radio were given both in San Francisco and in Oakland during the last four days, on one station at the rate of six announcements per day. We ran two- and three-inch advertisements in the capitalist daily press the day before and the day of the meeting. A sound travelboard truck 24 by 9 feet traveled throughout the city for six days before the meeting, concentrating on the waterfront, the industrial areas and the important neighborhood thoroughfares. Two-colored slides, including Browder's picture, were shown for a full week in advance of the meeting in 10 neighborhood centers. The French, Spanish, Italian, Hungarian and Yugoslav language dailies were covered with articles and paid advertisements. In San Francisco we have a system of shopping neighborhood papers (26 in number, having a circulation of 150,000), which are distributed weekly under every door in the city. The issue before the Browder meeting, we included a 30 inch ad in every one of these papers. They accepted a long article with the ad, which is the policy of these papers. Our *Western Worker* came out with a special Browder issue the day before the meeting and the entire membership of the Party was mobilized that night for a quick house-to-house distribution of the *Western Worker*. Almost daily press releases went to the capitalist press in all cities around San Francisco, as well as to the trade union and language papers.

Special letters went to all Negro organizations, to the Townsend Clubs, to secretaries of the central labor bodies, etc. A special ferryboat was chartered to bring Oakland and East Bay people to the meeting, offering a round trip fare of 10 cents, instead of the usual 42 cents. Two-colored posters were plastered on poles and fences on both sides of the Bay. A press conference was organized the day Browder arrived in the city. Every daily newspaper was represented, and publicity of Browder's answers to vital questions and the place and date of the meeting made front page stories in every paper the evening before the meeting and the morning of the meeting. Browder

spoke at two special meetings before the big Dreamland Auditorium meeting, and every appearance was accompanied by news reporters and more publicity.

The result of this elaborate publicity campaign was that Browder's audience at the League of Women Voters (in a hotel) was 400; his audience at the luncheon at the Commonwealth Club (business and professional) was 650; and the audience at the Dreamland Auditorium was over 8,000. One of the capitalist newspapers gave the audience at the meeting as that of 12,000. In addition to reaching this great number of people, Browder addressed the radio audience of northern California in a half-hour broadcast the night before the big meeting, over the NBC station. It is hard to estimate the extent of the radio audience, but reports of listeners in the farm areas around Merced and Dinuba, and Santa Rosa, radio groups in homes of longshoremen and warehousemen, groups of agricultural workers in Hayward, Monterey and San Joaquin Valley, gave us a small idea of the far reaching effects of this broadcast.

The meeting itself was carefully arranged and decorated. A Y.C.L. color guard of 105, dressed in red, white and blue caps, in white shirts, carrying red and American flags, marched in at the beginning of the meeting, singing the International, and, taking their seats in the front reserved section, proved a colorful picture.

Bill Schneiderman, the State Secretary of the Party, was chairman, being introduced by Anita Whitney. Only 2 five-minute speeches (by the youth and Negro representatives) were made and the collection speech preceded Browder. Browder started to speak at exactly 9:30 and the meeting was over at 10:35.

Certain shortcomings can be acknowledged. The most serious one was the lack of stress on the question of recruiting, although a special letter appealing to everyone present to join the Communist Party was placed on every chair in the Auditorium, and four recruiting booths were placed in the rear of the Auditorium, but, because recruiting was not stressed from the platform the results were not so good. Also practically no mention was made of our *Western Worker*, and its special election subscription rate. However, literature was attractively displayed in the lobby of the hall. There were also some technical shortcomings that grew out of our inexperience in handling a meeting of this size.

However, the feeling of satisfaction on the part of our Party comrades was definite. It was, without a doubt, the finest meeting and the largest meeting we have ever held, and the greatest part of the audience was composed of people who never before attended a Communist meeting, and who came away from that meeting with a decidedly sympathetic and interested attitude towards our Party.

## AGIT-PROP SECTION

### Valuable Experiences in Conducting A Seven-Week State Circuit School

P. D., *Wisconsin*

THE CIRCUIT SCHOOL began its work on July 13 and will conclude August 30. During this period it has spent one week in each of seven counties outside of Milwaukee. Two comrades have been carrying through the school, conducting day classes (wherever possible) and evening classes. Their expenses have been covered entirely by the Party organizations concerned. The sections selected for the school are primarily rural centers and one-industry towns (paper mill, railroad, leather, etc.).

#### *Aim of the School*

The school was sent in to sections where the Party is comparatively new (in one section the entire membership is from two to eight months in the Party); where the Party organizations have little direct contact with the state office. The main need of these sections is enlightenment on how the Party works, its relationship to mass organizations and mass work, and the relationship of the Party's program to current problems. No attempt was made, or planned, to carry through in one week even an elementary course in "principles", but rather discussions on current policies, local adaptation of these policies and primarily *how* our Party works, structurally and politically. At the same time, we aimed, and succeeded to a great extent, in arousing desire and interest in further and more basic study, linking up, as much as possible under the limited time and development of the students, the current policies with the fundamental Leninist principles.

#### *Work of the School*

At the time of this writing we have detailed reports on five weeks' work of the school—sufficient for us to evaluate its work and draw some conclusions:

A. *Registration.* In these five weeks 91 students attended the circuit school. 46 are less than one year in the Party and none are more than three years in the Party. Also ten are non-Party people [but evidently close to our movement. *Ed.*].

(1) 73 are American born; 49 are under 35 years of age.

(2) 44 are workers, 14 farmers, 18 housewives, 12 miscellaneous, 27 women.

(3) 18 belong to the Farm Holiday Association; 15 to trade unions; 37 to the Workers Alliance and 35 to the Farmer-Labor-Progressive Federation, which is not strongly organized in these counties.

B. *Content of the School.* A typical week's schedule, as reported by the comrades in charge, will give the best picture of the work and content of the school:

(1) In one county the comrades conducted five evening sessions on: The Role of the Party and Its Structure; Question of War; Trade Unions; Farmer-Labor Party and the local set-up; Youth. Two afternoon sessions (informal discussions among those who could attend); New Soviet Constitution; Spain; C.I.O.

(2) In another county where only four evening sessions were held: the Role of the Party; Structure, local Problems of Recruiting, leadership; Reading and Discussion of Browder's chapters: "Who Are the Americans", and "Tactics"; Election Campaign; Work in Mass Organizations (based upon the local problems and issues in the trade unions, Workers' Alliance, F.L.P.F., etc.).

(3) In a third county where the greatest utilization of time was made: Party, its Role and Structure; F.L.P.F. and our Party; Trade Union and Shop Work (based upon local situation and needs); Youth. Afternoon sessions (different group than evening group): Soviet Constitution; Browder's chapters: "Fascism" and "Coughlin"; F.L.P.F.; Question of War; special session with women. Saturday afternoon for both evening and afternoon groups: Work in mass organizations.

#### *Organizational Work Done by the School*

At the end of each week the comrades met with the Unit (or County Committee, as the case happened to be) working out with them a simple four weeks plan of work which included the questions of recruiting, open mass work of the Party, work within the Farm Holiday, Unions, Federation, literature sales, etc. In each county Saturday night was given

over to an open air meeting at which these comrades spoke. Preparations for the meeting became a practical lesson in how to organize meetings, how to write a leaflet and in frequent cases how to run the mimeograph. In each case the weekly report sent into the state office by the two comrades in charge contained a detailed estimation of the local situation, of local comrades and a series of organizational proposals based upon the week's stay.

### *Results of the School*

Our one-week school in seven counties has not given us theoretically developed, politically independent leaders, but it has given us a corps of 91 Party members, the majority of them new in the Party, all of them isolated from close day-to-day guidance, who are now a little clearer on just what our Party is, how we work as organized Communists within mass organizations, what our most important current policies are. They have an organized plan of work before them. Reports after the school show that in one section a study circle has been organized to continue the work, in another, a new orientation towards trade union work where before our comrades were suffering with "Leftism"; on the whole, a broadening perspective of the scope of our Party.

### *Conclusions*

A. The circuit school is an important and necessary form of education within our Party which has been insufficiently utilized in the past. The growing emphasis being placed upon need of reaching the smaller industrial centers and rural regions creates the problem of giving to these new Party organizations guidance and leadership. The circuit school is one of the most immediate forms of developing a local leadership and building the Party in these sections.

B. The circuit school based upon continued stay (one to two weeks) in a given section, rather than making circuit rounds of one night per week in a number of close-by sections, is to be preferred. In this manner, the instructors are able to become more acquainted with the local problems and needs of becoming more actively involved in the life of the Party and can function as real education-org. instructors.

C. Our experiences with the circuit school raise very concretely the correctness of the emphasis placed at the Ninth Party

Convention upon the need of developing new forms, methods, a new approach to Party education. Party education can no longer remain the prize privilege of a small group who are sent to training schools, but must become the property of the entire membership. Our district training schools cannot reach the entire Party membership. Party education must.

Our experiences this summer have further indicated what the need for flexibility means in actual life. The comrades selected for the school work had attended the Party Convention, had spent one week in Milwaukee prior to the school. They attended meetings of the State and Milwaukee County Committees where the National and State Election policies, the Ninth Party Convention, etc., were discussed. They met with the State Secretary, who familiarized them with the specific local problems with which they would be faced in some of the sections.

Their plans to take a box of basic books were discarded—not because we underestimate the value of these—but because we felt this particular school would not be able to study the basic works of Marx-Lenin. Armed with Browder's *What Is Communism?*, Dimitroff's report, convention material and some locally prepared mimeographed material dealing with specific local problems, excerpts from Peter's *Manual*, etc., the comrades "set forth". We made no attempt to work out a "schedule" or day to day curriculum. We emphasized rather the need for selecting these right on the spot. It is true that this already demands a new type of teacher—a comrade who not only can teach Marxism-Leninism, but one who is politically and organizationally alert, who can go into a section and on the basis of the specific local situation, adapt his subject material, his methods and his approach. These tasks the young comrades who were in charge of the school accomplished considerably well. In glancing over the schedules listed before, one might improve on the political sequence, no doubt, but one also gets the impression, and rightly so, that these questions in the order they were studied, were the way in which they arose naturally out of the very needs and problems brought forward by the students.

The problem of follow-up remains. Some methods of follow-up and continuity of the education of definite groups of Party comrades must be worked out. We must find some means of giving continual and "graduated" training to the entire Party membership.

To do this requires close and continual contact with a given group of Party comrades from the day they enter the Party and through the process of their political and organizational development. It is true that this places a fundamentally increased task of close personal "sponsorship" over groups of new Party members by the leadership and also places a tremendous demand upon cadres for educational work so that there are available forces to assign to every ten, fifteen or twenty comrades in a given branch, enabling us to give to various groups the specific type of education they most require, (new members, elementary, more advanced and basic study).

These points are not new; they have been raised and discussed at the Ninth Convention of the Party and at the meetings of the Convention education commission; however, our experiences with the circuit school have further brought into sharp relief all of these problems.

## Encourage New Speakers

W. W., *Philadelphia*

IN CONNECTION WITH the 1936 Election Campaign, I congratulate Unit 307 for the moral support and chance-taking to encourage two of its youthful members who were willing but inexperienced as speakers to appear at an open-air meeting for the first time. With the Party platform as a study and guide plus their own intuition and intelligence they were able to carry through this meeting successfully. During the three-quarters of an hour that they held the platform, the vital problems of the day—namely reaction and fascism—were elaborately dealt with. Unemployment at large, discrimination and lynching against the Negro race, anti-Semitism and the existing detriments aroused by Hearst and company, through the projector of Marxism, enlightened the dangers that a Landon election would bring to this country and its people. The small but attentive audience which gradually grew to larger numbers were greatly concerned about democracy as we see it and the Landon-Hearst democracy which in truth is fascism. Our platforms were sold in the audience because of the intense interest our speakers aroused amongst them. The shortcoming of this open-air meeting was the lack of attendance of our

very own unit members and of the members of our mass organizations.

Meetings of this nature in conjunction with the election campaign should be a frequent occurrence. Since the neighborhood is greatly populated by Jewish people, a Jewish speaker is quite essential. Encouragement of new forces, even if failures occur, is the first step toward self-education. Experiments of similar nature should have begun prior to the Election Campaign. We have so many young people, ready and willing. Let us utilize them. Every new speaker is a new torch-bearer who will promote light.

## The Two-Week Party Training School in the Anthracite

GERTRUDE HAESSLER

THE SCHOOL WAS ORGANIZED on the basis of a most elementary handling of all questions—to train 25 to 30 rank and file members with the purpose of returning into the units of the anthracite a network of comrades trained to improve the life of the units, to improve their leadership among the masses, to lay the basis for building the Party along the lines outlined by the Ninth Convention, and particularly to give them an understanding on how to mobilize the masses for our election campaign. One-quarter of the 28 students were women, only one was a Negro comrade, three-quarters were American-born, over half were youth, only three were trade union members, none were trade union officials, only eight were employed miners, who could attend the school irregularly, and eight students were neither Party nor Y.C.L., though they were all recruited near the beginning of the school course. 28 percent had been in the Party less than one year. As to occupations—when employed, over 50 percent were in strategic industries (mining, railroad, textile, metal).

This composition of the students and their ability to absorb the teaching, were indicative of the situation in the Party—few of them understood the role of the Party in mass struggle and organization. Practically none of them understood the role of the unit bureau (one of the most advanced students had con-

sistently struggled against the holding of bureau meetings, considering them an attempt to revive factionalism!). None of them had a proper conception of the importance of activity in the trade unions. A very small proportion read the *Daily Worker*. Hardly any of them understood the Party policy of industrial concentration and on specific industries. None of them had a proper conception of the Negro question. Many of them betrayed a very backward attitude toward women. Even some of the American-born comrades had had so little education that they had great difficulty in reading.

The school obviously cried aloud for a practical handling of practical local problems. Thus two factors were absolutely essential in making the school successful in its avowed purpose—constant attention and cooperation in curriculum and teaching by the local leadership, and a drastic modification of the draft curriculum to allow for some very practical courses adapted to the local situation. This was done, in my opinion, very successfully.

#### *Cooperation From the Section and District Leadership*

The day the school was opened, the hunger march to Harrisburg also began. The demands on the section for leadership in the march, for attention to small details, to financing the march, etc., were enormous. In spite of this Comrade Nelson, the local organizer, did not allow the demands of the moment to cut him off from the school. He realized its importance for future work, and did not take the attitude which some leading comrades still take—that the school is now in the hands of the director sent in from outside, and the Section and District responsibility are ended.

Comrade Nelson and I practically conducted the school jointly. We jointly discussed the outline for the following day's introductory two hours, in order to bring in local aspects of the subject matter wherever possible. The questions were formulated together in such a way as to make them practically applicable to anthracite conditions. Whenever possible he was present at the two-hour introductory session, and interjected with local material whenever the students seemed to need it to drive a point home more sharply. During the two-hour conference at the end of each day, he was almost always present, driving home local lessons with sureness and clarity. The four-hour study periods he also attended whenever the demands

of other section work allowed. Every single day we managed somehow to hold a small discussion together on various methods of improving the school. Such close cooperation brought its fruits in that the course from beginning to end, in the handling of the most complex questions, was close to the experience of the students, and helped them vitally to solve their own day-to-day problems.

### *The Curriculum*

As far as the curriculum is concerned, we followed the main idea in the *Party Organizer* rather closely, but substituted the reading matter of the Ninth Convention of our Party for the Seventh Congress of the C. I. material. We could give very little of Dimitroff as assigned reading. On the other hand, Browder's report to the Convention was ideal. The students understood much more easily, and the language was much more to their understanding.

### *Practical Courses*

Any training school must accomplish a certain minimum of teaching of the theory of the class struggle and its application to everyday problems. This it can do not alone by lecturing and discussion of the theory, and by lecturing and discussion of how to apply it, but it must include a few very practical courses that drive the lessons home in actual practice.

I am in favor of allowing in every school in the program one day per week unaccounted for, to provide for slip-ups, and to provide extra time for study of an immediate situation which can bring fruitful lessons. Take, for instance, our course on the Negro Question. Not only did we lay the theoretical basis of understanding of the Negro question in our first week, and not only did Comrade Amis take the school for an entire day for further study and elaboration, but we had a practical demonstration as well. Comrade Amis addressed an audience of Negro and white workers in Wilkes-Barre at night on the subject of the National Negro Congress. The students attended, and were present at the formation of a new branch of the Congress in Wilkes-Barre, which was a lesson in itself. Some pretty bad mistakes were made at the meeting, and the next morning, instead of going into the scheduled program of work, we took a couple of hours to go over carefully the entire meeting, analyzing the shortcomings of our comrades—leading comrades as well as rank and file comrades—and nothing could have driven

the points home in lecture so well as this immediate experience and analysis. With a closely-accounted-for curriculum, where the lessons must go like clock-work, we could not have taken time for such a lesson.

To drive home the lesson on the structure of the Party, and how the lower units should function, we devoted an entire day to a practical demonstration. We put all the miners and silk workers (the two main industries in this region) into an imaginary mine unit, and the rest of the students into an imaginary town unit. They elected their functionaries after a discussion of the function of each. The unit bureau of each unit then went to work out plans for the unit meeting which was to take place later in the day. The Section organizer had worked out directives on the August First mobilization for all the units in the anthracite, and gave each of these two imaginary units a copy of the directives. Then the unit bureau went to work. They had a hard time at first, grasping what their duties were, and took a long time about it, but when each of the units finally met, they saw how the life of a unit can be improved by careful planning, how time for political discussion can be provided by handling assignments and check-up in the least necessary time. While the unit bureaus met, the units themselves were also given a practical task. We took two items out of the *Daily Worker*—one an account of a strike on a construction job of the Federal Works Projects, and one in a farming community where the children of a farmer were deprived of schooling. The imaginary mine unit became the unit on the construction job and discussed next steps. The imaginary town unit handled the question of the farmer's children. The resultant proposals made by each imaginary unit, and discussed by the entire school at the daily two-hour conference, were very practical.

Then there was the election campaign. The Section Organizer worked out draft proposals for mobilization of all anthracite sections during the election campaign, and brought them to the class for discussion. The class resolved itself into something like an enlarged Section Committee meeting. The discussion was practical. The students showed imagination and initiative, and the Section gained some valuable proposals, which were discussed that same night in the real Section Committees.

### *Group Study Versus Individual Study*

With elementary schools group study is better than individual study, though there should be both. In handling schools of a

more advanced nature, perhaps group study can almost be done away with, but we should not go to the extreme of abolishing them for *all* types of schools. Our elementary students had great difficulty reading by themselves, when we outlined a program of three hours individual study and one hour collective discussion. The very second day we modified this and made it more flexible, leaving it to the desires and judgment of the individual students concerned. When we left it to them, we found over the period of two weeks, the most advanced students tended more toward individual study, while the less advanced began to couple up and form groups for collective reading and study.

The achievements of the school were many, but space does not permit enumerating more than the following: a real consciousness of the role of the Party and importance of trade union activity. A determination to build the Party. An understanding of the necessity of recruiting from the mines and silk mills, and getting into these respective unions. An understanding on how to go about stabilizing the Party life and diminishing fluctuation. An awakening to the importance of the Negro question. An appreciation of role of education of the Party members to such an extent that the students took a lively interest in planning for and improving the next training school to be held in the autumn with employed miners only (evenings and week-ends). An immediate and practical interest in the once-a-week continuation school to be conducted by the Section Organizer, with students coming by truck from towns quite some distance from Wilkes-Barre, etc. etc.

The following letter from the Section Organizer shows some valuable practical results:

"Frank, a student, is selling 50 *Daily Workers* a day in Wilkes-Barre and does it in one or two hours. We were selling at the most 20 per day. Well, if we didn't get anything else out of this school but this, it would be worth the trouble. But fortunately we have more good results. The hunger march to Harrisburg got its main support from our county. We sent over 500 people to Harrisburg. That is more than any other county in the state did. The WAA leaders had to admit that we made the Hunger March. Our students kept on working so that we sent 25 truck loads. But the best part of it was that they recruited about 20 people for the Party while in Harrisburg. Our people from this section sold large numbers of election platforms before the Harrisburg Section did anything along this line. It was our bunch who first talked recruiting, *Daily Workers*, Y.C.L., etc."