

Party Organizer



From the Contents

For Clarity on the Forms of Organization of the Unemployed.

How to Organize the Unemployed.

Complete the Registration — Prepare for the Recruiting Drive.

First Steps in the Organization of Factory Nuclei

Wrong and Right Methods of Shop Work

Retaining and Developing New Members of the Party — Some First Steps

Educating on the Basis of Practical Work

Mobilizing Working Women in the Children's Relief Struggle.

Vol. IV

NOVEMBER, 1931

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CONTENTS

For Clarity on the Forms of Organization of the Unemployed	1
How to Organize the Unemployed	2
Complete the Registration—Prepare for the Recruiting Drive	5
First Steps in the Organization of Factory Nuclei ...	8

FROM THE PRACTICAL WORK—FOR THE PRACTICAL WORK

ROOTING THE PARTY IN THE SHOPS

What the Registration Will Reveal	11
Wrong and Right Methods of Shop Work	12
Good and Bad Sides in the Work of a Shop Nucleus..	13
Using Shock Brigades to Establish Trade Union Organization	14

IMPROVING INTERNAL LIFE OF THE PARTY

A Method of Keeping New Members in Chicago....	15
Retaining and Developing New Members of the Party —Some First Steps	16
On Checking the Carrying Through of Decisions....	19
The Value of Personal Guidance in Place of Guidance by Circular	20
Some Examples of Formalism and Bureaucracy....	21

AGIT PROP WORK

Educating on the Basis of Practical Work	24
Into the Shops With Our Party Literature	26

NEGRO WORK

We Must Draw Negro Workers Into the Mass Organizations and the Party	27
--	----

WORK AMONG WOMEN

Mobilizing Working Women in Children's Relief Struggle	28
--	----

DEFENSE WORK

Defense Work and the Every Day Struggles	30
--	----

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For Clarity on the Forms of Organization of the Unemployed

THE struggle for immediate relief and unemployment insurance through local demonstrations, hunger marches and other forms of action are going forward but the Party still lags behind in the organization of the unemployed workers. Aside from the underestimation of organization work generally which was marked by the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, this lagging is due to the lack of clarity with regard to the forms of organization to be adopted and the lack of knowledge of how to begin this work. In many places branches of the unemployed are called councils, in other places neighborhood councils are called block committees, etc., but in very few places are the forms of organization called for by the resolution of the 13th Plenum of the Party being put into effect. The PARTY ORGANIZER is therefore publishing a considerable part of a new resolution of the Central Committee dealing with the forms of organization to be adopted.* We also ask the comrades to read Comrade Piatnitsky's article on forms of organization of the unemployed published in *Imprecor* No. 43 which also outlines the relations between the T.U.U.L. and unemployed councils.

We ask the comrades to study the document published in this number and to adopt the forms of organization accordingly. The basic forms of organization indicated in the resolution are the setting up of committees located at points where the unemployed workers gather, such as unemployed committees set up on a particular block which should be called Block X Unemployed Committee, or at a municipal lodging

*The full resolution will be published in the *Daily Worker*.

house which should be called Municipal Lodging Unemployed Committee or at an unemployed registration bureau called Unemployed Committee of Registration Bureau Z and the establishment of neighborhood or city councils called by name (such as South Chicago Unemployed Council or Brooklyn Unemployed Council, etc., which unites the Unemployed Committees.

The Council, which should include representatives of trade unions, fraternal organizations, etc., must be divided up into departments.

How should the work of forming a committee be begun? This is indicated in the resolution in the following way: Party comrades in units in the particular blocks or in the vicinity of a lodging house, a registration bureau, soup kitchen, etc., should form themselves into an initiative group and call together the unemployed workers at those places and on the basis of the demands which they should formulate to call upon the workers to elect committees to organize and lead the struggle of the unemployed for these demands. Party members, members of the T.U.U.L., or sympathetic elements in the fraternal organizations in this neighborhood should be elected into the committee in order to give it leadership.

Clarity on the organizational question of the unemployed will hasten the struggles of the unemployed workers and result in strong organization for the fight for immediate relief and for unemployment insurance.

How to Organize the Unemployed

From C. C. Resolution

THE *organization* work of the Party and the revolutionary unions, particularly among the unemployed remains *im-permissably weak*. This must be decisively overcome by utilizing such broad mass organizational forms as will conform to the need for a mass movement embracing millions of workers who are ready to struggle for unemployment insurance and immediate relief. The decisions of the R.I.L.U. and of the Prague Conference on the question of unemployment clearly set forth the basic forms and methods to be applied.

In *all places* where the unemployed come together groups of unemployed members of the red trade unions and Party members, living near bread lines, employment offices, flop houses, etc., should be formed, and under the leadership of the nuclei, Party committees and trade union organs, which should together constitute one fraction for this, they should call meetings of all unemployed workers regardless of their political and trade union affiliation at the given employment agency, soup kitchen, etc. At these meetings the initiative groups should formulate the demands of the unemployed workers and prepare that committees be elected to organize and lead the struggle of the unemployed.

The *neighborhood committees*, on receiving the chief attention of the Party, must be increased in numbers and greatly broadened. They must investigate the actual conditions of the unemployed workers in the neighborhood, expose the inadequacy of the charity relief given out, lead the fight for more and better food, against evictions, against the shutting off of gas and light, etc. They must reflect every need of the unemployed and formulate and organize a broad mass fight for the unemployed workers' demands in the neighborhood.

Activities in the neighborhood cannot, however, become a substitute for the setting up of committees *elected by the workers* at bread lines, soup kitchens, flop houses, employment offices, and other places where masses of unemployed workers gather. These committees must be set up and must likewise reflect every need of the workers and carry on the struggle for their demands. At the flop houses, soup kitchens, etc., these committees with the approval of the workers, must raise the demands for the administration of these institutions through committees chosen by the workers. The basis for such a demand should be the exposure of the bad food, the insanitary conditions, etc.

Representatives from these committees (neighborhood, flop houses, bread lines, etc.) should set up the local unemployed councils, which should also include delegates from workers' mass organizations (trade unions, workers' fraternal bodies, etc.). These councils should lead the work on a city and section scale, consolidating the work of the various committees,

uniting them in demonstrations, hunger marches, etc., for local demands, linking these up, however, with the main national demands.

In addition, it is advisable, in view of the lack of a national unemployed center, to set up a strong, broad leading committee or council on a district scale to guide and strengthen the work of the local councils in and outside of the district centers, to organize and lead the struggle for *state appropriations* for the unemployed, and to prepare the ground for the convening of a national conference as soon as a sufficiently broad basis has been laid at which time a national center can be established.

Special attention should be given to the setting up of *special committees* (Departments) in the local unemployed councils. Here the best unemployed workers should be activated in the carrying on of the daily work of the unemployed councils. These should include a *food committee* to organize the collection of food and the feeding of children of the unemployed and workers in extreme need, an *organization committee* to lead in the setting up of additional committees and branches and to keep in close contact with them for the organization of meetings, marches, demonstrations, picketing, defense groups, etc., a *housing committee* to organize the mass fight against evictions, for turning on of gas and light, to secure housing for evicted families, etc., a *trade union committee* to register the trade union affiliation of the unemployed, to lead in the exposure of the trade union bureaucrats of the A. F. of L., the Musteites, etc., to develop the trade union opposition, etc. *Other committees* should be established to meet the needs of the movement. Through such bodies, which must be elected by the workers and always contain the most active fighters, the Party must carry on the struggle for every need of the workers.

It is advisable to *register* the members of the unemployed committees and branches. Such a registration should include not only the name and address of the workers, but his Party and trade union affiliation, the factory where he worked, etc., and should be used to draw such workers into special work in the trade unions, at the factories, etc. If effectively used, such a registration can be extremely useful in

establishing contacts with the employed workers, with trade union branches, etc.

It is advisable that *local united front conferences* should be called periodically by the local unemployed councils; in the preparation for which energetic agitation and organizational efforts should be made to secure delegations from all workers' *mass organizations*—A. F. of L. unions, Negro organizations, workers' fraternal bodies, etc., which are ready to carry forward an energetic fight for our demands. Such conferences should be called by the local unemployed councils to organize the fight for social insurance and on *single burning local issues*, as for example, graft in the administration of relief, cutting off workers from the list, etc. Such conferences should be used to broaden the work of the councils and not become a permanent organization. They should not be a talk-fest but must have as their objective the drawing of these organizations into the Councils into concrete action, demonstrations, hunger marches, the sending of a deputation to the council, etc.

Complete the Registration —Prepare for the Recruiting Drive

THE registration of Party membership which is being carried through as a means of mobilizing the Party for mass work has already been well begun in many districts. It is necessary now to complete the registration and to make use of the material for the better organization of the work of the units and the mass work of the Party. Completion of the registration means that the units must register every member, visiting those who fail to attend the meetings of the units. No Party member must go unregistered.

What use must be made of the registration by the units? The unit buro must examine very carefully the results of the registration of the Party membership in the units.

(1) They must, together with the representative of the Section, transfer members belonging to shops in which other members are working so as to form a shop nucleus.

(2) Members who have no tasks must be assigned specific work, trade union, unemployed work, work in fraternal organizations, work in concentration groups upon particular shops, I.L.D. or W.I.R. work, *Daily Worker* distribution, etc., etc.

(3) Members who are eligible for trade unions must be told where to join and given a specific date by which the comrade must join the organization under pain of discipline.

(4) Members who are unemployed and qualified for unemployed work must likewise be assigned to initiative groups to form unemployed committees in the block or neighborhood in which they live, in accordance with plan of unemployment activities by the unit.

(5) A list of names eligible for the trade unions and separately a list of names of those who belong to trade unions should be made up by the unit and sent to the Section Org. Department and District (in big cities) in order that the latter follow up the work and organize the comrades into the unions and Party fractions.

(6) Taking into consideration the need for strengthening fractions in the fraternal organizations in the neighborhood of the units or in the section, comrades must be assigned for work in the most important fraternal organizations and must be organized into a fraction for that purpose.

(7) The registration will show many new members who have not been assigned for work. The Unit Buro or the Unit Organizer must discuss with these comrades what work they are best fitted for as already indicated upon the registration and assignment must be made in accordance with their capacity of work, their inclinations, and their training. The registration will also reveal comrades, new members of the Party, who have not had training and who by receiving such training will be qualified for better work and the Unit Buro should make arrangements for such comrades to receive the necessary education.

(8) The Unit Buro should determine the number of comrades that read the *Daily Worker*, PARTY ORGANIZER, and

language press and make arrangements for stimulating the reading of these Communist papers, placing upon the order of business of the unit the question of Communist literature and reading of the Communist press and after an explanation of the situation in the unit, take organizational measures to increase the reading of Party literature and the Party press as only in that way can comrades be informed of the political line and tasks and be able better to carry through their work.

(9) The Unit Buro in shop nuclei should consider the activities of the unit in the light of the registration and take measures for stimulating mass work within shops, of carrying on agitation, the spreading of literature and the organization of trade union groups, the issuance of shop papers where none exist, the possibilities for organizing general committees, etc., and the task of winning new members to the shop nucleus.

(10) Of great importance at the present time is the strengthening of work in the A. F. of L. organizations and therefore the unit must determine which comrades belong to the A. F. of L. organizations and are not active and take measures to direct these comrades how to conduct their work in these organizations and to submit their names to the section or the district in order to form a T.U.U.L. group inside these organizations.

A careful examination of the results of the registration by the Unit Buro will show the need for recruiting, on a large scale, of workers from the big shops. It will show to what extent the unit is isolated from the factories which must become the basis of Party work. Hence the Unit Buro must take measures to mobilize the Party comrades in preparation for the Recruiting Drive in accordance with the plan now being developed by the Districts in connection with the program of a *national drive to recruit workers from the big factories to the Party and to make the factories the fortresses of Communism.*

First Steps in the Organization of Factory Nuclei

THE emphasis which the Party is now laying upon the transfer of Party work to the shops and the organization of factory nuclei is everywhere raising the question, "What are the first steps to be taken for the organization of a factory nucleus?" It is clear that we can give only the general indications of how to proceed. The units and Party comrades must apply these directives to the particular factory or area in which they are working. The problem of establishing a factory nucleus is the problem of recruiting members and carrying on work in mobilizing and organizing the workers for struggle in connection with a particular factory, mill or mine.

I

(1) The comrades must aim to get contact with the workers in the factory upon which they are concentrating in every possible way. This means that use must be made of our contacts in mass organizations (trade unions, unemployed committees and councils, I.L.D. branches, fraternal organizations, etc.) The units and sections must set themselves in contact with the fractions of these organizations which must place upon the order of business "the organization of shop nuclei in particular shops." This is relatively easy in small towns and cities. It is more difficult in large cities where the numbers of shops are extremely large and the units and sections by no means correspond to the union fractions. Here the trade union and unemployed fractions must assist. They must have a record of the shops to which the members belong or in the case of the unemployed in which they last worked and make this available to the units and sections. The workers who are sympathetic must be systematically canvassed and enrolled into the Party hence into the Party nucleus.

(2) Use must be made of readers of our press, delegates to conferences, signatories to place the Party on the ballot, members of Daily Worker clubs, etc. Where the numbers of readers of our press is large, special meetings of these readers can

be called to enroll them into the Party. The establishment of regular meetings of press readers can help considerably in winning members for a shop nucleus.

(3) A third way, more difficult at the present time, is to send workers into factories. Despite unemployment this has been and can be done.

(4) The unemployed committees and councils can provide abundant contacts with workers in shops if this is systematically exploited. Unemployed workers can give very valuable information on reliable workers in the shop in which have been last working.

(5) In order better to carry out this work then the existing street nuclei, it is advisable to better *organize* this work. The district and sections must attach leading forces for concentration on particular shops, and thus establish direct contact through the section and district Organization Departments. Such leading comrades must be freed of other tasks to enable them to give the necessary time to this work.

(6) The work of concentration of street nuclei must be better organized. It is advisable to form special concentration groups of the nucleus, which will consist of the most capable comrades. The task of these comrades must be to get acquainted with the workers in the factory under concentration, to reach them around the factory gates, when they leave the factory or on the way to the factory with our agitation and propaganda. They must use all the means suggested above in order to recruit members into the Party and form a nucleus. This requires some skillful and planned work but it can be done and a nucleus formed.

(7) The issuance of leaflets and shop papers are a further means to establish contacts and recruit members. But this work requires great care. The leaflets and shop papers must contain striking and accurate facts about the situation in the shop and a means must be established to recruit members. A means must be found to establish the effect of our leaflets or shop papers and quick and energetic follow-up activities are necessary to make use of this work for the building of a factory nucleus.

(8) In many shops we have one or two comrades but no nucleus. The problem of building a nucleus in this case con-

sists in the activity of the one or two comrades. These comrades must get acquainted with the workers in their department, make friends with the workers at the bench or at the belt, in the shop or in the restaurants, and must find out which workers are sympathetic, militant, and in a mood for struggle and by cultivating these workers, to draw them into the Party. Many of our comrades in the shops work for many years but do not get acquainted with the workers and remain isolated from them. They do not attempt to understand the problems in the shops and to give leadership to these struggles. This attitude will not build shop nuclei or establish a Communist leadership.

II

(9) The above proposals presume that no organization of workers exists directly in the shop from which to recruit members. But shop organizations of the workers do exist and this must be used to establish a factory nucleus. For example, the revolutionary trade union branches in the shops, grievance committees, shop delegates, etc. Communists in these unions must make it a matter of the greatest importance to form factory nuclei in the shops in which these organizations exist.

(10) The steel campaign which is now being conducted is resulting in the formation of groups of the Metal Workers Industrial League, even where no Party units exist. From these workers that are recruited into the Metal Workers Industrial League, the members of the Party must be recruited. This can be done by a systematic and planful examination of the members who have joined the Metal Workers Industrial League and by personally visiting them, to draw them into the Party.

These first steps indicated are by no means the only ones. There is no quick and royal road to the formation of a shop nucleus. It can be done only by systematic planful work on the basis of a knowledge of the conditions in the factory, by the comrades familiarizing themselves with the grievances within the shops, by locating the places in which the workers live and by an intimate knowledge of all phases of their life.

The task of forming shop nuclei is the task of developing mass work, of mass recruiting, and of systematic, careful, skillful *organized* work.

From the Practical Work For the Practical Work

In this Section of the PARTY ORGANIZER the comrades of the shop nuclei, fractions and street nuclei speak. Send in your experiences in all fields of Party work to the PARTY ORGANIZER, P. O. Box 87, Station D, New York City.

Rooting the Party in the Shops

What the Registration Will Reveal

"HERE in Cleveland I discovered what I found many times in our Party, namely, that in the street units we have workers engaged in factories where we have three or four comrades or even a shop nucleus. I discovered again that while we are concentrating on the factories from the outside, we don't know that we already have forces inside the factories. These forces consist of members of mass organizations and readers of our press. For example, in the last four or five days the brigade which was formed to concentrate on the American Steel & Wire Company found that we have inside the mill Hungarians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Yugoslavs, and other workers belonging to the mass organizations under our influence and also workers who are close sympathizers of our Party who can immediately be used to build up the shop groups of the Metal Workers Industrial League with whom we can start the building of a shop nucleus."

The Party registration will undoubtedly bring this out more clearly. This shows that it is necessary to transfer the comrades working in factories and who belong to street nuclei into shop nuclei and it also shows the possibility of utilizing sympathetic elements and workers in mass organizations under our influence in order to form Red trade union groups and to recruit members for our Party.

From a report by Comrade B. to the Central Committee.

Wrong and Right Methods of Shop Work

Concentration on Departments and Shops

RECENTLY the District Bureau proposed to the membership of Danville, N. C., tactics to be employed in doing work in shops. The District Organizer came personally to Danville to assist in the work. After he remained here two weeks during which time we attempted to carry out the line of the Buro, we got little or no results. Although I am a rank and file member, still I am recently from a shop and feel that our past method of shop work in Danville has been wrong and in this article, I want to point out the mistakes. The entire Party can learn from the mistakes made here.

In the city of Danville there are two large mills employing five thousand workers in all. The Schoolfield mill is one and the Riverside is the other. We decided to concentrate on the Schoolfield mill. The methods of work to be used in the Schoolfield mill were never discussed with the Danville comrades. All we knew was that this mill was picked for concentration. We also knew very little of how to concentrate. Accordingly when the leading comrade "discovered" that the mill was divided into five sections or five buildings, *the word concentration lost all meaning when methods of work were introduced tending to concentrate on all five sections or buildings.* A general Plan of Work was drawn up and even a very general bulletin was issued for distribution among all the Schoolfield workers, taking in all the conditions of all the workers in every section and in every department.

Bit by bit our tactics drifted off into a general approach to the problems in the mill. This was because we tried to divide our work so as to take in all five buildings without once ever checking up on what *we could do in just one building.* A few days ago we called a special meeting of our comrades where we took up the question of our work in the Schoolfield mill. It was brought clearly to the membership by the comrades engaged in the work that in the past our mistakes were that we did not know the real meaning of concentration as proven

by our work. Accordingly we changed our methods with the following steps.

1. We picked out a specific department of Schoolfield as the main point for concentration, putting our best forces to work on this question, meanwhile keeping direct contact with the other departments continuing our work there through leaflets, etc.

2. A bulletin is to be issued in the Spinning Department of Schoolfield and the general Danville Textile Bulletin to be continued if we have money enough to keep it going.

Although we have just made these changes, an improvement already is being shown in our work. The workers in the Spinning Department are aware of our organization and through our new method of concentration we are gaining a larger and better influence over the workers in the entire mill.

E. WITT.

Good and Bad Sides in the Work of a Shop Nucleus

Not Leading Economic Struggles

IN Section One of the Philadelphia District there is a Party nucleus of three members in a shop of five hundred workers. This shop nucleus in a number of months of its existence has conducted some good activity, such as the collection of election signatures in the shops, collection of funds for relief work for the miners, have distributed literature, collected funds for the *Freiheit*, participated jointly with another unit in arrangements of open air meetings, etc. Nevertheless, the unit during this period has failed to grow, it has not issued a shop paper, nor has it taken up any of the issues in the shop and attempted to organize struggles in connection with the shop conditions. On the contrary, the tendency of the nucleus has been to underestimate the economic issues in the shop and for that reason it has not been growing in numbers nor has it found the necessity for issuing a shop paper.

Here you have the good sides to the work of propaganda and agitation, of support to the Party in the work of collections and in other mass campaigns but at the same time we see

the outstanding weak sides of the work of the nucleus which prevents its growth. If our nuclei are to grow they must not only conduct this agitational work but must take up the struggles in the shops. It must begin to issue a shop paper and increase its membership. When criticized on this account the comrades did not at all feel that the criticism was justified because they were carrying on activity. This again shows that they underestimate one of the most important phases of shop nucleus work, of giving leadership to the economic struggles in the shops.

Using Shock Brigades to Establish Trade Union Organization

IN THE steel campaign it was revealed that we are weak merely because, with few exceptions, the Party and the T.U.U.L. do not have connections in the steel mills. In Cleveland, for example, not one single worker of the American Steel Mill in the Party or in a group of the Metal Workers Industrial League. For this reason in aiming to carry through the campaign against the wage cuts in steel, it was necessary to start immediately to find connections with the workers in the shops.

In order to establish connections with the steel workers and to prepare the sentiment of the workers for organization and to arrange a conference of steel workers, *we formed a shock brigade of Party members* directly responsible to the District Committee whose task it was to form shop groups of the Metal Workers Industrial League.

As a result, around these comrades a group of eight or ten unemployed steel workers was built. The shock brigade was active only five or six days and already a number of connections were made. At the same time we *mobilized the fractions* of the mass organizations in the city and a number of steel workers were found in them whom we have drawn into the Metal Workers Industrial League. This shock brigade method has proven a useful instrument already as a means of concentration and the building of the Red trade union group.

From a report by Comrade B. to the Central Committee.

Improving Internal Life of the Party

A Method of Keeping New Members in Chicago

A Proposal

INSTEAD of, in discussing the 13th Plenum decisions on the fluctuation on new members in formal and dogmatic way, it should be done by giving experiences in how things can be carried through.

From the experiences in Section 2, Chicago, we might say that the question was, not how to recruit new members into the Party, but precisely, how to keep the new members, as well as how to get into the Party the hundreds of workers who filled our application cards some of whom have paid even initiation fee.

One of the best ways we find in keeping the new members is to establish the unit on a captain basis. Not only old units who are supposed to work on that basis for quite a long time, but also the new units as soon as you establish them, should be placed immediately on the proper (captain) basis.

A short talk to the captain as to their function, that they are responsible for the 5-6 comrades in their charge to bring them to meeting, that to notify the members of the meeting place is not enough, but that the essential point is to bring them to the meeting and giving the captain suggestions as to how to bring them to the meeting.

1. If necessary the captains to go around half an hour before the meeting and to bring the members down.

2. To impress upon the members that this particular night in the week they are to be at the unit meetings.

3. If a member is not present at one unit meeting, the captain is *not* to wait, *maybe* the members will show up at the next meeting, but to act immediately, by visiting that comrade.

While the captain system may function in some old units,

it is most essential that the organizing of new units or the splitting of old into two, to be put on the proper basis right at the beginning.

Another essential point in keeping new members (and this goes particularly for the old units) is the starting and finishing in time.

The strictest measures should be taken towards the aim, that not only the members are to come on time for the unit meeting, but also in reference to any meeting they are called, they are to be present and on time.

The enforcing of the discipline is most vital in the eyes of the new members. A few disciplinary measures for breaking it, even expulsion for some, if necessary, will in the long run win us more new members and enable them to keep them, than the looseness with which we are treating some members now.

Another point in question is, the assignment of work, where new members do not quite know how to carry through, how to tackle those assignments, and, unless a proper explanation, and *particularly*, the proper suggestions, as to how to carry through the assignment will be given, the new comrades will feel disappointed by not being able to carry it through, and not wanting to come empty handed to the unit meetings they won't come at all.

Against those instructions from "above" without giving the proper orientation and suggestions, we must fight most emphatically, if we want to keep our new members, and particularly if we want to carry on our work successfully.

Retaining and Developing New Members of the Party

Some First Steps

WHILE the Party, through its various campaigns and its militant activity in leading the struggles of the working class, has succeeded in recruiting many workers into the Party, we find that the Party has failed, not only to develop, but has been unable to keep these recruits in the ranks of our Party.

What are the basic reasons for this shortcoming and can it be remedied?

Why Does the Party Lose Its New Members?

Let us consider the fate of the average recruit of the Party:

In leading the struggles of the working class, the Party has gained the respect and confidence of the workers, so much so, that the workers are not only willing, but actually seek to join our ranks, and thus, when they join the Party, are filled with enthusiasm and the earnest desire to further the work. But what happens?

The recruit comes into the average unit of the Party and finds there a group of strangers speaking a jargon which he does not understand. No one pays much attention to him and he is therefore left very much to himself.

The meeting begins. The organizer reports and the comrades begin to squabble over the assignments advancing many reasons "why not" but very few reasons "why." The recruit wonders what the hell it's all about and leaves the meeting, having learned nothing and with his enthusiasm somewhat cooled.

A few meetings later (the bureau having discovered that they have a new member who is sincere and willing to do work) he is assigned work thus:

Thursday—Distribute leaflets.

Friday—Sell Dailies at open air meeting.

Saturday—Attend fraction of Unemployed Council.

Sunday—Red Sunday.

Monday—Attend L.S.N.R.

Tuesday—Attend meeting of Unemployed Council.

Wednesday—Attend unit meeting.

But the Bureau does not consider if he is capable, or if he is so situated that he can give so much time to the work. The result is that he becomes discouraged, loses his enthusiasm and finally drops out of the Party.

How Can We Retain and Develop New Members of the Party?

First—improve the life of the Unit by—

Making the Bureau the political as well as the organizational leader of the unit, thus enabling the Bureau to gain the

authority of the unit membership which will result in the elimination of squabbles over decisions and assignments of the Bureau as reported by the organizer.

Conducting meetings with dispatch and eliminate all unnecessary delay.

Interesting political and organizational discussions on current topics that connect with the new members life.

Starting on time and short snappy business-like meetings.

Second—by assigning an older comrade to work with, train, study and to assist the recruit to adapt himself to his new life, for, he does enter into a new life.

Third—by ideological, organizational and political training through—

Unit classes, schools.

Discussions in unit and small social gatherings.

Making it *possible* for recruit to read and study party literature.

How Should the Older Party Member Work With the New Member?

The first prerequisite is comradeship. The older comrade refraining from adopting the attitude of “professor to pupil,” but as one comrade to another and should not always impress the fact that he is teaching. The impression imparted should be that of “explaining” and “assisting.”

The older comrade must also convince the new member that the Party is his whole life and his greatest ambition is to advance the work of the movement and the ultimate aim of proletarian dictatorship is the only goal to reach.

The recruit must be studied to determine: (a) his capability; (b) his political knowledge; (c) what he can do best; (d) his general outlook on life, tenets, etc.

It is needless to say that by the knowledge of the capability of the recruit, the Bureau can place him where he can do the best work and knowing *what* he can do best will enable the Bureau to assign him the work that the Party can benefit most by his activity at this task.

Knowing the extent of his political knowledge will enable the Party to determine where to begin his political training.

The Party, on the basis of such knowledge, can quickly dispel false impressions, bourgeois tendencies, misconceptions,

etc., all of which, will assist in training and developing a valuable addition to the inadequate number of leaders in our Party.

In assigning the new member, teach and assist to carry it out. *Set the example.* Work with him. Take the work to him. For example: Leaflet distribution—take the leaflets to his house and go with him to distribute them. He will not only carry out the work, but will be impressed by your sincerity and seriousness. *You will have set the example.*

Of course, there are many other reasons why we lose our new members, but these outlined here, are some of the basic causes and with a little effort and forethought, we can eliminate them and instead of 80 per cent of our recruits dropping out, 80 per cent will stay in and be developed into good Communists.

Celia Silver and F. Coleman.

(EDITORIAL NOTE—*While this is a good beginning in the discussion on this important question, it lacks touching upon the important matters of drawing the new Party members into the active, every-day life of the Party, particularly in connection with shop work, as well as drawing them into the trade union activity. Future articles will take up these points.*)

On Checking the Carrying Through of Decisions

SOME beginnings have already been made in the carrying through of the policy of checking decisions. This is proceeding in many districts by more direct personal contact. The Central Committee has, likewise, adopted a policy of closer check of districts, not only by sending the comrades into the districts for extended visits but also by an arrangement of review of the work directly in the sections, which I wish to discuss here, which can be applied by the districts in checking the sections.

A representative of the Central Committee in visiting the District, makes arrangements with the District Committee for all Section Organizers to be present and to report on specified

questions which are sent out in advance to the Section Organizers. These questions revolve about the most important current matters, such as unemployment, struggle against the war danger, trade union work, November 7th, fight against the Socialist party, Party organization particularly the establishing of shop nuclei and strengthening the contacts between the district and sections and sections and units. The procedure is for the Section Organizers to report on these topics not engaging in generalities but giving specific answers to the questions asked. Following the report of the Section Organizer there are questions asked by the representative of the Central Committee or by the District Organizer or by other Section Organizers present and thereafter the discussion is summarized by the District Organizer and the representative of the Central Committee, showing in what points progress has been made, where the weaknesses are and indicating in what ways the weaknesses can be overcome. Such a review of the work is then further summarized and made concrete in the work of the District Bureau and the District Secretariat.

This method can be applied by the district in reviewing the situation in the sections by sending the representative down to the Section Committees at which also unit organizers can attend and by reports on the basis of a specific questionnaire, the situation can be very carefully checked. This method, however, does not exclude the still more direct examination of the work on the basis of sending comrades directly into the units and by a periodic examination of the work of the units and sections.

The Value of Personal Guidance in Place of Guidance By Circular

LET me say that our conference with the district on section problems yesterday has been a big help for the Sections since it cleared up so many problems. In this respect we see the value of doing away with the weekly org. letters from the district to the section and the institution of personal section guidance. You cannot realize how valuable district leadership is when it deals with each section separately. After the

conference, I thought over and digested what was said and on the way back to the section planned the work for the section committee this morning which was a splendid meeting.

From a report of N.R. of Indianapolis to the Chicago District.

(EDITORIAL NOTE: *The above indicates the value of calling in Section Organizers to discuss the tasks with the comrades of the district in place of reliance upon circular letters from the district to the section. A still more direct guidance is for the district leadership to take up matters on the spot with the section committee and unit representatives. This is also being developed in the Chicago district.*)

Some Examples of Formalism and Bureaucracy

AN unemployed Negro worker, member of the Unemployed Councils, appeared at a Party-controlled office for instructions. The comrade at the desk spoke to him with the shortness of a school teacher, although the worker was guilty only of having been beaten and arrested. He was still lame. It turned out that he needed food and carfare but he was too timid to mention it. He was *not* a Party member.

Another worker, a German who speaks broken English, and wanted information from the Party, tried to explain to the girl at the desk, but without success, that he had to pay too much carfare to come so often to the center, since he lived out of town, and he had come several times already. His situation meant nothing to the apparently hard-boiled comrade at the desk. He was forced to go without the information and no better off than before.

A Negro woman who has been fighting for the I.L.D. against the N.A.A.C.P., went to the I. L. D. to hand in money collected for the Scottsboro defense. She was almost frightened away by the young lady at the switchboard whose only answer to the request for information was "I don't know." Later she was rescued by a comrade who knew her, and the money was secured for the I.L.D. More important, her

sympathy for the I.L.D. was re-established. All the above reflects a formalism and bureaucracy.

The Party talks a lot about drawing new members and new comrades into the work. The Party has written reams about developing new cadres for all phases of Party activities. But what are the facts? There is continual and unnecessary hesitancy about actually letting go of anything and handing it over to someone less experienced. This at times assumes a most disastrous aspect.

There are other forms of bureaucracy. The organizer or chairman of a unit or union, or unemployed council, or of any meeting or committee, who does all the talking, is bureaucratic. Sometimes when a rank and file member or a new member attempts to state his opinion, the organizer shows his impatience, or tries to cut the other off. In one case, the organizer of a unit not only did all the talking himself, but refused to explain things for the benefit of the new members. In his opinion, it was evidently a loss of time to explain Party principles and campaigns to new members. If they did not understand, they should get their knowledge outside of the unit, according to him. The result is that new members are made to feel that they are a little dumb or that they are not welcome. This is dangerous, and a good way to lose Party members or members of affiliated organizations.

The Party must insist upon business-like action and discipline in the work, but this presumes that comrades will be given the necessary opportunities to express themselves and assistance in the carrying out of the tasks.

S. V. V.

**ORGANIZATION IN THE SHOPS
STRENGTHENS THE STRUGGLE
AGAINST THE WAR DANGER**

Agit Prop Work

WORKERS! EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED

The third winter of unemployment and starvation faces you in the United States. Even the Bosses' newspapers admit that there are over 10 million workers without jobs to-day. And how many millions more on part time and with wages cut to one-third or half what a worker earned a few years ago?

STARVATION !!!

THIS IS THE THREAT WHICH HANGS OVER THE HEAD OF EVERY WORKER AND HIS FAMILY THIS COMING WINTER. NO CLOTHES...NO HOMES...NO FOOD...

YET THE COUNTRY IS "LOUSY" WITH FOOD..CLOTHES..EMPTY HOUSES
EVEN WITH RADIOS AND AUTOMOBILES!

WHY ARE MEN OUT OF WORK ?

WHY MUST WE STARVE IN A LAND WHERE THE BOSSES PUT IN THEIR POCKETS SEVEN AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS IN INTEREST AND PROFITS EACH YEAR?

WHY DOES THE GOVERNMENT PAY BACK TO THE RICH, FOUR BILLION DOLLARS IN TAXES WHILE REFUSING TO GIVE ONE CENT FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE?

There is an Answer to
A Workers' Answer!

All these Questions!
Come and Hear It !



Here is a good leaflet—clear cut simple agitation, good spacing, and attractive. We have omitted the date and address from the cut.—EDITOR.

Educating on the Basis of Practical Work

Retaining Members by Raising Their Political Level

THE Party in District Five, except for the city of Pittsburgh itself, is a new Party, with an influx of over a thousand members, consisting of miners and steel workers. Without understanding this, one cannot understand the methods of work that are required in carrying on work in the sections of this District.

The workers came into the Party because they saw in it the leader in their struggles. They felt that the Party stood and fought for the things they wanted and needed. Now they must become involved in Party activities. And they must begin to understand why the Party is their leader. These two factors are indissolubly bound up with one another.

The question of retaining these new members resolves itself to the urgent problem of politicalizing the activities of the unit. Involve these new members in Party campaigns—but at the same time make them understand the nature of the campaigns. This can be done only on the basis of educating the members on what Communism is, and should be done on the basis of the every-day tasks required of them.

Once a week on a section-wide basis, all the key unit functionaries come together at section headquarters for a class. They are given an outline on the class they attend, which serves them as a guide in transmitting the lesson to their comrades back home.

The class is a lesson on some phase of fundamentals of Communism, *which develops naturally out of the particular unit activities for that week.* Thus they get the political background and the political basis for the tasks they are required to carry out. As the classes proceed from week to week, an informal study of the entire subject of fundamentals of communism unfolds itself, consciously guided along certain channels, and deliberately designed to gradually cover the whole subject as time goes on. In this way the political level of the unit comrades is raised on the basis of their own experiences

and their own unit activity. Their understanding of the Communist program thus becomes intertwined with their own lives and activities.

These points are developed in a very elementary and simple manner, and so closely knit with their every-day experiences, that the comrades cannot fail to make the proper political deductions. The subjects themselves can be developed almost infinitely, but the first lesson must be kept to their basic and elementary aspects.

The following week the very same lesson is taken up, where all unsolved problems and unanswered questions are discussed, and where certain of the points are developed to a higher plane.

The second lesson on some other phase of the Communist program, then begins the following week with a repetition, review and elaboration of certain points during the next class.

The technique of teaching these classes is extremely important. Lecturing, with discussion and questions afterwards, does not have the desired effect. These workers, fresh from the mines and mills eager to learn, but with practically no background for systematic and concentrated mental effort, will sit five and six hours discussing political conclusions if these are developed logically out of their own experience, while they will tire and grow restless after an hour or so has elapsed, if made to follow the unfolding of a political theme by a lecturer.

Therefore, the teaching technique is questions and answers carried to a high degree. And the questions asked by members of the class should be answered as much as possible by the members of the class. This requires that the instructor skillfully guide the discussion to keep it on the points under discussion. He must intervene with his own explanations whenever the discussion goes off on a wrong scent or begins to become involved. Sometimes a simple question on some local issue or event, directed at the students, will snap the discussion back where it belongs.

Where does the District get the forces for carrying on this work? At the beginning, while the system is being instituted, the personal attention of the Agitprop Director must build up the work. The start was made in those sections in District Five where the section organizers themselves could carry

on the work after one lesson was given by the District representative, and where the section organizer observed the teaching technique. It is the duty of the section organizer to consciously train the best and most promising elements that come to his class, to ultimately take over this work. When this has been accomplished, the section organizer will have developed a section agitprop director. That is how District 5, with its crying need for more forces, must begin to develop them right out of the mass membership. In some of the sections the guidance of the district will be required a longer time, but the ultimate objective must be the same.

It is not a system which can be instituted overnight. At the time of writing, three out of eight sections have made the start, with two or three more making their organizational preparations to launch such classes. It is only a matter of time, given proper organization, when every one of the eight sections can be in full swing in this attempt to politicalize the activities of the units. And it is only a matter of time before fresh forces will be developed out of these masses.

GERTRUDE HAESSLER.

Into the Shops with Our Party Literature

THE Party now has a large number of pamphlets on a wide range of subjects. How can we sell these pamphlets to the workers in the shops? In our work in the shop we always first of all find the workers in the shop who are closest to us. Then there are others who are more backward and have more illusions. In talking to the workers we find the questions on which they are most interested and on which they have particular confusion in their mind which should be cleared up. We can then mention to them that we have read a little pamphlet on this subject that is very interesting and that we can get it for them. Thus, of course taking due care, we can sell many pamphlets in the shop on various subjects. Then there arise situations in the shop (wage-cuts, betrayals by fak-ers, etc.) in which *all* workers are interested. Then we have campaigns to bring to the workers in the shop on the subject of which we have certain pamphlets (unemployment, anti-war,

November 7, etc.) In such cases our pamphlets dealing with these campaigns and issues must be reviewed in the shop paper and the workers told how to get them. But most of all we must see that the workers get these pamphlets through our own systematic, careful work in the shop.

What is said about literature distribution in the shops applies with adaptations to all our mass activities, in the neighborhoods, in unions, unemployed councils, tenants leagues, and all mass organizations.

Below is a list of some of the pamphlets which should be used. If these are not available in your section then take it up with your Unit Buro and see that steps are taken that you can get them.

SECRET HOOVER-LAVAL WAR PACTS .....	.01
UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF AND SOCIAL INSURANCE .....	.02
LITTLE BROTHERS OF THE BIG LABOR FAKERS ..	.05
GRAFT AND GANGSTERS .....	.10
RACE HATRED ON TRIAL .....	.10
COMMUNIST CALL TO THE TOILING FARMERS ..	.03
LIFE IN THE U. S. ARMY .....	.10
THE DECISIVE YEAR IN THE SOVIET UNION ....	.10
MODERN FARMING—SOVIET STYLE .....	.10
ANTI-SOVIET LIES AND THE FIVE YEAR PLAN ....	.10
"SOVIET DUMPING" FABLE .....	.02
NEW CONDITIONS—NEW TASKS .....	.05
WAR IN THE FAR EAST .....	.10
REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR vs. PACIFISM .....	.05

Negro Work

We Must Draw Negro Workers Into the Mass Organizations and the Party

IN Chicago the Party is approaching in its practical work the problem of recruiting large numbers of Negro workers and setting them into action in the Party and the mass organizations. In the city of Chicago there are more than 200 Negro workers who are active in the Party and are drawn into the leadership. As far as the mass organizations are concerned, such as the F. S. U., I. L. D., T. U. U. L., Negro

workers are not drawn into any of these organizations in any large number, and they are not brought into the leadership in these organizations.

The I.L.D. improved somewhat in this situation by recruiting something like 100 Negro workers in Chicago. As far as the T.U.U.L. is concerned, its leagues and unions, here there is little attempt to win the Negro workers and to draw them into direct leadership.

Thus far, the only mass organization where the Negro workers have been organized and feel at home is the Unemployed Councils. Approximately 40 per cent of the workers in the unemployed movement in Chicago are Negro workers, and they are in the leadership.

In Gary, where there is concentration in the steel industry, we find the following experience:

A department Grievance Committee was organized in the coke plant of the Illinois Steel (a subsidiary of the U. S. Steel) which consists of Negro workers only. They showed a response to carrying on work inside of the department.

In the stockyards a beginning is being made in an attempt to set up shop organization.

—*From a Report of the Chicago District.*

Work Among Women

Mobilizing Working Women in Children's Relief Struggle

MOST districts fail to recognize an important phase in *mass work*—namely, that of mobilizing working class women to fight for immediate relief for school children.

In the Pittsburgh and Cleveland districts where the departments for work among women had a joint working plan with the Pioneers, Miners' Union and Unemployed Councils, certain achievements were made. Through mass pressure concessions to the demands were granted, such as free milk and medical treatment to the children in Avella, Pa. and in Cleveland.

These concessions, small as they are, made possible an extension of the fight, to hold successful special Women's Conferences and children's demonstrations. In Cleveland at a women's conference over 60 delegates, the majority of whom were Negro women, came from factories and organizations and worked out a program of work for participation in public hearings, the National Hunger March and for organizing a special women's and children's Hunger March.

While recording some achievements in the campaign, we must at the same time point out the shortcomings which are in the main:

(1) Failure to recognize the struggle for immediate relief for the school, as a daily immediate demand which effects the unemployed and part-time employed workers.

(2) The lack of political guidance from the District Committee (Cleveland).

(3) Lack of coordination between Y.C.L. and Department for Work among Women, Unemployed Councils, etc. (New York).

(4) Failure to carry out in practice correct lines laid down in Pittsburgh plan, namely, that of drawing the children themselves into direct participation of the struggle, instead of Women's Auxiliaries only.

We have seen that even without the Y.C.L. and Communist Party leadership, the children fighting and going on strike for immediate demands, as for example, the Hayes School in Hayesboro, Pa.

We have seen the response and militancy of the women workers and housewives, Negro and white in the demonstrations and activities in connection with the school demands which are daily problems of the working class women. This is proof that even with a little organization we can make inroads among the masses of women workers and mobilize them for the unemployment campaign. The District Women's Departments should without delay work out a plan for Work Among Women, which shall include school activities based on the plan sent out by the Central Committee Department for Work among Women.

ANNA DAMON.

Defense Work

Defense Work and the Every Day Struggles

Without Fractions—No Change in Defense Policy

WE find that the main shortcomings, as well as the major difficulties of the International Labor Defense, grow out of the incorrect carrying through of our defense policies. The Polburo recently considered, with the fraction in the I.L.D., this whole situation so serious that a detailed resolution restating our defense policies was sent to all the districts. Yet, according to the reports we have received, this resolution was given very little attention in many of the districts. In no district was there an adequate discussion, either in the leading committees or in the Party units. This must be considered as an underestimation of the importance of struggle against the growing persecutions and failure to connect this struggle very closely with our other work,—strikes, election campaigns, organization of the unorganized, hunger marches and other demonstrations of the unemployed.

We have made but little progress in correcting our wrong approach to many problems arising out of legal aid to the victims of boss class persecutions; the questions of bail, bond premiums, court costs, fines, appeals, etc., etc. We have just made the first steps in carrying through our correct policies on these questions. Bail, fines, appeals, etc., etc.—too many of our leading comrades feel that these are the easiest and quickest means of escaping boss class persecutions. So they make these the major questions in our defense work. So many exceptions to correct policies are often made that the exception becomes the rule, and if this is not done then the comrades ask, "Well, what is the I.L.D. for, anyway?" The correct approach—*mass protest, mass campaigns—is practically, if not entirely, forgotten.* The payment of fines and the expenditure of huge sums for bail premiums, court costs and lawyers' fees is substituted for militant mass protest strug-

gles, thus militating against the building of a broad defense mass movement. This must be changed, correct policies must be carried out in this period when mass arrests are taking place in all our strike struggles, and as we face the third winter of the economic crisis with its increasing persecutions of the unemployed. That is why we must have fractions in the I.L.D. branches.

Just a few words about our approach to the Negro masses. In spite of repeated campaigns on tremendous issues we have only 400 Negro members in our defense organization. It is necessary to emphasize that this grows in part also out of our emphasis on pure legalism rather than mass struggles. Efforts are made to carry out the illusions as to capitalist class justice, especially where Negro workers are concerned. Some comrades say that the Negro worker must not be allowed to go to jail, he must be bailed out immediately when he is arrested, his fine must be paid, otherwise, it is claimed, our defense organization will be discredited in his eyes.

We must recognize that the capitalist class reserves special persecution, more intense forms of oppression, against the Negro masses, the most exploited section of the population. We cannot guarantee Negro workers, any more than white workers, to keep them out of jail or prison, especially in the South, in the face of these sharpening attacks. What we must guarantee to the Negro masses, however, is a continually developing struggle and much more keen sensitiveness on the part of all of our organizations, of our whole movement, against all ruling class persecutions of Negro workers and poor farmers. This sensitiveness must be reflected in quick mass protest against all attacks upon the Negro masses. When the Negro workers and poor farmers generally really feel that our organizations are sincerely fighting their battles then they will pour in large numbers into our organizations. The actual developments of the day-to-day struggle should have shattered the purely legalistic approach to the defense of Negro, as well as white workers—the courage of our Scottsboro boys, the fighting spirit of our Camp Hill share croppers, the heroic stand of the Chicago and Cleveland unemployed against evictions, as well as in numerous other struggles in which Negro workers have not only participated but to which they have actually given militant leadership.

There is a lack of functioning fraction leadership in the branches to give adequate direction to the work of the I.L.D. Though this was taken up in the resolution sent out, it has not been remedied. To strengthen the mass work and organization of the I.L.D., to connect the I.L.D. with the every day struggles, the fractions must be brought to life and must function.

J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.