

Party Organizer



"We must demand that every decision be carried out, and if it is not, a formal explanation why, and a registration of our failure. Only if we approach our problems with this strict Bolshevik standard can we seriously expect to meet the tremendous burdens and difficulties that are going to fall upon us. It is true that we are expanding and growing and strengthening ourselves. This not only multiplies our problems, but it requires a higher degree of organization and responsibility." Earl Browder, "New Developments and New Tasks," THE COMMUNIST, February, 1935.

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A Sound of Alarm and a Call to Action

THE main significance of the May Plenum of the Central Committee was a re-examination in the light of the Open Letter of July, 1933, of the experiences gained in the last period. The central issue of the Plenum was the thorough analysis of the organizational status and tasks of our Party, in the light of the political tasks raised by the January resolution.

The purpose of the decisions of the Central Committee in placing the organizational problems of the Party in the center of the discussion was to focus the attention of the whole Party, of every individual Party member, on the solution of the fundamental organizational problems, as the lever in moving the Party forward, and to enable the Party to connect itself more firmly with the masses in the factories, in the trade unions and in the various organizations. Only in this way can the Party become the driving force of a broad united front of the masses around their daily economic and political demands: the struggle for the democratic rights of the masses, against war and fascism; the driving force in the building of a broad labor party as a powerful dam erected by the American masses to check and defeat the fascist developments.

To mobilize the Party along these lines and to better equip it for the carrying out of these fundamental tasks, the Central Committee Plenum went into a thorough analysis of the functioning of the lower Party organizations, the fractions, Unit Bureaus, Section Bureaus and Section Committees, of the various organs of the Section and District Committees, etc., bringing to light all the weaknesses and at the same time working out the methods of improving the life and activities of the units, of orientating the individual members to connect themselves individually with their fellow workers in the shops, in the trade unions and other organizations: of improving the life and activities of the fractions, of the various organs of the Party, etc.

The recruiting and fluctuation problem of the Party was analyzed from all angles, and from these experiences the Plenum drew the conclusion that to improve the recruiting, to overcome the poor composition, and the high fluctuation,

the Party must orientate the units and fractions, as well as each individual Party member, toward recruiting the best fighters, the best elements, the key men in the factories, in the mines, in the trade unions, among the Negro masses, among the unemployed, etc.

Another problem on the solution of which depends the improvement of the Party organization is the development of cadres. This was also thoroughly discussed and some very important decisions made on the question.

The most salient and vital parts of the discussion, as for example the organizational report by Comrade Stachel, as well as the best contributions to the discussion, were published in **The Communist**, in the **Daily Worker** and the **Party Organizer**. This was done for the purpose of bringing the discussion and the decisions down to the basic organizations of the Party, and in this way stimulating the discussion from the Districts down to the units, orientating the District Committees, Section Committees and Section Bureaus towards carrying into life these Plenum decisions, by giving them concrete form in the particular organization and sphere of activity.

Why Is Party Membership Not Increasing?

The problem before us is to see to what extent the decisions of the May Plenum have been concretized into life. The figures on dues payments for the months of May, June and July give the best concrete answer to this question. The figures show that the Party **instead of gaining in numbers**, of intensifying recruiting, of cutting down fluctuation, **is not only stagnating, but in some of the districts there is a definite set-back**. How can this be explained? Simply, that the decisions of the Plenum were taken by many comrades in a very formal manner. This is shown concretely by the fact that in only a few districts have there been thorough discussions on the Plenum decisions—that in only a few districts are the decisions of the Plenum being followed—**measures taken to guarantee the carrying out of the tasks set forth by the Central Committee**. It is a fact that in many districts the discussion has not yet reached the units, that the decision of sending down into the lower organizations the leading comrades (the members of the District Bureau, District Committee, Section Committee) has not been carried out; that in only a few districts have measures been taken to strengthen the various commissions, the instruments of the District Committee, to carry out the various phases of work. Yes, the Party as a whole is active, the individual Party members are very busy. District Bureaus and Section Bureaus and Unit Bureaus are discussing the various problems confronting the Party, as for example,

trade union problems, the problem of struggle against war and fascism, unemployment, the various campaigns. Yet the organizational problems on the solution of which depends the strengthening of the Party **for the solution of the political problems** are being neglected. The organizational problems either are not being discussed or are discussed separately **without linking them up** with the fundamental political tasks of the Party.

Organizational Weakness Leads to Political Inactivity

In some Districts the setback is not only due to the failure to solve the inner organizational problems of the Party, but mainly to the lack of general political activity of the Party. There are two or three Districts of our Party in which in the last six months to one year, in spite of the fact that the masses are moving, that the masses are ready for struggle and are looking for leadership, the Party is still keeping itself, to a great extent, separated from the masses—is not coming forward as the driving force of the struggles, as the leader of the struggles. Concrete examples of the inactivity of the Party in some of the Districts is shown by the various campaigns that the Party is conducting. In the demonstrations of August First and Third in some of the Districts we were far behind the demonstrations on August First of three and four years ago. There is no evidence in many Districts that the Party is playing a leading role in the struggle of the workers to improve their conditions of living, in the struggles of the unemployed, etc. It is no wonder that in such Districts where the leadership of the Party not only does not carry out the organizational decisions of the May Plenum, but does not even come forward as the champion in the struggle of the masses, that the Party is not gaining.

The tasks before our Party are so great that there can be no delay in executing the decisions of the May Plenum. We want to call to the attention of every member, from the highest to the lowest leading bodies of the Party, of each member of the Party that in our Party, in a Bolshevik Party, there cannot be formal acceptance of decisions, that we must stop our old manner of agreeing with decisions, of showing an understanding of the problems, but at the same time failing to carry them out. Every District must continually revive the discussions of the Central Committee Plenum, bringing them down to the units and fractions, assigning leading comrades to the strategic units and fractions without delay, strengthening the various leading positions, the various commissions, making a thorough check-up on dues payments. Examine immediately the reasons for the low dues payments, the reasons for the inactivity of certain

sections, units, and concretely decide on what to do to change this situation.

The Party cannot be strengthened by discussion alone. The leading comrades bear the responsibility for checking the daily activities of the lower organizations, for helping these organizations to perform their tasks, for bringing enthusiasm into the ranks of the Party, by raising the consciousness of the individual Party member of the mission of our Party and of each Communist.

We must eliminate the kind of self-criticism that reviews the shortcomings, that makes promises to overcome them but does not take the concrete steps to change wishes and promises to reality. A will that is not transformed into concrete action has nothing to do with Bolshevik determination.

Forward to giving life to the decisions of the Central Committee Plenum! This call of **The Party Organizer** is not going only to the leading bodies, but to each individual Party member, to establish in our Party the Bolshevik comradesly monolithic unity of our Party, in its activities, in its determination, in its aim.

Lessons of the Terre Haute General Strike

By F. BROWN

THE forty-eight hour General Strike of the workers of Terre Haute, which completely paralyzed the industry and transportation of that city, was an admirable example of the energy of the American working class and of its determination to struggle against the insulting despotism of the bosses. The strength of the working class in the coming struggles was clearly indicated in this strike.

It is of the utmost importance to estimate this strike and draw its lessons not only for the American working class, and specifically for the Terre Haute workers, but also and especially for the Party. From the experiences gained in such struggles as the Terre Haute and San Francisco General Strikes, and from the numerous other battles that have taken place throughout the country in recent years,

the working class is able to improve its weapons of struggle and steel itself for future battles.

What Are the Outstanding Features in the Terre Haute Struggle?

First, the indignation of the workers at the attempt of the bosses of the Columbia Enameling and Stamping Company to open the plant under the protection of armed guards rose to the point where they went out on General Strike. The significant lesson here is the fact that the locals of the A. F. of L. went on record so rapidly for the General Strike, and the marvelous initiative displayed by the workers in going from plant to plant, completely paralyzing the life of this industrial city.

Second, there was a complete tie-up, involving all categories of workers in the city, from industries to communications, and for the first time in recent history, both morning and afternoon press were silenced. In this regard the Terre Haute workers went a step beyond the San Francisco workers. In San Francisco, due to the legalistic approach of the typographical workers, the bourgeois press was permitted during the entire course of the strike to vomit its lies against the working class, trying with the most venomous intrigues to split the ranks of the workers.

Third, the masses immediately built up strong picket lines, involving not only the striking workers, but practically the whole working population of Terre Haute, which showed the most splendid militancy when confronted with the brutal attacks of the National Guard, which used bayonets and gas against men, women and children, indiscriminately.

Fourth, the General Strike in Terre Haute immediately developed sympathy strikes of the miners of the county who understood that the struggle of the workers of the Columbia Enameling and Stamping Co., and the struggles of the Terre Haute workers were their struggles.

These are the main positive achievements of this marvelous action of the workers of Debs' city, which show the determination of the masses to struggle, when necessary, over the heads of the bureaucratic reformist officials of the American Federation of Labor, who by their continuous compromises with the ruling class not only prevent the organization of the great masses, but hold back the struggle of the masses, or as in a number of cases, openly betray the struggle of the masses in the interests of the ruling class.

The struggle in Terre Haute is not yet ended. The workers of the Columbia Enameling and Stamping Co. are still out. The masses of Terre Haute will give a new demon-

stration of their willingness to maintain their unions, to defeat the bosses, by marching on Labor Day as a solid body, ready for new battles.

In Omaha the masses of the rank and file, learning from the Frisco, Toledo and Terre Haute strikes marvelous examples of struggle, are sharpening their weapons. New and more powerful strikes will be witnessed in many industrial centers, and no intrigues and lies of the rotten, yellow Hearst press will succeed in checking the advance of the American working class which is throwing off its excess baggage of belief and trust in the two-party system, in a so-called "democratic" administration, which more and more appears in its real form as a government of monopoly; in the top bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor leaders who instead of leading the workers to victory, continue to lead them into ambushes, and, as in the case of the miners, compromising and postponing their struggles from month to month, trying to break their energy, their will to struggle.

It is in order better to prepare the masses for the next struggles which will in many places take on the character of general strikes, that the experiences of the Terre Haute strike must be studied and analyzed—that the main weaknesses must be brought to light, in order to prevent future errors.

The Weaknesses in Terre Haute

What are the main weaknesses that we must bring before the masses in the form of lessons for the coming struggles, not only to the Indiana workers but to the workers throughout the country?

1. That in Terre Haute **no real large strike committee was built.** The strike committee which did exist remained a narrow one which did not take steps to broaden itself by drawing in delegates from the various unions. The fact that Taylor was able to call off the strike shows that the strike committee did not consult the masses, that such a decision was made behind closed doors, among a few officials, over the heads of the strikers. It shows that the strike committee because of its narrow character did not see, did not understand, that one of its first moves should have been to make itself known to the masses as the real leader of the strike, as the only instrument, elected by the organized workers, to conduct the strike, carry on negotiations, etc. Here from these facts we draw the lesson that a strike committee must be a broad one, composed of the elected delegates of the various locals of the organized workers, because only a broad strike committee can divide the various functions during a general strike, can assign able

forces to take care of the various phases of struggle (as, for example, the taking care of the supply of food during a general strike), that will make itself known to the masses, will meet regularly, legally, semi-legally or completely illegally depending upon the situation, reporting day by day to the masses through the various delegates, consulting the masses, leading the masses day by day, minute by minute.

2. Because of the non-existence of a broad strike committee, no strike bulletin was issued continuously to guide the struggle and direct the strikers day by day, as well as the activities needed to carry on this struggle. In Terre Haute, by the printers joining the Central Strike, a step forward was made in comparison with San Francisco, by taking away from the hands of the bosses a weapon that would have been utilized through the bourgeois press to start a red hysteria and a campaign against the strike on the question of shortage of food and other nonsense.

Yet, while the bourgeois press was suppressed by the strike of the printers, while this weapon was taken away from the hands of the bosses, the strike committee did not see the necessity of issuing their own paper, a strike bulletin. It is through a strike bulletin that in time of General Strike, directives are given to the masses; that in periods of negotiations the masses are kept informed and consulted; that the lies of the bourgeois press in the surrounding towns and nationally, are answered; that the official decisions of the strike committee based upon the consultation with the masses are announced. In this way, it can be seen that the actual outcome of the strike depends upon whether such a strike bulletin is issued, either legally or in another form.

Taylor was able to use the radio because the breaking of the strike was in the interest of the bosses and the government, yet the radio would not have been available for the strikers if the strike committee would have tried to utilize it by giving directives to the workers on how better to unite their forces, and to improve their struggle. This argument again proves the importance of a strike bulletin.

The Role of a General Strike Committee

A real strike committee, in a case such as Terre Haute, where as soon as the General Strike was called the National Guard was rushed in and martial law declared, should have immediately issued an appeal to the National Guardsmen imported from Indianapolis and other towns, pointing out to their fellow-workers in uniform that they were being used as instruments in breaking the struggle of their own Terre Haute brothers and in this way helping the bosses. As in the case of Terre Haute where the General Strike was 100

per cent successful, not only the strike committee should have issued a call to the imported National Guardsmen, **but the National Guardsmen of Terre Haute themselves who were not in the uniform of duty, but in the "uniform" of workers fighting for a cause—the cause of the workers in uniform as well—should have issued a call exposing before the workers in uniform the old trick of the bourgeoisie in putting workers against workers in the name of the interests of the "country" which coincides with the interests of Wall Street, of the bosses, and (in the case of Terre Haute) with the despots of the Columbia Enameling and Stamping Co. and the government authorities.**

A real broad strike committee would have seen the necessity of sending out forces to all the neighboring towns to get the organized support of the population in demanding the withdrawal of the National Guard, and to force this through sympathy strikes. It should have appealed to all American Federation of Labor unions in the State of Indiana to support the strike and create a powerful movement that would have forced the authorities to withdraw the National Guard and martial law. The example given by the miners shows that just one word of appeal would have been answered by the masses in the neighboring counties.

Organized Rank and File Leadership a Prerequisite

Why all these weaknesses? To what were the weaknesses of the strike committee due? First, to the lack of real far-seeing leadership, rich in experience—if not personal experience, at least the general experience of the labor movement gained from following and studying the history of the movement and the struggles of labor. This is due primarily not only to the weakness of our Party in Terre Haute, but to the absence of a rank and file trade union movement, moving along class lines. While in San Francisco, the Communists were the driving force, which together with the rank and file movement, brought about a general strike over the heads of the bureaucrats, which was able to carry on despite continuous attacks, in Terre Haute we find a spontaneous movement of the masses that lacked a determined leadership. The whole movement of Terre Haute is indeed a movement of the rank and file, but without clear vision; and this is again due to the weakness of our Party and the non-existence of an organized rank and file movement of the forces of class struggle.

The few officials that agreed under the pressure of Taylor, the A. F. of L. representative, to end the strike cannot be considered as traitors, cannot be put in the same category with the Greens and Ryans, cannot be considered in the same light as the A. F. of L. top officialdom, as people

that work hand in hand with the bosses. The mistake committed by the leaders of the strike, by these fellow workers, flows from their reformist ideology which led them into believing that the government arbitrators, the representatives of Roosevelt, would have solved the situation in favor of the strikers. These fellow workers that were leading the strike committed the mistake of allowing themselves to put their faith in the hands of the government arbitrators, in the emissaries of Green, instead of in the admirable strength of their Terre Haute brothers and in the support given to this struggle by the Indiana workers, and the workers of the country as a whole.

A number of trade union officials in Terre Haute today understand that the calling off of the strike was an error. This strike is a big lesson for them, and we must help them to learn it thoroughly. The struggle in Terre Haute is not yet ended. The workers of the Columbia Enameling and Stamping Company plant are negotiating (this is already a partial victory); yet they must go on, compel the withdrawal of the National Guard and the end of martial law. Our immediate problem today is to mobilize the trade unions all over the State of Indiana in support of the Columbia Enameling and Stamping Company strikers. Not only there, but in Chicago where there is a strong A. F. of L. movement, where the rank and file movement plays a substantial role, steps must immediately be taken, to mobilize the support of the A. F. of L. unions by demanding the support of the A. F. of L. unions for the strikers of the Columbia Enameling and Stamping Co., by demanding the end of martial law and the withdrawal of the troops, by expressing solidarity with the fine struggle conducted by their Terre Haute brothers. The Terre Haute unions must force a hearing from the Labor Department on the evidence that the National Guard is being used to break the strike. An immediate campaign for relief should be launched by the unions of Terre Haute and in the trade union movement of Indiana and Illinois.

In the development of a broad movement of solidarity of the masses of Indiana, Illinois, and the other neighboring states, as well as nationally, the Terre Haute strikers, who do not feel defeated but who are preparing for new struggles, will rally all their energies to smash the insolence of the Terre Haute bosses. While developing the solidarity movement we must continuously expose the role of the arbitrators as the tools of the ruling class.

Build Labor Party in Terre Haute

The General Strike in Terre Haute is a real lesson for the workers of Terre Haute and the whole country. The

problem of a labor and farmer party which would embrace workers, farmers, intellectuals, professionals, etc.—the only means through which the exploited American people will check the arrogance of a small ruling minority, and check the advance of fascism which manifests itself in more brutal exploitation by monopoly capital—becomes more and more a vital issue. In the city of Debs where the working class is 100 per cent organized and so strongly imbued with the revolutionary traditions of the American working class, the building of a powerful labor-farmer party would give a splendid example to the masses all over Indiana.

One of the most important tasks before the Communist Party in Indiana is the building of the Party in Terre Haute, utilizing especially the few forces in Terre Haute. This means that the Party in Indiana must definitely recruit numbers of militant workers among the organized masses in the A. F. of L. unions, and must build the Party in the factories. In Terre Haute there are not just ten or twenty potential Communists, there are hundreds and thousands—all the splendid fighters of the General Strike. The problem is to get them into our ranks, to develop a real rank and file movement, to build a broad united front of Communists, Socialists, trade union workers, professionals and intellectuals on a common platform of struggle for the democratic rights of the workers, against the Terre Haute Hitlers.

Work Among Farm Women

By SARA RUSSELL

THERE are comrades who are in the habit of regarding women's work as something extra that could and should be done provided we had "more forces" and "more time". These comrades should learn a lesson from the activity of the women in the North Dakota Holiday Association annual convention recently held.

The fight on the floor of this Convention was a fight between the militant rank and file small farmers and the State politicians who are the official leaders of the Holiday Association, who represented the interests of the rich farmers of North Dakota, and who attempted by fair means and foul to keep the Holiday Association under their political control, and to prevent the adoption of a militant class program of action. The Convention delegates were composed of about thirty farm women, about 150 farmer delegates, and up to 200 political hangers-on from the city of Bis-

marck, called in by the officials to pack the vote. The majority of the farm women and farmer delegates were small, impoverished farmers.

The activity of our Party throughout the Convention was able to expose thoroughly the anti-working class character of the State official leadership of the Holiday and the State politicians. It was able to force through some of the demands of the rank and file delegates in spite of the numerically strong position of the politicians, and the official leadership. **One of the strongest contributing factors to this exposure and to the achievements of the rank and file in the Convention was the work among the women delegates.**

1. At the end of the first day of the Convention a few of the rank and file women delegates called a meeting of all the women at the Convention. At this session the women discussed the events of that day. They decided to draw up a protest against the appointment of unrepresentative committees by the chairman, a protest against his undemocratic control of the Convention, and his disregard for the "will of the majority of farmers here assembled". This protest was unanimously adopted at the women's session, and, on the following day read before and adopted by the entire Convention. This was the only formal protest voiced during the Convention against the obstructive tactics of the chairman, and provided convincing proof of the steam-rolling done.

2. The women at the same time proposed names of bona-fide farm women to be added to each of the "unrepresentative" committees. **These were the only rank and file farmers to be added to the important convention committees.**

3. Because of the three farm women thus placed on the resolutions committee, a minority report in favor of the program of action submitted by the rank and file delegates was brought out of that committee for discussion on the floor. Also because of these women, some of the planks in the majority report resolution, which was finally adopted by the Convention, were modified and changed, bringing it closer to the militant program of the rank and file and more in line with the needs of the small farmers.

4. Through their almost single-handed fight on the floor the women were able to force the reading of an anti-war resolution drawn up in their women's session which included many points that would have met the axe in the resolutions committee. They were able to force a vote on this resolution without its going through the committee, with the result that it was passed unanimously by the entire Convention.

This resolution called for a protest meeting with the Governor by the women of the Convention, which meeting was held, and contributed greatly to a political exposure of

the Governor's attitude. Secondly, it called for the setting up of anti-war committees throughout the State Holiday Association to carry on the anti-war work among the men and women of North Dakota. Thirdly, it strongly condemned war, militarization, and the Federal expenditure of \$1,300,000 to build 20 new armories in North Dakota.

5. The work of the women in their formal and informal sessions educated them to the extent that they gave inspiring support to the men, and became one of the most formidable rank and file blocs with which the official leadership had to reckon.

6. And lastly, our work among these women and the experience of the Convention has molded them into a powerful fighting force to carry on work in their home communities where heretofore the women have taken practically no active part in the militant activities of the Holiday Association. Only one of these women was a Party member, few of them had ever attended a Convention before, and practically none of them had ever spoken out in a meeting or a committee. Farm women are, as a rule, more backward than city women, rarely even attending meetings, intellectually ignored by the men, and limited in activity by custom and convention to the burdensome routine of household tasks.

This experience should demonstrate the importance of carrying on work among the women simultaneously with the men, not only from the point of view of the strategic importance in this particular Convention, but from the point of view of the rich possibilities in this work for gaining new forces and of strengthening the militant mass fight for rank and file demands throughout the country.

Build the American League Against War and Fascism!

By F. B.

THE August First and Third demonstrations in hundreds of communities, all over the country, brought thousands of workers, professionals, farmers, white and Negro, into the streets, united in their determination to intensify the struggle against war, in defense of Ethiopia, in defense of the Soviet Union and the Chinese people; against the feverish war preparations, and manufacture of munitions in the United States.

The demonstration in Harlem (New York), especially showed the readiness of the masses to broaden out the united front. Negro organizations, innumerable branches of

the American League Against War and Fascism, peace organizations, church congregations, student organizations, marched in the long stream together with Communist workers and Socialist workers. The participation of the white workers and professionals showed concretely to the Negro masses of Harlem the need of a broad united front between the white and Negro masses in the struggle against war and fascism.

The demonstrations of August First and Third must be considered as the first step in the development of the broadest campaign against war that shall include millions of the American people (trade unions, Negro organizations, professionals, farmers, etc.). The anti-war struggle must not remain limited to the neighborhoods, but must more deeply penetrate and involve the mass organizations; it must involve the workers in the mills and mines, and especially the masses of longshoremen, marine and transport workers.

In the next month, the working class of America will have raised its voice higher and more insistently against fascist aggression on Ethiopia; against the war preparations of Japan and fascist Germany; and within our own country against the continuous increase of armaments at the expense of the masses of workers employed at coolie wages, and the unemployed on starvation relief.

The next demonstrations and anti-war struggles, following up August First and Third, must embrace even larger multitudes of people united in common struggle against war and fascism. These must be prepared by a more intensive campaign. The docks must now be our main places of concentration. We must learn from which ports munitions are being shipped to Italy, to Japan, and bring about a stoppage of these shipments.

Throughout the various cities on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, concrete plans must be worked out for the winning of the longshoremen and all marine workers to the anti-war cause.

The American League Against War and Fascism has grown to be a powerful mass organization, embracing hundreds of thousands of workers and professionals, organized in trade unions, in fraternal orders, in church organizations. It is the American League which must become the main instrument, the most powerful instrument for the mobilization and organization of the broadest masses under the banner of struggle against fascism, against new military slaughter, for the defense of the Soviet Union. The American League must become one of the main bulwarks for peace.

Our Party did its utmost at the beginning to build the American League. Yet in many places recently we notice a certain slump. In many centers where forces were assigned

to work unitedly with the other elements of the American League in a united effort to build it up, these forces have been either reduced or assigned to some other task.

The shifting of forces in the mass organizations does not help the organizations that we want to build. This is the case with the American League Against War and Fascism. Today more than ever before, the Party is conscious of the tremendous role that the American League must play in developing the struggle against fascism and war.

For this reason there cannot be any delay in any center in assigning a certain number of forces to become the driving force in building the League. In Districts with hundreds of thousands of Party members, there is no excuse for neglect in placing forces at the disposal of the League. These forces are being requested everywhere.—The example given up to date by the Communists in the American League Against War and Fascism has demonstrated to the non-Communists in this organization our sincerity in building the united front, and they are asking for more help.

The work of a few Party members in the leading committees is not enough. Today there are hundreds of Party members and sympathizers in many of the working class organizations. All these forces must be orientated toward drawing the various organizations in which they are active, into the campaigns of the American League.

Communists Must Be Best Fighters Against War

The Third Congress of the American League is approaching. It will be held in a period in which a new world slaughter is approaching and a robber war against Ethiopia will probably already have been started. Already today, our Party everywhere—on a District and Section scale—must thoroughly discuss the problems of the League, and concretely decide upon the steps that will help the League to embrace larger and larger organized masses. District Bureaus and Section Bureaus should within the next few weeks place on their agenda a review of the status of the American League in their particular territory, and decide upon those measures that will bring immediate effective assistance to the League.

We Communists must continue to show to the masses that are streaming in under the banner of the American League Against War and Fascism that we are the most loyal, sincere fighters against war and fascism. We must show them that we are the real driving force of the movement, and in this way, by our example, create new enthusiasm, new impetus for the masses to march forward.

The organizational decisions and the carrying out of these decisions will be the decisive force in concretizing the

line of the Party in the building of the American League Against War and Fascism as a bulwark of the American toiling masses in their struggle against war and fascism.

How the Meat Strike Started in Hamtramck

By Section Organizer, Section 8, District 7

THE Party Section Committee was aware of the high cost of necessary commodities of life, and the sentiment of the people against it. Early in June when our Section Committee discussed the three month plan of work we made it a point to fight against the high price of meat. It was decided to call a conference of all women's organizations to take up the question of meat, but the conference was delayed from one week to another. Finally the Section Committee assigned one comrade of the Section to attend the meeting of the working women of Hamtramck, to convince the women that action must be taken. There was some pessimism expressed that our group was too small and that it would be too big a job to undertake because of the insufficient forces in our organization. Some of our people believed that the people of Hamtramck would not support the strike movement.

Party and non-Party women were called to the Section Committee meeting, and we planned with them the calling of a mass meeting. A committee of women comrades and non-Party members issued five thousand leaflets calling for a mass meeting on Friday, July 19, 1935, at the Polish Falcons Hall. The leaflets were issued in the name of the Provisional Women's Committee Against the High Cost of Living, and were distributed by five women and six men who went from house to house knocking at the door explaining the purpose of the meeting, and asking the people how they felt about the high cost of meat. The general opinion of the workers was that something must be done against the high cost of meat.

The housewives' response to this meeting was very good, about 400 women attending; an announcement was also made through the Polish hour radio W.M.B.C.

At this meeting twenty-five women volunteered to serve on the Committee of Action. Resolutions adopted to protest the high cost of meat were sent to President Roosevelt and Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Wallace, demanding action in order to reduce the cost of living. A resolution was also

presented to Mayor Lewandowski and the Common Council of Hamtramck, in order to state their position in regard to the strike action against the high cost of meat. A Committee of Action comprising 25, and supported by other women visited the council meeting where Mary Zuk, chairman of the Committee of Action, spoke on the resolution. The City Council spoke favorably on the issue and decided to send resolutions to President Roosevelt and to the Michigan Congressmen, requesting that something be done in regards to the high cost of meat.

In the discussion with our comrades to take strike action immediately, the Action Committee decided to call a larger mass meeting on July 26, and requested the Board of Education to grant them the school for this meeting. The committee was granted the Copernicus School. It was the first time in the history of Hamtramck that workers ever had an opportunity to use a public school to discuss their problems.

During the discussion of the second mass meeting at the Copernicus school (Friday, July 26) a proposal for immediate strike action to begin on Saturday, July 27, was met with some opposition. This opposition believed that the time was not yet ripe and more time was necessary in order better to prepare ourselves. With the help of the District our comrades agreed at this meeting to take a strike action vote for Saturday, July 27. The meeting at the school was very successful; twelve hundred women attended. It was an historical meeting. Never before on any issue were we able to mobilize so many women into one meeting. A fighting spirit prevailed among all the women present at the meeting.

Women members of the Action Committee gave reports and proposed to strike the next day, Saturday, July 27. After discussion from the floor it was unanimously resolved to take strike action. The membership of the Action Committee was increased to sixty. Women, who never spoke in public and did not think they were capable, became not only fine speakers but leaders of the strike. This strike involved about 75 per cent of the city's population of 48,000.

Meat Strike Aimed at Big Packers

Four days before the strike, women delegations visited small butchers asking them if they were willing to support them in the strike. Ninety-three butchers signed up and agreed to close their shops, thinking that the women would not be able to stage a successful strike. On Saturday, the day of the strike, all the butcher shops were open in the morning. Only when the militant women pickets stopped people from buying were the butchers forced to close. Over

80 per cent of the butchers shops were closed by evening, due to the militant picketing which kept all purchasers from the stores.

The first day of the strike was a tremendous success (even the bourgeois papers admitted this in their issues). After the first meat strike day in Hamtramck the movement spread all over Detroit. The Action Committee called upon the Detroit women to strike the following Friday and Saturday. First, action was taken in North Detroit, a district adjoining Hamtramck, where the militant picketing of Hamtramck housewives was duplicated and resulted in the closing of butcher shops. Additional communities in the suburbs—Dearborn, Lincoln Park, Delray, and other districts of Detroit—took action at the same time.

This strike shows the correctness of the Party line. With very little effort on our part, and with correct and prompt application of the Party line, we can mobilize the people against the high cost of living and Roosevelt's starvation program.

It is high time that our comrades dropped the idea that the masses are dumb and will not act in their own interests. Such an attitude must be fought tooth and nail wherever it exists. Another weakness among Party members in the mass organizations was to regard the strike as only a woman's affair and leave the picketing to the women. In such a struggle every comrade must raise himself to the highest levels of endeavor, and help the women in every way that he possibly can to mobilize and organize bigger and better groups of people.

It is interesting to note how the women conducted their activity every day of the week. Each evening the Action Committee met at 6 p.m. during which time they discussed practical steps. After about an hour and a half they broke up into groups, each group going to a designated place for an open air meeting. They marched through certain streets with signs and called upon people to attend the open air meeting, and within 15 or 20 minutes they would have a crowd of between 200 and 400 people. New women got up and spoke at these meetings. That is the way new speakers and leaders are developed.

After the first day of the strike all the bourgeois papers attacked the strike as "communist led". Their purpose was to scare away new elements and break the strike. In this effort they were not successful. Our reply was that the strike was not only for Communists but for everybody who eats meat. Nobody is asked to state his political belief, whether Democrat, Socialist, Communist or Republican, or whether he goes to church or not, but we ask everybody who wants to support the meat strike to join our organi-

zation. We also said we have Communists in our ranks who are good fighters and we are glad to have them. These points were brought up at every meeting, in a special Strike Bulletin, a two-page paper selling for a cent that went like wild fire, and in special editions of the **Trybuna Robotnicza** (Polish workers paper).

When the reactionary forces attacked the strikers as Reds, we called an open-air mass meeting and parade. Close to 2,000 people, mostly women, participated. Though the parade was to end at the City Hall, it continued right on through all the main streets of the city due to its great enthusiasm. A loud speaker led the parade issuing slogans and calling on the small retail butchers for unity with Hamtramck women.

When the meat strike spread to Detroit, the task was to unify all the local Action Committees into one (Wayne County Committee). Now this committee is leading and spreading the strike throughout the county. With the strike in full swing the Women's Action Committee decided to build the Women's League Against High Cost of Living, with membership books and dues of 5 cents a month.

In order that the strike be successful the main point stressed was the necessity of building block action committees in Hamtramck. Ten places were selected for concentration and women were assigned to organize and be responsible for the women in that section. The success of the strike now depends on the organization which must be built in the neighborhoods and through them of winning a greater number of people.

Our Party members must pay due tribute to the splendid work of the women in this strike and particularly to the women Party members. They showed us how the job can be accomplished, that they know how to fight and are willing to fight. Husbands in the Party must not abuse their wives any longer by allotting them a minor role in the movement. It is only Hitler who wants them to stay in the kitchen and take care of children. The women have given us a lesson, showing us that they can do more than men. They are not only able to take care of the home and the children, but are willing and capable of fighting for better living conditions, filling their position better than men.

This tremendous mass movement against the high cost of meat must also be accredited to the work carried forth by the Party fractions and close sympathizers. These met regularly during the strike and, with the assistance of active Party members, discussed and helped solve the problems confronting them to the best advantage of the revolutionary movement.

Work in the Communications Industry

By F. Lawrence, Shop Work Director, District 2, Section 1

THE communications industry is a key point in the economic structure of this country. With the menace of fascism becoming increasingly more pronounced, it is absolutely imperative that we extend our forces and influence here as rapidly as possible. Mostly white collar workers, many of them labor aristocrats, these workers could very easily fall under the sway of fascism.

Out of the 400,000 communications workers in the United States, approximately 40,000, or 10 per cent workers are in our section. All the main offices of the largest companies are located here. Most of the telegraph and telephone land lines as well as most of the important telegraph and telephone cables are centered here. Therefore the communications industry in our Section is a center not only of national, but of international importance.

In the control tasks for the Section, although a good deal of attention is paid to concentration in light metal, taxi, etc., the question of concentration work in communications is completely ignored. Lately, due to the fact that a communications worker has been made a member of the Section Committee, and also that there has been a growth of organization in the industry, more attention is now being paid to this question. However, at the recent shop conference in the District, delegates were invited from marine, printing and light metal, but none were sent from the communications industry which ranks next to transportation in importance, and where we had two Party units operating among 9,000 workers. This indicates that this industry is not yet receiving the consideration that it deserves.

Party Organization

In October, 1933, the first Party unit was organized. At the present time we have three Party units in this industry—one day unit and two night units. The day unit is undoubtedly the most important at the present time, operating as it does among 8,700 strategically important workers in a communications center of world-wide significance.

Two of the units are very active in trade union work, but do very little else. They issue no shop papers or Party leaflets (recently one of these units issued its first leaflet), sell very little literature, and do not carry the Party campaigns into the shop to any appreciable extent. The third unit, which issues a shop paper, although not regularly, sells literature and carries the Party campaigns into the shop,

but does not carry on much trade union work. This unbalanced character of the work done by the units will have to be overcome.

The Daily Worker

Although scarcely any copies of the **Daily Worker** are sold in the shops, one of the units is sending free 100 copies of the Friday edition of the **Daily Worker**, which contains correspondence from communications workers to workers of the telegraph company, whose names they have managed to secure. This method of sending the **Daily Worker** to the telegraph employees is an extremely effective way of reaching the workers in this important company with our paper. Some good results have already been obtained. A number of workers have written in and some have sent in financial contributions. However, the expense of sending these papers is considerable, amounting to about \$2.00 a week for mailing. The **Daily Worker** office has been giving the papers to the unit, without charge, and will continue to do so, providing we obtain subscriptions from time to time. A street unit should be assigned to cooperate in this work, and to assist financially. A good street unit concentrating on this industry would have a marvelous opportunity for doing Party work of tremendous importance and could obtain results of which any unit could be proud.

The Young Communist League

No shop unit of the Young Communist League has been established as yet, although there is an industrial unit. A member of the Young Communist League unit has been assigned to meet with each of the telegraph units each week.

Although a street unit has been assigned to work with one of the telegraph units, the only concentration work that is being done at present is the distribution of the shop paper and special editions of the **Daily Worker** and leaflets during Party campaigns.

Very little attention has been given to women's work. The large proportion of women in the industry and the fact that at least 20,000 women communications workers are employed in our Section makes this an extremely important problem for us.

Trade Union Organization

In October, 1933, the United Telegraphers of America, an independent union, was established which grew to about 300 members. The Telegraph Messengers Union, also independent, which had about 300 members, lost most of its membership, due primarily to incorrect tactics pursued by

the union. This union later became a part of the United Telegraphers of America.

Recently the United Telegraphers of America merged with the Commercial Telegraphers of North America, an A. F. of L. affiliate, which was organized in 1917 and which had about 60 members in New York prior to the merger. The great weakness of the union lies in the fact that it has not succeeded in penetrating the Western Union, which has the preponderance of telegraph workers. This weakness will have to be overcome. One of our most serious problems in this respect is the work within the strong company union, which exists in the Western Union.

Section Tasks

One of the most important tasks of the Section regarding this industry will be the establishment of a strong unit for outside concentration work at those large buildings where we have no Party units. The fact that these workers are concentrated in six buildings should make this work relatively easy. This concentration unit should preferably be composed of unemployed white collar workers, who could make the best appeal to the workers in this industry.

The Women's Work Department of the Section must give special attention to this industry. In the Western Union building there are about 4,000 women, more than 50 per cent of all the women in the various buildings.

The newly organized Trade Union Department of the Section should make a special study of the problem of trade union organization and the company union question in the Western Union.

The radicalization of the communications workers, the movement for unity of all the trade unions in the industry, and the growth of Party organization demands that the detailed and undivided attention of a member of the Section Committee be given to this work. The responsibilities of this comrade would be the coordination of the work of the units which are so closely related to each other. He would meet with the fraction and coordinate the work of the units in the union and would act as Section representative to the new units as they are organized, and visit all the units at regular intervals, giving reports to the Section and the District on the progress being made in this industry.

AGITPROP SECTION

Draft Program of a New Members' Course

THE Commission on Party Education at its first meeting decided that one of the most important problems in the field of Party education is the preparation of a program and an elaboration of methods for training the new members in the Party. While this work has been carried on to a certain extent in many of the Districts, the work generally has not been of the best type and has produced relatively poor results. A uniform program for the entire Party which could be modified in accordance with the specific problems in each district would be desirable.

The draft program is given below. The individual lessons have already been assigned to comrades who are to complete the lessons within two weeks. Each lesson will consist of questions and answers. The answers are to be formulated in popular, understandable language, at the same time having in mind the raising of the political understanding of the new member.

The complete material with the editing and publication will take about four weeks. In order not to delay the work with the new members in various localities the Commission felt it advisable to publish the draft program in the **Party Organizer** as a guide to the work. At the same time the Commission asks for criticism and suggestions.

How to Conduct New Members' Course

The course should be conducted in the form of New Members Conferences, having one session a week. This should constitute the only assignment to a new member in addition to the attendance at unit meetings. The practice of first sending the new member to the course and after the completion of the course to assign him to a unit is considered wrong by the Commission. The new member should be assigned to a unit immediately. The presence of the new member at the unit meeting will help him to orientate himself to the Party work, and many problems arising out of unit discussion will be brought before the conference and clarified. It will make it possible to link

up the education with the work of the unit. The course is to consist of five lessons as follows:

1. The Communist Party—What It Is and What It Stands For.
2. How the Communist Party Is Organized.
3. How Communists Work Among Masses.
4. The United Front—The Struggle Against Fascism and War; the Peace Policy of the Soviet Union.
5. The Problem of the Liberation of the Negro Masses, and Other Problems of the National and Colonial Question.

In each District or Section qualified comrades must be chosen for the work with new members. The answers given in the final material must be augmented by the instructors with concrete illustrations, facts relating to the work of the specific District, Section, unit, etc.

INTRODUCTION

The Importance of Theoretical Training for Members of the Party

The Communist Party is the embodiment of working class revolutionary theory and practice. The Communist Party bases its work on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin. The Central Committee of our Party is the theoretical and practical leader and guide in our work.

Our theory is not one that can be studied from books only; it is not one that can be merely learned by rote. The theory can have a meaning only if it is applied to the solution of the concrete problems arising out of our daily work among the toiling masses. We learn from the experiences of the class struggles in the United States and the international proletarian movement and apply the knowledge to our present problems.

Comrade Stalin, the great leader of the world proletariat, said:

"Theory is the experience of the labor movement in all countries, taken in its general form. Of course, theory becomes immaterial if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory. But theory can become the greatest force in the labor movement if it is built up in indissoluble connection with revolutionary practice, for it, and it alone, can give to the movement confidence, the power of orientation and understanding of the inner connection between events; for it, and it alone, can help us

in our practical work to discern how and in which direction classes are moving; not only at the present time, but also how and in which direction they will move in the near future."*

Our great teachers and leaders before Stalin—Marx, Engels, and Lenin—emphasized again and again the importance of theory as a guide to action. In his famous work, **What Is To Be Done?** Lenin devoted considerable space to the question of theory. He said: "Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement." And in another place: "**The role of vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by an advanced theory.**"

At the present time, in the period of the sharpest class struggles, when the working class is mobilizing its forces for a decisive offensive against capitalism, the bourgeoisie is utilizing, not only the most brutal means of terrorism against the workers and their leader, the Communist Party, but also all means at their command to mislead the workers, to poison their minds. The press, schools, religious institutions, the theater, movie, radio, etc.—through all these channels the capitalist class is spreading lies about the Soviet Union, about the Communist Party in the U.S.A. It spreads race hatred, national hatred, etc. in order to weaken the proletarian forces, in order to break the unity among the workers. Fascism is beginning to show its ugly head in many countries outside of Germany and Italy. In the United States the danger of fascism is acute; the danger of another imperialist war, the danger of an attack on the Soviet Union by the imperialist powers is increasing.

In the United States, the agents of finance capital—Hearst, Father Coughlin, Huey Long and others—vie with one another in the use of lying, misleading propaganda. Outside of these open spokesmen of capitalism there are agents of capitalism within the labor ranks who, under the guise of revolutionary phrases, attempt to mislead the workers, to undermine the influence of the Communist Party, to lower the prestige of the U. S. S. R.

It is, therefore, especially important now to have a clear understanding of Marxism-Leninism, to know the Party, to understand how it functions, to have a clear idea of the united front tactics, to know how to struggle and how to lead struggles against fascism and war; for the overthrow of capitalism, for the victory of the toiling masses.

Comrade George Dimitroff, in his address to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, said:

"Special importance attaches to the Party schools as smithies of cadres. They must train fighters to

* Stalin, **Leninism**, Vol. I, p. 27.

apply Marxist-Leninist methods in any situation and against any enemy. They must not only learn the letter but the living spirit of Leninism, and this without mechanically transplanting ready-made formulas, . . . before a thorough study is made."

The course of five lessons given to the new members is only a beginning. Each comrade should make every effort to continue the study after the completion of the first course, and the units of the Party and the Young Communist League must give each comrade every assistance in further political development. The Party organizations must pay attention to each member coming into the Party, in order to develop cadres of leading comrades for the work. In the words of Comrade Stalin:

"We must first of all learn to value people, to value cadres, to value every worker capable of benefiting our common cause."*

LESSON I

THE COMMUNIST PARTY—WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR

A. Conditions of the Working Class

1. Discuss the present conditions of the workers and other sections of the toiling masses in this country.
2. Why is there so much unemployment, poverty, suffering on the one hand and riches, luxury on the other?
3. What do we understand by capitalist class, working class, petty bourgeoisie?
4. How is the worker exploited under capitalism?
5. Does capitalism rule all over the world? If not what is the character of the other system and where does it exist?
6. Does exploitation exist in the U.S.S.R.? Explain. Why is there absence of crisis and unemployment in the U.S.S.R.?

B. The Need for Struggle and the Way Out

1. Can the workers improve their conditions under capitalism? How?
2. What do we mean by the struggle for immediate demands?

* Address to the graduates of the Red Army Academy, delivered in the Kremlin, May 4th, 1935.

3. What is the relation of the struggle for immediate demands and the ultimate goal of the working class?
4. What are some of the urgent demands of the American worker and farmer today?
5. As American workers and farmers, do we get the support of our United States government in our struggles for better conditions? What has been the experience?
6. What is the meaning of economic struggle and political struggle?
7. What is the way out of the present misery for the toiling masses?
8. How did the New Deal of the Roosevelt policy affect the workers, the farmers?
9. What is the meaning of fascism? Where does it exist? Is there a danger of fascism in the United States?
10. Differentiate between the class content and social mass base of fascism. Expose the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist contention that fascism is the revolt of the petty-bourgeoisie.
11. Can fascism and war be prevented? How?

C. Organizations for Struggle

1. What do we mean by organizations of workers, and what are the forms of the organizations?
2. Discuss some of the organizations of workers, farmers, etc.
3. What is a trade union and what is its function?
4. What are political parties and in what way do they differ from other organizations of the workers?
5. Discuss some of the political parties in the United States.
6. What is the Communist Party and in what way does it differ from other political parties?
7. What is the aim of the Communist Party? How can we achieve our final goal?
8. Does the Communist Party participate in the struggles of the workers for the betterment of the conditions of the masses? Discuss some of the struggles in which the Communist Party took a leading part.
9. What is the situation of the Negro masses in the United States and how should we fight against the oppression of the Negro masses?
10. How can workers of different political opinions fight together for better conditions? How does the Communist Party work for the unity of the toiling masses?
11. Why do the capitalist press and the State forces attack the Communist Party?

12. Explain the Communist Party position on the State. How does it differ from other parties—reformists, anarchists, syndicalists, etc.?
13. What is the character of the State in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and how does it differ from capitalist States (bourgeois-democratic, fascist).

LESSON II.

HOW THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS ORGANIZED

A. Role of the Communist Party

1. What is the role of the Communist Party among the workers?
2. How can our Party best reach the masses with its message?
3. What do we mean by agitation and propaganda, and how is it carried on?
4. How can we organize the Party in shops, mills, factories, mines, etc.?
5. What is the duty of a Communist in the shop, factory, mill, etc.?
6. What is the essence of the Open Letter of our Party?

B. Structure of the Party

1. What is the basic unit of the Party? Discuss the meaning of shop nucleus, street unit. Which of the two is the more important and why?
2. What is the Section, District and National organization? How is the section organized and what is the relation of the units to the Section?
3. Discuss the same with regard to District and Sections, Districts and Central Committee.
4. What is a Party Convention, a Plenum of the Central Committee?
5. What are the rules and by-laws of the Party?
6. Why is it necessary for every Party member to pay dues regularly?
7. Why is regular attendance at unit meetings essential?
8. How does a Party unit carry on its work?
9. Discuss the function of a Unit Bureau; how it should plan and organize its work.

C. Principles of Party Organization

1. How are the higher organs of the Party constituted?
2. How are decisions made in the Party? Who participates in making the decisions?

3. What is the meaning of Democratic Centralism? How does it work?
4. What is the meaning of Party discipline and how is it carried out? Why must discipline be maintained in the Party?
5. What do we understand by leadership in the Party? Who can become a leader in the Party?
6. Discuss concretely the role and significance of the Communist Party leadership in the United States.
7. Show concretely how the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R. exercises leadership among the toiling masses; how under its leadership and under the leadership of Comrade Stalin the country is building a Socialist society.
8. What is the Communist International and what is its relation to the C. P. of the U.S.A.?
9. What is a faction?
10. Is it permissible to organize factions within the Communist Party? Discuss Trotsky in this connection.
11. What do we mean by the Bolshevization of the Communist Party and how is our Party proceeding in the process of Bolshevization? Discuss briefly some of the important phases in the development of our Party in the United States and the struggle against the renegades.
12. What is meant by the struggle on two fronts? How has our Party conducted that struggle? What is opportunism?
13. What is concentration and how do we carry it out?
14. What is self-criticism and how should it be practised?
15. What are the tasks and duties of individual Party members? Discuss assignments.

D. Building the Party

1. Why is it essential to recruit more members into the Party? How should recruiting be carried on? Where?
2. Who is eligible for membership in the Party?
3. What is the role of the Party press? Discuss the **Daily Worker** and the necessity for an increase in the circulation. How can each member help to increase the circulation?
4. What are shop papers, their role and how are they built?
5. The significance of Party literature; why every member should read the literature and how to spread literature?
6. Discuss the Party schools, the Workers' Schools, how to utilize them for the training of our members, how to popularize the schools.

7. Every function in the Party, be it the selling of the **Daily Worker**, leading a demonstration, participating in a strike, on a picket line, preparing a leaflet, distributing leaflets, running a mimeograph machine, typing, taking care of headquarters—all this is essential. It is all part of the entire machinery, and every type of work is of equal importance.

LESSON III.

HOW COMMUNISTS WORK AMONG THE MASSES

A. The Significance of Mass Work. A Bolshevik Party Must Be a Mass Party.

1. Why must we as Communists participate in the organization of the toiling masses?
2. In the light of the foregoing lessons discuss the difference between the Communist Party and the mass organizations. The comrades should discuss the work in the organizations basing themselves on their own experience.
3. What is the duty of every Communist in a mass organization?
4. How can a Communist further the influence of the Party in the mass organization?
5. Why is it necessary for Communists to belong to trade unions? Should they participate in reactionary trade unions, in reformist trade unions?
6. How should Communists work among women workers, young workers?
7. Discuss the importance of the Communist Party work among the oppressed Negro masses. How is the work to be carried on (building the L.S.N.R., etc.)?
8. Why is it important to work among farmers, agricultural workers, sharecroppers? Do we have to develop special methods of work?
9. Is it necessary for us to win over intellectuals, professional and other sections of the population?
10. What do we mean by the allies of the proletariat and who are they?
11. Why and in what manner should the Communists promote the solidarity of the American toilers with the national liberation struggle in the American colonial possessions?

B. Methods of Work in Mass Organizations

1. How can Communists work collectively in mass organizations?
2. What is a fraction and how is it to be organized? How should it work?
3. What should be the position of the Communists in the struggles carried on by the trade unions and other organizations?
4. Can Communists win leadership in the American Federation of Labor unions? How?
5. Discuss the importance for every Communist in the unions to be thoroughly familiar with the constitution of the trade union, to know the rules and by-laws, to know parliamentary procedure, etc.
6. What is the rank and file movement within the trade union and what is its role?
7. What is meant by class struggle and class collaboration?
8. Show by recent events how the class collaboration policy of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor has been detrimental to the workers. How should we fight against the class collaboration policy? How can we transform the union into a class struggle organization?
9. What is the relation of the fractions within mass organizations to the Party unit, Section, etc.?

LESSON IV.**THE UNITED FRONT****A. The Need for Unity in the Ranks of the Workers**

1. Why is unity essential among the toiling masses in the U.S.A. at the present time?
2. What are the favorable conditions (objective and subjective) for united action on the part of the struggling masses?
3. How to achieve unity—the approach to lower organizations, rank and file and functionaries of the Socialist Party, in shops, trade unions, etc.?
4. Why is the united front of all toilers more important today than at any other time?
5. Discuss some of the united front organizations in this country.
6. Can the united forces of workers and farmers prevent war and fascism? How?

B. The Attitude of the Communist Party to the United Front

1. What is the position of the Communist Party on the question of the united front?
2. Why are many of the leaders of the Socialist Party opposed to the united front? Discuss the groupings within the Socialist Party.
3. Discuss some of the achievements of the united front between Socialists and Communists and other elements in this country, in France, etc.
4. What is the meaning of the United People's Front as advanced by the Communist International at its Seventh World Congress?

C. Labor Party

1. Why do we stress the need for a Labor Party in the U.S.A.?
2. What should be the character of a Labor Party which will serve the interests of the masses?
3. What do we understand by a workers' and farmers' anti-capitalist, anti-fascist Labor Party?
4. What would be the role of the C. P. within the Labor Party?
5. What are some of the political demands a Labor Party should fight for? Discuss the need for the struggle on two fronts against opportunism in connection with the united front and the Labor Party.

D. The Position of the Communist Party on Parliamentaryism

1. Should Communists participate in election campaigns? Why?
2. What is the meaning of revolutionary parliamentaryism?
3. What is meant by united front or People's Front government and under what conditions may it become necessary?
What should be the position of the Communist Party on this question?

E. Defense of the Soviet Union

1. Why should every worker defend the Soviet Union?
2. Discuss the significance of the U.S.S.R. in relation to working class movement in the capitalist world.
3. Why is the peace policy of the Soviet Union of benefit to the workers of all countries?

F. American Revolutionary Traditions

1. What is meant by proletarian internationalism?
2. What is meant by international and national revolutionary traditions? Why should the proletariat of today take over those traditions as heritage?
 - a. Mention certain international revolutionary traditions.
 - b. Mention certain American revolutionary traditions.

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The fifth lessons on "The Problem of Liberation of the Negro Masses" has not been prepared in the form of questions and answers, but will appear in final form very shortly.