

Party Organizer



"We must give the most detailed attention to recruiting, to the building up of our apparatus of organization, the most intense study to find the best organizational forms for our units, to find the best adjustment of the units to the foundations of their sphere of operations, to studying these new forms of the units and the careful making use of the best forms and the elimination of those that don't work out so well. And above all, a real concentration on the central problem of building up of the leading personnel of the Party."

—From a report to the May 9th Enlarged Political Committee meeting.

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Utilize the Radio!

"We must have the beginnings in every District of systematic use of the radio. We are beginning a systematic study of radio problems in the Center and we are going to begin very soon to give advice of a much more concrete character to the Districts. We find that the most extraordinary opportunities are open in many places that we have just been blind to for several years. There are hundreds of local radio broadcasting stations where you can buy a half-hour's time for fifteen dollars. How many of us ever knew that? How many of us have ever done anything to act on it? All these little radio stations, no matter how small and obscure they may be, have ten to one hundred times more attendance than these little fly-by-night meetings that you spend your money on—these meetings that keep the District poor. We must make a systematic exploitation of the radio everywhere and don't think that means raising great funds; it means raising less funds than you raise for a hall meeting." (Earl Browder, from a report to a recent enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau.)

Our National Convention Belongs to the Masses!

THE NATIONAL Convention of our Communist Party is fast approaching! From factory, mill and farm, the best sons and daughters of the American working class will take to all the roads and highways leading to New York. Out of the coal mines of Pennsylvania, from Oklahoma's oil fields, from the smoking factories which stud the rim of Lake Michigan, from the orange and citron groves of California's Imperial Valley, from the Dakota plains and the cotton wharves of New Orleans, the horny-handed toilers who produce our nation's wealth, stuffing an extra shirt into their bags, will turn their faces toward the greatest and most momentous Convention our Party has ever held.

But this Convention is not and must not become the narrow concern of our Party alone. No! **Our National Convention belongs to the American masses!** The speeches, discussions, experiences, which will be brought forward as delegate after delegate takes the platform, must become the property of **all** the toiling people of America. Every word, every plan, every report and resolution, born out of living experience in the great class struggles of the past years, must be broadcast to the four corners of the nation.

We must **popularize** our great Convention. We must make it the Convention of the toiling masses of America gathered to find a solution to the burning problems which confront them. We must raise it for discussion in every shop, factory, trade union and neighborhood organization. We must broadcast it in radio speeches, in leaflets, shop papers, open-air street meetings, forums, pre-Convention discussions. We must flood the Convention with a deluge of fraternal greetings from thousands of trade unions and mass organizations. And this applies not only to trade unions close to us, but to **every** organization which finds a common ground of struggle with the Communist Party, whether in the field of unemployment relief or in the fight for civil liberties and rights. In every such organization, our comrades must raise the question of sending greetings or a fraternal delegation to our historic Convention.

Not a second must be wasted! In the few intervening weeks we call on the entire Party membership to mobilize its forces to popularize our National Convention with the American people. We call on the District and Section leadership to **plan** and **initiate** a real drive to make our National

Convention the center of interest of the whole American working class.

Mass Meetings to Discuss Convention

We suggest that wherever possible mass meetings be arranged at which the workers will be informed and have an opportunity to discuss the issues confronting the Party Convention—the issue of the 1936 election campaign, the purpose of holding the Convention at this time, in line with the report of Comrade Browder, which was published in the **Sunday Worker** of May 24 and the **Daily Worker** of May 25. Wherever there are forums under the auspices of the Workers' School or directly of the Party, special lectures should be arranged on the Ninth Party Convention. Such lectures should also be organized wherever possible in mass organizations. Each District and Section shall very carefully work out a program of mobilizing our forces within the mass organizations to send greetings, or delegates should be elected to bring greetings to the Convention of the Party.

At each session of the Convention time will be allotted for greetings from prominent labor leaders, delegations from trade unions, from shops, fraternal organizations, etc.

We suggest that each District work out a list of people whom we can approach to endorse the Convention in the above-mentioned form.

The mass character of the Ninth Convention of the Party will also be emphasized by the fact that on the last day of the Convention, there will be a special nominating session at the Madison Square Garden in New York City. The mass meetings arranged for the Convention should also be centered around the Nominating Session of the Convention of the Party. It is well that the Districts should, by bringing the issues of the Ninth Convention of the Party to the mass organizations, inspire these organizations to send greetings and delegations to this Nominating Session.

The Party shop units should make every possible effort to call together workers in the shops and speak on the issues before the Convention, and adopt resolutions; and in the Districts around New York, select delegations to greet the Convention.

All units during the week of June 14 shall organize either mass meetings or open unit meetings to discuss the Party Convention and send greetings to the Convention; and in the Districts nearby New York, to elect delegations of Party and non-Party people to greet the Convention.

We suggest that you immediately discuss the whole question with leading comrades, wherever possible calling

together comrades who are active in mass organizations; that you send detailed directives to the Sections and organize the campaign in such a manner that the Convention of our Party becomes the property of the largest masses of workers, thus popularizing the issues confronting the Convention, and making a good beginning for the coming election campaign.

Forward to the Ninth National Convention of the Communist Party!

Activize the Shop Nuclei

THE old decision for building and strengthening the apparatus to guide the shop nuclei in their everyday tasks, of having leading comrades attached to the most important nuclei, is still on the order of the day. The full activization of existing nuclei and the building of new ones are especially demanded today to further anchor our forces among the masses of factory workers, and among organized masses in the trade unions.

Figures show that we are coming to the next National Convention of the Party with over 550 nuclei, comprising a membership of about 5,000. This, compared with the time of the Cleveland Convention, does show an advance. However, if we analyze the life and activities of the shop nuclei today, we find a real contradiction. While we augmented the number of shop nuclei and the Party membership in industries and the number of shop papers also increased, these basic organs are on the whole not yet active instruments in organizing the unorganized, in developing struggles, and in recruiting the most militant and best elements among the workers. The life of the shop nuclei and their activities today are not as effective as they could be.

How do we explain such a situation, such a contradiction? Before the Cleveland Convention, the number of shop nuclei increased rapidly, especially due to the initiative of the New York District, where in a short time over 100 shop nuclei were built, through the concentrated efforts of the District and Section Committees. Similar achievements were registered at the time of the Cleveland Convention in Cleveland proper, in Detroit and in other concentration Districts. This was due to the fact that at that time every concentration District set up a special apparatus for the purpose of building and daily guiding these basic organs. **The leading comrades attached themselves to shop nuclei; shop conferences were called from time to time to exchange experiences; to**

discuss the immediate problems of the shop nuclei, the improvement of shop papers, etc. It was on the basis of this continuous guidance by the leading committees that we registered the first successes, and gave life to these basic organs of our Party.

This good start, however, was not systematically followed up. Lately the growth of shop nuclei and membership has been mainly due to the previous efforts and to the growing understanding of the Party as a whole about such vital problems, as well as the conscious following up of the good start made by the New York District, where proportionately the number of shop nuclei is larger than in other Districts.

At this point we can already draw a very important conclusion. Had the leadership on a District and Section scale followed up systematically the activities of the shop nuclei with daily guidance, we would today be able to register not only a larger number of shop nuclei, but active shop nuclei. Our Party would be in a stronger position among the employed workers in the industries.

The lack of attention to these basic organs is not due to a conscious underestimation of the leading bodies to the role of the shop nuclei, but mainly to the fact that the major attention of the leading committees has been concentrated (in the last period) on trade union problems, on the united front and on the Farmer-Labor Party. There is no doubt that precisely because of the efforts of the leading committees in this direction, our position today is much stronger among the organized workers, especially in the A. F. of L. unions. Our achievements in this field, however, were due mainly to the efforts of a few leading comrades, in the various industrial centers. The shop nuclei as such were not utilized to the fullest extent to contribute in the process of unity of the trade union movement, of organizing the trade unions, etc.

The result of this weakness is that where our forces are a factor in the unions, the union itself becomes the active force for the complete organization of the workers, takes up the immediate demands, takes up the struggles for industrial unionism, etc. (which is good), but the shop nuclei, the Party in the factories, do not come forward sufficiently as the driving force for the mobilization of the masses around daily grievances and immediate demands.

Shop Nuclei Must Be Activized

While it is correct for the leading committees of our Party to deal directly with the leading fractions, with the progressive forces in the unions, nevertheless we cannot ne-

glect the shop nuclei and their role. We must understand that precisely by activizing the shop nuclei we make of these, powerful instruments for the organization of the workers where there are no unions, and for the mobilization of the workers to struggle for immediate demands where there are company unions; making of the shop nuclei (where these identify themselves with the fractions), the driving force for the building of a powerful progressive movement.

As already stated, one of the main reasons for the poor inner life and activities of the shop nuclei today is the lack of guidance, of help. The fact that lately the main attention and activities of the leading committees have been in one direction made us suffer in other organizational fields. For example, while all Districts accepted the suggestions of the last Plenum of the Central Committee about readjusting the lower organizations on the basis of the new needs: to make of them more efficient Party bodies, to connect the Party with the masses in industry, in the trade unions, in the neighborhoods, these readjustments were not guided sufficiently. In many cases they were mechanical, in certain places they took the character of a thorough reorganization without the conscious, continuous guidance and check up by the leading committees.

The situation in the shop nuclei and in the other forms of organization simply emphasizes again and again the necessity of our utilizing additional leading forces for the purpose of enabling the leading bodies to guide the various phases of Party work.

The active shop nuclei today are usually those composed of young Party members, active in their trade unions, where conditions make them react to the daily problems that arise in the factory: They are usually comrades who use initiative and have the ability to speak to the masses in the industry through shop papers. Most of the stagnant shop nuclei are the old ones where the comrades, while understanding the role of the shop nuclei, to a certain extent, are nevertheless limited in their ability to issue shop papers. Here the lack of direction leads to stagnation and discouragement.

The great fluctuation in shop papers is mainly due to the lack of assistance, not only political but technical as well. It is a known fact that a year ago many of the shop nuclei were given technical assistance in issuing their shop papers. Not only did we have special committees for this purpose here and there but comrades who had technical ability were assigned to assist the shop nuclei in this phase of work.

We can definitely state that we are not confronted with a new problem now. It is not necessary to make a special

study of how to improve the life and activity of the shop nuclei, to look for new experiences. We have at our disposal a great deal of positive achievement in this field, a great deal of knowledge. The problem before us is a simple one, and chiefly an organizational one. It is the problem of setting up the proper apparatus on a District and Section scale to further enlighten the shop nuclei regarding their role, an apparatus that will assist them in solving the political and organizational problems confronting them, and of assisting them technically wherever such help is needed.

Over 550 shop nuclei with approximately 5,000 Party members represent a real force that the Party has today in the industries. We must make of these 550 shop nuclei and 5,000 Party members a determining factor to bring about the unity of action of the masses in industry, not only on the issue of struggle against war and fascism, the struggle for democratic rights, etc., but concretely against reaction in the factories, around the immediate demands of the workers, etc. We must make of the shop nuclei the driving force of the progressive movement in the factories and in the unions, making of them a powerful lever for the organization of the unions, and one of the most valuable instruments for furthering the struggle for industrial unionism. Five hundred and fifty nuclei with over 5,000 Communists are a powerful magnet for attracting the most militant, the best elements of the industries into our ranks. One of the chief problems today is not only that the shop nuclei intensify recruiting, but simultaneously make a real drive for **training and educating the Party members in the industries**. This is the key to the solution of the problem of increasing the number of shop nuclei and of increasing the Party members in the industries, and at the same time of developing the initiative of Party members in such vital forms of organization.

Philadelphia Uses the Radio

By PAT TOOHEY

AT THE enlarged meeting of the Political Committee, I heard Comrade Browder's remarks concerning the Party using the radio, and, believing that our experiences in Philadelphia may be helpful to other Districts, I am sending the following information:

In District 3 we have had some positive accomplishments and experiences in utilizing the radio in our current agitation and propaganda. Our experiences indicate the great possibilities of this instrument as a form of reaching very wide groups of workers and people generally.

We used the radio quite extensively in the preparations for May Day and organization of the Hunger March to the Legislature in Harrisburg. This was not only the case in Philadelphia, where a wide use was made of the radio not only by the Party but by many mass organizations as well, but also in Wilkes-Barre and Reading. This did not take the form only of fifteen-minute speeches in English, speeches of an agitational and political character, but speeches in Jewish, Italian and Polish as well. In addition to these full-length speeches, still another form was used: that of having 50 and 100-word or one-minute announcements made at regular intervals in the station's regular program. Thus, after a prize-fight or after Eddie Cantor, and before the next program was presented, instead of hearing about the great qualities of Ex-Lax, Bock Beer or the Marvel Washing Soap Suds, announcements were made calling upon the workers to rally at Reyburn Plaza on May Day, etc.

The usual form of these announcements were "Are you against sweatshops? Company unions? Hunger? Fascism? Are you for 100 per cent unionization of Philadelphia, for real social security, for a Farmer-Labor Party, etc? Then come to . . . , etc.

These announcements we found to be quite reasonable in price and if arranged to be announced between various popular programs can be counted on to reach thousands of people.

In Reading, the Section Organizer of the Party went on the air for a seven-minute speech at a cost of \$7. The May Day meeting in Reading had 300 present, while the "ceremony" in City Hall, with Mayor Stump speaking, had 100.

In Wilkes-Barre, in the heart of the mining district, a speaker broadcast for fifteen minutes at a cost of \$7.50. The

usual cost here is \$15 for fifteen minutes, but our speaker held that his subject, unemployment and relief, fell under a station regulation that "educational" questions have the benefit of lower rates, and thereby did obtain the lower rate.

Cost Not Prohibitive

What is the cost of such programs? The usual deterrent is "it will cost too much." But do we ever really **investigate** just what it will cost? Our experience in Philadelphia and elsewhere is that it costs really less to give a fifteen-minute broadcast than it costs to arrange an average mass meeting of 200-300-500 people. Broadcasts over WIP in Philadelphia cost \$28 each. To hold a meeting, rent a hall, print tickets, issue leaflets and advertising costs as much, and not always do we get the 200-300 people (I refer **not** to city-wide meetings in large towns, but to the average neighborhood, sectional meetings). For the same amount of money, many hundreds of **organized** listeners can be assured and certainly thousands of other who happen to hear it.

There is no intention to imply that we should no longer hold meetings, but on city-wide issues, a broadcast reaches infinitely more people and this method should be considered seriously as a regular method of agitation and propaganda, on urgent questions.

While the Hunger March was filling the capitalist press, our Party turned over to the Workers Alliance one of its scheduled broadcasts. The Alliance speaker presented the aims of the Hunger March and called for a mobilization of forces.

These examples indicate that on immediate campaigns and struggles of the hour, we can resort to the radio for immediate mobilization, to give our position on current issues, etc.

We encountered very few difficulties in engaging all of these broadcasts—aside from financial. The American League, the Writers' Union, the May Day Committee had no difficulty in making contracts. When the Party, later, approached WFIL for a broadcast, the office management was quite unfriendly and tended to place all kinds of restrictions in our way, but did not specifically deny the Party a contract. Some of the special reservations were:

1. That, whereas all "political" speeches must be submitted four hours prior to delivery, they extended this to 48 hours for us.
2. That the president of the company would personally have to approve the speech.

3. That we would have to sign a waiver releasing the company from any and all possible libel or legal litigation which might ensue as a result of the speech.

4. That we accept all responsibility for any and all damage suits which might ensue.

5. That we sign a bond to guarantee this.

The last restriction was not pressed when we argued discrimination, unusual precedent and threatened to inform the Federal Communications Commission. We agreed to all others. Some comrades had qualms about accepting possible damage suits, but when it became clear that, were such suits brought, the damages collectible would be two weeks' wages of functionaries (!) we let it pass.

Political speeches are subject to censorship by the stations and, in view of a decision by a Nebraska Court holding the station responsible together with the speaker and subject to libel, they require such waivers from everyone, but do not, for everyone (except the C.P.), require personal censorship by the president of the company. But most of these technicalities can be overcome, either by tact, by legal steps or by mass pressure—as the circumstances may indicate.

The cost is not prohibitive. In New York, perhaps, it is difficult to use the leading stations. But in Philadelphia, however, the leading station, WCAU (Columbia outlet) costs \$75 per fifteen minutes. Stations WIP and WFIL are the most popular local stations, although not as powerful as WCAU. WIP reaches all of Philadelphia. We have been heard in Allentown, Easton, and the farm area, in Camden, Chester and Wilmington, Delaware. This embraces an area of 5,000,000 people, so why should we get excited about not being able to reach Seattle?

WIP is \$28 and WFIL \$65 for fifteen minutes. The three stations dealing with Italian, Jewish and Polish programs charge much less, and quite within the reach of our comrades and organizations. Our experience is that not only in Philadelphia, but especially in the smaller centers, we can use the radio most extensively. The cash can, with some effort, be raised by organizing a fund, donations and collections (not to speak of the countless new people we reach and influence).

As an example: On the occasion of the Party broadcast, scores of units held "open meetings" with a radio and many workers' halls and headquarters turned on their radio for large groups which had assembled. In several of these groups the enthusiasm was so great that a collection was taken spontaneously "for more broadcasts". Were we to organize this, it is possible that collections could be obtained from scores of groups, units and meetings in workers' halls.

Popularizing Broadcasts

Concerning the best utilization of these broadcasts. It is not enough simply to speak and take a hit-or-miss chance on reaching five people or a half million. All of our broadcasts have been accompanied by widespread notices to the Party, to the mass organizations and sympathizers, through the Party and capitalist press, through leaflets and post cards and posters telling when the speech was to be given. We urged units to organize open unit meetings and have each Party member bring one or more workers. There are nearly 400 workers' centers, headquarters and halls in Philadelphia (I.W.O., youth, Party, cultural, trade unions, etc.). We urged that gatherings be held on the night of the broadcast and "tune in". Sympathizers were urged to gather their friends around the radio. As yet we have no way of determining the exact number of such organized groups. When the Party broadcast was given about 40 units held radio parties and a great number of individual comrades and sympathizers did so as well. We have reports from various unions, and workers' halls of big gatherings. The units recruited a considerable number of workers as a result.

The general response to our broadcasts was quite wide. Many phone calls arrived for copies of the speeches and for information—every speech contained the address of the speaker and organization. We widely advertised our addresses, publications, offices and meetings. We can say that our successful May Day demonstration was due in large part to our reaching thousands of people via radio.

Several days ago, the Communist Party contracted for 28 broadcasts over one station between now and Election Day. As conditions may require, we shall from time to time engage additional broadcasts over other stations.

These 28 broadcasts were contracted for on a planned basis, with our various campaigns and election work in mind. Thus, the first broadcast will be given on the evening of the convening of our District Convention. While the Convention itself will "tune in", thousands of workers will know the C. P. Convention is in session and what it is meeting for. We will carry our decisions to thousands. Our Convention, therefore, assumes a mass significance.

Three broadcasts are scheduled during the week of June 23—July 1. What is significant about this date? The Democratic National Convention meets in Philadelphia and 200,000 visitors will be here. Everybody from Roosevelt down to the smallest politician will be on the air. Thousands will have their ears on the radio. Therefore, Comrade Browder and other Party speakers will also get in on the program. Our Party, therefore, becomes a force as well.

Other broadcasts are interspersed near July 4, on August 1 (Anti-War Day) three in September (when registration of voters occurs) and then in October, when election tensivity increases and we broadcast every third day or so. We broadcast on the day before election as well. Party days are held in mind: middle of September is the C.P. anniversary, November 7 is the anniversary of Russian Revolution. On these occasions, we have broadcasts arranged for. This is what I mean by "planned programs".

We will probably engage 10 or 12 additional broadcasts over other stations in English, Jewish, Italian and Polish. We will arrange these programs as required, but meantime we have a planned regular schedule.

We are now seriously occupying ourselves with financing this program. We are going to launch a local "radio fund" by collections, sustaining fund parties, etc.

Proposals for Improvement of Work in Ohio

By HELEN ALLISON

IN OHIO, as in other Districts of the country, organizational experiments were made in an effort to adapt the form and structure of our Party to the situation that existed in each locality. Because it was understood that our inflexible organizational forms of the past would be a hindrance to the progress of our mass work, the November meeting of the Central Committee thoroughly discussed this problem and made the decision that larger territorial branches should be formed and that industrial units could be organized.

This decision in no way negates the organizational principle of the Communist Party—that the shop nucleus remains the basic unit of the Party. Our main task continues to be that of building shop nuclei, the rooting of the Party in the shops, mines and mills, primarily of the mass production industries. This is an important task for us in Ohio, where we must lead the struggle for unionization of these industries. Without a vital corps of Communists in the shops there will be no guarantee that the drive for organization will proceed along progressive, industrial union lines. In no way can we permit the broadening of our organizational forms in other respects to minimize the work that must be done to build and strengthen our shop nuclei.

In line with the decision of the Central Committee, we

proceeded to build larger territorial branches that would become a factor in the community. It was not always possible to build these branches along the lines of the political divisions of the specific city. In fact, in no place in the state was this practical except in sections of Cleveland and Youngstown, where ward branches were built to some extent. The weaknesses in adjusting our old street unit form of organization were the same in Ohio as in other places. Preparations were made in a mechanical way. There was little attempt made to convince the membership of the street units of the superiority of the larger branches under present conditions of work, and in accomplishing the united front tasks before us. We had not sufficiently prepared the leadership of these larger branches so that they would be able to cope with the political and economic problems of their territory and organize the forces of the Party to become the leaders of the workers in the locality.

The result was a falling off of attendance at unit meetings, a reduction in regular dues payments, less activity on the part of formerly active comrades. The individual Party members felt many times that his importance to the movement had been lessened because there now seemed to be more people among whom the tasks could be divided. Thus, instead of the responsibility of the branch being increased, to a great extent, the Party in the territory functioned in its new form as in its old. It continued to work not in a larger territory, but in that of one old unit. The **Sunday Worker** sales of the new unit were not always equal to those of the combined units, but many times amounted only to what one unit formerly sold. This was characteristic of other activities as well.

But the partial failure of the larger units does not prove that we should go back to the old street unit form. While it took a number of months to get these branches established, because of the failure of the leading committees properly to prepare the former units for this adjustment, now, after a consistent campaign for better functioning of the branches, some better results can be recorded. Good examples of work in Townsend Clubs, Parent-Teachers Associations, Mothers' Clubs, and other such neighborhood organizations are beginning to reflect in the life of the Party branch.

The Communist Party branch is an organization that is known to people in more communities than ever before, with its neighborhood mass meetings and open branch meetings.

Industrial Units Successful

Our industrial units, some of which were formed before the November meeting of the Central Committee, have proven successful. Most of them have done considerable recruiting,

doubling and tripling membership since their formation. The members of these units have become much more conscious of union problems than when they were members of territorial units. They function both as a Party fraction in the union and as a political unit. Care has been taken not to allow these units to become only union fractions—but, through taking up the general campaigns of the Party, through regular political discussions, they are actually a unit of the Party that is in no way divorced from the general Party work. Most of the industrial units are formed in industries where either the organization of shop nuclei is impossible, because the workers are scattered throughout the city, or else there are not enough Party members in one shop to form a nucleus, for instance, truck drivers, needle trades workers, building trades workers, library workers, etc.

One excellent example can be cited of an industrial unit formed from workers in an industry of various crafts (belonging to various craft unions). In about a year's time, this unit grew from 6 to 21 members. Not one was lost. At every meeting there is excellent attendance, only those working during unit meeting time being absent. The recruiting that has been done has not only been of workers from this one industry. Others are also brought into the unit, are trained there and prepared for transfer to either a territorial branch or another industrial unit. The discussions are primarily around current problems, local politics, study of Party structure and their own trade union problems. All the tasks the Section has given them are fulfilled 100 per cent.

Not only are they active Party members as far as the unit itself is concerned but they also have representatives on the Section Committee, Section Membership Committee and the State Committee. There are nine members of union executive boards in the unit. The unit considers that one of its weaknesses is that its mass work is confined too much to unions only and associations of which the comrades are members and it is now time to assign some comrades for activity in other organizations. They have begun this with the assignment of comrades to the P.T.A., a Neighborhood Young Republican Club, to Coughlin and Townsend clubs. After the good training they received in the Party unit, they now feel capable of cooperating with the activities of territorial branches. This unit has been so successful in its work mainly because there has been an active corps of comrades with a political perspective and a well-thought-out plan of work that consistently led the unit.

Quite another picture is seen from a building trades industrial unit, composed of older comrades in the Party. It took this unit some time to get on its feet, the comrades feeling

that such a unit had little basis for existence and that this was a good time to take a vacation from Party work. It did not meet regularly in the beginning, nor did it have any organized activity of any kind. When the unit was formed, it evidently was not sufficiently impressed with the importance of trade union work and, therefore, was not convinced of the basis for the existence of such a unit. But in another Section we have another building trades unit. While it has one main weakness of no recruiting, nevertheless, the union activity of these comrades has been considerably increased since its formation. We cannot say that this is sufficient; we do consider that it is an important achievement when our united front work and the building of a Farmer-Labor Party are greatly dependent on our strength in the organized labor movement.

However, from our experience with the two building trades units, thought must be given to their reorganization. In such industries where we have sufficient members in one union, greater results can be obtained if we organize units in each union. Work can be planned on a more concrete basis. Particularly is this true of the building trades where the unions of the different crafts present us with a multitude of problems and tasks.

Organizational Adjustments in our Leading Bodies Are Proposed

While these organizational adjustments have definitely been of assistance in improving the political and mass work of the lower organs of our Party, at the same time we can see that this in itself is not sufficient. The good trade union work that has been done by members of our State Committee and Section Committees, the work done in the Barberton and Akron strikes, the achievements in the auto and steel conventions, the developments for a Farmer-Labor Party in Lake and Summit Counties, have not become the property of the Party as a whole in Ohio. There is a great gap existing between the work of the State Committee and the lower Party organizations. The Section Committees do not serve as that connecting link that should acquaint and help in developing the Party organization generally for the fulfillment of these tasks. It sometimes is a matter of weeks before decisions of the leading District bodies reach the units.

On the other hand, our District Bureau, composed entirely of Cleveland comrades, concerns itself mainly with the problems of Cleveland, neglecting to a considerable extent the work of the important industrial and farming centers throughout the state. For this reason, we are considering a division

of responsibility as far as state and Cleveland activity is concerned. This could be done by the organization of a City Committee for Cleveland, etc., that would be representative of leading Party workers involved at the present time in Section work, ward branch, trade union work, shop work, activity in mass organizations, etc., with a city secretary. Such a City Committee could have direct contact with the territorial branches, industrial and shop units, thus making the existing Section Committees unnecessary.

Some of the active comrades in the Sections would thus be released and become ward branch organizers for our most important territories. At the same time, one or two of our present Section Organizers would be in a position to become the leaders of important mass movements such as the Workers' Alliance. The main problem that we must concern ourselves with here is how the connection between the lower and higher bodies of the Party would be improved, and how better leadership would be given to the territorial, shop and industrial units of the Party. This can be done either by forming a City Council of the Party where representatives of every unit would meet once or twice a month, or else it can be done by regular meetings of organizers on a city scale where political and practical questions can be taken up.

In other parts of the state, County or City Committees should be organized. In Youngstown, recently, the first step was made in this direction when a City Committee was formed, with a City Secretary elected. In other parts of the Youngstown Section, County Committees can be formed which will replace the old form of Sub-Section Committees. The present Section Committee, then, can become an area committee that will meet about once a month with representatives of the various County or City Committees. Similarly our Southern Ohio and Eastern Ohio Sections could be reorganized. The Section Organizers would meet at intervals with the City or County Committees, giving concrete leadership and coordinating the work of these committees.

Our State Committee would remain as it is, meeting once a month, discussing state-wide problems and giving leadership to all of the Party organizations throughout the state. The present District Bureau would have to be changed so that it would be composed not only of Cleveland comrades, but of some of the leading Section Organizers outside of Cleveland.

In organizing the County Committees, it will not be possible to do this in every county in the state. There are innumerable counties where we have no Party organization whatsoever. Our immediate orientation here should be to organize these committees in the most important industrial and farming communities of the state.

Abolish Functioning of a "Party Within the Party"

While we have regularly discussed the work of our language bureaus, the necessity for them to concern themselves with problems and work in the large language mass organizations, little progress has been made in this field of work. The majority of our active language comrades still devote their major time to work in small sectarian organizations, closely connected with the Party. The language bureaus still function in a world all their own, divorced from Party work—and many times making decisions for all organizations where they have contact and for the Party members of their particular nationality. There is continual duplication of work between the Section Committees and the language bureaus. Many times, it is difficult for a Section Committee to discuss local problems with a fraction of a language mass organization in its territory because of the resistance of a language bureau. The result is that large numbers of Party members are not responsible to the Section Committee where they are members. The Section cannot control or guide the work of its members under such circumstances.

With our broader forms of activities, and the important part that all these mass language organizations must play in the political life of a community, it is necessary to do away with some of the obstructions to the promotion of our work. We are considering the abolition of language bureaus on a state and city scale. A language commission could be formed that would be representative of the main nationalities in the city. This commission would directly lead the work of the fractions of all the mass organizations. The existing language bureaus could be transformed into broad press committees, drawing in non-Party people. They would mainly be concerned with the circulation and financing of a language paper.

The language bureaus nationally would continue to work out a policy for the given language group and transmit such material direct to each State Committee instead of working through the District language bureaus.

In bringing forward these questions for discussion, we cannot consider that organizational adjustments will be the cure-all for the difficulties in our Party work. The improving of the educational work within the Party, a consistent policy for the training of people who will become the leaders in all the important communities in the state for building the Farmer-Labor Party and heading the many mass movements that are developing—this must remain the key question, side by side with the simplification and more flexible functioning of our Party apparatus.

Ward Branches in Chicago District

By E. BROWN

IN PREPARATION for the coming District Convention the District Bureau organized a commission to investigate the functioning of ward branches. The task of this commission was twofold: (1) to collect data and information in order to establish a generalized picture of the life and work of this new form of Party organization, and (2) to present for discussion at the District Convention some general conclusions based on an analysis of this investigation. In the main our work was conducted with a view to finding an answer to the following questions: (1) How has the ward branch as a Party organization served to develop united front and neighborhood activities and how has it organized and carried the campaigns of the Party, and (2) How the ward branch solved the problems of inner-Party life?

Although the work of this commission is yet incomplete, we can present in this article a partial summary of our investigation and some conclusions that have been drawn.

The majority of the branches investigated have been in existence for a period of three to four months. These branches were organized with the belief that this form of Party organization would help us develop mass work on a broader scale. However, even at this late date, we find as an outstanding characteristic of the branches that there is more of a tendency toward inner work than toward work among the masses. It is important, therefore, that we analyze those factors which tend to develop such a situation. Briefly our conclusions are as follows:

1. In the period of reorganization it was necessary to establish a new apparatus and of a different kind. We could expect, therefore, that this would take some time.

2. Whereas previously the street units conducted their work in a general way with no specific approach to the problems and peculiarities of their neighborhoods, the ward branches, formed by merging a number of units and having larger territories, are faced with the manifold problems of whole communities, political areas, etc. Lack of knowledge of the territory hinders the development of a bold approach to mass work.

3. Although the members of the branches are more or less agreed on the necessity of penetrating outside organizations, this task is approached with a certain timidity because each organization presents complex problems of methods of work, program, organizational set-up, etc.

4. While we expected with the merger of units the concentration of the best forces, we still find lacking in the ward executive committees the proper leadership. The best comrades, those with experience in mass work, still tend to withhold themselves from the responsibility of giving leadership to the branches.

Although the factors enumerated above have tended to develop this inner orientation, we cannot say that the branches have conducted no mass work, or that they are not becoming acclimated to the life of their neighborhoods. We have numerous examples of good work, such as united fronts with Socialist Party branches in connection with May First, a certain participation in developing the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party, etc. The very nature of the form of a ward branch demands that our activities be centered among the masses because of its broader appeal to American workers and because it develops a certain consciousness of responsibility for the political life of its territory. We are faced here, however, with the task of hastening the tempo of this orientation toward the masses and producing live examples of Communist work. Otherwise there is a danger that our real perspectives will be lost. What, then, are the specific problems that we must face and how can we solve them?

Leadership is the Main Problem

The first and main problem that we must tackle is that of **leadership**. We must remember that the problems arising with the creation of ward branches are mainly of a qualitative nature. We are now not dealing mainly with the problems resulting from an increase in membership, although these are important. We are face to face with the problem of a ward branch as a **center of Communist activity, and faced with the responsibility of determining the events in its territory not in terms of tens but of hundreds and thousands of workers.**

The demands of leadership are of the highest order. We mentioned that our best forces are not yet in the leadership of the branches. At most we still have the lower leadership of our Party thrown out of the narrow responsibilities of the street units into the leadership of branches where political and organizational responsibilities are of a higher magnitude. These are comrades that will become the future leaders of mass movements but unless they receive the operative leadership necessary from more experienced comrades they will become swamped with difficulties and lose themselves. What steps are necessary, therefore, to give the branches that kind of leadership necessary for the development of their activities?

1. We must more boldly assign those comrades to branches who know how to answer the problems of comrades working in mass organizations, who know how to raise and develop neighborhood issues, who have experience in united front work, etc. It is necessary that we reexamine the leadership of our ward branches. Wherever it is impractical to put the best forces in direct leadership of the branches we must place them on the ward executives.

2. It is clear that while in this period we must use our best forces to develop our lower leadership, life will demand new and more forces. The demand for training schools will therefore be greater. The District Agitprop Department has worked out plans for training schools, in each Section for the coming summer period. (See article: "For a New Type of Party Training School" in this issue.)

We still cling too heavily to those comrades who have the ability to hold branches together organizationally but who do not have any mass contact. While it is important that we have branch leaders that possess this quality, we must strive to place in leadership those who are part and parcel of the life of their communities, who are known and respected by the workers. In all branches there is a crying need for membership directors to take charge of the group system.

Wherever possible it is necessary that a comrade be assigned to assume the role of an organizational secretary. The branch organizer, while responsible for the entire work of the branch, must be thrown out among the masses. The American workers think in terms of leaders and we must create such in every territory who will become the instrument to swing masses of workers behind the Party.

4. If we are to expect of our branch leadership that political understanding which will enable it to swing its membership properly behind the main campaigns of the Party, it is necessary that we draw them more into the political life of the Sections and District. In some Sections there has been a conscious policy of drawing the branch organizers into the Section Committees. The District also has decided to hold a meeting once a month of all branch organizers where leading comrades will report on important problems. The first such meeting met with enthusiastic response from these comrades and helped greatly to explain our tactics in the 1936 election campaign.

Activizing the Membership

Along with the problem of developing stronger leadership for the branches comes the problem of finding the proper organizational forms for activizing the membership. Too many of our branches function as formal discussion clubs.

With 40 or 50 members attending branch meetings only a small percentage receive assignments and in most cases smaller tasks than those demanded by the former street units. It is not enough to say that the work has not been organized for we have to face the practical difficulties of large numbers, time, etc. The solution to this problem rests with establishing functional responsibilities. This does not mean that we assign everybody and thus liquidate the Party as an independent force in the territory. These fractions or squads require the utmost attention, otherwise their life will not be healthy and will quickly disintegrate. It is peculiar to note that these fractions, once set up, receive but a negligible amount of attention from the branch leadership. Not until they become the links through which the Party connects itself with the masses and develops its political work will there be any substance in the work of these branches.

There must be developed a greater sense of specialization, such as groups of comrades who concern themselves with the sale of literature, our press, etc. In some cases it will be necessary to carry this specialization into our mass work. A live branch cannot merely carry those particular campaigns of the Party at a given moment. It must respond to every event in the territory. The branch as a whole cannot, therefore, be mobilized at any given moment for a series of neighborhood tasks. We must adopt the practice of assigning groups of comrades to tackle and develop such issues as may arise. The responsibility for mass work must be shifted away from the branch executives down to the membership.

Organizational Problems in California

By B. G.

THE District Organization Commission had a serious discussion on the recruiting problem at a recent meeting and offers several fundamental reasons for the alarming fluctuation in the District as well as a series of proposals which will be a step in the direction of solving this problem.

The main reason for new members leaving our Party is the deadening inner life of the units, the lack of political initiative and discussion, the failure to react to the burning problems facing the people in the neighborhoods or industries in which our units work. This is a problem, of course, which faces the entire Party, but is one that we must begin to tackle in all seriousness if we are going to maintain our new members.

In the California District we are faced with somewhat different problems than in most of the Districts of the country with the exception of the South. Because of the ring of terror which surrounds the Party in most of the outlying points and even in some of the central cities, every possible step must be taken to protect the members of the Party. We, therefore, cannot generally experiment with the large branch form of organization, except in isolated cases. Of course, we must begin more boldly to build larger branches, to establish headquarters in various territories, but this cannot be solved so readily as in some of the Districts like New York, Cleveland, etc. Therefore we were compelled for the present to take just the first step in this direction by increasing the membership of units to not less than 12 or 15. But even this has not been carried through everywhere and we still have a number of units with six, seven and eight members. In isolated cases only have larger branches been established—but our experiences are still too meager to determine whether this form is appropriate for California.

Workers' Needs Must Become Problem of Units

In the main, therefore, most units are still small, disconnected from the problems and struggles of the workers in their neighborhood, and the decisions of the meetings seldom become the property of the working people in the neighborhood. The units do not systematically react to the many vital issues in the territory and in many cases are not even familiar with them. They have not yet begun seriously to penetrate the neighborhood mass organizations. They do not

discuss the life and problems of the factories in which our comrades work. Of course, there are a number of very good examples where units have really begun to tackle the problems of the neighborhood. In some of the units in the Los Angeles Section they have reacted to local municipal issues, developed and participated in united front actions for the protection of civil rights and the maintenance of a decent standard of living, established united front forums, etc., and often the issues raised by our Party were quickly taken up by the people in the locality. We have a number of very good examples of units issuing fine leaflets and neighborhood bulletins. In one case a unit in San Francisco, reacting immediately to the introduction of the one-man street car in their neighborhood, an issue which is agitating the people of the entire city, immediately revived the unit and gave it new vitality.

But all these good examples were not utilized by the District leadership as a means of showing the other units how similar work can be conducted by them. And the result is that the majority of the units function mechanically, and devote meeting after meeting to deadening routine matters.

This situation has also led to another—a certain general looseness in the units and a lack of discipline. Since there is very little planned and organized activity, with practically no check-up on decisions from one meeting to another, the membership has also come to look upon decisions as something that do not have to be carried out, with the result that only a small percentage of the membership is really active in the work of the Party campaigns.

All these factors have led to a failure to raise the political level and initiative of our membership. During the recent months there have been political discussions in a large number of the units. But the quality of these discussions has been very unsatisfactory. The discussions held do not arise from the problems of the units and lay the basis for the practical day-to-day work. They are handed down from the District and Sections. The weak leadership in the units only means that the comrades very seldom prepare for the discussion, the outline issued is read in a hurried manner, without proper explanation and direct participation of the membership in the discussion.

This situation necessitated immediate action. We have therefore begun to call meetings of functionaries, especially in some of the larger Sections, to review the work of the Party since the Section conventions (several months ago) with special attention to the work and life of our units. With the aid of leading comrades from the District Bureau we also propose to call a series of sub-Section or Section

unit bureau meetings to discuss the work and life of the units more concretely and thoroughly, to review the experiences in the new organizational forms and the possibility of establishing larger units in some of the highly concentrated proletarian areas. We are also proposing to change the character of the present sub-Section or unit organizers' meetings which merely hand down decisions (which by the time they reach the units are void of any political content) to discussion of the fundamental political problems and campaigns of the Party so as to develop the political discussion, thought and initiative of the second layer of Party functionaries. At the same time working out various forms of holding regular Section and sub-Section membership meetings (which sometimes will have to be in the form of open meetings of the Party) to discuss the various political problems in a thorough and detailed manner. We are also going to carry through an investigation of the political discussions in the units, draw the entire membership into deciding what kind of discussions should be held in the units and how they are to be conducted, at the same time instituting broad speakers' conferences to prepare comrades to lead discussions and speak at our open air meetings.

Problem of Industrial Units

We have had, during this period, some experiences with the industrial units. In San Francisco, on the waterfront, the industrial form of organization has been in practice long before the Party recommended that we experiment with this form of organization. But we have also during the last few months established industrial units in other industries, especially in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland and San Diego. We have found that some of the industrial units maintain their new members better than the street units although recruiting is still too small. But in some cases (Los Angeles) the fluctuation in these units has not been overcome. But there are some general weaknesses in these units which require serious attention. There has been a tendency, when forming industrial units, to replace in this manner the organization of shop units, in some cases even liquidating shop units. Shop work in the District today is practically at a standstill and very few of the industrial units deal with the necessity of concentrating on some of the large plants in the District with the view of building shop units.

We have found two extremes in these industrial units. In one instance the unit deals only with the trade union problems (and has been transformed practically into a frac-

tion) and in another the unit is so busy with the details of Party work that it does not take up the problems of the union and how our Party members should react to them. We find that definite steps must be taken to bring about a situation where the industrial units (just as our shop units do) can discuss some of the central issues of the unions and at the same time have time to discuss the Party campaigns in relation to their unions or industry. Unless this is done (and this can be seen most clearly in the waterfront), giving the units an opportunity to discuss the political campaigns and issues of the Party as well as bringing about complete clarity on the union issues, we will not hold the new members and develop them further.

We have therefore begun a serious investigation of the industrial units. In San Francisco this has already been started and during the coming week the work in Los Angeles will be begun.

Attention to New Members

To meet the demands in connection with new members we are proposing to experiment in the establishment of new members' units in San Francisco (not as a permanent institution, of course) for a period of six weeks to which leading comrades will be assigned. The leading comrade will act in the capacity of teacher as well as organizer. The meeting will be divided into two parts—one for the new members' class and the other for the informal discussion of the problems of the new members (where they work, issues in the trade unions and how we should react to them, problems in their neighborhoods and neighborhood organization, etc.). This will help them to become acquainted with these problems and how a Communist should aim to solve them. The sixth week, which is the concluding week for these units, should be devoted to a discussion of what these new members want to do most—and on the basis of this discussion, the new members shall then be assigned to a unit under the supervision of the teacher who must be responsible for these new members for at last a month after they have gone into the regular unit. We have prepared a new members' class outline which is a decided improvement over the one previously used and which will be given to the new member as soon as he gets his new book.

Work of the Seattle Section Membership Committee

SIX weeks ago a Membership Committee was set up in the Seattle Section, District 12, with the idea in mind of correcting organizational faults. Our inner Party apparatus was weak and the inner life of our units was not developed enough to maintain the interest of our membership. Because of inefficiency of the apparatus and lack of proper, continuous guidance to the units, fluctuation was very high, recruiting poor. We were incapable of activizing new members and in many instances we were losing track of new members who signed applications and were anxious to be drawn into Party activity.

The task which faced our committee was to put immediately into effect methods of tightening up our inner-Party apparatus; to see to it that attendance and dues payments reached a higher level, that no new members were lost to our Party through insufficient check up; and that old members were contacted in an effort to bring them back into active membership. The Committee included a chairman, section dues secretary, fraction secretary and secretary to handle membership apparatus. The immediate step was to set up a method for weekly check up with all of our units by means of a mimeographed form which the unit organizers returned each week at the organizers' meeting. This form called for a check on attendance, dues payments and fraction work of each comrade in the unit. Additional forms were issued to take care of transfers from one unit in the Section to another, in order to prevent the loss of a comrade who might move out of a unit and fail to contact another. Unit bureaus cooperated fully with this plan, since it corrected the confused manner in which they had previously handled their records.

In addition to taking immediate steps toward improving our check up, the Committee began work with each unit in an effort to improve the inner life and political level of the unit meetings. The comrades from our Committee and from the Section were assigned to attend unit meetings and to work with unit bureaus in order to develop the best forces as functionaries, and to draw the entire membership into activity. A regular monthly Section-wide meeting of dues secretaries was also initiated, where problems of membership and dues were discussed. The first such meeting was well received and resulted in improved relationship between the Committee and the unit functionaries. In addition, our Com-

mittee has attended all Section meetings of an organizational nature, such as street and shop unit organizers' meetings, Section-wide functionaries meetings, etc. We also have a comrade from our Committee on the Section Bureau, Section Committee as well as the District Organizational Commission. By these means the Membership Committee is able to keep in close contact with the functionaries and to understand better the organizational problems which face our Section as a whole.

In the past six weeks certain improvements have been made in our Section membership situation. Unit meeting attendance has been raised to 50 per cent and many former Party members have returned. Dues payments have been stabilized and at the present time represent 100 per cent of membership actually attending unit meetings. Our apparatus for handling applications and the issuing of new books has been tightened up, so that a new member has his book and becomes an active member of a unit a week after the card has been received. Recruiting has shown remarkable improvement. The composition of our new membership consists mainly of employed comrades with A. F. of L. affiliation and workers from our concentration industries, marine and lumber.

Although improvements have been made, serious faults still persist which must be overcome. We must work to increase the attendance at unit meetings, to stabilize dues payments further, to see to it that our new members are not lost to the Party through a thorough check up and to develop in our entire membership a responsibility toward the Party. Only in this way will our Section be able to meet its political problems and find people to carry on our struggles.

There are also many faults in our recruiting. With the many political campaigns in which our Section is involved too much of the recruiting is being done by leading comrades and not enough by the membership as a whole. Our Section organizer and a few comrades in our concentration industries, particularly one comrade in marine, are bringing in most of the new members. We must work to develop the interest and ability of our entire membership in bringing new members into the Party by emphasizing the work that can be done in the trade unions and mass organizations along this line. We must emphasize that recruiting is the central point in each and every Party campaign, that it is one of the most important tasks in our Party, the building of the Party.

AGIT-PROP SECTION

For a New Type of Party Training School

By Beatrice Shields

THE present rapidly moving situation requires a policy of mass education and flexibility in training of forces. To accomplish this we must examine the character of our schools more thoroughly and especially the nature of curricula.

Last summer, we conducted six Section training schools in Chicago, with 140 students, in one months time. The students were primarily unit organizers. The comrades studied hard and learned much. The teachers were the best trained comrades in the District. The students returned to their units after 27 hours of study—based on 3 hours a night, 3 nights a week for a period of 3 weeks—a little wiser, with a broader perspective and better understanding of the Party. Some, on the other hand, were entirely overwhelmed with what knowledge is required in order to be a Communist. Few of these continued their studies.

Why did this type of school, in spite of its improvements over previous schools, fall short of stimulating the students to further study of Marxism-Leninism?

The answer is clear when one examines the curriculum and what we tried to accomplish in a brief period of 27 hours. The first week we started with principles of communism, and all its sub-divisions including political economy, imperialism, the state, war, socialist construction, etc. The second week we relaxed and studied only the problems of organization in the Section and Unit, a brief idea of democratic centralism, etc. The third week the subjects dealt with were the united front, the Labor Party, trade unionism, and specific Section problems.

The above schedule was already a considerable departure from the formal procedure in all training schools. Looking back on this bulky schedule the results were surprising (as I described in my last article—December, 1935, **The Communist**). The hours were so crowded and the students so full of questions and demands that the most we could have accomplished was to touch on a subject every evening, combine it with something else and leave both in the air until the next time.

It is clear that we gave the students only a superficial

view of everything, answered some general questions, but did not put them on a foundation from which they could go forward in a systematic manner.

Do Away With Formal Methods

A complete change must be made in our methods of work and procedure. We must part with the formal stereotyped methods of least resistance in our schools. We must shake off the fear of "deviation" if we omit a few things. The principle that must govern our school is to get concrete results which will stimulate a qualitative change in our work. Cramming knowledge is not the method.

We must instill a fundamental scientific method of approach and give the key to material where the answers to the numerous problems may be found.

We propose to undertake a new type of schedule for our Section training schools this summer in Chicago. We believe that these Section schools can become the best instruments of mass training of forces.

The problem is: what do our comrades need most at the present time? First, with very few exceptions our comrades do not know how to read current Party periodicals and how to use them for their work. The sale of **The Communist** in our District is totally inadequate. The same can be said of **The Party Organizer**. **The Daily Worker** has not as yet become the daily instrument for conducting agitation and propaganda. Beginning with the Section functionaries down to the units functionaries, **The Communist** is less and less frequently read. **The Communist International** and **Inprecorr** are victims of the same fate. We must teach our people how to read, study, follow up, and apply the line of our Party and the evaluation of events through the use of our official Party material, periodicals, resolutions, etc.

Second, a good start is needed to stimulate the appetite for theoretical study. The desire for theoretical study is very low. The advanced classes at the Chicago Workers School at no time contained sufficient Party functionaries, or Party members generally. Theoretical books are sold mostly to intellectuals, students of the Workers School, and others. Party functionaries do not buy or read, not only because they have least money, and the least time to study, but because there is not sufficient theoretical urge and consciousness. Little attempt is made to organize our work in such a manner as to make theoretical study a vital daily part of our routine.

Third, our busy comrades find themselves handicapped in not being able to give answers to the numerous questions that are daily being discussed by the workers. "The workers

think we Communists must know everything", one comrade complained. It is true. We must be prepared to give answers to everything vital to the masses. The comrades lack the key to material and a scientific base to enable them to independently go forward in examining and understanding events.

We Propose a New Approach!

For the summer of 1936 we propose to have in Chicago six Section training schools based on the following subjects and methods of teaching:

First group—issues and problems in the 1936 elections. This will deal basically with the question of the united front, Farmer-Labor Party, the **independent** role of the Party, Illinois election platform and national lineups.

Second group—problems of Chicago industries, organization of the unorganized, problems in the Chicago Federation of Labor, study of social insurance schemes.

Third group—fascism,—American brand, struggle against fascist ideology, the Negro problem, the present war situation, the Soviet peace policy, united front against war and fascism.

Fourth group—Problems of the American youth and the Party's role in winning the youth to Communism.

The study of the above subjects should be based on the following minimum material for the students:

1. "Review of the Month" in **The Communist**.
2. Experiences and methods of work in the **Party Organizer**.
3. Experiences of the **international** proletariat in the **Communist International**.
4. Resolutions and material issued by the Chicago District.
5. Browder's **What Is Communism?**
6. Foster's **Industrial Unionism**.

The instructors should not confine themselves to the study of the above material only but must be prepared to introduce to the students basic theoretical works with specific reference to the pages, volumes and articles for further study.

I wish to cite a few examples here of this new method of approach. For example, in the study of the Soviet peace policy, the interview between Stalin and Howard is a fundamental document. On close study of the interview the following basic theoretical questions are discussed: (1) Capitalist contradictions and the dialectics of the Soviet peace policy; (2) State Capitalism—what it is; (3) the subject of equalitarianism and the differences between Socialism and Communism; (4) The Party and the classes. Proper expla-

nation of these problems with reference to basic documents by Marx, Lenin and Stalin will stimulate the comrades to study. They will learn to regard these current happenings, the speeches of our great leaders, and the resolutions of the Communist International and Central Committee as documents that contain the essence of Marxism-Leninism. And principally that this essence can be theirs if they study and apply themselves to its conquest.

Another example is the examination of the "Review of the Month" in **The Communist** as well as the works, speeches and writings of Browder. Here one can find the best concretization of the Seventh Congress of the C. I. to American conditions. The instructor must be alert to these problems and show the need to "study, study and continue to study the decisions of the Seventh Congress", by continuous references to the speeches and resolutions of the Congress.

Similar treatment can be given to other current events and material. We feel that a curriculum of this kind will make the comrades more alert, will clarify the urgent current problems and will make it possible for systematic assignments to classes in the Workers' School, to other training schools and classes.

This approach will at one and the same time be a stimulus for careful and specific preparation on the part of the instructor, and will serve to show to the student the link between the concrete event and general theory. The method of teaching and discussion, in other words, will be dialectical.

We believe that this type of schedule, a little more elaborated, taking into consideration the greater length of time for study, would also be effective in District Training schools and Regional Training schools. The whole idea is to start the student off with what he is already acquainted, with what he is thinking about constantly and show him how Marxism-Leninism gives the basic answers to these problems.

Draft Curriculum for a Two-Week Training School

THE two-week full-time training schools are mainly to serve the purpose of helping to train unit organizers, section committee members, and comrades active in various trade unions and mass organizations.

These schools should be so conducted and organized that they train comrades to understand how to bring the line of the Party to the masses and how to organize the masses for struggle. It is in line with this approach that we propose the following curriculum:

1. Two-world system—8 hours.

This lesson should consist of a comparative examination of the main features of the socialist system in the U.S.S.R., and the capitalist world, with an explanation of the basic underlying cause of the difference in the two world systems.

2. The historical significance of the Seventh World Congress and the main features of the new tactical line as adopted by the Congress—16 hours.

3. The united front and the struggle against reaction and the danger of fascism in the U.S., the building of the Farmer-Labor Party, the role of the Communist Party in the 1936 elections—24 hours.

4. The struggle for peace, the role of the U.S.S.R. and the peace policy of the U.S.S.R.—16 hours.

5. The trade union movement, the struggle for industrial unionism, the role and tasks of the Party in the trade union movement—16 hours.

6. Problems of the Negro liberation movement—8 hours.

7. The building and consolidation of our Party, the struggle against sectarianism and Right opportunism, the struggle against alien ideology—16 hours.

The total number of working hours in the two-week school is 104 hours. The work of the school should be organized on the basis of an eight-hour day, six-day week. Each day is to be divided into class periods and periods of study, both individual and group study. The day may be divided as follows:

Class Session, in which the subject is introduced by the instructor—two hours.

Study period, four hours.

Class conference, in which reports are made by the comrades and discussion led by the instructor on the basis of reports and questions submitted by the students—two hours.

The assignment of study material should be on the basis

of an average of five pages an hour. In certain instances, the material may be increased, in other cases, the number of pages may be reduced. This depends on the character of the reading material, as well as on the degree of the development of the students.

The reading material should be carefully selected by the instructors and the comrades in charge of the school. The basic material for study should be the reports and resolutions of the Seventh World Congress, the basic resolutions and reports by Comrade Browder at recent Party plenums in preparation for the Convention of the C.P.U.S.A.

The Draft Curriculum is so organized that we place the entire emphasis in these two-week training schools on acquainting the comrades with the line of the Party and how immediately to apply it in practice, **making the Seventh Congress the starting point of all studies in the school.**

In the agricultural sections of the country, special emphasis should be placed on work among the farmers and agricultural laborers.

The same program may be taken as a basis for three-week full-time training schools. Then, of course, the hours can be increased accordingly.

The Central Agit-Prop Commission publishes the program for the two-week full-time training schools as a tentative curriculum and invites the comrades to help in the working out of the final program for the two-week full-time training schools.

In the next issue, we shall publish a draft curriculum for the six-week and two-month full-time training schools.

Comments on Our May Day Leaflets

By V. J. Jerome

THE immediate imperative need for reaching the masses by the millions with our agitation and slogans gives the leaflet an unprecedented role. Systematic planning, control and examination of our leaflet output thus become a basic task for Center, District, Section, and Unit.

This May Day has seen our Party in a number of Districts and Sections participating in united front and general labor celebrations. Our Party has in such places been co-author of united front leaflets. For the purpose of this review, however, we shall examine only the leaflets that our comrades have issued independently in the name of the Party, whether in situations of united front celebrations or otherwise.

The only Districts from which we have received promptly a fairly plentiful batch of leaflets, giving a picture of our Party's agitational role in the May Day campaign, are Chicago and Philadelphia.

The Leaflets Issued in the Chicago District

The Chicago District put out an impressive array of them. Besides our Party's participation in the leaflet output and other agitation of the Chicago United Labor May Day Committee and of the Communist-Socialist United Front in several ward branches, the District put out a leaflet of its own, presenting the specific Party agitation in the May Day celebration. A number of leaflets were issued in the name of the Party appealing to workers in specific industries, unions, and shops. There was a leaflet addressed to ex-servicemen. There were leaflets by several Communist Party ward branches in Chicago. There were also a number of effective bulletins and shop papers issued by the Communist Party units to pullman, railroad, and steel workers. All in all, an agitational campaign that made efforts to reach the Chicago workers, both generally and through specific categories.

In the main, the leaflets brought in the principal issues of struggle specific to the 1936 May Day celebration, the concrete issues of the struggle for bread, involving the demands of the employed and unemployed workers: the defense of living standards, resistance to wage cuts, the six-hour day and five-day week without reduction in pay, the opening of factories to the unemployed at union pay, unemployment and social insurance, maintaining and extending W.P.A. projects at union rates and under union conditions, lowering of the cost

of living, abolition of sales taxes, and placing the tax burden upon the rich; political issues: the right to organize and strike, defense of democratic rights, Negro equality, the struggle for peace, and the aim of socialism.

Most of the leaflets emphasized the great proletarian tradition of the eight-hour day struggle of half a century ago, bringing forward May Day as an American contribution to the international movement, leading up to the need of independent working class action against fascism and the war danger through the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party and the cementing of the united front.

However, many of the leaflets were still too general, too involved in explanations, lacking that essential agitational quality calculated to impel readers to action. On a number of leaflets the slogans appeared at the end in a formal, catalogued manner, instead of being integrated with the text.

Some of the leaflets issued by the Communist Party branches were very good, dealing with specific grievances in the given shops. The one issued by the 46th Ward Branch to the Workers of the Crowe Name Plate concern appeals specifically to the workers in various departments on the basis of department grievances, evidencing on the part of the branch a direct and intimate contact with the problems of the Crowe Name Plate workers. However, the leaflet suffers from containing no appeal for union organization.

In contrast to the number of good leaflets, there was one issued by the 24th Ward Branch that was merely informative and explanatory as regards the origin of the First of May, but lacked the fire of agitation and issued no call for immediate specific action. Outside of a call to down tools and to join the march on May Day, it did not put forth even one economic or political slogan or indicate how or **where** the workers should observe May Day. The leaflet concludes with the following abstractions: "We call upon all workers of America to claim the traditions of May Day as our own. We call upon you to apply the lessons taught us by these traditions to better your conditions today." The leaflet should serve as a model of what to avoid.

A Commendable Leaflet

The same branch put out a leaflet to the ex-servicemen—well laid out and readable. The issuance of such a leaflet shows alertness to the needs of specific sections that must be specifically addressed. This leaflet is the very opposite in tone and effect to the other, and is written in clear-cut, concise sentence-paragraphs, speaking to the ex-servicemen in

terms of their concrete problems and grievances and presenting specific measures as a program of action.

Note the section which reads: "Join with over fifty A. F. of L. unions, many fraternal organizations, the Socialist Party and Communist Party, in one mighty May Day demonstration. Come in a body and bring the banner of your post! **Let the powers that be know that you are not alone in this fight! Join the Parade!**" Note also the greetings: "To our friends of the American Legion and all war veterans from the World War Veterans of the 24th Branch of the Communist Party." Effective, too, is the statement "that the Communist Party will be glad to send a speaker to any veteran's post to explain our position on veterans' problems, unemployment, war and fascism, Americanism, etc.

The Main Chicago Leaflet

We turn now to the leaflet issued by the Chicago District. The leaflet presents the main issues of struggle entering into the May Day demonstration, with slogans around these issues. All in all, an impressive, inviting leaflet.

There are a few points that we should like to suggest to the comrades in connection with this leaflet:

1. It is surprising to note all omission of the American—yes, the Chicago—origin of May Day, in the central leaflet of the Chicago District. Perhaps the comrades felt that because that point was present in the leaflet of the United Labor May Day Committee it did not need stressing in the leaflet of the Communist Party. If so, this is an error, because in the struggle against the fascist offensive, arousing the American people to the consciousness of their revolutionary traditions becomes a stirring task for the Communist Party, especially when we have such a glorious proletarian tradition as Haymarket.

2. We feel strikingly the omission of international solidarity. The American origin of May Day could have presented a basis for showing the contribution of the American workers to the revolutionary traditions of the world working class and the international connections of the American working class.

3. The leaflet ends with a slogan for unemployment insurance, but astonishingly enough contains not another word about unemployment! We cannot account for this omission—with Illinois state showing a sizeable quota of the country's unemployment. The specific economic demands of opening the factories to the unemployed at union wages, of maintaining and extending W.P.A. projects, and of giving adequate unemployment and social insurance, should have been an

outstanding section of the leaflet. Only then would the slogan have had the force of climax.

Again, with the large and complex foreign born population that Illinois has, there is not a word in the leaflet mentioning the foreign born! This omission is characteristic not only of this leaflet, but of well nigh all the leaflets we have looked into. Why should there be such indifference in our agitation to an issue that is daily becoming increasingly vital to the American working class?

The attempts on the part of American capitalism to "solve" the crisis by deporting, oppressing, and building prejudice against the foreign-born masses, who, together with the native-born workers, have built up America's monopolized wealth, cannot go unheeded by us. Politically, the attempts of the ruling class to divide and conquer takes in the present day, in regard to the foreign-born, the form of a fascist offensive demanding vigorous counter-agitation on our part.

May 1 is traditionally a day in which the workers advance the slogan of liberating their class war prisoners. Mooney, Scottsboro, MacNamara, Herndon, Thaelmann, Prestes—why should they remain unmentioned?

Finally, the Party leaflet, which is the voice of the Party, which presents the Party to the working class on May 1, contains no call to join the Party, to build its ranks. Nor is there a call for readers of the **Daily Worker**—certainly a glaring omission, an important opportunity lost.

Lack of space prevents us from entering into an analysis of the other Illinois leaflets. Let us in passing say that the absence of an appeal for Party membership can be noted in the otherwise good shop leaflet to the workers of the Crowe Name Plate. The leaflet to the Decker workers, issued by Unit 107, is a little too general. Its appeal and the demands should have been related more specifically to the Decker workers and to the workers of the industry as a whole. In addition, the slogan "Down tools on May Day" would have improved the appeal. **The Illinois Steel Worker**, appearing for the first time in printed form, talks effectively to the workers about shop problems and at the same time brings forth proletarian internationalism. The issue of unionization should have been brought in more prominently, and, of course, there should have been an appeal to join the Party.

The New York Leaflet

From the New York District we have only the leaflet issued jointly by the New York District Committee and the Young Communist League. The leaflet is an effective one, bringing in well the principle of international solidarity and

presenting at the outset the vast character of this year's demonstration.

The American origin of May Day could have been strengthened in order to emphasize the revolutionary traditions of the American proletariat and its natural international connections. There is a good interplay of slogans and analysis throughout, so that we have both integrated slogans at the conclusion of each section and slogans to climax the leaflet. There is also an indictment of the municipal administration of New York on specific counts, which provides a basis (a) for economic and political demands; (b) for the Farmer-Labor Party slogan.

The bringing in of the Farmer-Labor Party is thus well motivated. We miss this effective municipal emphasis in the Chicago leaflet. The issue of the youth is brought in, although, in view of the fact that the leaflet is issued by the Young Communist League jointly with the Party, there should have been a stronger youth emphasis in the body of the leaflet, and certainly a youth slogan at the end. This omission is regrettable and indicates a lingering underestimation of work among the youth. This underestimation is further shown by the absence of any recruiting appeal for the Y.C.L.

In the appeal for unity on May Day when the statement is made: "The united front of labor can and will prevent fascism", the leaflet could have pointed to the splendid examples of Spain and France. This would also have been a way of demonstrating the international connections and common heritage of experiences between the American and European proletariat. In this same section on unity on May Day, the leaflet should have addressed itself specifically to the Socialist Party members and followers, urging that this splendid May Day, a high watermark in the development of the united front in this country, should be a spur to further and greater efforts at cementing the united front. This omission is to be noted also in the leaflets of other Districts.

There is a generally good section on the struggle for peace. But the slogans "It must not happen again. Keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world!" must be re-enforced today by urging the masses to build the peace movement, to bar the way of the war makers by building the **anti-fascist, anti-war Farmer-Labor Party**.

In addition to the urge for mass peace movements, it is necessary in our anti-war agitation to bring forward the need for bringing mass pressure upon the Roosevelt government to cooperate with the Soviet peace policy for collective securities against the principal instigators of war today.

Finally, the leaflet contains not a word about the foreign-

born—in a cosmopolitan city like New York, and not a word against the growing anti-Semitism as part of the fascist offensive—in a leaflet addressed to a city that has a population of two and a half million Jews!

Likewise, the operation of the Nazis in the Yorkville Section of New York, not only among the German population, but as direct emissaries of Hitler in the U.S.A. to stimulate fascist formations in this country, is completely left out of the leaflet which should actually resound with the slogan "Disband the Nazi formations in the U.S.A.!"

Finally, the call to greet Charles Krumbein and Ernst Thaelmann requires in a leaflet designed for wide distribution, an explanation of one line at least as to who Charles Krumbein is and who is Ernst Thaelmann. A small point, yet evidence of lingering sectarianism.

* * *

This survey is in no way presented as a generalized conclusion. The small number of leaflets at hand does not permit us to offer findings that we can definitely say are general for the May Day leaflets nationally. Nevertheless, our examination of the cited leaflets should help us extract lessons which we trust will be of value to the Party as a whole.

Let us say at this point that there is still an underestimation of the need for reviewing our leaflets. This can be noted by the absence of regularly appearing leaflet reviews in the Party press. It can be noted in the fact that few, very few indeed, of our Districts have to date submitted to the Center their May 1 leaflets. It would seem that a notion prevails that leaflets have only passing value, that they are to be skimmed with the eye, thrown away, and forgotten.

This cannot be our approach to leaflet production, any more than to any other phase of our agitation. From leaflet to leaflet, as from campaign to campaign, we should be anxious to mark progress. This can be done only by examining our leaflet production and by profiting from the critical analysis to which we subject it.

A Marxist Correspondence Course

By B. BLOSSER—New York Workers School

ONE OF THE most difficult problems faced by our comrades out in the field is that of bringing Marxist education to the workers. With Districts and Sections taking in hundreds of square miles, and with Party leaders already overburdened with organizational tasks, the question of political education for new recruits and newly won sympathizers is too often allowed to pass unsolved.

That the workers themselves are eager for education can be attested to by any field organizer. They are literally begging for education, for classes. If there has been difficulty in making Workers Schools function properly, it is not due to a lack of interest on the part of the membership, but rather to a lack of consistent attention, on the part of the leading committees.

Comrades and sympathizers in touch with the Party are not the whole problem, however, nor half of it. The **Daily Worker** and **Sunday Worker**, the language press, the **New Masses**, **Labor Defender** and other publications go into thousands of homes having no other contact with the revolutionary movement. The enemy press itself is constantly raising the question of Communism to its readers, thus arousing a healthy curiosity in many cases. How can we turn these potential centers of interest into active centers of propaganda and organization?

There is a method—a peculiarly American method—of approaching this problem. The Educational Commission of the Central Committee has decided to adapt the system of correspondence schools to the service of the revolutionary movement.

The Workers School has been instructed to prepare a correspondence course to be an "Elementary Course in Political Science", an introduction to the study of Marxism-Leninism. The plan for such a course immediately presented the school with many serious problems.

First of all, there is the question of material. No text has been prepared in the fundamental principles of Marxism. The works of our leaders are lectures on current problems, polemics against our enemies, or reports to Party meetings. They deal with the living and burning problems facing the movement. This is the basis for our work, but they are

not arranged in the systematic order required by a course of study.

What Material Are We To Use?

Certain books we have. Stalin's **Foundations of Leninism** is practically a textbook in Leninism. Olgin's **Why Communism** and Browder's **What Is Communism?** are simple introduction to the subject. The pamphlets **Two Worlds** and **The Ultimate Aim** are simply and concisely written. These, with other special pamphlets on particular subjects, will have to supply the basis of our work.

The subscribers to our course will no doubt include workers with a minimum of schooling and intellectuals with years of training in methods of study. Our course must be simple enough to be understood by the former, and mature enough to satisfy the demands of the latter. Of these two problems, that of simplicity is, of course, the most important. Here, too, there are dangers to be avoided. In simplifying our theory we sometimes fall into the trap of over-simplification, of presenting questions in a schematic, mechanical manner. Or we feel that fundamental theory is too difficult to the newcomer to grasp—we slide over basic concepts presenting only the superficial manifestations of life's problems.

On the other side is the danger of being too abstract—which is in itself the making a mechanical thing of our theory, separated from the life of the worker. These dangers, present in any revolutionary class room, are especially to be guarded against in a correspondence course. Here there is no immediate, physical contact between teacher and pupil to correct the false impression of a "slip of the tongue". Here there is only the cold printed word, accepted as authoritative by the eager student.

The lessons of the correspondence course, then, aim to present the fundamental theory of the revolutionary movement in an elementary, simple, clear manner, closely tied up in every instance with everyday life and its problems. The plan of the lessons hopes to achieve this aim.

The outline of the course, as proposed by the school, is as follows:

A. THE WORLD WE LIVE IN.

Lesson I. Two Worlds—Two Systems.

Lesson II. The Contradictions of Capitalism.

Lesson III. The Present Stage of Capitalism: Imperialism.

Lesson IV. The General Crisis of Capitalism and the Economic Crisis.

Lesson V. The Danger of War and the Struggle for Peace.

Lesson VI. Fascism.

B. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Lesson VII. The United Front, the People's Front and the Farmer-Labor Party: Bulwark Against Fascism.

Lesson VIII. The Trade Unions and the Struggle for Immediate Demands.

Lesson IX. Problems of Negro Liberation.

Lesson X. The Communist Party: Leader of Working Class Struggles.

C. THE ULTIMATE AIM: COMMUNISM.

Lesson XI. Socialism and Communism: Socialism in the U. S. S. R.

Lesson XII. The Transition Period from Socialism to Communism:

- a. The Necessity for the Overthrow of the Bourgeois State.

Lesson XIII. The Transition Period:

- a. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Lesson XIV. A Glimpse of Soviet America.

More difficult than the question of **what** to present to the student is that of **how** to present it. Several methods have been tried and discarded. The plan finally proposed by the Workers School is similar to that of the usual correspondence course. An expanded sentence outline presents the subject of the lessons. Readings from the pamphlets, with mimeographed selections from longer works where necessary, supply the "text". Comments on the reading, explaining difficult portions, adding, perhaps, to a point not fully dealt with, guide the student's study. Problems and questions relating the lesson to the experience of the student help to fasten theory tightly to life. At the end of each four lessons the student will receive a list of questions to be answered in writing and returned to the school. These will be studied carefully and discussed with the student. He will also be encouraged to write freely at any time he wishes further clarification on any point.

Such is the proposal. The Workers School committee presents in here through the pages of the **Party Organizer** for the study and discussion of the Party membership. We want to know your opinions on the course. Do you think such a course would be worth while? Can you help us advertise it? What do you think of the arrangement of the subject matter, the method of presentation? We want all of your suggestions on how to make the course more effective.

With your help we can make this correspondence course a real factor in the building of the Party and in bringing about that unity so necessary for the working class.

Pamphlets and Pickets

By JOE FIELDS

THE YEAR 1935 saw over three and a half million pieces of literature, books and pamphlets of radical and working class interest sold and distributed in the United States through the Party units, Workers Bookshops and mass organizations—an increase of close to 80 per cent over 1934. Here we have a striking reflection of the growth of our Party's influence over every section of America's varied population. From the timberlands of the Northwest, from the Dakota plains, from the Mississippi lowlands and the coal-streaked foothills of the Appalachians come letters, some painfully scrawled, some hurriedly written and secretly mailed, demanding more and more pamphlets, more knowledge, more guidance in the struggle against decaying capitalism.

Let us dig into the files. Let us read some of these letters whose lines pulsate with the stirrings of an awakened people, ready to struggle. Here is one from a woman in Clark County, Washington. "Are vigilantes harmful or not?" she asks. "Where does your outfit hold its meetings? I have been called one of you and I want to know why." Here is a letter from a small-town editor in a Middle Western state which assures us: "You will find the farmers on the plains of the Dakotas and the Northwest vitally interested in the Farmer-Labor Party progressive legislation, the Townsend Plan, the Coughlin movement and many other vital topics of the day." Still another, from a dirt-farmer near Minneapolis, says, "The problem of getting literature to the farmers is fascinating because the door is wide open". And from a tiny hamlet in Texas, not even to be found on the map, comes this stirring, class-conscious letter which we reproduce in the original spelling. "I give me Books an papers to Frinds an Neibors an al like to Reed them. So I denk we must Send more Books by mail, or Give them to make ore Party Stronger. An I know ther is many peepel the last two Year changen ther Mind more you get to wake them up. First Send us More Leaders an Speedsches an sell More Books to the Book Stores so the Peepel can get them al Over. An writte it plain. Sc many peepel dont underStand High words. Wel I feelen Happier ever day we come Closer an Closer to wat we want."

Letters a Revelation

These letters, as well as the flood of mail which poured in in response to Comrade Browder's radio speech, are a

revelation of the newly-awakened forces which are ready to pour out into the highways of struggle under the banner and leadership of our Party. What these unnumbered thousands crave is an understanding, in the light of their own experience, of the class struggle which is going on around them. They are looking for a way out of the poverty and insecurity of their own lives, ready to struggle against unemployment, against reaction, against the warmongers and war-inciters. But they feel profoundly the need of guidance, of organization, of the experience of others to show them the correct road to their own emancipation.

In this situation our best weapon, our best lever for raising the political understanding of the American people and for unifying and directing their burning will to struggle into the channels where they will be most effective, is our literature. The thousands of pamphlets, covering every aspect of the class struggle, written by the best leaders of the proletariat of all lands, can bring to them not only enlightenment but a guide to action. Just as our revolutionary theory lays the basis for revolutionary action, our splendid pamphlets can develop splendid pickets!

To keep up with the growing influence of our Party and with the increasing demands upon it for leadership and guidance we must, first of all, strengthen the old channels of distribution through the Party units, mass organizations and trade unions, a task which imposes special responsibilities upon our literature distribution apparatus and particularly on the lower organizations, the units and branches. With this question we shall deal in a future article. But we must also develop the greatest resourcefulness and initiative in devising new ways and means of bringing our literature to the people. We must look for new, additional outlets for reaching the masses. Experience shows that our Workers and Peoples Bookstores, which are increasing in number, quickly develop into real centers of distribution to which an ever-growing circle of sympathizers turn for our literature. But we must warn sharply against opening Workers Bookstores as the **easiest way out**, as a substitute for mass work with literature in the shops and neighborhoods. We must warn against the danger of comrades sitting back and waiting for the masses to come to their bookstore instead of going out and bringing our literature to the masses. Only such work can create a sound basis of support which will ensure our bookstores a steady and continued expansion.

Organization of Bookstores

In Akron, Cincinnati, Denver, Toledo and other cities where the Party headquarters act as literature distribution

centers, there already exists some basis for converting them into regular Workers Bookstores with show-windows on the street. And in other large cities such as Kansas City, Indianapolis, Rochester and New Orleans, with populations of close to half a million, where the only means of distribution is through the Party units, serious study should be given to the possibilities of rallying enough support to create the basis for a bookshop.

But what about the regular, established bookstores which already exist in thousands of cities in the United States, among which we can number many booksellers who are sympathizers of our Party? Why cannot our comrades try and induce such booksellers to carry a line of working class literature, at least one table or a section of our books and pamphlets? The demand for our literature is constantly growing and the owners of these bookstores can be convinced that they will find it profitable business to carry it.

At the same time there are thousands of newsstands in these cities, located at the busiest corners and terminals. Why not urge them to carry our pamphlets and publications along with their other magazines and newspapers? Here it is a question of activizing the rank-and-file membership of every Section, particularly in the large cities, to visit their newsdealers, discuss with them the possibilities of carrying even one or two selected pamphlets or periodicals and later adding to the list as customers for them develop. This applies also to the small candy-stores which carry newspapers and which widen still further the immense possibilities of broad mass distribution.

The farmer, whose letter stated that "the door is wide open" to our literature, hit the nail on the head! We have only scratched the surface. Millions of factory workers, miners, farmers, unemployed, women and youth, middle class and professional workers, Negro and white, would be grateful for our literature if they knew it existed or where to obtain it. By strengthening the old channels and developing new outlets for our literature we will be able to rally new thousands around our Party. But this requires resourcefulness, individual initiative on the part of every comrade combined with determined action. Only then will we be able to carry into life our fighting slogan, **"Reach the Millions!"**

Exhibit of French Election Posters at the Workers School

By E. SMITH

A MERICAN WORKERS will now have an opportunity to view the agitational methods and observe some aspects of the work of the Communist Party of France during the recent elections. A display of French Communist election material is now on exhibition at the Workers School in New York. The exhibit includes a whole series of striking posters, leaflets, cartoon strips, slogans, magazines, publicity material of various types, issued by the Communist Party of France in the course of the recent elections.

Throwing all of their resources into the struggle to elect People's Front candidates the Communist Party of France produced hundreds of posters, tons of printed matter, thousands of colorful pictures and appeals in a tremendous mass agitational campaign which succeeded in touching and stirring deeply the hearts and minds of millions of Frenchmen.

The posters received in this country are merely a sample of the deluge of similar pictures which flooded every city, town and farm district of France in the months preceding the recent elections. With such agitation successfully carried on, with the French Communist Party devoting all of its strength and ability to the creation of an effective united front with the French Socialists, it was inevitable that the stirring People's Front victory occurred. American Communists and all true opponents of war and fascism can learn much from the methods of the French comrades. An effective campaign for peace, against armaments, against fascist encroachments upon the elementary liberties of the people which now threaten American workers at every turn, can also be carried on successfully here if the great and inspiring lesson of the French agitation is borne in mind.

The coming elections in the United States will be the most important in the history of the country. An examination of the methods of the French comrades will provide our comrades with many novel and effective ideas for the election campaign. Although the conditions of France are in many respects different from those prevailing in this country, nevertheless we can learn much from our brother country in our struggle against fascism, reaction and war.

Utilizing Revolutionary Traditions

One or two illustrations will suffice to indicate the effective character of French Communist agitation:

In one of the posters we see how the revolutionary traditions of the French people are utilized in connection with the present day struggles against placing the burdens of the crisis on the backs of the poor. A poster with a large figure of Mirabeau, one of the leaders of the Great French Revolution, carries in large type the slogan, "Make the Rich Pay". Then follows a quotation from Mirabeau: "Here is a list of the great French landowners. Choose the richest of them, in order to sacrifice the fewest number of citizens. But let us go ahead and choose! These 2,000 nobles possess the means with which to pay for the deficit. Restore real order in finances, peace and plenty". Then the Party adds: "Today, as in the time of Mirabeau, the oppressed people must also move forward and exert pressure to change all this. Vote Communist."

Or another poster, carrying in the foreground a striking picture of the rows of crosses which mark the graves of the soldiers buried at Verdun, carries the inscription: "More than seven hundred thousand men are buried at Verdun. One hundred and fifty thousand of them, whose bones and skeletons have been plowed up, could not and never will be identified. It is one of these soldiers, murdered during the last war, whose remains are buried under the Arc de Triomphe. To prevent such mass graves in the future, vote Communist!"

In a recent issue of the **Daily Worker**, Friday, May 15, a number of these posters were reproduced.

Although the exhibition represents but a small part of the agitational material, nevertheless, here one can see the simple and yet deeply convincing arguments expressed pictorially and in slogans which won the support of thousands in city, town and countryside for the Communist Party and the Front Populaire.

The People's Front won and the Communist Party advanced, because in the election campaign the Party expressed in the most skillful manner truths which could not be denied and truths which expressed the hopes and aspirations of the French masses.

After July 1 this exhibition will be available to other cities and towns. Districts wishing to display this exhibition of French posters are requested to write to the Workers School, 35 E. 12th St., New York City.

Facts for Workers and How to Use Them

"I never make a speech or write an article without consulting **Economic Notes** or **Labor Notes**," a trade unionist recently said of Labor Research Association's two monthly ten-page bulletins which are sold in workers' bookshops throughout the country.

Recently a worker from the Middle West sent in a leaflet distributed to workers in a certain factory which listed the profits of the company as taken from an issue of **Economic Notes**. These figures helped materially in the leaflet's being well received by the workers in the factory.

Economic Notes frequently lists profits of scores of leading companies. Often when workers ask for wage increases the owner will tell them the company is "losing money". Whereupon the workers confront him with figures from Labor Research Association's **Notes**, showing that the company is actually making profits!

One of the most frequent uses made of both **Economic Notes** and **Labor Notes** are figures on increase in cost of living and retail prices, which are regular monthly features. Union groups and other workers' groups, negotiating wage contracts, find these figures invaluable.

This is not to mention the hundreds of other uses to which **Economic Notes** and **Labor Notes** are put by speakers, writers, trade unionists, militant company union representatives, workers, students and teachers.

Labor Research Association has just published its **Labor Fact Book III**, which contains many exclusive features. It is a handy reference book of 224 pages, pocket size, that sells for only \$1 (International Publishers). This contains facts, figures and information which every class conscious worker wants to have at his fingertips.

Economic Notes and **Labor Notes** may both be had for 10 months for only \$1. Send in another \$1 and get **Labor Fact Book III** as well. You'll find them invaluable. Write directly to Labor Research Association, Department O, 80 East 11 St., New York City. (Add 10c. postage for **Labor Fact Book**.)