

PARTY . . . ORGANIZER

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TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION ISSUE

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This issue is devoted to excerpts from reports and speeches given at the Tenth National Convention of the Communist Party held May 26-31 in New York City. The next issue of the Party Organizer will contain further speeches and reports at this Convention.

PARTY ORGANIZER

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Building the Mass Communist Party*

By EARL BROWDER

THE problems considered by this Convention are the problems of the entire American working class, and of the whole American people. The tasks we are tackling are gigantic. The most essential instrument for performing these tasks, the one without which we cannot make even the smallest beginnings, is our Communist Party. But our Party, despite its political and organizational growth, is still far from adequate to the historic tasks before us.

This places squarely before us, with all urgency, the question of building our Party into a truly mass party trained in Marxism-Leninism. All the necessary conditions are present, if we know how to use them properly, for accomplishing this task

Today, at the Tenth Convention, we have approximately 75,000 members; the Young Communist League something over 20,000; or a combined strength of more than 95,000 members.

These figures testify to a healthy growth, to vitality, to a substantial progress. I am sure that we are all happy and proud of our Party. But the worst thing that could happen to us would be to yield to an attitude and mood of self-satisfaction and complacency.

We must face the harsh fact that the present tempo of

* From report to Tenth National Convention.—Ed.

our Party's political and organizational growth is still far too slow if we expect to meet the needs of the working class, to play our proper role in solving the problems of America and the historic tasks we have assumed.

History is rushing ahead with the speed of those modern seven-league boots, the automobile, the airplane, the radio. The forces of reaction are gathering for the attack with all the speed of modern technique. The time factor is now decisive. We are engaged in a race against time.

It is in this sense that we must approach all the problems of Party building. We must completely abandon all the old standards that had their origin in the days of small groups, the days of "handicraft" and make-shift. We must establish new standards, open up new horizons. We must embrace millions in the scope of our work, and that means we must quickly embrace hundreds of thousands in the scope of our Party organization. All our energy and attention must be centered on the political and organizational consolidation and strengthening of our Party. This is an organic and key part of the task of building the democratic front, of defeating reaction, of making our country into a stronghold of democracy and peace.

Increasing the Party Membership

The special recruiting campaign had the object, not only to bring a certain number of new members into the Party, but also and especially to reveal our unused potentiality for recruitment and to establish recruiting as a continuous process and activity, inseparable from every phase of the Party's mass work. We are not announcing a new "campaign" of recruitment because we want this to be a permanent, not a "campaign," activity.

We are entering a national election campaign. This must at the same time be a recruiting campaign from beginning to end. It must be extended through the big industrial centers, and from them to all the smaller cities and towns, and into the countryside, and wherever the

campaign goes, Party organizations must be established and strengthened.

Recruitment must aim not merely at number but, above all, at quality, being directed primarily to bring into the Party the best elements of the working class, those closest to and most trusted by the masses, the most capable, loyal, and energetic, those most tested in the practical struggles of building the mass movement. Special attention is required to recruiting among the workers of the basic and mass-production industries. Without neglecting in any way the important task of strengthening the Party among all workers, among white-collar and professional groups, and city middle class elements, the Party must always and everywhere keep in the center of attention the workers in the most important industries.

Most of our state organizations are especially weak among the farmers. Yet the agricultural population plays an important role in every state without exception. From this Tenth Convention we insist that every State Committee take up in systematic and sustained fashion the recruitment among the farmers, and consistent direction of their political activities, drawing the farmers into ever closer relations with the workers and the whole democratic front.

Recruiting activities must be combined not only with the daily political campaigns, but must be accompanied by education and training of new members, of fitting them permanently into the Party life, of engaging them in Party work without overburdening them with heavy and unsuitable assignments.

The full unfolding of inner-Party democracy, and its political enrichment by close connection with mass work and systematic education, with the application of American methods of work with which the masses are most familiar—these are the preconditions for keeping our recruits, for doing away with the losses among new members, who drop away when they do not find their proper place in our ranks

Leadership—Its Selection, Promotion, Education and Verification

Communist Party policy depends for effectiveness upon the leading personnel which must translate it into life. Our policy can never rise above the political level of the Party leading committees. Our resolution, therefore, very emphatically "places before the Central Committee and the whole Party the problem of selecting, promoting, educating and carefully verifying the leading personnel of the entire Party."

Comrade Dimitroff gave us basic guidance in the selection of leading personnel at the Seventh Congress, which we should again repeat here. He set four standards which should guide all selection of leadership, of those who must assume the main responsibility for detailed guidance of the Party and the working class. These four standards are:

1. Absolute devotion to the working class, loyalty to the Party, tested in struggle and under the enemy's persecution.

2. Closest possible contact with the masses, with the modesty of all real mass leaders, for only if the masses accept a person as a leader can the Party do so.

3. Ability to make decisions, to find the correct course independently, to take responsibility and initiative.

4. Discipline and steadfastness in the struggle against the class enemy, as well as against all deviations from the Party line; immunity to moods of panic and pessimism; the ability to work collectively and weld the Party forces into a monolithic unity.

In these four basic standards for selection of leadership, you will note there is no mention of individual brilliance, or technical qualifications such as the ability to write and speak well. That is because without these four basic qualifications, all individual abilities may be transformed into dangers and liabilities; but given these four characteristics, all needed technical abilities can be developed through guidance and education.

Promotion of leading people, selected on this basis,

needs to be carefully adjusted to the degree of maturity of these four characteristics, and to the practical experience of exercising them, plus all the technical abilities required to give them full effectiveness. Upon the basis of such careful consideration, we now need a policy of bold promotion of new and fresh leading people in our Party.

We propose to make the education of our leading people, their Marxist-Leninist training, a central task of the whole Party. This shall not be confined to the members of the Central Committee, and the state leaders, but extended to a broad new circle of leaders for the states and sections, and for Party leaders in the mass organizations, trade unions, peace, youth, Negro, farm, cultural, women's, religious, national groups, and other organizations.

The channels for such education and training are varied. We must extend and improve our system of schools, from the National Training School, which has just finished its second six-month full-time course for sixty students, through the State Training Schools, to local week-end and night schools for leading people, down to the Workers Schools, open to all comers. We must develop and publish our own American textbooks for these schools. We must raise the standards of curriculum and instruction.

On a broader scale, this work can be carried out through special and periodical conferences of leading people, for discussion of special problems and fields of work, carefully prepared and led by the national, state, and local leading committees. Every membership and committee meeting should be planned to introduce some feature of political education.

Finally, systematic self-education must be made a habit among all leading people of our Party. Planned reading and study by each individual, supplemented by individual consultations and help among his associates, is the universal form of education which we need to establish throughout our Party. The basic works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin should become familiar to all of us, as necessary to our daily life as the air we breathe. The writings of

the founders of American democracy should be at our command, and we Communists should make Thomas Jefferson, Tom Paine, and Abraham Lincoln live again in America. We should become experts in American history, and understand and explain it better than anyone else. We should constantly study our own Party documents, and never leave them to gather dust on our shelves. We are the bearers of American culture and civilization, and must use every hour to qualify ourselves for that noble and historic role.

The Struggle Against Wage-Cuts— for Labor Unity*

Tasks of the Party

By JACK JOHNSTONE

THE Industrial Commission had before it the report and decisions of eighteen industrial conferences. Outstanding in these reports was the question of wage cuts. Big business is determined to use its full power to put over its wage-cutting drive.

Reports show that a united drive against wage cuts is beginning to take place. We must raise and popularize the slogan of "Smash the wage-cutting program of Big Business," and start an immediate campaign of the Party to unite the trade union movement, the C. I. O., the A. F. of L. and the Railroad Brotherhood in every state to defeat the attack of Big Business and the wage-cutting drive.

* From report to Tenth National Convention.—Ed.

Unity of labor in the elections is also the most promising channel at this moment to prepare for the more fundamental unity of all trade unions into a single, united, powerful American labor movement. It is the most deeply felt need of all organized workers, A.F. of L. and C.I.O., as well as the Railroad Brotherhoods, and all their various political organizations.

This places a tremendous responsibility upon our Party. Our state committees must give their full attention to the strengthening and building of shop units, and to increasing the influence of the Party organization in the shops, so that our comrades active in the leadership of the trade unions may be equipped to meet this responsibility which rests upon them whether within the C. I. O., the A. F. of L. or the Railroad Brotherhoods; so that they may better understand how to raise the proper slogans and demands to meet the attack of Big Business and to find the forms of unity in action that will unite the labor movement in the struggle for these things.

We have the task of defeating this wage-cutting campaign. We must arouse the democratic people in our communities against the whole policy of wage cuts. We must show them that this new offensive of reaction is one of the means Big Business uses to sabotage every measure of the recovery program of President Roosevelt and to place the burden of the developing new crisis upon the shoulders of the people.

Our Party has the responsibility of penetrating the farming territory, and to make clear to the farmers that this campaign to cut the wages of the industrial workers is an attack upon the recovery measures for the farmers. We must strive to hasten the unity between the farmers and workers for joint action, to smash the attempt of the economic royalists through the Liberty League farm organizations to divide the farmers and workers on the false theory that high wages are responsible for the miserable conditions of the farmers.

Concentration in the Railroad Industry

In this wage-cutting campaign, reactionary finance capital is directing its major attack against the million-odd railroad workers. They propose a 15 per cent wage cut to take place on July 1 of this year. In a number of places our Party is actively rallying the railroad workers to fight against this outrageous wage-cutting demand but we must say that in many states and in many important railroad centers we are still very slow and our Party does not yet see clearly the important role that the railroad industry is playing in the economy of our country, and the important part that the railroad workers can play in building the democratic front and in the struggle for trade union unity.

The proposal for a wage cut in the railroad industry is the national concentration campaign on the part of reactionary monopoly capital, and in the struggle against wage cuts our national concentration must be the railroad industry. This concentration will not result in lack of interest in the struggle against local wage cuts, but can be the rallying point of the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., the railroad unions, and the people of the community against the whole policy of the wage-cutting campaign of Big Business.

Now as to the building and activities of our Party, particularly in the important fields of mass trade union work. One point stood out in a number of the industrial conferences—the decisive influence of the activities of our Party. It stood out clearly that good work or poor work in the shops, in the trade unions, both C. I. O. and A. F. of L., is very much influenced by the degree of responsibility of our leading committees in directing the work of our shop and industrial units. Wherever these basic Party organizations worked well, it not only strengthened our Party but also the union. Where the Party branches and units were not functioning well and not growing, this was reflected in poorer activity of Communists in the unions, which, of course, had its effect upon the work of the union itself.

Marxist Training for Comrades in Trade Union Work

In the industrial conferences and from the floor of this convention, we have been given many good examples of Party work in building the democratic front and of Communist activity in the shops and unions. But where do our weaknesses lie? The answer is: in units and branches where newly recruited comrades, particularly those in the mass C. I. O. and A. F. of L. unions, many of whom hold responsible posts, are not thoroughly equipped with Marxist training to carry through the tasks they have been given. Thousands of new people coming into our Party lack this elementary training. They have the closest contact with the masses, and are even in the leadership of their unions. They need special training, so as to be able, independently, to arrive at correct answers to problems as they arise, to make decisions, and know how to carry them into life. As Comrade Browder emphasized in that section of his report dealing with leadership, its selection, promotion, education and verification, one of the most important tasks in the building of our Party is that more attention be given to shop work, to the building of shop units, to the education and the training of our Party members, of our active leaders in shop and trade union work.

Greetings to the *Texas Party Builder* and the *Oklahoma Organizer*, two new district bulletins now being regularly issued. Both of these bulletins are well put out and contain very interesting experiences of Party members and branches. We are confident that if issued regularly, they will aid the development of the Party in these districts.

A Pledge From Chicago's South Side

By RAY HANSBOROUGH, Chicago, Ill.

WE PLEDGE to this convention and to Comrade Browder that immediately upon our return to our district we shall proceed to mobilize the membership of our Party and particularly the Negro masses in the black belt, South Side of Chicago, for a thorough discussion on the report of Comrade Browder and of the decisions of the convention, and proceed to mobilize every single member of our Party to carry these decisions into life.

We wish to pledge that we will mobilize all of our forces for a broad distribution of the report of Comrade Browder to our membership and to the masses of non-Party people in our district. We also pledge to increase the sales and circulation of the *Midwest Daily Record* and to build the Party into a broad mass Party to catch up with and surpass the California District so that by the time of the next convention we will be the second largest district in the country.

Our Activities in the 1938 Elections

By ANN BURLAK, Rhode Island

COMRADE BROWDER in discussing the building of the democratic front in the 1938 elections in his report stated:

"In most states the Communist Party will nominate its own ticket, in order to be able, where the reactionary candidates squeeze out all progressives on other tickets, to guarantee that the field will not be monopolized by the reactionary camp, that under all conditions there

will be a candidate and ticket representing the democratic front."

The Platform Committee submitted a special paragraph for this issue to be included in the main resolution on the 1938 elections.

Our Party by entering the election campaign in its own name will immediately stimulate the entire campaign to defeat the representatives of reaction and mobilize the broadest front for progress, peace, jobs and security.

The Platform Committee discussed this important issue and wishes to offer a number of basic proposals for consideration by the convention. This report is in no way a discussion of the political policy involved—that was very ably handled by Comrade Browder. We simply want to introduce a number of practical proposals on one aspect of the election campaign—the organization of our independent Communist activity.

Proposals for Independent Communist Activity

First of all, it is necessary that our entire Party membership clearly understands why the Party is entering into the campaign in its own name, with its own candidates in the various states. This is the first job of our various state committees—to clarify the reasons for this action to our members and the mass of followers of our Party.

Second, in every state where our Party is entering candidates immediate attention must be paid to the task of getting our Party on the ballot. The comrades must understand that this is not just a technical task, but an important political job. There will be no excuse for failure to get on the ballot because of some slip-up on the legal requirements necessary to place our Party on the ballot. The various state committees should be thoroughly familiar with all the necessary requirements, consult an attorney if necessary, and get the entire Party on the job to get on the ballot. In those states where the law requires that all voters register, special attention should be paid to the job

of getting all our people registered so they can vote.

Third, state committees, county and city committees should immediately organize their apparatus for the election campaign—the leading Party committees must assume direct responsibility for the conduct of the election campaign and set up the necessary auxiliary committees—research, publicity and other committees—to conduct a successful campaign. A leading comrade of the state committee should be made the campaign manager. And, comrades, it is specially important that our Party carry on a very practical political campaign—and for this it is necessary to build a political machine in every state, city, county, ward or precinct where our Party candidates are put forward.

And as practical politicians our Party campaign committee must not forget seriously to undertake the raising of finances for the campaign—campaigns cannot be conducted on a shoe string. In our committee Comrade Cacchione specially emphasized the importance of having a good research committee which will dig up all kinds of important information on the status of gas and electric rates in the community, the health status of the population, the status of parks, roads and sewers, built by the W.P.A. in the community so that our campaigners can talk to people on their immediate problems.

Our Election Campaign Must Be Broad

Fourth, the campaign itself should be conducted in the broadest possible manner—wherever practical broad conferences of all kinds of organizations in the community should be organized where the candidates are presented and approved by all the different sections of the population. Special conferences of housewives, consumers, Negro organizations, farmers and middle class groups should be called to involve them in the campaign. Special appeals to Catholic and other religious groups should be made. In those states where registration of voters is necessary, our

Party should carry through the widest mobilization of voters to register.

The American forms of electioneering should be fully applied—the radio, loudspeakers, music, dramatics, parades, etc. It is specially important to organize our Party comrades and election committees to do house-to-house visiting throughout the campaign with appropriate literature and contact cards so that our contact with the voters is not only at the time we ask them for their signature on our petitions, but consistently throughout the election campaign. And, comrades, we must have no paper candidates—our candidates should be active, living people who personally appear before the voters. They should be released from other Party work and should carry on an active campaign in their own behalf. And of course our independent Communist Party campaign should be skillfully coordinated with the work in support of the progressive candidates, in the work of unifying all democratic forces.

Fifth, it is important to be absolutely clear on the question of withdrawal of our candidates and how it is to be done where that becomes necessary. Comrade Browder in his report referred to this question in the following words: "Wherever the progressive forces unite around another candidate, the Communist Party candidates will be withdrawn." This is quite clear, but it is important to understand that withdrawal of our candidates is not just a technical action, it is an important political step and should be carried through only after serious consideration of the given situation and progressive candidates involved, and the state committees should first consult with and get the approval of the National Committee.

Furthermore, once withdrawal of our candidates is decided upon it should be carried through with the widest possible publicity—by calling big mass meetings and conferences at which a thorough explanation of why our candidates were withdrawn should be made. Leaflets and other forms of publicity should explain to the voters our

reasons for withdrawal and why we throw our support in favor of the particular progressive candidate. Our candidates should play an important role in explaining this withdrawal, and should themselves continue to be active in mobilizing the support for the candidate in whose favor they withdraw.

Finally, it should be remembered that the campaign does not end on the eve of election day. Election day is one of the most important days of the campaign and careful organization of activity at the polls should be organized.

These are a few indications of the tasks our Party must immediately undertake in preparation for a successful election campaign for our main slogans of democracy, jobs, security and peace.

For Greater Vigilance in the Struggle Against the Trotskyite-Lovestoneite Groups^{*}

By EARL BROWDER

WE have made progress in unmasking the true character of the Trotskyite-Lovestoneite groups, as agents of reaction and fascism, on the basis of their activities abroad as well as in America. But much more needs to be done in order completely to isolate them and destroy their disruptive influence in all working class and progressive organizations. Vigilance to detect every manifestation of their influence is called for, with the ability skillfully to

^{*} From report to Tenth National Convention.—Ed.

expose its true nature as splitting and disruption, with persistence to carry through each struggle to a favorable conclusion.

Discover and Expose Agents of Fascism

It is not enough merely to repeat, what is absolutely true, that Trotskyism and Lovestoneism are agencies of fascism. It is necessary to discover and expose these agents of fascism in the daily work and struggle for the democratic front and for building the Party. He who confines himself only to repeating the formula but does not practice alertness and vigilance in discovering and exposing the enemy is not protecting the interests of the masses, the interests of their organization, the interests of the Party.

Vigilance and alertness must not be allowed to become a phrase with which even the enemy can cover himself. It must become an ingrained attitude, displayed in practice, in the practice of identifying the Trotsky-Lovestoneite enemies through all their disguises and camouflages, of exposing these enemies before the people, thus accelerating the consolidation of the democratic forces against the offensive of reaction and fascism.

We cannot permit ourselves to be easy-going in this matter on pain of serious losses to the masses and their progressive movements. And the first condition for a serious fight against Trotskyism and Lovestoneism on the part of every Party member is the wholehearted application of the Party's line in the life and struggle of the masses, good and successful work in the progressive organizations of the masses, the winning of the confidence of the masses and the building of the Party.

Have You Your June Control Stamp?

WHEN this issue of the *Party Organizer* reaches you, the June control of the membership should be near completion. Have you the June control stamp already in your membership book? Have you paid up your dues to be in good standing?

Our aim this year has been to control all Party members registered in January plus all new members recruited since January 1. This can be achieved—*with your help*. You can not only make sure that you get *your* control stamp, but you can also assist in helping to control other comrades.

How You Can Help in the Control

If you have recruited a new member since January 1, make sure that comrade is controlled. If another member of your branch or unit lives near you or works together with you, visit and talk with this comrade, explain the June control to him or her. Offer your services on special committees in your branch or unit to visit the inactive comrades. And when you discuss the June control with these comrades, remember that it is not merely a technical requirement, but is intimately connected up with the great tasks before us in the light of the Tenth National Convention decisions. We want to stimulate and activize all our comrades for the 1938 Congressional elections, for the struggle for jobs, security, democracy and peace. The June control will help us to get to these comrades, and mobilize them for action.

To the branches and units, we say: Control every member! No one should be dropped from the rolls without authorization from the proper committee. See that every member who does not regularly attend branch and unit meetings is visited. Let the comrades who recruited members into the Party since January 1 make sure of the new members' control. This will help also to check on the

whereabouts and activities of the new comrades brought into the Party since the first of the year.

The June control aims also to control the dues payments of each individual member; to utilize this opportunity to bring all members into good standing. The dues reports in May show a very serious decline over previous months. Every effort must be made, in conjunction with the June control, to raise dues payments in every branch and unit, to check immediately the possibility of fluctuation and dropping of members through non-payment of dues.

The June control is one of the most immediate tasks in Party organization and Party building. We must drive forward to a successful completion of this task.

ORGANIZATION COMMISSION,
NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Let's Arm Ourselves With the Facts!

Political Problems of Community Work

By I. BEGUN

THE message of our Party and of our New York State Committee in regard to the unity of the people for the realization of certain vital demands that we need has been well taken up in our state.

With us, as everywhere, housing is a big problem. From one end of the state to another, every political party has some measure for public subsidized housing, which reflects the pressure down below in the communities. A measure has been introduced which makes milk of public concern.

The question of public health has also become an issue. The problem of transit in our state becomes of increasing significance.

These are in addition to the already recognized public problems such as relief, education, youth and so on.

The fact that we raised the slogan of unity around these issues and it is being more and more accepted does not guarantee that we can keep our role in this movement. There are other progressives in this movement and while we are not in competition with them we recognize that we have no monopoly in this movement. We will have to work to achieve recognition. Moreover there are demagogues who come forward with reactionary proposals and we must be the ones to discover them and expose them. Foremost among these are the Trotskyites.

How can we be of use and participate in work and leadership and show that we have something to contribute. One of the most vital needs is for precise, exact knowledge of facts. It is not sufficient any more to come with slogans. Our slogans are already accepted by wide masses. We have now to raise the practical steps to realize these slogans. Now we have to make concrete and specific proposals.

The Farm Issue

I want to raise the farm issue because in our state we are going to make it one of the many issues in the state. We discovered only recently that we do not even know the exact provisions of the A. A. A. Bill. How are we going to fight against the high cost of living if we do not know the difference between the Sheffield farm and the cooperatives, and so on. As the New York comrades know, we did not even know the price of 92 score butter.

Comrades, we've got to know the federal legislation in regard to farming, its effect on a statewide scale, its effect locally, we've got to know the conditions and moods of the farmers. For instance, at this convention, comrades, could

the Philadelphia comrades, the Boston comrades, and the New York comrades get together and have a really thorough discussion on the differences between the three federal marketing agreements that are operating in the three marketing districts? I doubt it. I doubt if there are many comrades who know precisely what is in those federal marketing laws and know how to make constructive and definite suggestions with regard to them.

Then we have another field in regard to which precise facts are essential. In New York a state constitutional convention is in progress, and that raises a great many governmental problems—the county government, the village government, the problem of taxation, and we have got to know our state constitution, as we know already our own Communist Party constitution, so that we can operate fully within it, make precise definitions of it, and not have to wait until McNaboe comes along to study what is in our state constitution.

Taxation

Let us take the problem of taxation, upon which depend many of our social measures. People, even progressive, when we come to them with a progressive proposal, will ask, "Where will you get the money?" I ask the question: how many of us know thoroughly the federal system of taxation, and especially the state system of taxation? How is the money raised? What part of the taxes go to the municipal government? What part to the federal government? What are the sources of taxation of the state government? How much of the state tax money goes back to the local communities? How much of a tax can be laid on banks, how much of a tax is it possible to levy on bank deposits, how high can the tax rate go without squeezing the source dry? Our bourgeois friends tell us that a tax must be easily collectable, so that the collection of that tax will not take more money than the tax will bring in. We must know whether a tax can be easily

transferred, whether people can move away and avoid the tax, so that when we come for more money for health, schools, housing, we must be able to say: put this and this tax on these and these people, and with this and this tax you will raise this and this amount of money.

Now briefly a few words about housing. In our state we have learned a great many things about housing. We've got to know how housing authorities operate, what authority the state government has, what authority the federal government has and so on. Some of the issues which we must master, in the same way we have mastered the problem of relief, are the problems of taxation, of housing, of utilities, the role of the public service commissions, of health, education, and so on.

Becoming Factors in Community Life

If we do this, comrades, our local comrades in the communities will become factors in community life; they will be admired by their friends and co-workers and respected by their enemies, because they will know that these Communists know their stuff. That can't be done through slogans, although slogans are very good. As Communists they became a factor in local community life on these very vital local issues; we will make headway among the national groups, and that is our road to the Catholic masses, because a Catholic mother wants good schools for her kids, and if we know about education, they will follow along. The same thing is true in housing, in health matters, taxation.

Why is it so important today that we get this precise knowledge? That we become masters of certain of the essential things in our government? Because that is the basis for progressive action in the community; that is the basis for the election campaign in November, that is the basis for the electioneering campaign now, the basis for legislative conferences in the community and it is the best answer to the Trotskyites, the Trotskyites who come out

and say: You can't do anything now; who say that the only time you'll get a new house is after the revolution.

Our comrades must immediately supplement their knowledge of slogans and the winged words that Comrade Browder talks about with hard, concrete facts and knowledge which will make us what Comrade Dimitroff has instructed us to be—a real political force in local community life.

Hospital Workers on the March

By R.—*, New York

THROUGHOUT the nation the Negro masses suffer a higher death rate from diseases of tuberculosis and malnutrition, etc. Harlem Hospital is a glaring example of this where Negro people pay with their lives because of segregation, Jim Crowism, denial of jobs and inadequate medical care. For a long time the people of Harlem wanted to curb the abuses and evils thrust upon them by the corrupt Tammany Hall machine. Thanks to the correct political leadership of our Party, Tammany Hall received a powerful blow in the 1937 elections. But we still have in Harlem Hospital the heritage of Tammany. To overcome this we started to build the Party, and we built the unit from one to fifty. We helped to organize a women's health auxiliary which meets twice a month in the community, and every other Saturday for one hour in the hospital waiting room as a women's forum. This forum participated in the Harlem Legislative Conference.

* For obvious reasons, the name of the author of this article cannot be used.—Ed.

Through the work of our Party we laid the basis for building and extending further the democratic front. I still have fresh in my mind the powerful report made at the New York state convention by Comrade Max Steinberg, the State Organization Secretary and in his report Comrade Steinberg stressed the importance of shop paper work. In all of our work one of our most important contributions has been our shop paper, the *Ambulance Call*. This paper is received with the greatest enthusiasm and it has interest for everyone in the hospital. When the paper comes out the telephone keeps ringing and everyone wants to know where he can get a copy. The *Ambulance Call* pays for itself; we sell it for 5c and it sells like hot cakes.

We have been enriched by the report of Comrade Browder and with the discussion of the Tenth National Convention. We return with a greater determination to play a more important part in this phase of life of the people of our community to build our Party as the decisive element in the democratic front.

Make the Election Campaign a Party Building Campaign

By REBECCA GRECHT

THE deliberations of this historic convention, the masterly inspiring report of our Comrade Browder, arm us with the necessary program and policies to lead the American people in struggle to build the democratic front, to defeat reaction and block the road to fascism. We are now entering the national and in some cases the state election campaign. In the course of it, every Party committee

in the districts, counties, and sections, every Party member, will be tested as to Communist understanding and initiative, Bolshevik energy and determination, in the application of our political line. In my opinion, the same test should be applied to the manner in which the Party committees and Party members build the Party in the course of the congressional and state elections.

Comrade Browder has declared that the national election campaign must be a Party recruiting campaign from beginning to end. Let us take these words to heart, and make them a living reality.

Recruiting a Daily Activity

We speak much of the necessity of making recruiting a daily activity, an integral part of all Communist work, of all our campaigns. But we have not fully learned to translate these words into action!

Consider the campaign in preparation for the May Day demonstrations. Surely here the Party everywhere had great opportunities, through its contacts with broad masses, its increased agitation among the people, the enhanced political activity of the masses themselves, to greatly stimulate Party recruiting. The month of April, however, showed no appreciable gain in recruiting over February and March.

Or consider the splendid campaign developed by our Party everywhere in the recent period to rally support among the masses for Roosevelt's recovery program. The recruiting figures are clear evidence that we have not by any means made our campaign for jobs and security to the extent possible the basis for intensified recruiting.

Some comrades have declared that they were too busy with May Day preparations, with other campaigns, to concentrate on Party building. But there is no period in which our Party is not busy with campaigns, not involved, together with the masses of people, in struggle for their rights and demands. It is precisely because of this activity,

and in the very course of it that we are able to win masses to our support. It is not therefore a question of lack of time or energy. Rather is it a question of political understanding, of organization and planning, of direction and leadership.

When we get home from this convention, there will be numerous meetings of all sorts to report on our deliberations and decisions. District, county and section committees will meet to discuss how to apply, in the coming months, the policy of the democratic front locally, especially in relation to mobilization of the progressive forces to defeat reaction in the elections. As part of this discussion, as part of our planning, let us concretely consider in each district how to build the Party and our press. Many times in the course of the political campaign, leading committees will examine the work of our members in the elections. Such examination must be accompanied also by an analysis of Party building, so that our comrades see the integral relationship between the two, and thereby also the role of the Party. Such a method and approach to the question should be made to penetrate throughout the ranks of the Party, so that no branch or unit of the Party, let alone leading committee, considers its election campaign tasks without at the same time systematically undertaking, in relation to these tasks, the building of the Party and our press.

Recruiting During the Election Period

The coming election period will be one of intense political activity and political thinking among the masses; a period of struggle against wage-cuts, for democratic rights, for jobs and security. It will be a period also of the highest mobilization of our Party membership. The situation is very ripe for a rapid growth of our Party. We are confronted with great opportunities to increase our ranks by many thousands.

Comrade Browder has stated that we must bring mil-

lions into the scope of our work. This can be partly achieved by a broad extension of our mass agitation, our propaganda, during the course of the election campaign. In the coming months, the people themselves will be talking politics as never before. Let us talk politics to them, Communist politics, the politics of the democratic front and the struggle against reaction and fascism; for jobs, security, democracy, and peace.

Let us issue millions of leaflets giving the Communist position on every vital issue affecting the people among whom we work; leaflets to be issued not alone nationally, or by the districts, but by every shop, industrial and territorial branch. Let us act, not alone talk, on a rapid increase of effective shop bulletins, neighborhood papers. Let us plan extensive distribution and circulation of our press and literature, the organization of public meeting and forums arranged by branches in every locality and industry. Let us utilize the canvassing of homes to acquaint the people with our program on a more extensive scale than ever before. Let us utilize the prestige and leadership of Communist candidates to draw closer to our Party hundreds and thousands of men and women active in the progressive political movement. By these means, we will help to bring forward the independent role of the Party. By these means we will popularize the position of our Party, help create a mass base for mass recruiting, and make the election campaign a source of new strength and new forces for our Party.

The Independent Role of Our Party

Our comrades are building and strengthening the mass organizations of the workers, farmers and middle class. But our task is to function not alone as Communists within other mass organizations, helping to build and guide them, but as an independent political party, the only Party of socialism in America. It is for us to make clear to the masses why the Communist Party is needed today,

why the Communist Party is the backbone of the democratic front movement, and how a stronger Communist Party will be the best guarantee for decisive struggle against the forces of reaction and fascism.

To carry this through effectively demands political mobilization of our members, especially the many thousands of new comrades who for the first time participate in an election campaign as Communist Party members. To large numbers of them, the role of the Party, as distinct from progressive mass organizations of toilers, is not yet fully clear, and confusion may well arise among them especially in the Party's activity during the election campaign. A clear line and policy with respect to Party building, not *after* the elections but in the course of our everyday election activity, will go far to clarify the issues involved.

Let us not for a moment forget, as the convention resolution on Party Building declares: that the political and organizational consolidation and strengthening of the Party is an organic and key part of the task of forging the anti-fascist democratic front.

The Goodyear Shop Unit Reports

How We Brought Political Issues to the Rubber Workers

By S.,* Akron, Ohio

I HAVE the high honor of having been elected by the Goodyear shop unit of the Communist Party in Akron to represent it at this convention. Our Goodyear unit won the honor of being represented because in the opinion of

* For obvious reasons, the name of the author of this article cannot be used.—Ed.

our State Committee it has done the best job of any shop unit in the state of Ohio in building the Party. In two short years we built our shop unit from two members to 58 members.

At the very moment that I am speaking, 58 of my Goodyear Party comrades are actively participating in the present strike of 8,000 Goodyear workers. I am confident that our Communist Party unit, now in the front line trench of the Akron labor movement, will, with the help and leadership of Comrades Keller and Williamson, give a good account of themselves in the fight against the Goodyear Rubber Company, Mayor Schroy and Governor Davey. Together with the Akron rubber workers we will surely defeat all efforts to smash our union.

How did we manage to build the Party in the Goodyear plant?

In my opinion, it is because, from the very beginning, the policies of the Party were correct; we fought for these policies, put them into life, and thereby won the respect and admiration of the workers in the Goodyear plant as well as the great majority of other trade unionists in Akron.

The first big job we had was to fight for a correct policy of establishing our international union. This was done in the face of the most bitter opposition of William Green who tried to place his handpicked man at the head of the International. In fact, the rubber workers were the first to break the grip of Bill Green over the new international unions that were coming into existence. Together with all rubber workers we fought for democracy in the union to the point where today we have one of the most democratically run internationals in the country, a real stronghold of the C.I.O. As a result of the initiative of the Communists in the rubber industry in putting forward correct policies at every stage in this struggle, we laid the basis for our future growth by inspiring confidence in the Communists among the rubber workers.

The next high point in the development of our shop

unit was its role in the great Goodyear strike of 1936, the success of which, as you know, helped stimulate the tremendous organizing drive of the C.I.O. Our Party had to operate amidst a very complicated situation to carry on a fight against the combined forces of the Goodyear company, the reactionary A. F. of L. leadership, the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, and Mayor Schroy. In the course of this strike, many rubber workers came to recognize the helpful and constructive role of the Communists by the policies and proposals they advanced.

Our Party comrades brought every important political question into the life of our union and succeeded in winning it for a correct stand on such things as Labor's Non-Partisan League, collective security, and the O'Connell Bill, support to the Mexican government in its expropriation of the oil fields of the imperialists, the Nye Bill to lift the embargo on Spain, the defeat of the Ludlow Amendment, unanimous rejection of the isolationist "Keep American Out of War Congress," and many other vital questions of the day. As a result of the political efforts made by our Party comrades to win our local for a correct stand on these questions, the membership of our local received a real political education. The sum total of such political activity brought hundreds of rubber workers closer to our Party and made it easier for us to recruit them.

Together with the other shop units of our Party, we did not relax our vigilance in the struggle against the Trotskyites. On the basis of exposing their disruptive role in the union, in Labor's Non-Partisan League, in the strike, we succeeded in driving the spokesman of the Trotskyites from his post in the international union.

Bringing the Face of the Party to the Workers

Of course, comrades, to build the Party, it is not sufficient merely to fight for a correct policy. We must bring the face of the Party to the workers, let them know

that it is the Communist Party which is formulating certain correct policies. Although we still have many weaknesses in this respect, we have done a certain minimum which has resulted in the growth of our shop unit. In this respect, one of the best examples I can give you is that of one of our comrades, Comrade M. This comrade before the *Midwest Record* came out used to sell a great number of the *Sunday Worker* in the shop every week. Now, alone, not counting what the rest of us do, this comrade by himself sells over 100 copies of the *Midwest Record* every week directly in the shop and in the local union.

We issue a shop paper, the *Goodyear Rubber Worker*. This shop paper won many friends for us. I must admit though that lately we have not issued it with the necessary regularity. Perhaps this fact accounts for our reporting 58 members at this convention instead of 100.

One of the most important factors accounting for the growth of the Party is the frequency with which our Section Organizer, Comrade Jim Keller, speaks to the Akron Rubber workers over the radio, thus bringing the Communist message to hundreds and thousands.

During the past two months, in the Central Committee's competition for the privilege of sending a fraternal delegate to this convention, we organized a real recruiting drive. As a result of our previous work we prepared lists of contacts for each comrade to visit and we actually recruited during this brief period 34 new members. Our Akron Party has set itself the goal of 500 members by the end of this year as our share of our Ohio state task of 5,000 members during 1938.

In conclusion, comrades, I can assure you of the future rapid growth of our shop unit because of the base that has been laid already. With the continued leadership and assistance of our State Committee which will help us apply the line of the National Committee to our problems in Akron, we will build an even bigger and better shop unit to help keep the Akron rubber workers in the front ranks of the fight for democracy and progress.

Literature to the Masses!

By ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

THE resolution on Party Building and the report of Comrade Browder stress Marxist-Leninist education, agitation and propaganda. We cannot build a mass Communist Party unless we use one of our best weapons—literature. We cannot reach the masses in America without the agitational and propaganda literature of our Party.

You will remember, at the Party Builders Congress every one of the delegates spoke of how they built the Party through the medium of literature. Also in the Party educational work, the development of our Party members requires distribution of theoretical propaganda material among our members. This theoretical literature is now being distributed in larger quantities, but as yet we cannot say our entire Party membership is taking advantage of it.

There is a great demand for our theoretical literature outside of our Party. Our job is to make it available to everyone.

Our Party growth, particularly since the last period, has greatly increased our literature distribution, and as we now plan to enter on a really big Party building drive, we must prepare to build our literature work to a level commensurate with the size of our Party. We are still not prepared organizationally for this task; in many places we are still using the most primitive methods in our literature work, and we must adopt the *best* methods that will produce the *best* results.

As yet, only the literature directors are considered as literature distributors. The entire membership must be engaged in this work and Party leaders must guide. The matter which should concern all of us is the fact that so far literature is only available in the large headquarter cities of our Party. We must begin to think of the thousands of small industrial and village towns where our liter-

ature departments have not penetrated at all. If we are going to reach millions, we must provide literature to these great communities throughout America.

About a Branch in the South

How We Brought Street Lights to Pratt City

By T. SPRADLING, Birmingham, Alabama

IN DISTRICT 17, comprising the three states of Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi, we now have more than 900 members.

I want to speak about a branch in Pratt City, named after Pratt City's leading citizen, James W. Ford. Pratt City is one of the numerous company towns which make up the city of Birmingham. This branch is in the shadow of the great Tennessee Coal and Iron Co., a subsidiary of U.S. Steel. This branch has 22 members of which six are coal miners and six steel workers. Of the 22, six are women and 16 men. In the branch there are ten readers of the *Daily Worker*. This may not seem a high percentage to you, but we assure you that in Jefferson County where many of the members can hardly read or write, this represents a very high level.

In building our Party in these dark, slum, disease-ridden areas in the company towns around Birmingham, we have been able to carry on a certain amount of neighborhood activity. For instance our most successful campaign in the Ford branch was the campaign to bring light to Pratt City. There are no street lights. You get off the street car in

Pratt City and stumble over trash and can hardly find your way about. We got out a petition to bring street lights to Pratt City and mobilized the majority of that community behind the campaign.

Entire Branch in Politics

Also as you have heard, the Democratic primaries are tantamount to an election in Alabama. Although in our branch none of our members, all being Negro except myself, can vote, the entire membership of the branch is in politics. In the Democratic primaries, one of the most progressive candidates issued a platform which was a genuine people's program. We distributed some 500 copies of this program, and it was the subject for conversation for days in the Negro communities because the candidate advocated equal educational facilities for Negroes, and for the complete abolishment of the poll tax.

We also carried on a campaign for the Roosevelt Recovery Program, and got the members of the entire neighborhood to send postcards of support to Roosevelt and the Congressmen asking them to get behind the program and the Wages and Hours bill.

The weakness of our work in this branch is typical of our weakness in the entire Jefferson County where we have more than 300 members, and that is that we have to organize much more systematic work in the churches, in the social clubs in which many of the people are organized, as well as in the trade unions. In this way we can mobilize the entire neighborhoods and backroads of Birmingham.

I want to conclude by telling you about the great district convention we had in Birmingham. For the first time we held an open convention with some 82 delegates from the three states, 32 of whom were white, and 50 were Negroes. It was great to see the high pitch of enthusiasm during the two days. We are confident that we can build a strong Party in the deep South.