Organizational Problems of the Workers Party.

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I hope that the declaration of the Central Executive Committee on the "Activities of the Workers Party" will be carefully read and studied by all of our comrades. The CEC correctly points out that "our supreme objective, our fundamental conception in the period immediately before us, must be the building of a mass Communist Party" and that "that means that the activities of our Party must be developed upon a balanced program of education, organization, and strategy." If we carefully analyze the development of the Workers Party and its present status, we will find that we haven't had such a balanced program. And I think that the organizational part of our program has been and still remains very far behind all other activities of our Party. Our Party organization is not closely following our influence in the masses, which we have attained during the last two years.

No Slacking of Education.

Let us be understood that we cannot even for a moment entertain the idea that we should slacken our educational and political activities. We must carry them on with still greater enthusiasm and intensity. And when I say that we must pay more attention to our organizational work in the Party, I do not entertain the notion that we should neglect our educational and political activities. What we need is not minimizing one or the other phase of our movement, but proper coordination of them.

"All educational and political activities must be closely followed by organization," says the declaration of the CEC. "The party must absorb and make use of all the workers brought into sympathetic contact with the party through education or common participation in the struggle. Organization is a question of life and death to a Communist movement; our activities of every sort must receive special organizational attention, they cannot be allowed to drift along in a vague and uncrystallized form."

Through our political activities we have created large spheres of influence in various organizations of workers. Thousands of workers are our

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sympathizers. They are with us and are working for our program. Ideologically they are ready for membership in the Workers Party. Now the question arises: why are they not in the Party? I see only one answer to this question and that is that we have not convinced them of the importance and the necessity of joining the Communist Party. They do not understand the role of the Communist Party in the class struggle.

As soon as we convince the worker that the working class cannot overthrow the yoke of capitalism without organized communist leadership, he will join your ranks. Now the think for us to do is to bring the message of the Workers Party to these thousands of sympathizers, and gradually they will be absorbed into the Party. They know that there is somewhere in existence such a thing as the Workers Party, but they do not know that the moving and guiding force behind all the revolutionary movements in this country is the Workers Party. Our sympathizers see only the individual members of the WP, but they do not see the Party as such.

Two Methods.

There are two ways of bringing the message of the Workers Party to these sympathizers. One is through the individual members of the Party, and another through the mass meetings of the Party. I do not want to take too much space of the paper, therefore I will say a few words only about the second question.

I think that so far we have either been unable or did not see the necessity of utilizing our mass meetings for approaching the workers with the message of the Workers Party to the extent that we should have done. Our speakers very cleverly discuss the general problems of capitalism and the working class movement. They are real masters in condemning the capitalist system and in exposing its decay and crimes. And the workers like their speeches very much. They applaud, they

contribute money to further our work, they are ready to fight with us against the enemies of the working class. That is, through our meetings we increase the number of our sympathizers. But we do not take time and pains to tell these workers what our party is doing, what is its program, and why it is absolutely necessary for them to come and join our ranks. We do not tell them that it is not enough for them to help the Communists and their movement, but that they themselves must become Communists by joining the Communist Party.

Three Examples.

As examples of the neglect of our organizational work along these lines I want to take the last three mass meetings that were held in the City of New York.

First, the great mass meeting in Madison Square Garden [Lenin Memorial, Feb. 6, 1924]. As far as the attendance is concerned the meeting was a success beyond our expectations. But did it bring great organizational results? No! Why? Let us look upon the arrangement of the program. We had the best speakers. Comrade Foster was to make an appeal for the Workers Party. He delivered a masterful speech.

But he was left last on the program, when many of the people were already leaving the hall and bout half of the audience was standing between the chairs. The speech lost its entire effect and the good appeal did not bring the desired results. The main object of the meeting should have been to convince the workers that the Workers Party is a Party of Leninism and if they want to effectively continue the work of Lenin they must join the Workers Party.

Instead of that the meeting turned out to be a Communist school room in which the teachers very effectively expounded Leninism to their pupils, that is, they have done good educational work and increased the number of our sympathizers, but the organizational results of the meeting were almost negligible.

Lack of Coordination.

What was the matter? We absolutely failed in the coordination of our educational work with the organizational. Comrade Foster should have been placed either first or second on the program. He would have pointed the way of the entire meeting, the way that leads directly into the Workers Party. Leninism in this country would have been made a synonym to the Workers Party.

Second, or mass meeting on the celebration of the Paris Commune and the Fifth Anniversary of the Communist international. We had several good speakers. All of them spoke about the Paris Commune and the heroic struggle of the communards. The main lesson from the failure of the Paris Commune is that the communards were too lenient with their enemies. Therefore, when we get power we must show no mercy toward the counterrevolution, and hence the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

None of the speakers pointed out that another reason for the failure of the Paris Commune was because they did not have a well organized Communist Party.

None of them said anything about the Communist International and its American section, the Workers Party. Only at the end of the program

the chairman of the meeting talked a few minutes about the Communist International and the Workers Party. He spoke well, but there wasn't sufficient time to expound that very important question, the audience was already tired and their minds were more on the question of how to get home as soon as possible and not on the question of Communism. Again the great occasion for a party membership drive was entirely lost, and, of course, we didn't get any organizational results from this meeting.

More Organization Detail Needed.

Third, the meeting on the Teapot Dome scandal. We had four speakers. They condemned the capitalist system and the capitalist government to its very roots. I listened very attentively and only once heard the name of the Workers Party mentioned, and in such a way that hardly anybody understood what it was all about. Again we gained some more sympathizers, we have done good educational work, but nothing in the line of organization.

We had three mass meetings under the auspices of the Workers Party, which were absolute failures from the standpoint of organization.

If we want to get the workers into our Party we must change the character of the programs of our mass meetings. We must call upon them to join our ranks.