

# Check-Up On Organization

(Excerpts from Report to Plenum)

By F. BROWN

**C**OMRADES: The checking up on decisions of the previous plenums and the Eighth Party Convention to see to what extent we have fulfilled our decisions and organizational tasks is of the utmost importance. We must find out why not all of the decisions were carried out; we must see what is wrong with our methods of work, and, by analyzing the experiences in the various districts, learn from these experiences, draw concrete lessons from them, see where our major weaknesses lie, work out the methods for overcoming them, and determine the next organizational tasks, flowing out of the line and decisions of the present plenum.

There is no doubt that in the last period we can register general organizational improvement shown by the more quantitative and qualitative strength of our Party. The Party as a whole shows a better understanding of how to connect itself with the masses in the factories, in the trade unions. We can see this in the broadening out of the united front movement, in the break with the past sectarianism. The Chicago Congress Against War, the Washington Congress, the strikes, especially the gains in the textile field in connection with the great strike, the progress of work in the A. F. of L., are the best examples of this.

Yet, we have to ask ourselves: to what extent has the Party as a whole connected all of its activities with the building of the Party? Can we be satisfied with the results of the last period? It is clear for all of us that the tasks confronting the Party today are becoming more and more difficult to carry out because of the greater pressure of the continuous attacks by the enemy. We can say that our

Party is working under different conditions in different parts of the country. In the West and in the South, the Party acts more or less as an illegal Party under the pressure of the enemies' attacks. In Pittsburgh and Detroit, the attacks of the enemy, the development of the spy system in industry, make our task more difficult. It is only in the East where the Party more or less is working openly, but also here we have to face discrimination, victimization in the factories, and other attacks on the Party that must be answered day by day.

This situation, in general, makes more difficult the recruitment of the best elements into the Party, makes more difficult the increasing of the circulation of our press, etc. Yet the situation, on the other hand, is more favorable to convince the workers of the correctness of our program. The attitude of the workers is not hostile to us. Their disappointment with the N.R.A. makes them look for a way out, makes them listen to our arguments, makes them receptive to our press and literature. If so, why is the recruitment of the best elements into our ranks, the increasing of the **Daily Worker** circulation so slow? How can we explain this? What are the reasons for this? Are our methods of work correct? Can these methods be improved, and how? Are the directives from the Center not good enough?—in which case, how can we improve them? How can we bring about a more collective effort for improving our organizational work from the Center down? These, comrades, are the most fundamental questions we must discuss today in checking up on our previous decisions, and in working out, on the basis of past experiences, the best methods of work.

#### Control Tasks of Eighth Party Convention

What are the main decisions in connection with our organizational tasks, made by the Eighth Party Convention, and emphasized by the last plenum?

1. On recruiting: to bring the Party up to a membership of 40,000 (in good standing) by January 21, the anniversary of Lenin's death.
2. To strengthen the existing shop nuclei and to double their number.
3. To improve the life of the units by developing the unit bureaus, and by introducing the group system.
4. To train new cadres systematically and intensively through the National and District training schools—more educational activities in the lower units, etc.
5. To issue systematically more and more Communist literature and improve the distributing apparatus.
6. To bring the circulation of the **Daily Worker** up to 60,000 by increasing the number of subscribers and the daily

sales in front of factories, on the streets, neighborhoods, trade unions, etc.

7. To make every eligible Party member a member of a trade union; at the same time to build up our fractions and make them the driving force inside of the unions in the struggle of these organizations against their exploiters, and making our fractions the driving force in building the opposition in the A. F. of L.

8. To make our Party more conscious of its task in giving guidance to and building the Young Communist League, by establishing a League nucleus alongside of every Party shop nucleus; by assigning forces of the League and mobilizing the Party for mass recruiting into the League.

Let us examine now how these tasks were fulfilled.

### The Recruiting Drive

On recruiting: At the beginning of October we had an average dues payment of 23,760. If we add the 6,148 recruited during the last three months, we reach the figure for December of 30,000. In reality, dues payment for the month of December is over 31,000. Where does this extra thousand come from? Here we have to take into consideration the payment of back dues, which accounts for more than 1,000, and a certain number of members who have been reactivated in the last couple of months.... Briefly, the figures show the following:

1. That we are far from having fulfilled the task of bringing the Party membership to 40,000. The month of January will bring a slight improvement, but not much in changing this situation.

2. That the comparison between the figures in the recruiting of the last three months, the period of the recruiting drive, and the figures of the previous month, and after the Eighth Convention, do not show a real improvement, which means that the drive was a very weak one....

If we compare the number of new recruits with the size of the Party membership in the Districts, we find that the recruiting capacity of New York, for example, is 30 percent; that of Pittsburgh only 22 percent; that of Cleveland 30 percent; that of Detroit 32 percent; that of Philadelphia 28 percent; that of California 20 percent; and that of Chicago only 18 percent.

These figures, besides showing a difference in recruiting and retaining capacity of the various Districts, also show a discrepancy in the ability of keeping the recruits, which is to be explained by the efforts of a few Districts: (a) in improving the quality of recruits; (b) in improving the educational activities in the units; (c) by the improvement of the system of how to get and retain new members, how to get them assigned quickly, etc. In New York, for exam-

ple, the Party is able today not only to recruit more but to retain the new recruits, not only because of a better system of quick assignment to units, etc., but for another reason, which is of the greatest importance. That is that in New York we have more educational activities outside of the units in the form of lectures, in the form of forums, mass meetings, etc., which, to a certain extent, compensate for the lack of educational activities in the units; also there is more activity. In Philadelphia, we have an improvement in the last six or seven months because of the development of these activities. I am very sure that the moment Chicago develops such educational activities, it will improve the recruiting campaign and help retain members. This does not mean that we have to conduct only outside educational activities and forget the educational activities in the units.

With the exception of New York and, to some extent, Ohio and Detroit, the rate of progress in recruiting is very low. Chicago, with a higher membership, is below Cleveland. Pittsburgh, with practically the same membership, is far below Detroit and Philadelphia. We understand very well the difficulties facing the Party in Pittsburgh and Chicago, (victimization, growing reaction). But can we explain the poor results in building the Party only on this basis? What are the reasons? We must get at the root of them, and the discussion must put its finger on the sore spot....

From a qualitative point of view the figures show a slight improvement in the recruiting of native and Negro workers, working women, practically a tripling of the recruiting in auto, in textile and in shoe. There is also an improvement in transport and needle; a slight improvement in steel, and the same proportion in other industries. An alarming figure is the high percentage of unemployed for these industries.

In general, we can say that the Party has tried to improve the quality of the new recruits by concentration in the basic industries. Yet we are moving too slowly. We did not get the expected results.

This recruiting drive stresses especially the importance of personal contact—the concentration upon individuals. And certainly you remember the letter of the Central Committee that reached each individual Party member, in which it not only stressed the importance of personal contact in getting new recruits, but at the same time gave directives on how this was to be done.

The weak results show how detached our Party members are from fellow workers. The qualitative feature of the drive is the fact that we orientated the Party, emphasizing the necessity, for the individual Party members, of making these personal contacts. Certainly, continuing the drive on a District scale, we will get much better results.

Why? Because the figures of December, practically three months after the start of the drive, show that only now we are speeding up the tempo, that the Party members are better orientated on how to recruit.

The drive will be closed officially on the 21st of January. It must however, be continued. Each district will have to conduct its own drive, will have to work out its own plan to strengthen the drive with the aim of strengthening the Party as a whole and especially strengthening our position in the industries, by building new shop nuclei, strengthening our position mainly in the A. F. of L. unions. The tempo that we reached in the month of December has to be kept up precisely by developing the recruiting drive on a District scale.

#### Results in Building Shop Nuclei

How do we stand now with the shop nuclei? To what extent have we strengthened the old ones and built new ones? How do they function; how many of them issue shop papers? To what extent have they been mobilized in the drive? To what extent are the leading comrades involved in giving guidance to the shop nuclei, and how have the shop nuclei established themselves as the Party in the particular shop, mill or mine? These are the questions to be discussed. We have not complete figures on hand. The reports in this respect are incomplete. We know we made progress, but to what extent we have made this progress has to be determined more concretely by the discussion, in which the comrades will bring forward figures, facts and experiences.

We know that New York is registering real progress, having at present some 185 shop nuclei, which shows a real turn in the line of building the shop nuclei as the main, the basic, organization of the Party. New York more than doubled the number of shop nuclei. At the time of the Eighth Convention, New York registered only 83 shop nuclei. Chicago brought the shop nuclei from 45 to 57. Detroit not only is reviving and strengthening the old ones, but has built new ones in Detroit, Flint and other industrial centers in very important industrial plants. Since the last Plenum, Philadelphia has shown real progress in factory and trade union work. Cleveland had some 22 shop nuclei and has grown to 32.

I visited some shop nuclei in New York and other districts, and I saw some real initiative on the part of these shop nuclei in getting out their papers without any outside help, and in becoming real leaders of the masses in their shops. But it is also true that there are many, many shop nuclei that still do not understand their role, because of lack of guidance. The experiences of all the Districts will contribute to the improvement of this phase of the activity.

At this point, however, we must state that with few exceptions the Org. bulletins are not used to the full extent to analyze and study the experiences of the shop nuclei. The **Party Organizer**, the "Party Life" column in the **Daily Worker**, etc., are not utilized as they should be. At this point I must remind the comrades that some six months ago a questionnaire of monthly reports on the activity of the shop nuclei was sent out, on the basis of which the Districts and the C.C. would have had a complete analysis. Only a few Districts, however, took the pains to utilize them. This is the main reason why we lack complete figures. We will get them only through the registration blanks. Maybe the questionnaire that was sent out was too elaborate. Certainly it takes time to fill it out. I am sure of one thing, however, that such a questionnaire would have helped the Districts and the C.C. in following more closely this vital part of our Party organization. Furthermore, the questionnaire itself gives us very good material for the "Party Life" column of the **Daily Worker** and the **Party Organizer** in studying the experiences of the shop nuclei in the various Districts, in making comparisons, in developing competition, etc. It would become vital material for the District Org. bulletins, and would become a means of bringing this vital problem before the eyes of the entire membership by following the life of the shop nuclei day by day. Can we be satisfied with the results in building shop nuclei? Certainly not.

The figures on recruiting, for example, show immediately that we did not build very many shop nuclei. If in some places we have some results, we should not forget that some of the old Party members went back into the industry, which means that the recruiting drive did not go hand in hand with the building of the shop nuclei and vice-versa.

#### Life of the Units

Another problem: have we improved the life of the units as a whole? How do the unit bureaus function today? Are they developing into a real leader of the unit? To what extent did we develop the group system? How does this group system function? On the basis of the experiences, how can the group system be improved, etc.? Do the units check up on the activities of the individual Party members? To what extent are the shop nuclei involved in the recruiting drive? How have the shop papers been utilized in this drive, etc.? To what extent is the educational and agitprop work connected from the leading District bodies down to the units? This is another problem we must discuss. We must state that as a whole, the life of the units is on the road to improvement. There is more educational activity, more

initiative. This can be noticed especially where the group system has been introduced. Through the group system, for example, in New York, the Party is securing a better attendance, more regular dues-payments and, furthermore, the quicker distribution of propaganda material and a quicker mobilization of the Party. For example, Section 1 was able to mobilize 400 Party members for the demonstration against the meeting of the White-Guardists in Cooper Union in twenty-four hours by mobilizing the captains who in turn mobilized the members of their respective groups. There is still misunderstanding and confusion on what the group system should be. There are comrades who see in the group system the possibility of a mechanical multiplication of the units. Others that would like to overburden the group system with all sorts of tasks. Other comrades that see in the group system merely a preparation for illegality, and what not.

On the basis of the experiences we must insist that the main and fundamental task of the group system is and shall remain precisely the insuring of a better attendance, a more regular dues-payment, a quicker mobilization of the Party in the case of mass distribution of propaganda material, and a quick mobilization of the membership. These are the reasons that brought us to the system and not the building of a new form of organization in case of illegality. It is obvious, however, that this system is splendid training in case the Party should be suppressed. In this respect, the discussion shall be enriched not only by the concrete experiences in New York, Chicago, and other Districts where the system has been introduced, but also by the experiences especially of the South, California, Seattle. How do the units function in these Districts under the continuous pressure of reaction? Which of these American experiences, enriched by the international experiences, is of great value for the Party as a whole?

On the problem of training new cadres, the problem of literature, the check-up will be made at the Agitprop Conference.

#### **"Daily Worker" Circulation and New Tasks**

Now to the **Daily Worker**. The comrades will remember the decision that we made concerning the building of the circulation of the **Daily** and also the plans that were made....

The figures show (1) that we had the highest circulation in July, August, September and October, at the time of the wave of strikes and at the time that a great effort was made to increase the circulation; (2) that in the month following the Eighth Party Convention the increase was very slow; (3) that from August to September we registered a slow, steady decline.... This is also true of the

circulation in the concentration Districts. The figures for the Saturday edition look a little better, but it is the daily edition on which we base our central organ.

How can we explain the lack of growth, and more, the steady decline from September which continued also in the first week of January as is shown by the report of the New York **Daily Worker** circulation? First and foremost this is due to lack of organization—lack of organization of the apparatus of distribution, of a real mobilization of the Party in the circulation drive, and of no utilization of the organizations around the Party.

In New York, where we have practically 50 percent of the circulation, through Metro News, more **Dailies** are sold than through the apparatus of the Party organizations, units, fractions and sympathetic organizations. While the sale of the Metro News is on the increase, in the sale through the Party apparatus, including also the Red Builders, there is a sharp decline.

The figures on subscriptions show clearly that the Party as a whole, the individual Party members, are not made conscious of the importance of getting subscriptions, that this task is relegated to the District Agents of the **Daily Worker**. Do we know where the weakness lies? Do we know what should be done? Of course, we know. How many times have we decided to make the Party, **Daily Worker**-conscious? How many times have we decided to have all the Districts emulate New York in the building of Red Builders? How many times have we decided that the **Daily** shall be sold near the factories, if not at the factory gates, in streets where the workers pass going and coming from work, in the various union halls, at the subway entrances, at busy street-car stops, in busy neighborhood streets? Why repeat this? Is it not possible for Connecticut, Newark, Philadelphia, to build a group of Red Builders that will steadily sell the **Daily Worker** in regular places and get, after a while, a steady income on these sales? Why not build the Red Builders in all concentration Districts? Is it not possible to get the units, the fractions, involved in the campaign for subs, in the increase of the bundle orders? The daily circulation of the **Daily Worker** corresponds practically to the number of Party members.

Now if we take into consideration that the units consider themselves very busy in distributing a few thousand copies of the **Daily Worker**, it means: (1) that only a part of the membership reads the **Daily**; (2) that we reach a very small number of workers organized in the organizations under the influence of the Party; (3) that the **Daily** does not reach the masses organized in the oppositions of the A. F. of L., not speaking of the large masses we want to penetrate. Here, comrades, we must ask ourselves very sharply what do we intend to do! If we believe that the central organ of the

Party is the instrument through which we must guide the Party in its activities day by day, that through the **Daily** we must influence and reach the largest masses, then we must get active and build the **Daily Worker**, which is one of the prerequisites for the building of the Party. The key to the solution of this vital problem is organization.

A sub-committee of the Polburo, as Comrade Browder reported, composed of Comrades Browder, Krumbein and Wishnack, has worked out the proposals for the building of the circulation of the **Daily** nationally to 100,000 by July 1st. Along with this proposal, the N. Y. district is already taking the necessary steps for the mobilization of the Party. . . .

The decisions made for New York are good for all the districts. We must get active in all the districts to build up the professional Red Builders, to mobilize the units and organize Red Builder brigades, the task of which will be the selling of the **Daily Worker** on a neighborhood scale, in front of the factories, at trade union halls, etc. A **Daily Worker** committee should be organized in all trade unions and mass organizations. Where it is impossible to build such a committee, then the fraction should organize such a committee or the oppositions. We must find the way to penetrate the unions. This is fundamental. The **Daily Worker** committee and the sections will have to see that the **Daily** is sold in front of the factories, in front of the halls where meetings are taking place, etc.

Along with these proposals on the basis of the previous experiences, the Districts will have to work out immediately their own plans for the campaign. The most important task for the leading bodies will be to guide the activities day by day, to check on the results in this campaign. We must be guided by the determination of reaching the goal that we set.

At this point let me say that from now on we must use the columns of the **Daily Worker** more for the purpose of organizing the campaign, in bringing forward the results and experiences through which the campaign will be stimulated. This is true not only in regard to **Daily Worker** campaign, but in all other organizational activities. We have the "Party Life" column. We must ask ourselves: are we utilizing this column or additional columns, which we could have at our disposal to raise the organizational problems, to make this column the guide of the daily organizational activities, to bring forward the experiences on recruiting, on the life of the shop nuclei, fractions, etc.? Here we have, besides the **Party Organizer**, a powerful instrument at our disposal which we do not utilize. How many of the section organizers, organizational secretaries, unit organizers, are writing for this column, are organizing other comrades to write for it? Very, very few. Most of the material has to be prepared in the

Center on the basis of reports and letters of individual Party members. This situation must be changed.

#### Fulfilling the Trade Union Tasks

I pass now to briefly review to what extent we are fulfilling the control tasks in regard to the trade unions. Not all the eligible Party members are yet active in the trade unions. Since the Eighth Party Convention, the Party as a whole worked persistently in this direction. The results of the opposition work in the A. F. of L., the elections in the U.M.W.A. in Western Pennsylvania, in textile, etc., the increase of the Party members in the various trade union organizations, in the City Trade Union Councils, are the best proof. In a whole series of locals our comrades are active. Everywhere we see this. In Chicago, Cleveland, New York,—in all concentration districts—we notice a higher percentage of Party members active in the trade unions. . . .

In regard to the A. F. of L. we are registering a real improvement. I don't know the exact figures of the Philadelphia District, but it is known that this District, for example, has to register very good results in building the opposition in the A. F. of L., of having a good number of Party members in strategic positions in A. F. of L. and independent unions. The discussion certainly will show more positive results. Yet we are only at the beginning of this work. Not all eligible Party members are yet in the trade unions. The fractions are still functioning very poorly, and in many instances are not clear on their role. Because of this we find that many fractions instead of being the driving force in the union are lagging at the tail-end of the organized masses. While building the fractions, simultaneously, they must be enlightened on their role and tasks. The building of fractions must go hand in hand with continuous education. Our task in regard to trade union work, rooting ourselves among the masses in the A. F. of L. by building a strong opposition, demands not only the carrying on of a real drive to get the Party members into the unions and build up the fractions, but also the guarantee of the fulfillment of this task. This will help us tremendously in carrying out our line in regard to the Labor Party.

We have reached a point today where it is absolutely necessary to build trade union commissions not only in the Districts, but also on a section scale. More than that, even in the units, where they correspond to the Party in small towns or in industrial territories of the larger cities, we must have trade union directors. The commission must be the instrument of the District Committee in leading the trade union work, in building, educating the fractions, developing cadres, etc. New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland and other Districts have already established such commissions and the

comrades report good results. This Commission must become a regular department in all Districts and sections. To make real progress in this sphere of activity, to connect the Party more closely with the organized masses and take leadership of the daily struggles, we must learn from the experiences of the last period, improve our method of work, make the Party more and more conscious of trade union work by continuous discussion, enlighten them on this vital problem, and give continuous guidance to the fractions. The discussions will certainly give us rich experiences, on the basis of which we will be able to improve considerably our organizational activities in this sphere of work.

#### **Duty of the Party in Regard to Y.C.L.**

Checking on the control task of the Party Convention regarding the Y.C.L., we must state from the outset that very little progress has been made in aiding the Y.C.L. in carrying out the task that the Party has set itself. It was decided to make the Party more conscious of youth work, to give the Y.C.L. more attention and guidance, to assign young Party forces to the Y.C.L. for the purpose of strengthening its cadres, to aid the Y.C.L. in becoming a mass organization, by carrying on an increasing and systematic recruiting of young workers for the Y.C.L., and mainly to build the Y.C.L. shop nuclei where Party nuclei exist.

Only New York is an example to all the Districts. Immediately following the Convention, New York took this decision seriously. A good number of young Party members were assigned to strengthen the Y.C.L. It threw all its forces into making the National Youth Day demonstration of last year the largest ever held in New York. The young workers could see, in the thousands of Party members and workers participating in that demonstration, the solidarity of the adult workers. As a result of this Party aid and the impetus that was given by the demonstration to youth work, there has been a steady growth of the Y.C.L. The Y.C.L. in New York grew from an organization of 1,100 members at the beginning of last year to over 3,000 today. It almost tripled its membership. Today in New York City, adult and youth, we have a membership of over 11,000. But this is not the case in the other Districts. In the concentration Districts the Y.C.L. lags behind the Party as much as or even more than before the Convention. In Cleveland, for example, while the Party is improving steadily and today registers 2,000 members, the Y.C.L. has a membership of only 225, which means one-seventh the amount of the Party. It has only three shop nuclei; there is no conscious recruiting for the Y.C.L. No Party forces are assigned to strengthen the Y.C.L. cadres. The Chicago District, which set itself a series of tasks for building the Y.C.L. only partly fulfilled them. The plan was

to bring the League to 1,000 members by September 1st. But at present there are only 600 members. The Party has 57 shop nuclei while the Y.C.L. has only 7. It is true that forces were assigned there, yet the results show the lack of follow-up. I am sure that if the Chicago District had assisted the Y.C.L. in all its work in the same proportion as they assisted the Y.C.L. in the concentration on the stockyards, where the Y.C.L. plays an important role, today we would have a different picture.

In Pittsburgh there is a very sharp disproportion between the Y.C.L. and the Party, not only numerically but in the number of shop nuclei. While the Party has a number of mine and steel nuclei, the Y.C.L. has none. The fact that the Party is weak is no excuse for not giving any aid to the Y.C.L., especially when struggles are approaching in two basic industries of the District, and the role that the youth will play in these struggles is known. Strengthening the Y.C.L. means strengthening the Party. That is one of the handicaps that the Party faces today, for example, in Detroit, and in other Districts, especially in the East; its foreign-born composition and its weak contact with the large number of American-born workers. Especially in Detroit, recently, the Y.C.L. supplied a number of young cadres to the Party which are of real help.

Where will we get the cadres if not from the American-born, from the American young workers? The Party will receive forces from the Y.C.L., yes! But that means strengthening the cadres of the Y.C.L. to build it up to a mass organization if we want to get results later. The capitalists know that if they want to get dividends they must invest first. We must invest forces in the Y.C.L. now to get results later.

The Y.C.L. has only 75 shop nuclei and many of these are not in basic industries. This shows immediately that the connection of the Y.C.L. with the youth in the industry is very weak. Even in New York, where we register such good results in building the Y.C.L., only three nuclei have been built alongside the Party. The fact that in more than eight months the whole Party helped the Y.C.L. in building only three shop nuclei shows that the most important decisions on youth work have not been carried out.

What are the tasks confronting the Party at the present time in overcoming this weakness? First: the League at present has a membership of 8,000. It has set before itself the task of reaching a membership of 12,000 by July 1, in connection with the Seventh World Congress of the Y.C.I. Can this figure be reached? It can. It will be reached if the Party will give full assistance in the concentration Districts, and in all those Districts where the gaps in size between the Party and the Y.C.L. are large. This means that in

some Districts we must be determined to put over the task of building the League into a real mass organization.

Second: In the period from today until July the Party must undertake to build at least 50 shop nuclei of the Y.C.L. Every District must select factories to concentrate upon. This means the assignment of forces, continuous follow-up, etc.

Third: As part of the **Daily Worker** circulation drive, the Party units must spread the **Young Worker** among youth in the shops, unions, mass organizations. The **Young Worker** will become the best means of reaching young workers, the best means of recruiting for the Y.C.L.

Fourth: The leading cadres must be strengthened in all Districts. This means assigning of young Party members for youth work. The New York District in this respect has already decided to assign 100 young Party members for League work. This example should be followed by all other Districts. We should not be stingy with the youth.

Fifth: In the next period there must be more attention and guidance to the Y.C.L. The Y.C.L. is making the first beginnings of breaking away from its sectarianism, in connection with the broad movement around the American Youth Congress. The Y.C.L. is learning to connect itself with broad masses of youth, and, as Comrade Edwards stated, we must help on a District scale to penetrate into the C.C.C. camps.

Leadership and guidance to the Y.C.L. must take the form of assistance in developing youth activities in connection with all the mass campaigns of the Party (unemployment insurance, work in the A. F. of L., etc). No Party plan can be considered complete unless it indicates how the youth are to be mobilized for the specific campaigns, and how the Party will aid the work among the youth in the campaigns. The youth is the future, yes! But the future where the young generation of the American toiling masses will accomplish miracles is not far away, and our task is to speed up the tempo in winning over this part of the working class.

Why did we neglect the Y.C.L.? Why did we not fulfil the Eighth Party Convention decisions with regard to the youth? What do the Districts intend to do in carrying out these proposals?

Here comes the example of the New York District, of the Harlem Section. They have something that no one other section of the Party has: The **Harlem Organizer**. What is the main headline in its last issue? "The Party must intensify youth work." I think that the examples, the experiences of Harlem, of the New York District, must be followed by the Party in all Districts.

### Into the Negro Organizations

Comrades Browder, Edwards and Ford have spoken about the necessity of making a turn in our Negro work, of learning from our experiences in the trade union work on how to connect ourselves with the organized masses. While the influence of the Party is increasing among the Negro masses, yet, organizationally, they are still detached from us. In the United States there are five million of the Negro population organized in fraternal organizations, ten million in churches. The problem of how to penetrate these organizations is of the utmost political importance for us. We must systematically study how to penetrate among the millions of organized Negro workers. It is not only a political, but also an organizational, problem.

We must not be content with the united front established at the top. These united front conferences are not giving results, and cannot give results if their decisions are not brought down into the branches of these organizations. But in order for decisions to go down, there must be somebody down below to fight for these decisions, and mobilize the masses around these decisions. Therefore, if we want to mobilize the organized Negro masses, we must have forces inside these organizations.

The street units, those that are composed of Negro workers (because of the territory) the units where the percentage of Negro members is high, must see to it that these comrades join, or rejoin, the Negro organizations. At the Y.C.L. Bureau meeting one of the young comrades (one of the young Negro comrades) reported that he left one of these organizations when he came into the Y.C.L., thinking it was correct and that his other friends are inclined to leave in order to be able to join the Y.C.L.

We must stop this. On the contrary, we must see that Party members are sent into these organizations. It means that the units, while working in the neighborhood, at the same time shall act as Party fractions inside these organizations, which have headquarters in the same neighborhood. Along these lines we will connect ourselves organizationally with large Negro masses, we will succeed in building the L.S.N.R. into a real mass organization on the basis of affiliation. The problem will be solved by going into these organizations, working among these masses from within.

### Tightening the Party Apparatus

My last point: A few words on the apparatus. The growing attack against the Party by the Chamber of Commerce, the Hearst press, the Dickstein Committee, requires a speedy tightening up of the apparatus. We must learn from the experiences in the South, in the West, from the German Party, from the international experiences....

To the extent that the Party connects itself more firmly with the masses, depends our resistance to the attack of the enemy. This means improvement of the life of the shop nuclei, fractions, group system, functioning of the leading forces, building up of the shop papers, neighborhood papers, in one word—improvement of the whole Party organization. At this point I want to stress two organizational measures that will improve our activities: (1) more connection between the Org. and Agitprop work. Each Org. Commission in the Districts and sections must include the Agitprop Director and vice-versa. In each Agitprop Commission, the Org. Commission must have its own member. We must connect the Agitprop work better with the Org. work, the two phases of the task of winning and organizing the workers, of improving the life of the Party politically and organizationally. (2) We must do away with the District Secretariats. We must build up the authority of the District Bureau. The District Organizer, Section Organizer, are responsible for solving the daily tasks of reacting to the daily problems. Of course, the organizers will consult with the Org. secretaries and Agitprops, direct and assign the specific task to the various departments. Of course, in case of emergency, the organizer will call an emergency meeting of the District Bureau or at least try to get the nearest bureau members for consultation.

In conclusion, comrades, we must be practical. We must take all these measures that can better adjust our apparatus to the daily needs of the Party. We must learn how to act among the masses, how to utilize all our activities, the various campaigns to build the Party. Building the Party to a mass Party means reaching larger masses, means strengthening the Party position in the A. F. of L. unions and other mass organizations; means the systematic participation and leadership in the daily struggles of the masses on the broadest united front basis; means better preparation to withstand all kinds of attacks; means developing, strengthening of our struggle against war and fascism and in defense of the Soviet Union. To achieve this we must learn, as Comrade Browder stated, to fulfill the tasks by a continuous check-up. This is the reason why in this report I asked so many questions that must be answered. It is from the collective experiences that we draw the lessons to march forward.