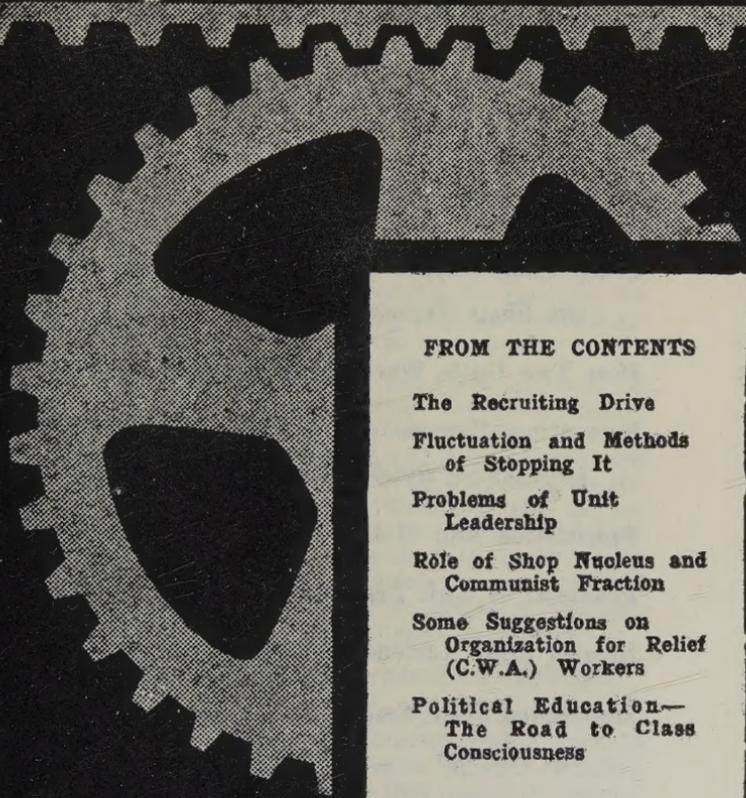


Party Organizer



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PARTY ORGANIZER

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The Recruiting Drive

THE resolution of the 17th C.C. meeting states that "Characteristic of the moment in the inner life of the U.S.A. are the many signs of breakdown of the N.R.A. operation, the bankruptcy of the New Deal as a capitalist solution of the crisis" and that "the fifth winter of the crisis is plunging the masses of the U. S. into unprecedented misery and starvation, on a scale hitherto unknown."

In the very near future we will face still greater struggles and our task is to equip the Party to take the leadership. And one of the most important prerequisites for equipping the Party is the strengthening of the Party through the recruitment of the best elements of the American workers.

The resolution of the XVII Plenum laid down the task for every Party Unit, fraction and committee "to recruit immediately into the Party the broad surrounding circle of supporters and especially the most active fighters in the struggles now going on." Let us examine briefly the recruiting in the last six weeks in the concentration Districts. Let us see how we carried out the Open Letter—whether we understood that "it is nothing but phrase-mongering to speak about building up the Party and the revolutionary trade unions without doing this among the important bodies of workers, in the big factories, in the important industrial centers."

Analysis of Recruiting in Concentration Districts

In the month of November approximately 1700 members were recruited, which, although considerably higher than in previous months, was practically the same number recruited in October. During November and the first weeks of December, Pittsburgh District, which concentrates on steel and mining, with a dues paying membership of approximately 900, recruited 7 employed steel workers and 6 employed miners, 6 unemployed steel workers and 7 unemployed miners. The total number of new recruits during these five weeks was only 54, of which 28 were unemployed. Only two Negroes were recruited. The one good feature in this very unsatisfactory recruiting is that 50% of the new recruits are native born. Cleveland District concentrates on steel, metal and mining. During the six weeks, beginning with November 1st, this District, which has a dues paying membership

of about 1200, recruited 87 members, of which 7 were employed and 7 unemployed steel workers, 2 employed and 8 unemployed metal workers, and 2 employed and 2 unemployed mine workers. 53 of the 87 are native born, and 17 of these are Negroes. Detroit District concentrates exclusively on automobile. During three weeks in November and 2 weeks in December, 4 employed and 37 unemployed auto workers were recruited out of a total of 61. Only 3 were Negroes, and only 30% of the new recruits were native born. The dues-paying membership in this District is approximately 1,000. The Chicago District, whose main concentration is Packing House, steel, metal, mine and railroad, in the same five weeks recruited only 2 unemployed and 4 employed packing house workers, 6 unemployed and 7 employed steel workers, 7 employed and 6 unemployed metal workers, 2 employed and 5 unemployed mine workers, and 1 employed and 2 unemployed railroad workers. The total recruiting in this period was 170, 62% of which were native born, and 30% Negroes. New York District concentrates on metal, marine, and transportation. In five weeks the District, which is conducting a recruiting drive, recruited 20 employed and 15 unemployed metal workers, 5 employed and 10 unemployed marine workers, and 2 employed and 3 unemployed transportation and railroad workers. Out of a total of 512 new members, only 34 Negroes, despite the fact that New York contains the biggest Negro center in the country (Harlem). Approximately 50% of the new recruits are employed and about 35% native born. This is the accomplishment of a District with a dues-paying membership of 5,000.

There are about 11,000 members in the five concentration Districts, with many times that number in the revolutionary unions, opposition groups in the A. F. of L. and in the mass organizations. Yet only 884 new members were recruited in five weeks, and only 69 of these employed workers from the concentration industries!

These figures speak for themselves. There is no need for further emphasis. They demonstrate very clearly that **the Open Letter has not yet become a guide for daily practical work**; that the resolution of the last plenum of the Central Committee has not had sufficient effect on our recruiting.

The recruiting in the other Districts, as shown by an analysis of the figures, shows the same tendencies,—an insufficient number of new members, a large proportion of unemployed, and only an insignificant number of employed workers from the basic industries. The only good feature in the present Party recruiting in almost every District is that a com-

paratively large number of native born workers are won for the Party.

The Central Committee, considering this unsatisfactory situation, has decided to launch a recruiting drive, ending at the Lenin Memorial Meeting.

Tasks of Recruiting Drive

The first and most important problem which we face in connection with the recruiting drive, is: how will we be able to mobilize the whole Party membership for recruiting from the factories?

It would be wrong to set the task mechanically, that during the recruiting drive we must organize so many shop nuclei. We have to understand that recruiting of new members—the strengthening of old or formation of new shop nuclei—will take place only as a result of mass political work of the Party organizations, in the course of the preparation and organization of mass activity, and during the struggles of the workers in the factories. At the same time, this result will not be achieved, if the membership of the Party does not receive a clear and consistent explanation of the political line of the Party, its slogans and immediate tasks, the difficulties in factory work, and how these difficulties can be avoided and conquered.

Systematic recruiting of new members must be carried on, under the direction of the Party Committees, in the concentration factories, mines, docks, mills. The higher committees have the responsibility of giving daily guidance to the nuclei in carrying out this task, in giving particular attention to the concentration points, which are the strategic sectors in the class struggle of the proletariat, from which the foremost revolutionary elements must be recruited into our Party.

This recruiting from the concentration points cannot be left to the Party members inside the factories, mines, mills, docks, etc. The street units must also be mobilized for this task. The street unit, concentrating on the factory, plays a very important role in developing struggles inside of the factory in the recruiting drive. The street unit can organize shop gate meetings, mass distribution of leaflets, literature, Daily Workers, shop papers, and create mass sentiment for the Party and revolutionary unions and lay the basis for organization.

Recruiting in Unions

The Open Letter and the resolution of our last plenum emphasized the necessity of intensifying the unions, of building and strengthening the Party fractions there. How was this decision carried out? The figures for the five weeks'

period give a vivid picture of our activity in the unions. Out of 884 new members recruited in the five concentration Districts, 121 were members of the A.F.L. and 230 of the Revolutionary Unions. The following table shows the picture:

	Number Recruited	From A. F. of L.	From Revolutionary Unions
Pittsburgh	55	—	29
Cleveland	87	2	—
Detroit	61	3	13
Chicago	170	22	25
New York	512	84	163

We cannot be satisfied with this result, particularly in Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago. Pittsburgh has failed completely in recruiting from the U.M.W.A.

This weakness in our work will have to be corrected in the present recruiting drive. We will have to intensify our work in the revolutionary unions, in the A. F. of L. and in the independent unions. The fractions must be strengthened by the recruitment of the best elements from these unions. We have thousands of Party members in the various unions, who in their daily activity could win thousands of splendid fighters for the Communist Party. This must be their first task during the period of the Recruiting Drive.

“Too Busy to Recruit”

Comrade Browder at the 17th Plenum, reviewing the recruiting activities of the Party, pointed out very sharply that:

“Our Party seems to have the conception that if we are in mass activities, we cannot build—recruit into the Party. ‘We haven’t got time for such a thing. We have more important things to do. If we could stop all the struggles, then we would have time to recruit; then we could build the Party.’ What does it mean when the comrades say, ‘We are too busy with more important things and haven’t time to build the Party.’ Such an answer, such an attitude as this to the question of building the Party displays a serious lack of understanding of the role of the Party in the mass struggles.

“Comrades, we must speak very sharply. It shows a Menshevik opportunist conception of the Party. It is impossible for us to lead and organize the masses in their struggles in a revolutionary way without building the Party. If we do not build the Party as the basic part of organizing and leading the mass struggles, we will

inevitably go into the swamp of opportunism. The Party is the heart of all of our work. We are the Party of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, we say, the Party of the Proletarian Dictatorship, the Party that is going to lead the workers in America to the establishment of Socialism in this country. But with this program we go into the mass struggles and say we are too busy leading strikes to build the Party. I think it is clear, comrades, that this is not an organizational question. This is a political question of the first magnitude. And here we have expressed in the sharpest form the political weaknesses of our Party."

These words of Comrade Browder's must be the political guide in our recruiting drive. We have to break down the opportunistic tendencies existing in the Party organizations. The units must come forward boldly as Communist Party organizations in their daily activity through leaflets, presenting the program of the Party, connected up with the concrete issues facing the workers. The Communist Party must be a revolutionary mass party of the proletariat! **Forward in the Recruiting Drive!**

"Every Shop Worker Out of the Street Unit and Into His Shop Nucleus"

IN analyzing the recruiting drive in New York District for the past six or seven weeks we find that not only is the number of recruits brought into the Party small, but the composition of these recruits does not reflect the struggles led by our Party and revolutionary trade unions during the last few months.

If we were to make a detailed analysis of the recruiting we would find that there has been very little recruiting from those industries where we have led thousands of workers in successful struggles for better conditions.

Our general Party membership, and particularly the functionaries of the units, do not as yet understand what recruiting really is, i.e., they do not understand whom we want to recruit, and from where these recruits should come.

Let us for a moment analyze the present membership in the Party in the New York District. Out of 4600 dues paying members we have close to 50% employed, i.e., about 2300 Party members working in shops. Only 350 of these 2300 are members of shop nuclei. That still leaves us 1950 members

employed, the majority of them in shops, who are members of street units. Let us assume for the moment that one thousand of these members are working in small shops and such enterprises (building trades, etc.) where shop nuclei cannot be organized. This still leaves us 950 Communists working in almost as many shops from which the major amount of our present recruiting should come.

Shop Workers Must Recruit From Shops

We have a situation at the present time in the Party, where a Party member, working in a factory with dozens of workers, finds himself distributing literature and carrying on more propaganda on the block in his neighborhood than among the workers in his shop. This does not mean that we should not carry on our propaganda and endeavor to recruit from the neighborhoods, but that the comrades working in shops should first of all recruit from their shops.

There are two basic reasons for this situation. One, the lack of understanding on the part of our Party membership and lower functionaries of the importance of bringing our recruits from the shops, and in this way rooting our Party in the shops.

Second, considering that 50% of our Party members in the district have been in the Party for not longer than one year, it is very natural that a great majority of these members working in shops, in spite of the fact that they are willing to recruit among the workers, do not know how to go about it. Once we succeed in clarifying the above two problems our recruiting will take a different form.

How the Fractions Can Help

In this connection we must consider the role of our leading fractions in the trade unions. Let us take as an example any one of our unions, where we have a number of Party members working in various shops. Some of these are members of shop nuclei. There are still many Party members in the general fraction of the union who are working in individual shops. Since it is the task of the leading fraction in the union to bring forward the Party, and root the Party in these shops, they should therefore organize a series of meetings with these comrades working in the various shops, and discuss with them ways and means of organizing shop nuclei in their shops. Leading comrades from the fraction should be assigned the special task of checking up on these Party members every day.

But it is not sufficient to assign this task to a leading comrade. The leading fraction must from time to time call in the comrades in charge of these Party members and check up with them on the progress of the drive. In this way we

would know at all times who is recruiting, what means and methods are used, and the entire Party could learn from the experiences of the various comrades.

A Shop Nucleus in Every Shop

Let us again consider the assumption that we have approximately 950 Communists working in 950 shops of over 10 workers in each shop. Now, if we were to organize a campaign through the district in every street unit and in every fraction, with the main slogan: "A Shop Nucleus in Every Shop Where a Communist Works at the End of this Recruiting Drive", I am confident that while we would not succeed in organizing 950 shop nuclei, nevertheless our shop nuclei would greatly increase. We have the possibility for the immediate organization in the New York District of from 100 to 200 new shop nuclei.

Task of Street Units

How can the street units effectively start carrying out this campaign? The greatest responsibility in this connection falls upon the shoulders of the political leader of the unit. We must make our unit organizers feel that it is not only their personal responsibility to see that the shop workers in their units know how to recruit from their shop, but we must make them feel that it is their political responsibility to show the comrades working in shops how to organize a shop nucleus. Our unit organizers must immediately, at the next unit bureau meeting, discuss this problem. Find out how many comrades are working, call these comrades in to the next unit bureau meeting and have a discussion with them on the ways and means to be used for recruiting in their shops. The unit organizer should prepare to have at this meeting such literature as Bittleman's pamphlet, **The Communist Party in Action**; Browder's **What Every Worker Should Know About the N.R.A.**, and other such small pieces of propaganda which our comrades in the shops can easily sell and distribute without exposing themselves as Communists. All kinds of leaflets and literature sold by the section or distributed to the units must first of all get into the hands of our comrades working in shops. The unit organizer should make it his or her personal responsibility, after such a meeting, to check up on the progress made by every shop worker, speaking to the comrade personally, if necessary visiting them in their homes, and discussing with them why and how they should recruit for the Communist Party. If the unit bureau feels that they themselves do not understand this problem, they should get in touch with the factory head of their particular section and see that one of the leading members of one of the shop nuclei now in existence should be

assigned to that unit bureau to tell the comrades how his nucleus is carrying on Party agitation and propaganda among the workers in his shop.

What will be the effect of, let us say, an increase of 200 shop nuclei in the New York District? It will help to solve many of the burning organizational problems recently discussed at the District Org. Conference. We would find a much different relationship between the sections and units of the Party and our fractions and leading comrades in the trade unions, because the Party would be rooted in the shops.

I would propose that each unit bureau, after reading this article, should immediately have a discussion on it at the next bureau meeting, and take steps to carry out some of the tasks discussed in this article. Individual members of the units should see to it that their unit bureau does not neglect the immediate discussion of this question, but that it becomes a first order of business in your unit.

Let us establish Socialist competition and see which will be the first unit to transfer the shop workers from their unit into new shop nuclei. Unit bureaus and individual comrades, especially those working in shops, should send their opinions and experiences to the **Daily Worker** for publication in the "Party Life" column. Comrades in the shop nuclei particularly should write in their experiences on how they brought new members from their shop into the Party.

United work by the comrades in the sections, units, shop nuclei and trade union fractions will change the map of the Party, and will root our Party in the shops.

— J. B.

EDITORIAL NOTE:— Comrade J. B. raises in this article a very important problem. We would like to make two remarks. Is it sufficient if the unit organizer or the unit bureau alone helps the comrade in building the Party in his own shop? We don't think so. It is necessary that the individual comrade should get the help of the whole unit, especially if he is working in an important factory. The comrade must have some outside help for **Daily Worker** and literature distribution before the factory gate. This help must come from his street unit.

The second point: shall we say that we must build shop nuclei in every shop which employs ten or more workers? We can not be mechanical on this question. In every case the higher committee should be consulted as to whether it is advisable and necessary to organize a shop nucleus in certain small shops, although everything that is stated in the article about the necessity of recruiting, even in the **smallest shops** is correct and should be applied in the present recruiting campaign.

How Two Units Were Established In The Steel Mills

IN the Calumet Steel region there are tremendous possibilities of rooting the Party in the steel industry. The fact that in a concentrated area there are tens of thousands of steel workers working in but a few mills enables the Party, through proper methods of concentration, to reach these workers with our program and recruit the most advanced workers into our ranks. All the activities of the Party invariably affect the steel workers, and therefore even the conduct of general campaigns (November 7th; Anti-War; Building the **Daily Worker**; Scottsboro and the Struggle for Negro Rights) puts the Party in touch with these thousands of steel workers and creates the basis for their organization into the Party and mass organizations. The work among the unemployed steel workers and the struggles of the Party and the Unemployed Councils for immediate relief served as a link with the employed workers when thousands of workers went back to the mills with the temporary pick-up in steel production last summer.

Concentration Results in Organization and Struggle

As a result of the concentration of the Section Committee on the ——— Co. plant in Indiana Harbor, a Party unit was established and the local union of the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union strengthened in this plant. Through the correct formulation of shop demands and a thorough discussion of these demands with the broader groups of workers called to special meetings on a shift basis, sentiment for strike struggle was developed. A strike was called and the plant was closed 100%. This was the first strike in this region since 1919: Incidentally this plant was one of the few that did not come out on strike during the great Steel Strike of 1919. The Party unit took the leadership in the planning and developing of this struggle. Throughout the duration of this 6 weeks' strike, the unit exercised its leadership and planned all actions in an effort to win. In the course of the strike this unit recruited another 3 workers, members of the strike committee, building up a shop unit of 10 comrades in the plant. Through dealing in a correct manner with the "red scare" the Party created a basis for broader recruiting, but because of insufficient attention paid to recruiting, more workers were not brought into the Party during the strike.

Another example of how the Party is able to root itself among the steel workers is the method used in building up

a shop unit in the steel plant of the ——— Foundries. For many years two comrades were working in this plant and despite many discussions and decisions that they work for the establishment of a shop unit in this important mill, no results were achieved in this direction. The reasons given for the inability to build the Party were many and quite common ones. With the attention of the Section Committee turned towards dealing with the building of the Party in the mills, with the best forces thrown into this activity, the "impossible" was achieved. The two comrades were called to a special meeting, and there detailed discussions were had on the importance of shop units and concrete steps of how to agitate and organize in the plant. As a result of the pick-up in steel production, new workers were called to work. A Party member of a street unit got a job in the plant. Now the three comrades were put to work to build a local of the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union. With this work proceeding, another two workers were recruited into the Party. This unit of five started to give leadership to the Union local and as a result, a shop program of demands was adopted which gave the basis for the establishment of a broader local and some 12 workers joined the S.M.W.I.U. During the strike, these workers issued leaflets calling for solidarity and support of the strike. Funds were raised for relief, and even the possibility of spreading the strike existed, but due to the lack of attention to this unit during the strike, this situation was not taken advantage of and as a result no strike struggle developed in this plant.

Must Have Shop Paper

There is one weakness in the work of these units and that is their failure to issue shop papers. While they issue leaflets on current events through their respective union locals, and distribute Party agitational material inside the mills, they have no independent voice of their own in the form of a shop paper. Steps are now being taken to have all shop units prepare shop papers so that the Party will have its voice in all the mills where shop units exist at present. With correct concentration on the part of the Section Committee and the entire membership, shop units can be established in the remaining mills and all existing units strengthened to become real leaders of the steel workers of the Calumet region.

— D. M.

Recruiting Experiences During the Ambridge and Greensburg Steel Strikes

IT is necessary to point out at the very beginning that in organizing the union, both in Ambridge and Greensburg, the question of Party recruiting was not taken up seriously at the beginning, especially by some of the leading comrades of the union. At a later stage, during the organization of the union in Ambridge, the leadership of different local unions, especially the officers, were approached to join the Party. The feeling among the leading Party comrades in the union was that there would be many difficulties in approaching these workers. However, to our surprise, many workers wanted to know why they weren't approached before to join the Party because, they said, they knew that without a strong Party group in the union, very little headway can be made.

It was quite easy during the height of the strike in Ambridge to carry on a mass recruiting into the Party. At one time one of the union organizers in Ambridge stated he had 50 workers on the list who could be approached for the Party, but we never arranged a meeting with these 50 to explain to them the role of our Party. Those whom we succeeded in bringing into the Party we did not prepare ideologically as to the role of the Party in strikes and the tasks of Communists within the trade unions. We failed to establish a functioning fraction of these comrades within the strike committee. The Ambridge Party unit did not meet during the strike to discuss the further steps to be taken and to prepare the new members for a clear understanding of the problems. The Greensburg unit met only two or three times during the strike but the discussion at these meetings was not outside the immediate problems facing the strike and therefore did not help to clarify politically the new Party members. Especially was it necessary in both of these strikes to discuss in these Party units the "red issue" that was being raised, and explain to the new comrades how to face this and other attacks against us.

While we used a great deal of literature in recruiting Y.C.L. members and also gave out some literature to those whom we took into the Party, we did not follow a systematic policy of taking up with these comrades various problems that they were unable to answer and to which we could have helped them get the answer had we given them the necessary literature.

Lessons From These Strikes

In recruiting into the Party during these strikes we failed to utilize the **Daily Worker** sufficiently as a means through which to reach the best workers in the strike committees and among the strikers. In Greensburg, when we decided to concentrate on the few leading workers in the Strike Committee and we followed this up concretely, we succeeded in getting the best members of the strike committee into our Party. This proves once again that the militant workers are not afraid of our Party or the "red issues" raised against us, and if correctly approached will willingly join our Party. Our main weakness in recruiting during these two strikes expressed itself among some of the leading comrades in the union who hesitated at the beginning about recruiting new workers into the Party. The lesson to be drawn from these two strikes is that we must fight against all hesitation in connection with Party recruiting and begin the recruiting, not after the strike has occurred, but during the process of organization of the union, consolidating our union forces through the establishment of functioning Party fractions.

Though temporarily the workers in both of these strikes have been defeated, it is possible and necessary to build our Party. We must utilize those new Party members who came in as a result of the strike as a link with the other workers inside the factories in order to begin to re-establish functioning union groups in the various departments, and strengthening our Party in order to prepare for the battles which are ahead of us.

— L. D.

"In spite of the fact that there have been widespread movements among the workers, and many workers have come forward in the struggles, the cadres of functionaries of the Party have not been rejuvenated and strengthened from the ranks of these workers, and sectarian elements, who are beyond hope of improvement and have lost touch with the masses, have not been replaced by new worker cadres who have distinguished themselves in struggle."—OPEN LETTER.

Fluctuation and Methods of Stopping It

THE large turnover of our membership is one of the biggest problems confronting the Party. When we look at the continuous stream of thousands of workers joining our Party of which only a small percentage remain, as shown by the slow growth of our Party, it is time to pay a little more attention to this problem. Fluctuation of membership reflects the very life of our organization. It is that barometer which shows to what extent our Party is able to absorb and assimilate the new workers that come into the Party, to give them a basic understanding of the role of the Party.

In District 8 this has been and still is a burning issue. Reviewing the period between March 1st, when the claimed membership of the district was 3,513 and October 7th, when the claimed membership was 3,757, we have a gain of only 244. During the same period, however, we recruited 1,134 members, and lost 890, a fluctuation of over 78 percent, which is rather serious.

Wrong Theories About Cause of Fluctuation

A number of wrong theories have been put forth to account for and correct the situation. At first the blame was placed on the "old members" who cannot adapt themselves to the new requirements in the Party and therefore are a hindrance to the growth and development of the Party and the new members that were recruited into the Party. Therefore the solution that was proposed was to get rid of the old members and then we will have a fine Party. Some have carried this theory to a ridiculous point where it almost looked disgraceful to claim membership of a few years standing in the Party. That such an argument holds no water can readily be seen when you analyze those who drop from the Party.

Another wrong conception developed and that is that the Party is recruiting quantity instead of quality, and that we must be more selective in getting members into the Party. Take into the Party only those that we are sure will stick, those that have already an understanding of the Communist Party theoretically and organizationally. Such a theory is only an easy way out in trying to solve the problem of fluctuation. Comrades who put forth such a theory obviously do not take into consideration the role of the Party in making good Communists out of the newly recruited workers. According to them there is some mysterious outside force that prepares ready-made Bolsheviks to enter the Party. Yes, we must improve the quality of our recruits, but only in the sense of recruiting workers from the shops, from the basic

concentration industries, in proportion to the unemployed. Only in this sense can we speak of changing the quality of our recruits. However, such an erroneous theory was used in explanation for the decline in recruiting in the recent months and as a means of reducing fluctuation. But it is clear it is not a remedy for stopping fluctuation.

Basic Reasons

We must therefore find more basic reasons, if we are to overcome this problem. The real cause for our fluctuation lies with (a) the political life of our units; (b) the inadequate development of cadres; (c) the methods of recruiting into the Party.

Our units are not political factors in their territory. At best they carry out mechanically the decisions of the higher committees without any initiative in concretely applying the line and decisions to the specific conditions of the workers among whom they are to work. The unit meeting is no inducement for any new worker. It does not answer his problems. He agrees with the Party and its program but he does not find this in the everyday life and work of the unit. Therefore after a few meetings many begin to stay away from unit meetings until they gradually find themselves outside of the Party.

When we take our shop nuclei, we can readily see the difference. The fluctuation in the shop nuclei is incomparably smaller than in the street nuclei. And why? Because the shop nucleus, weak as it is, and still lacking the political leadership it is supposed to give to the workers in the shop, nevertheless, out of necessity, deals with the problems of the workers in the shop and is trying to give a solution to them.

Alongside and closely connected with this is the question of leadership. The Party has in the last few years grown. The number of sections and especially the units have increased. But have we, alongside with this, developed sufficient cadres of leadership to take care properly of these new units and sections? Has there been a conscious policy pursued of promoting leadership, especially of American-born, many of whom have in the recent period joined our Party? Have we patiently worked with them to help them in becoming efficient politically and organizationally, as leaders of units and sections? Here I think we find the outstanding cause for our high fluctuation. I could name a number of cities in our district where hundreds of members have come and gone, because of our failure to consolidate a cadre of leadership that has grown in the course of the struggles, during which time our Party has been built. Therefore the problem of developing cadres of capable leadership in the units and the sections is the most burning question confronting us.

Wrong Methods of Recruiting

And thirdly, our whole method of recruiting is largely responsible for this enormous fluctuation. As I have already indicated, there is a lack of systematic work of concentrating to recruit workers from the shops, from the unions, from the mass organizations. Secondly, the reception the new member gets when he first comes to the unit meeting. He is not introduced to the membership. The unit members do not even vote whether one should be accepted into the Party or not. It is taken for granted that when an applicant comes to a unit meeting that he is acceptable and therefore no one bothers to pay any attention to the new member. When a worker joins a union or any other organization he is officially voted in; he is greeted by the chairman or organizer, but in our Party no attention at all is paid to this question. There is no one to greet the new member on the occasion of his joining the Party, explaining to him the role of the Party, to make the new member feel solemnly that he is joining a militant, fighting organization of the working class of which he has just become a part, and thereby making him feel part and parcel of the Party.

What then is left as an inducement for the new member to remain in the Party? Is there any wonder that we lose so many members? Instead of trying to find the real causes why the new members do not attend the meetings regularly, there is a tendency to find fault with the new members, "they are not of the kind of timber that will make good Communists," is the general comment, and off the rolls they go. Only this week one section in our District reports that 40 members dropped from the Party, which is 25% of the entire membership of that section. This is done without any comment or without explanation as to the reasons why these were dropped. And while the section reports that 40 members were dropped during the entire month of October, this section has not recruited a single member.

These are some of the basic problems confronting us and to which we must find a speedy solution. The entire attention of our leading committee, district, section and unit, must be bent towards improving the life and work of the unit, to develop leading cadres politically capable of giving leadership to the units, and involve the members in mass activity. Only through such methods will we be able to raise gradually the political level of the entire membership, improve the quality of our functionaries, and thereby increase the attendance at unit meetings, raise the dues payments equal to the membership and mobilize the masses of workers for struggle, with the Party as the leader.

— J. L.

Problems of Unit Leadership

"The center of gravity of Party work must be shifted to the development of the lower organizations, the factory nuclei, local organizations and street nuclei."

—Open Letter.

THE basic task in the shifting of gravity of Party work to the development of the lower organizations, is the development of leadership in these organizations. The tremendous fluctuation in the Party, the insufficient recruiting, the unsystematic participation in the mass struggles, the unsatisfactory position of the Party, can be explained by the fact that: "In the Party and particularly among the leading cadres, there is a deep going lack of political understanding of the necessity for strengthening our basis among the decisive sections of the American workers"; that we do not realize fully that "we have to carry on a systematic struggle . . . for the development of political life in the lower organizations, particularly in the factory nuclei, for the development of thorough-going self-criticism, for development of initiative in the lower organizations and for improvement of its functioning cadres."—Open Letter.

This basic problem of the Party has not yet been tackled with sufficient energy. If we examine the situation in the shop and street nuclei, we will find that the leadership of these organizations do not get sufficient attention from the higher committees. The election of these leading bodies of the lower organizations is not based on the activity and ability of the comrades, but in most of the cases, it is a voluntary proposition. The units elect their leadership from among those who have "time" to fulfill the functions. Did we ever consider seriously the problem which is raised so sharply in the Open Letter, that the carrying out of the decisions of the higher committees, depends entirely upon a well functioning, able leadership in the units, upon unit bureaus that are leaders of the masses in the factory or in the territory, on comrades who have experience in the struggles that are carried on, comrades who have sufficient training in giving leadership not only to the units, but also to the masses in the factory and in the territory?

Unit Bureau—a Political Body

We have examples in many units of the Party which show that the unit bureaus are considered not only by the membership but by the higher committees as an administrative body. We elect as **unit organizer**, the comrade who is able to keep records of the membership or the comrade who does not belong to any unions or other mass organizations, the comrade

—it doesn't matter whether he has been only two or three months in the Party—who is willing to take over the job. We do not consider the unit organizer as a political leader of the unit, and of the workers in the shop or territory.

We elect as **agitprop director** in the unit, the comrade whose English is perfect, who can compose sentences perfectly, who can use the typewriter, but we never consider that the agitprop director's task is to produce material for agitation among the workers in the shop or in the territory, who has the task of giving political education to the members in the unit, who is responsible for the development of new forces from among the Party members, and from among the non-Party members in the shop and territory.

We forget that the **financial secretary's** task is not only to collect dues from the members, or sell tickets for various affairs at the unit meeting. We forget that the financial secretary has a very important political function in the unit, that he is responsible for keeping the membership, for working out ways and means to insure that every member of the unit attends unit meetings, is up-to-date in his dues payment, that he, being constantly in touch with every member of the unit, must be able to give valuable information to the bureau about the activities of the members; that he, through a well planned system should find out whether the members of the unit are active in the unions or other mass organizations. It is he who must find ways and means to establish a fund for the unit through various activities, a fund which will enable the unit to extend its mass agitation among the workers in the shop or in the territory.

The **Daily Worker agent** in the unit should be a comrade who is not only able to mobilize the membership of the unit to sell the **Daily Worker** every day in the factory or in the territory, but who is able also to mobilize the sympathizers in the shop or in the territory, in the unions, in the mass organizations, and make them enthusiastic distributors of the **Daily Worker**.

The **literature agent's** activity should not be limited to the distribution of literature inside the unit, but he must be able to teach the Party members how to bring the literature into the factories, how to distribute the literature in the territory. He is the one who should be able to mobilize the sympathizers around the Party unit for distribution.

If we succeed in selecting from among the Party members the best, the most developed, the most devoted comrades for these leading forces in the units, then the situation can be changed in a very short period.

We do not want to create the impression that the new Party members shall not be drawn into the leadership, but

we have to keep in mind always that these new forces must be guided in their work by the more developed comrades in the unit.

Too Many Changes in Leadership

There is one more very serious weakness in connection with our leadership in the lower organizations. That is the lack of stability in the leadership. It is the exceptional case when in any street unit we have a bureau for a period of six months. It is not an exception when every two or three months, new functionaries are elected to the unit bureau. We must understand that an able and stable leadership is necessary and that without this the work of the lower Party organizations will not improve.

In order to bring about this situation, the higher committees must immediately tackle this problem. They should concentrate on the most important shop nuclei and street nuclei. A member of the Section Committee should be assigned to a unit, not as a representative of the Section committee but as a member of this unit. His task is to attend the unit bureau meeting, help them to prepare the agenda for the unit meeting, discuss with them thoroughly every point on the agenda and at the unit meeting he should actively participate in the discussion.

The members of the Section Committee assigned to a given unit must participate in the mass activities of the unit. He should help the comrades in their daily work. This comrade should report about his experiences in the unit to the Section Committee so that the section leadership is continuously informed about the situation in the shop and street nuclei. Periodically it will be necessary to take up in the section the problem of a shop nucleus or an important street nucleus which is concentrating in a factory or an important territory, at a meeting to which the unit bureau concerned is invited.

As a result of this discussion a letter should be worked out by the section committee to the membership and the given unit. This letter will serve as a basis for discussion to improve the situation in the unit. The District Committee should do likewise with the section committees and important shop nuclei.

As far as possible every section committee or district bureau meeting should place one of the lower organizations on the agenda. By this method, concentrating on a small number of nuclei, we will create good examples in the section and district, and these examples, properly popularized in the other units, will help to improve the situation.

Classes and Discussions Necessary

We have good experiences in certain districts in developing the various functionaries through regular weekly discussions. In the big cities where it is possible to bring together the unit organizers or the other functionaries of the units, it is advisable to have weekly meetings with them. In these meetings the old practice where the section organizer gives out instructions to the unit organizers on what is to be done in the unit the next week should not be followed, but instead one or two of the most important actual problems should be taken up and a political discussion on this question developed so that the unit organizers will be able to go down to the unit and present the problem properly to the membership. Besides this, at these meetings a very elementary class on organization should be conducted, taking up the functioning of the unit, the method of work, how to participate in mass work, how to mobilize the workers in the shop or in the street for a certain action, the problem of developing the new forces, the problem of building shop nuclei through the members who work in the factory but belong to a street nucleus, the method of distribution of the **Daily Worker** and literature, etc.

In this class we could very easily give a theoretical basis to these problems. The same method can be used by the District for developing Section forces. In Districts where the units are scattered all over in the territory in various towns, the problem is more difficult. Here the question of instructors from the District to the Sections, or directly to the most important nuclei must be considered. It is possible even in these districts to have functionary conferences once a month, calling in the section and unit actives for discussion.

If we have a systematic cadre policy, then the problem of developing new forces will be solved very easily. We have to keep in mind what the Open Letter says about this:

“Every Party member, and especially every Party functionary, must be a real organizer of mass struggles in his particular sphere of work. From this standpoint, the Party must judge the activity of its functionaries and must choose its leading bodies.”

— J. P.

Role of Shop Nucleus and Communist Fraction

IN this article I want to clarify some confusion existing among many Party members, especially members of the shop nuclei, who are at the same time members of the Communist fractions in the revolutionary unions, and in other unions. There are many of these comrades and others as well, who ask: **Why shall we duplicate our work** of being at one and the same time, the Communist nucleus in factory so and so, and the Communist fraction in the union, embracing the workers in total or part of the same factory?

This question shows immediately that there is no clarity about the role of the Party nucleus and the role of the fraction regardless of which union is involved, revolutionary or reformist.

To make it clear let us take an example. Let us take for granted there is a factory "A", that employs 2,000 workers. Out of the 2,000, there are 1,200 workers organized in the Industrial Union affiliated with the T.U.U.L. In the nearby factory B with 3,000 employed workers, 2,000 are organized in the A. F. of L. In both factories there is a factory nucleus. In both there is a Communist fraction. **Now what is the basic task of the nuclei in the two factories, and what is the basic task of the fractions in the two different unions?**

Tasks of Nucleus

In order to make this problem clear, we must understand that the nuclei in Factory A and B are the Party in these factories, and as such their primary task is to bring forward the Party program to the workers, win the best of them to the nuclei, take the lead in the struggle of the workers and champion their grievances in the name of the Party. It is the task of the nuclei, as the Party, to show to the workers that their struggles, regardless whether of economic nature or for better sanitary conditions, etc., are class struggles in so far as these struggles are between the workers who sell to the bosses their labor power, and the bosses who are the owners of the means of production, who are exploiting them to get higher profits and at the same time, together with the other bosses, are the rulers of the country, and are using the government and its instruments to protect their profits. etc. The nuclei in factory A and B have the task of winning the best elements of the workers to the Party, to issue a shop paper that will bring the Party position before the workers, concerning the conditions in the shop, and the struggles going on, connecting this with the ultimate aim of the working

class. The nuclei at the same time must appeal to the workers to organize, help them to organize, but while in Factory A, the nucleus will support the revolutionary union, will do its utmost to build it, in Factory B, the nucleus will bring before the workers the Party position on the A. F. of L., will urge the workers to strengthen the organization, but at the same time will lead the fraction in the building of an opposition inside the union, to fight the bureaucrats who compromise with the bosses and sell the workers out, to develop struggles over the head of the bureaucrats, will strive to have at the head of the union, a rank and file leadership that will fight the bosses, in the interests of the workers and that will transform the union from a reformist one into a militant one, based on class struggle.

Tasks of Fraction

Now we come to the other point to be clarified. In both unions there is a Communist fraction. Physically the members of the fraction are identified with the members of the nuclei. The nature and task of the fraction, however, are different ones.

While the nuclei are the Party in factory A and B, the fraction is the group of comrades inside the revolutionary union in factory A, and the group of comrades in the reformist union in factory B. Now the task of the fraction in the revolutionary union is to give leadership to the union, to be the guardian of its problems, activate the union, give guidance in formulating demands, mobilize the union to build itself, to conduct struggles in the interest of the workers, see to it that the union participates in the various campaigns of the revolutionary movement, clarify the membership on the program of their union as an organization of class struggle, etc., so that their personal and collective example shows that they are the best and most sincere fighters of the union and in this manner, they will draw the best elements of the union into the Party, and into the fraction, thus strengthening not only the Party in the unions (fractions) but the shop nucleus also, which means the strengthening of the Party in the factory.

In the reformist union, the task of the fraction will be the organization of the best elements, who understand the role of the bureaucrats and the reformist character of the union, into an organized broad rank and file opposition with the aims of ousting the bureaucrats from the union, giving to the union a rank and file leadership able to transform the union from a reformist one to an organization of class struggle.

Relation Between Nucleus and Fraction

We now come to another aspect of the problem—to the relation between nuclei and fractions.

In stating that the shop nuclei are the Party in factories A and B, it is evident that the nuclei must discuss all problems concerning the workers in the factories, work out the policy to be pursued by the nuclei themselves, and also by the fractions in the unions. The nuclei lead all activities of the Party members in the factories including the activities of the fractions in the unions.

This means that the nuclei must discuss the problems of the unions, discuss the policy and activities of the fractions in so far as this is one of the phases of Party work, under the direct guidance of the Party (shop nuclei in both factories).

The leading fractions in the unions in both factories composed of the Party members in the executive committees of the unions, while being in touch and co-ordinating their work with the higher fraction of the union (if the union also exists in other factories) or with the Communist fraction in the T.U.U.C., or in the case of the Union in factory B, with the leading fraction in the opposition of the respective union in the A. F. of L., will at the same time report about their activities and the activities of the fractions as a whole to the nuclei, discuss the problems pertaining to the union so that the nuclei will be able to make decisions and give guidance along the program of the Party in the factory.

Every Party member in factory A and B belongs to the fractions in their respective unions, and will meet when the fractions are called, before the general membership meetings of the union, to take up the problems of the fractions, to divide the work among the members along the program of work, previously discussed and approved by the leading fractions and by the nuclei. To these fraction meetings should be invited reliable workers who are sympathetic with and support the program of the C. P.

There are many more points that should be elucidated, as for example, the tasks of the nucleus and fractions in the event that in a nearby factory C, there should be two unions in existence, in which case the nucleus will lead the activities of both fractions which have different tasks corresponding to the character of the two unions, as we already explained in the first example.

The Party Organizer will clarify this question on the basis of concrete examples. This short article is an introduction to the subject in order to clarify the most important phase of the question and to help the comrades establish the correct relation between the shop nuclei and fractions and, guided by this line, to find in practice the solution to other phases of this problem.

— F. B.

Developing New Cadres In Concentration Industries In Chicago

THE speedy developing of cadres from among the ranks of the native American workers in the mills, mines and factories is a basic guarantee that will root us more firmly among the workers in the basic industries.

Our main obstacle in the development of cadres is the prevalent lack of faith in the ability of the workers to develop organization and struggle. There is a tendency among our organizers to substitute for the workers, instead of systematic and conscious development of new workers drawn into our movement. This, in spite of the fact that in the recent period we have gained excellent response and contact with workers who have shown capacity for leadership. We have an example of one woman comrade in the stockyards who takes the Party decisions seriously and because of some training in the District Training School, has actually developed struggles against wage-cuts and speed-up in her department. Many letters have come to us from the stockyards workers for the shop bulletin, discussing their problems and linking up these problems with the N.R.A. and the general political situation.

Underestimation of Theory

In the steel mills our section committees were unable to find a single student to the District Training School. At the steel workers' conference held the 22nd of October, workers from the mills discussed their problems and showed capacity and readiness to take the leadership in struggle.

There are hundreds and thousands of workers waiting and ready for training and development. However, in the ranks of our Party there is still an underestimation of theory. There is an abstract approach to theoretical training, resulting in separation of theory from practice. Training is looked upon as "education" without any relation to daily needs. Especially in our concentration sections we follow the same routine of occasional disconnected classes. We have not as yet fully aroused the Party to the needs of systematic efforts and new methods to develop the workers in the basic concentration points.

In the recent period some definite steps have been taken to overcome this glaring weakness. The problems raised by the comrades are the following. The workers still in the mills work very odd shifts and therefore it is impossible to get them to attend regular weekly classes. The speed-up is so terrific that the workers will not come to spend their entire

evening at the school. These facts are true. But we cannot content ourselves with merely reciting facts. It is necessary for us to solve these problems by developing new methods and adjusting our work to accommodate the situation existing among the workers.

Study Circles and Schools Will Train Cadres

The following steps have been taken: First, the district is now working on the establishment of two branch schools in the steel region, one in Gary and the other in South Chicago. Classes will be conducted three evenings a week. The subjects selected are based on a discussion with the comrades in the region and answer the demands of the steel workers. The proposed courses are: Trade Union and Strike Strategy, with special emphasis on shop forms of organization and experiences in big shops; Elementary Economics, and Problems of the Class Struggle Today. This last course will be a lecture and question course on the problems confronting the steel workers, connecting these problems up with the national and international situation, the program of the Party and methods of struggle. English for workers is very essential in the steel region, especially in South Chicago, where the vast majority are foreign-born workers. The study of English will be combined with "Principles". There will also be a class for Party and Y.C.L. members in Principles of Communist Organization. These courses will be so organized as to accommodate the workers who have been drawn into the S.M.W.I.U., Party members and those workers who will be recruited through our campaign. The hours will be adjusted to correspond to the shifts and special classes will be held for those unable to conform to the majority arrangement. In this way we will be able to overcome the resistance raised under the hue and cry of impossibility to get steel workers because of shifts and hours.

In the stockyard region, in addition to concentrating on getting as many workers as possible to our city school, which is located on the south side and convenient to the stockyard workers, we will have to adopt methods of study and discussion circles in the Party units, at union meetings and establishing open forums. Some small beginnings have been made.

The establishment of two branch schools as permanent educational and training centers in the steel region will lay a basis for and stimulate this activity. However, this does not exclude our original proposals for the development of study groups of sympathetic workers, of special classes by the S.M.W.I.U. itself and special classes by the Party sections to members of the shop nuclei. On the contrary, the school

will stimulate this activity. It will furnish material, and train instructors. The school will be a base from which the Party agitprop apparatus will be able to keep closer contact with the shop units and the individual members of these units.

This program of work and activity will be successful only when it becomes the work of the entire Party. The district and sections must arouse the Party from top to bottom to the urgent need for trained cadres, for a higher political level among the entire Party membership. Our struggle against the right danger as the main danger in the Party can only be successful when our Party membership and leadership in the sections are able to understand more thoroughly the line of the Party, the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie, the nature and role of social-fascism, how to combat the terrific pressure of the bourgeoisie, etc. Only with this understanding will the right danger in our mass work be overcome and enable our Party to march forward in the light and spirit of the Open Letter.

— B. S.

“A great number of examples from the history of the Parties of the Comintern show that when Parties and revolutionary trade unions without any organizations in the factories are driven underground, they immediately lose contact not only with the masses, but in many cases even with their own members . . . Under such conditions, every minute of legal or semi-legal existences of these Parties must be utilized to get them firmly rooted in the factories, and persistent work must be carried on among the workers on the basis of defense of their daily interests and the linking up of this struggle with the ultimate aims of the Communist Party. If this is done, it will not be possible in any way for the bourgeoisie to deal sharp blows at the Communist Party, nor will the bourgeoisie succeed in isolating the Party from the masses. This means, however, that at last the resolutions on transferring the center of gravity of Party and trade union work to the factories must be carried out not in words, but in deeds, and not by reports showing that we have so and so many Party nuclei and trade union groups, with the subsequent revelation that in some cases these nuclei do not even exist, or else that they function very poorly.”—Piatnitsky, “It Is Time To Go Over From Adopting Resolutions to Carrying Them Out”, INPRE-CORR, June 16, 1932.

Some Suggestions On Organization For Relief (C.W.A.) Workers

THE latest scheme devised by the government as a means of evading the growing demand for unemployment insurance, if properly utilized, provides an excellent means for reaching and organizing large bodies of workers for militant struggle.

The fact that the government has been forced to make an appropriation of four hundred million dollars for this form of relief, is in itself proof that the mass pressure upon the government has grown to such proportions that it is now compelled to make greater concessions in the effort to pacify the embittered masses. We must make full use of this fact as a means of encouraging the masses to strengthen their organizations and intensify their struggles. At the same time we must expose the fraudulent claims that are made in behalf of this utterly inadequate measure.

Even if the Civil Works Administration could make good its promise to provide employment for four million workers, this would still leave 13 million workers without employment or means of subsistence. Obviously therefore there is no basis for the demagogic propaganda which attempts to create the impression that Roosevelt has now solved the problem of mass starvation and misery.

Utilize Grievances for Organization Within Camps

But it is necessary to do more than merely conduct counter-propaganda. We are faced with the immediate task and opportunity of organizing great bodies of workers for militant struggles. Hundreds of thousands of workers who have suffered, who have become embittered against the system which is responsible for their suffering, will now, for the first time in many months and years, again be mobilized on jobs. They will thus be more accessible (more easily reached) than unemployed workers who are scattered. The very illusions which they entertain in consequence of the capitalist propaganda about the glorious C.W.A. plan, will serve as a boomerang against the ruling class. Already, these workers find that work on C.W.A. projects makes them subject to many abuses. Wages lower than the promised scale are imposed. Hours are much longer. Transportation to place of work is poor, often very costly (50c per day for N. Y. workers employed on Bear Mountain projects). Unsanitary and unsafe conditions of work are general. Abusive foremen and ad-

ministrative bureaucrats; delay in the payment of wages; loss of wages because of bad weather; attempts to spread the inadequate amount by means of staggering the jobs so that the sum total received as a C.W.A. worker is often much less than the amount received through previous inadequate relief doles, all these are but a few of the many grievances that already become manifest and that will rouse the discontent of these workers. These will become issues of bitter struggle wherever the workers involved will be organized for struggle. They will be the basis for many betrayals and defeats if militant leadership is lacking.

At the same time many hundreds of thousands of workers, even millions of them, who have been led to register and hope for employment on C.W.A. jobs, will be cruelly disappointed. They will be gathered at the registration bureaus. They will be shunted from place to place. They will in many cases be taken off the relief rolls and left to starve day after day while they vainly wait for jobs that turn out to be empty promises.

Our Party in every section and city must give equal attention both to those workers who have secured C.W.A. jobs and those who are trying to get them. Through the Unemployed Councils, we must reach, organize and lead the necessary struggles of all these workers. This now becomes one of our most important immediate tasks.

Organizational Forms for Relief Workers

Our chief concern is to help organize the workers on the C.W.A. and other relief jobs in such a manner as to most effectively defend their interests. It is not possible, nor is it necessary that all shall be willing to assume the same name and exact organizational form for their organizations. A whole variety of names are in use by various organizations of relief workers. (Charity Workers Union; Relief Workers Union; Relief Workers Protective Ass'n.; etc.) Relief Workers Protective Ass'n. is preferable, because it indicates the kind of workers, the purpose, and, because the name "Association" indicates that membership in such organizations is not intended to substitute for membership in the unions of the trade and industry in which these workers are normally employed.

Essential features of any organization of such workers are: All inclusiveness; it must be an organization of all workers on the job, regardless of craft, political, racial, national, or other affiliations and differences. Alertness and mobility; it must be capable of immediate awareness and action on every problem that arises on the job. This also means that it requires militant leadership and rank and file

control. In addition, it must be capable of enlisting the support of workers on other C.W.A. jobs and of the workers as a whole. This in turn means that it must be capable of rendering such support to others.

The basic unit of such an organization should therefore be the local composed of all who work on a given job. The leadership should be a Committee of Action chosen from among the most militant workers. This committee should take up and direct whatever action is required on every issue that affects the job. A central council or federation of all such locals should be composed by electing delegates from all locals or basic units.

We should strive to induce (not try to force) every local to have delegates also in the nearest Unemployed Council as well as the central body of the organization. Likewise we may suggest that the cards of the Unemployed Council shall be used. We must especially urge that members shall also be active in their block or neighborhood assembly district.

The importance of the latter duty should be pointed out by showing that many of the problems that face these workers such as supplemental relief, evictions, etc., will confront them and can best be solved in the neighborhood of their homes.

— H. B.

“The necessary concentration of our work on the most important factories does not, of course, in any way mean that we should allow our work among the unemployed to slacken. In carrying out this main task we should not for an instant lose sight of the fact that we represent the interests of the entire class, and that, especially under the present conditions the unemployed constitute a factor of greatest revolutionary importance. One of the chief tasks of the Party is the organizing and mobilizing of the millions of unemployed for immediate relief and unemployment insurance and the linking up of their struggles with the struggles of the workers in the big factories—full-time, as well as part time workers,—especially now, in view of the introduction of militarized forced labor for the unemployed and the increased attempts to bring them under reformist and fascist influence. But the Party cannot carry out this task successfully unless at the same time it establishes its base in the decisive big factories. Hunger marches and other activities of the unemployed must be accompanied by sympathetic actions on the part of the workers in the factories, while the actions of the workers in the factories must receive the most active support from the unemployed.—OPEN LETTER.

Political Education—the Road to Class Consciousness

IT is apparent that the new forces in the Communist Party are gaining political experience and are becoming the respected leaders of the masses in many places, because as Communists they prove their loyalty to the working class by unbounded activity in all its struggles.

This is in keeping with the glorious traditions of the Communist League founded by Marx, whose heirs are the Communists of today. Active participation in the front ranks of all the struggles of the proletariat is the fundamental condition for the test of a good revolutionist.

This principle was laid down by Karl Marx in his memorable address before the Communist League in 1850. "The Communist League," said Marx, "has stood the test in double fashion . . . through the fact that its members everywhere had taken hold of the movement energetically, and had stood foremost in the ranks—in the publication of the press, on the barricades and on the battlefields."

Later, in his letter to Bracke in which he criticized the unity program of the Eisenachers under the leadership of Wilhelm Liebknecht and the followers of Ferdinand Lassalle, Marx wrote, "Every step of actual movement is more important than a dozen programs." Lenin carried forward the principles of Marxism. In his (Lenin's) struggles against Martov and the rest of the Mensheviks, he laid down the first and fundamental principle of membership in the revolutionary party of the working class—activity.

It is in action that the masses build up their leadership. The enemies and misleaders of the masses understand this. That is why they let no opportunity slip by. They are everywhere. These demagogues are able to wiggle into leadership precisely because our comrades, though active, are not equipped sufficiently with experience to be able to detect such scoundrels long before they gain a hold upon the masses. In many instances where our comrades do know the fakers, they lack the necessary political understanding and skill to expose and combat them effectively.

While both Marx and Lenin placed activity as the first principle of a Communist, the activity must be guided by consciousness and a revolutionary purpose. In the same letter to Bracke, wherein Marx wrote that "Every step of

actual movement is more important than a dozen programs," Marx took special care to emphasize the importance of theory.

In his classic work, "What Is To Be Done?" Lenin exposes the Economists because in quoting Marx they don't dare go further than the above sentence which is part of a complete thought. Such distortion is deliberately done in order to use Marx to justify the position of the pure and simple trade-unionist-backwardness of the Economists. "To repeat these words in the epoch of theoretical chaos," says Lenin, "is sheer mockery. Moreover, these words of Marx are taken from his letter on the Gotha Programme, in which he sharply condemns eclecticism in the formulation of principles: 'If you must combine,' Marx wrote to the party leaders, 'then enter into agreements to satisfy the practical aims of the movement, but do not haggle over principles, do not make "concessions" in theory.' This was Marx's idea, and yet there are people among us who strive—in his name!—to belittle the significance of theory."

In his Address to the Communist League, Marx also discussed the importance of theory, pointing out that the League "had further proved its worth because its comprehension of the movement . . . had proved to be the only correct one." The unity and agreement with Marx is further excellently demonstrated by Lenin where he writes: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism is combined with absorption in the narrowest forms of practical activity."

Our comrades are learning, but they do so mainly through that slow and painful, yet highly necessary and important manner, namely, the every-day activity. But we are sorely in need of revolutionary theory. Why? Because the class struggle is growing sharper and wider on a million fronts. We confront every conceivable enemy and misleader of the proletariat at every step and turn. We cannot fulfill our tasks, our duties to our class by resting satisfied to learn only by practice. It is too slow and costly. There is too great a danger of opportunist theories and bourgeois influences entrenching themselves in our work. Events are moving with lightning-like speed. Every minute new developments and changed situations crop up. History is rapidly in the making.

By reading and studying we assimilate the experiences and the lessons of the struggles of the past. In the careful study of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and other great leaders of the working class, we learn in a short time much of what it took these great minds a life-time to

learn. By studying we have placed at our service their thoughts, their analyses, their experiences and the lessons of their rich store of knowledge.

Thus, we arm ourselves with sharp weapons, with revolutionary theory. Revolutionary theory is not only a weapon. It is like a powerful searchlight illuminating our path, so that we may see clearly with full vision every step in our struggles distances ahead. Thus, we can know how to plan, how to meet and adapt ourselves to every changing situation. Thus we carry out actions with greater success and less mistakes.

Revolutionary theory is our guide to action and is tested and verified in action. We must therefore, learn how to combine theory and practice. Theory without practice is bad because it makes one abstract, academic, a bookish quibbler. Practice without theory, is bad, because it makes our task more painful and difficult and we fall victim of dangerous enemy influences of the bourgeoisie for lack of a clear revolutionary understanding. There can therefore be no separation of theory and practice for a Bolshevik.

Decisions have often been made by the various bodies in our movement, from the Communist International down to the party nucleus, that every comrades must be allowed and enabled to have at least one night a week for study. Every workers' group, club, society, union, every party nucleus should and must have a study circle, a discussion group or a class. Workers Schools must be established in every city and town and in every section of each city that will furnish not only party and union members with revolutionary education, but be available to the widest masses of workers from the shops, mines, mills and offices as well as to the intellectuals who are coming closer to the revolutionary movement. We must do everything possible to propagandize and make known the existence of such schools, and invite and encourage regular attendance.

We must put down an iron fist upon any party functionary or upon any functionary of any union or other non-party organization, under our influence, who assumes the rotten opportunist attitude of "purely practical" work to the exclusion of time for study and education. "Practical" work must not be allowed to crowd out revolutionary education. We must assign comrades to go to the Workers Schools, study circles or groups. Such assignments must be treated with the same seriousness and importance as duty on the picket-line. Any functionary, who stands in the way of raising and developing the theoretical level of the workers must be dealt with as harshly as any one who stands in the way of effective strike action.

Haphazard and sloppy methods, unsystematic actions, work by fits and spasms are ineffective and merely indicate an unwillingness or inability to exert some energy for the revolution. When we become permeated with the importance of serious education of our membership, we will be able to carry out our tasks more intelligently and consolidate and hold our gains in all our work among the masses.

It is especially important, now that registration and preparations are going on in the Workers Schools in New York City, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Boston and other cities, that the Winter term should find these schools packed with students and especially those students sent from the factories and mass organizations and unions. In the Winter term we should have the largest enrollment of Party and trade union members in the history of the Workers Schools. This can be accomplished only with the conscious, planned, and active work; the kind of work that enthusiasm and shock-brigade activity of every class conscious worker, Party, union and other functionaries and members can carry out if only the seriousness of this problem is recognized and well understood.

— S. B.

“It will be necessary to double our energies in all the spheres of struggle and agitation. It is the specific duty of the leaders to gain an ever-clearer understanding of the theoretical problems, to free themselves more and more from the influence of traditional phrases inherited from the old conception of the world, and constantly to keep in mind that Socialism, having become a science, demands the same treatment as every other science—it must be studied. The task of the leaders will be to bring understanding, thus acquired and clarified, to the working masses, to spread it with increased enthusiasm, to close the ranks of the Party organizations and of the labor unions with ever greater energy . . . If they . . . proceed in this way . . . they will stand armed for battle when other unexpected grave trials or momentous events will demand heightened courage, heightened determination, and the will to act.”—Engels PEASANT WAR IN GERMANY.