

The guiding line for the Party's approach to all post-war questions have been discussed by the Central Committee and can be referred to in the printed statement circulated to Branches, *Guiding Lines on Questions of Post-War Reconstruction*.

## V—PARTY ORGANISATION AND RULES

The Party has made a considerable advance in influence and membership, but its consolidation and further rapid growth is essential for the strengthening of the working class and democratic forces, both to achieve speedy victory and for the solution of the post-war questions.

In order to achieve this, the new problems of a large and rapidly growing Party must be solved. Experience shows that some of the most important of these problems are:

How best to ensure that the Party's policy on the current situation reaches and is understood by the entire membership.

How to get the most effective political leadership through the Central Committee, Districts, Sub-Districts, Branches and Groups and to ensure the closest links between the Party Factory Groups and the Party Branches and leading committees.

How to ensure that this leadership is concrete, relating to the local conditions and local issues, so as to draw into activity the widest masses of the people.

How to strengthen the education of the Party membership in Communist principles and theory.

How to mobilise the activity of the entire membership and to make the best use of the capabilities and spe-

cial opportunities and interests of every comrade. How to get the most effective use of the *Daily Worker* in all our work; the extension of its influence throughout the Labour and democratic movement; and closer links between the *Daily Worker* and all spheres of the movement.

**Draft Party Rules:** (These will be circulated to Branches at a later stage).

## VI—ELECTION OF COMMITTEE AND CONTROL COMMISSION

The following considerations will help in the discussion of nominations (see also Political Bureau letter of January 4th, dealing with the Party Congress).

**Central Committee** (25 members). Experience shows that what is needed is a combination of old and widely experienced comrades along with new developing comrades who have shown real capacity to understand and carry into practice the policy of the Party in the present situation. Nominations should, therefore, be made with this in view; some comrades with national experience and others who have shown their capacity for leadership in the District and are considered able to play an effective part in national leadership. Comrades nominated must have at least one year's membership of the Party.

**Control Commission** (7 members). The Control Commission requires comrades experienced in dealing with Party comrades and organisations, Party finances and business enterprises; comrades of long standing in the Party (7 years' Party membership is required) who have given proof of their loyalty and devotion to our cause in widely varying fields of Party work.

THREEPENCE

# Party Organisation-Weapon for Victory

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# A WAR CONGRESS

THE CONGRESS WILL BE meeting at the most critical stage of the war against Fascism, when the spring of 1943 opens out the conditions for the decisive offensive of the entire strength of the United Nations for final victory. The urgency of the situation and the gravity of the war crisis must govern our approach to all questions and hold the forefront of the pre-Congress discussion. Many critical questions are arising, both of military and political strategy, as well as of the most effective mobilisation here in Britain. The Congress will have the main task to find the way forward to speediest victory, and to give its lead to the British people for the achievement of this aim.

Since the National Party Conference a year ago, our Party has grown in numbers, influence and responsibility. This raises problems for the consolidation and further strengthening of the Party, as well as for the achievement of unity, of the Labour movement so that it can be equal to the tasks in front of it.

While all questions of Party policy are dominated by the war and the need for speedy victory, there can be no sharp separation between the war and the home issues, or between the war and post-war questions. On the contrary, each separate question must be seen in relation to the war needs and the development which will settle how the post-war questions will

be solved.

## I—THE FIGHT FOR VICTORY OVER FASCISM

The central issue before the British people is how to achieve speediest victory over Hitler. Decisive superiority in manpower and war production is now on the side of the United Nations. The initiative is in their hands since the opening of the African offensive and the Soviet offensive. The Soviet advance has placed the greatest opportunities before us provided there is effective and speedy action from the West. But there is not yet that effective unity of Allied strategy which can mobilise and bring into action the full strength of the United Nations against Hitler for a simultaneous offensive in Europe. The key question now more than ever is the Second Front in Europe.

Crucial problems of military and political strategy now require to receive attention.

What is our conception of a united allied strategy, and how can it most effectively be achieved?

How can we strengthen the response of all sections of the British people to the war effort, intensify the consciousness of the urgency of the war situation and stimulate the fullest democratic mobilisation behind the Government for speediest victory?

How can we assist in the developing struggle and mobilisation of the European peoples

*We print below the discussion statement which has already been circulated through the Party organisations. It is essential that every Party member should have the opportunity of discussing this, and written contributions for publication in World News and Views will be welcomed.*

for action? What should be our attitude to different classes and sections within each country in Europe in relation to the struggle against Nazi domination? What should be our attitude to elements from the camp of collaboration with Hitler who change sides?

What must be done to end the present impasse in India and secure the free and united co-operation of the Indian people?

The present urgent situation makes more essential than ever the strongest, most stable and united Government of National Unity for the prosecution of the war against Fascism and for carrying out all measures necessary for victory. We aim to develop the widest unity and to strengthen the Government for the organisation of speedy victory. We therefore seek to mobilise public opinion to press for a more urgent win-the-war policy, and to oppose policies of delay, concessions to vested interests that hamper the war effort and all tendencies for appeasement.

Serious consideration needs to be given to the best ways of strengthening national unity. How can we further develop our campaign to ensure that it reaches to all sections of the people, and to assist in the political mobilisation and activity of the professional and middle-class sections? Are we giving enough attention to the vital social and municipal issues which affect the life and

well-being of the people?

Serious attention must also be paid to the increased activity of the pro-fascist elements in this country, anti-semitic propaganda, reactionary provocative manoeuvres of certain sections of the employers and disruptive Trotskyist and "leftist" propaganda within the Labour movement—all of which serve to undermine national unity for victory over Hitler and prepare the way for policies of appeasement.

In connection with by-elections, the strengthening of national unity requires the selection of candidates to support the Government by all organisations in a constituency. Failing such agreement, the Party determines its policy concretely in each case, with a view to the maximum strengthening of national unity against Fascism.

Widespread controversy continues within the Labour movement with regard to the electoral truce, participation in the Coalition Government, and by-election policy. Have any new circumstances arisen to give grounds for a reconsideration of our policy on these questions? Have we done enough to win support in the Labour movement for the positive aim of strengthening the Government, not only for eliminating pro-fascist representatives, but for increasing the proportion and influence of democratic anti-fascist representatives in the Government?

## II—PRODUCTION & TRADE UNION QUESTIONS

An essential part of our war programme must be the maximum production of war necessities in the widest sense, including transport and what the working people need. This is required in order to provide the material for the British and Soviet offensives and to maintain morale. Linked up with the drive for production must be the recruitment of the unorganised into the Trade Unions, care for the workers' wages and conditions, the extension of workshop organisation, and the strengthening of Trade Union Branch life and activity.

In the period since our National Conference last year a considerable advance has been achieved in the sphere of war production, and our production campaign has undoubtedly been able to play a part in this.

Nevertheless there is much still to be done. We are still far from having achieved maximum production or full utilisation of our resources, and the offensive strategy of 1943, as well as the intensified submarine warfare of the Axis, will make the heaviest demands upon us. The situation is especially serious in coal, ship-building and railway transport. Further attention needs to be given to the maximum development of agricultural production in present war situation.

In the course of the campaign along the lines of the Party's Memorandum on Production, considerable experience has been gained. Production has been raised, and joint Production Committees have been set up in many factories. The problem is: How to extend these Committees to every enterprise, and how to make their work more concrete, how to draw in the mass of the work-

ers to stimulate the work of the Committees; what can be done to strengthen the work of the Regional Committees, and to develop effective Trade Union leadership of the work of the production Committees and on all production issues?

What experience has been gained of forms of emulation (between factories, the work of "shock brigades," etc.) and how can this be developed?

In many enterprises, the management still refuses Trade Union recognition; there is also division and competition between Trade Unions. What can be done to remedy this situation?

Good work has been done to draw women into industry, train them and secure suitable conditions for them. But none of this work is on the scale required; how can a fresh impetus be given? What barriers to the full mobilisation of women for the war effort still exist, and how can they be overcome?

Young workers in industry are largely unorganised, and adult shop stewards do not give sufficient attention to them, their working conditions and their special needs. How can this situation be changed?

Difficulties in industry and strike tendencies among the workers are increased by the provocative policy of some sections of the employers, and taken advantage of by Trotskyists and other disruptive elements. Experience has shown that the carrying out of the Party's policy requires that more attention be given to grievances, to ensure more prompt settlement through established machinery or political pressure. How can this work be strengthened?

The development of the war requires the mobilisation of the whole people, in the armed forces, civil defence and indus-

try. What concrete steps are needed to make this possible? Transfers of labour, the calling up of men for the forces and their replacement by women, are some of the urgently needed measures. What problems do these involve, and how can they be solved?

## III—UNITY OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Labour movement represents the most consistently anti-fascist and most highly organised section of the people. Only a strong and vigorous Labour movement can fully mobilise the people for the war, and defeat all delaying and appeasement tendencies. For this purpose, the Labour movement must itself be united. The Party works for united activity by all sections of the movement and in order to end all existing barriers to unity it has now applied for affiliation to the Labour Party.

The establishment of unity through affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party is equally important for the immediate victory over fascism as for the whole future of the Labour movement. Therefore the campaign for affiliation is of vital importance, and its success is linked up with the prospect of success for our whole policy. This conception must be the basis for discussion, so as to get full clarity and enthusiasm in the Party. The arguments against affiliation have to be met and the detailed problems of the campaign discussed.

The extension of unity in action is the best basis for winning support for affiliation. What does this involve for the Party's activity on municipal and other local issues, in which the Labour Parties are directly concerned?

The unity of the Labour movement also requires the

overcoming of the sectional outlook, which hampers common action, especially between Trade Unions. What has to be done now to strengthen Trade Union Unity? (Comrades should refer on this and other points to the Party Memorandum *Trade Union Policy in the War Against Fascism*.)

## IV—POST WAR RECONSTRUCTION

The party works for the realisation of the Atlantic Charter and the Twenty-Year Agreement between Britain and the Soviet Union, which should be the basis for collective security and continued co-operation in the peace. It believes that the extent to which these aims can be realised depends in large measure on the strengthening of the working-class and democratic forces in the fight against Hitler, which will also determine the progressive character of the post-war reconstruction in Britain.

We see this strengthening of the working class and democratic forces as the condition for further advance to Socialism; and we therefore support all progressive proposals which can serve to rally the people against reactionary vested interests.

It is important to recognise, in the discussion of this item, that we are not proposing at the present stage of the war, at this Congress, to draw up a general Communist Party Programme of Post-War Reconstruction. Our present main concern is to deal with those specific issues which arise now as current political issues in relation to post-war plans and Government policy such as the Beveridge Report on social insurance, the Scott and Uthwatt Reports on land planning and utilisation, the Industrialists' Manifesto, the proposed Education Bill, Youth policy, etc.

HELEN HAYES

## WEMBLEY'S IDEAS ON BRANCH PREMISES

WHY DOES A COMMUNIST Party Branch need premises?

NOT to provide a club for our members. There are plenty of places where we can play billiards or table tennis and at the same time meet new people and add to our knowledge of what is going on in the area.

Neither should we think of premises as a place where all group meetings, education classes and so on must be held. There are difficulties enough in the way of meetings, and they must be arranged in a number of places in different parts of the Borough to make it easy for people to get to them.

Nor, most emphatically, are branch premises merely homes for whitewashing apparatus and duplicators, so that new members fall over buckets and put their coats down on used stencils, and can get no answers to their questions.

These are the "no's" of the use of premises. What is the positive side?

This may be summed up by saying that they should provide, for members and non-members, a known centre of Party activity, a place where comrades may be sure of finding a leading comrade in case of need, where those interested may come for information, and which the Borough may see as the home of a live organisation rooted in the life of the people.

The Wembley branch premises have not yet fully achieved this aim; but they are on the way to it.

The branch was fortunate enough to acquire a shop in a busy road, and the window is becoming a local landmark. An Atrocity Photograph Exhibition

was arranged and Party members found they could not get near enough to see it. But they heard enough of the comments to know that the reaction of the public was constructive, a heightening of their determination to smash Fascism.

The current "Daily Worker" exhibition is almost as popular, and it is to be followed by "specials" for Red Army Day and International Women's Day.

Inside there is an office, where treasurer, membership organiser and other leading comrades are to be found at stated times, and where duplicator and typewriter are kept and their use controlled. On the wall here are charts showing the progress of groups and the branch, and attractive posters on current campaigns. There is a small, but well-arranged literature room to ensure that literature secretaries take more than their mere routine supplies, and where comrades may browse and discover what classics and other books they want to read. One room can hold a good-size meeting and two others are large enough for normal group meetings.

Two new features have been agreed to and will appear very soon. One is a sort of "Events of the Month" chart, so that comrades may see at a glance what meetings are being held, which concern them and which of them they should make known in their factory, T.U. branch, or to their wives or sons and daughters; the other is a series of educational posters, giving quotations from the Marxist Classics, Stalin's speeches, etc., which we believe will provoke discussion and encourage reading. Plans

are also under way for a library, an important asset difficult to run without branch premises.

Premises become desirable at a definite stage in the growth of a branch. Undertaken too soon, they are a financial burden and often lead to chaotic attempts to raise money by too many socials, charges for games—anything to get the cash. But a large enough branch, by a small charge for such group meetings as do take place, and such political use of the premises as makes it unnecessary to separate their expenses from the general finances of the branch, can find them in every way a very great asset.

The golden rules to follow when undertaking premises are:

1. *Make sure that you know and can afford all the expenses involved. One branch was congratulating itself on a low rental—only to receive a large demand for rates.*
2. *Investigate the heating question—a reasonable temperature without suffocation is essential to successful meetings.*
3. *Remember the black-out and don't take a cheap place that is so hard to find that nobody does find it.*
4. *If at all possible have one paid person responsible for cleaning—but lighten the job by insisting that rooms are left swept and tidy after every meeting.*

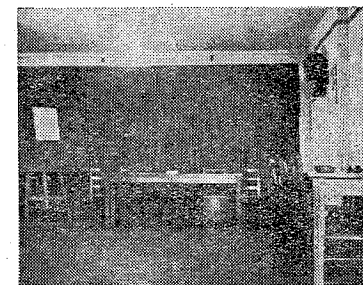
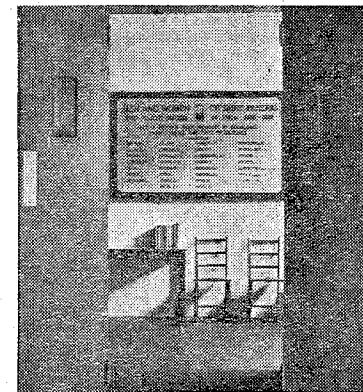
Every member of the branch must be aware that the premises belong to them; suggestions should be welcomed and any carelessness checked at once.

One last word of warning. Even if you do decide that you need premises, don't let their lack become an alibi. A healthy, active branch will be helped by good premises, but a poor one will never be transformed by them.

## THE NEW PREMISES AT ST. PANCRAS



1. Entrance and display window on main street.
2. The Branch Roll of Honour.
3. The Lecture Hall





# COVENTRY'S

By JACK COHEN

## GENERAL

ON JANUARY 24th, THE Coventry Branch of the Party held its first real Annual General Meeting.

For weeks beforehand the City Committee had campaigned to make this meeting a success, treating it as seriously as any major public meeting of the Party.

A large hall was booked. The meeting was publicly advertised in the local press for a month beforehand. Nicely printed invitation cards were sent to every member by post. A special issue of the Party's "Bulletin" was issued in the week prior to the meeting, giving facts and figures of the Party's work during the past year in the spheres of finance, literature sales, etc.

But most important and valuable of all were the discussions on the Party's work in the City Committee and in the groups prior to the A.G.M. The City Committee campaigned for every factory and area group to hold its own A.G.M. prior to the All-City Meeting. Twenty-two such group A.G.M.'s were held, at which reports covering the work of the individual groups were given, plans for the first three months of 1943 outlined, and nominations for the City Committee discussed. The City Committee itself collectively prepared the Report for the year in a number of discussions.

Discussion around the new

City Committee were of the greatest value. Both in the retiring City Committee and in the groups the concepts of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, of the importance of the leading body, of collective leadership, were given living expression. Fifty-six nominations from twenty-four groups testify to the interest taken in this question.

The Report given to the A.G.M. indicated very great progress in all spheres—a great growth in Party membership, an increase in the number of primary Party organisations from 10 factory groups and one area group to 33 factory groups and 5 area groups; a great increase in Party finance reflected in a balance sheet of income and expenditure of £3,465, and a total literature sale for the year of £3,044. Within the total amount of money raised and expended it may be of interest to note that £1,010 was raised in the "Smash Hitler" Fund, £749 in local Guarantor Fund and donations, and £680 in collections at meetings; while £364 was spent in printing leaflets and posters, £340 in advertising in the press and on the hoardings, £242 on hire of halls and films, £1,010 in quotas to the District, and £305 on equipment and the upkeep of the new Party premises obtained during the course of the year.

As against this solid progress the City Committee had to report a number of very serious weaknesses—falling off

# ANNUAL MEETING

in the Party's campaign, weakness of work in the Labour Movement, especially in the T.U.'s and the Co-ops., isolation from the organisations of the Coventry people and their problems, inner Party organisational weakness—especially in assimilating the newly-won membership and in recruiting women to the Party.

On the basis of a balanced statement of achievements and weaknesses the whole discussion was turned to the Party's plan of campaign for Victory in 1943.

The value of such Annual General Meetings cannot be over-estimated. They compel a serious review of the work done by the whole Party from top to bottom, an equally serious planning for the future, the keeping of exact, business-like accounts and Party statistics.

*But even more important, they are a living lesson in inner-Party democracy for all concerned—a re-emphasis of the important place occupied in our Party by the "rank and file" member and his responsibility along with all others for how the Party work is done, as well as of the need for the Party leadership to present an account of its activities at regular intervals to the membership.*

They indicate the end of slapdash, haphazard methods in Party work. They bring home to everybody the fact that the Party is a serious, business-like organisation which publicly reviews its work from time to time.

## How Southampton tackled a Local Issue

EVERY DAY THROUGHOUT the country examples are occurring of what can be done by correct Communist leadership on the job to remove difficulties and bottlenecks which prevent the full mobilisation of the workers for the war effort.

IN A PART OF SOUTHAMPTON Docks over a considerable period there had been strong discontent with the poor quality food served in the canteen. Finally, as a protest, the canteen was boycotted by the workers, and this resulted in it being closed down.

The matter was discussed by the Party group in the docks, and three comrades were appointed to draft a leaflet pointing out that the closing of the canteen was detrimental to the war effort and against the interests of the workers; that the effect would be to decrease production; and that already many hours had been lost in abortive meetings on the question. The leaflet went on to make suggestions for improvements which could be effected.

The leaflet was distributed and caused widespread discussion, and the shop stewards' committee finally invited the Party group to send a speaker to a specially convened meeting. A member of the group was sent, who pointed out the vital part being played in the war effort by the workers in the docks, and showed how, in actual fact, the closing down of the canteen was something Hitler would applaud.

The result of the meeting was unanimous adoption by the

shop stewards' committee of the proposals made by the Party group, and in the space of three days the canteen was opened and was being used.

This is not the end of the matter, however, for the leaflet will be coming up for discussion on the Confederation, and in addition the shop stewards asked the group to prepare a memorandum on production. This was agreed to, and four comrades were appointed to gather all the necessary material, which was then discussed by the group and a memorandum drawn up and sent to the shop stewards' committee. A party speaker was again requested, and the result was the adoption by the shop stewards' committee of the proposals made, and their operation by the yards committee.

# SOVIET STRENGTH

THE SOVIET PEOPLE ARE strong, not only in self-sacrifice and heroism, but also in their unity, organisation and discipline. These qualities, so vital for victory, are fostered by the activity of the Bolshevik Party.

Organisation and discipline are not spontaneously acquired qualities. The complete mobilisation of all the people's forces is the result of immense organisational work by the Bolshevik Party. The Party's high prestige among the people, and its unsurpassed capacity to organise the millions, are the factors which produce such supreme singleness of purpose among all the Soviet people.

—Fedoseyev, Sources of Soviet Strength.

SINCE THE GERMAN attack on the Soviet Union in June, 1941, the Russia To-day Society has greatly increased its activity and extended the scope of its work. The Society has the two-fold aims of spreading knowledge about and strengthening friendship with the Soviet Union. Around these two aims it has run a propaganda campaign throughout the country which has reached out to many hundreds of thousands of people.

Its special task of spreading knowledge about the new society created in the Soviet Union has been carried out through the written and the spoken word, and thousands who previously were indifferent to the Soviet Union have learnt the astounding facts about Socialist achievements.

Paper restrictions limit the magazine "Russia To-day" to a tenth of its potential sale, but its work is supplemented by a series of pamphlets on different aspects of Soviet life. A large number of copies were sold of the pamphlet on the "Red Army," and 100,000 of the pamphlet on "Religion."

## UNITY OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Society has taken to the trade union and labour movement a deeper understanding of our Soviet ally, and in this way helped to strengthen the unity and other organisations in the London area accepted speakers from the Society.

A Trade Union Conference was held recently by the Newcastle group on the subject of "Russia's Enemies in Britain," at which there were representatives from 30 mining branches alone. Similar conferences are

# Spreading knowledge about THE SOVIET UNION

planned for London, Lancashire, Scotland, etc.

A number of leading Labour Party people speak for the Society, numerous Labour councillors help the work of the groups, and there are some localities where the Labour executive or the majority of the Labour Party members are members of the R.T.S. Group.

## STRENGTHENING THE NATIONAL FRONT

As the Society is a non-party organisation, not confining itself to Communists or Socialists, it reaches out to many sections of the population.

Conservatives like Mr. Robert Boothby, M.P., and Prof. A. V. Hill, M.P., Liberals like Mr. Wilfrid Roberts, M.P., and Mr. T. L. Horrabrin, M.P., speak on the Society's platform.

This is reflected, too, in the local groups where members are drawn, for example, from the Conservative Townswomen's Guild or from members of the Catholic Church. Factory owners and factory managers are amongst its members, and speakers have gone from the Society into the canteens of the Royal Ordnance and privately-controlled factories. Mayors, civic dignitaries, vicars and dockers have appeared on its platforms. A tremendous part in strengthening the National Front against fascism has been played, by uniting all these different political elements on the platform of British-Soviet friendship.

In addition to various political elements displaying unity in action as a result of the

Society's activities, a number of people not specially associated with politics have become members and lent their support to the movement.

Many have names which are household words: General Sir Hubert Gough, Sir Henry Wood, the conductor, the Bishop of Stepney and the Dean of Exeter, Joseph McLeod, B.B.C. announcer, Dr. Vaughan Williams, O.M., the composer, and Professor G. M. Trevelyan, O.M., the historian. In addition, at concerts run by the Society for medical aid, services have been given by leading artistes on the British stage, such as Harry Roy, Max Miller, and the Carl Rosa Opera Company.

## A GROWING ORGANISATION

During this propaganda campaign, an average of 60 meetings per month, with national speakers, have been run, 10,000 new members have been enrolled, 250 new groups set up, and six districts headed by full-time organisers created. This big organisational expansion has taken the message of the Society into small towns and villages where a meeting on Russia had never been held before, into remote parts of the English countryside, and even into Northern Ireland.

At the present time, when the example of the Soviet Union is the biggest single factor in drawing new people into the progressive movement, it is important that our Party branches should co-operate with other organisations in giving all support to the work of the Russia To-day Society.

## EDUCATION IN THE PARTY

ALL OVER THE COUNTRY now there are comrades who have had the privilege of going through the advanced schools for industrial comrades, branch secretaries and other groups. They have been privileged; and just because of this they must feel a very special responsibility. The political education they have had has been wasted on them if they think of the school as something past and gone, entitling them to wear the "old school tie" of Marxism-Leninism.

Whatever their previous knowledge and experience, the school can represent only a further stage in their development as Communists; and if they do not carry on their development beyond this stage, they will not only miss opportunities but will lose what they have already gained. What then are the practical steps they must take?

### PRACTICE AND THEORY

The first essential is that they should set about their practical Party work in a new way: testing it in the light of what they have learned at the school, applying the new ideas they have picked up to the situation with which they are faced.

At the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, Dimitroff said:

"It is not pedants, moralisers or adepts at quoting that our schools must train. . . . No! It is practical front rank fighters in the cause of the working class that must leave their walls

## EMILE BURNS

. . . front rank fighters not only because of their boldness and readiness for self-sacrifice, but also because they see further and know better the path that leads to the emancipation of the working people."

This personal activity in the Party is the basis for all development; and I am sure that comrades who have been through our District schools understand this and are using their school experience to make them better fighters.

But in addition to their own personal activity, they should also see that, just because they have been through the school, they can be of very great help to other comrades, by giving guidance to them which can help to solve their problems; and in giving this help, the school comrades are also strengthening *their own* development. For experience in helping others is of enormous help to ourselves: we widen our own experience, and apply theory to the experience of others, besides getting a better understanding of *how* we help other comrades to develop—one of the most fundamental jobs for every Communist.

### THEORY AND PRACTICE

While applying the theory learnt at the school to their everyday practice, comrades must feel the need to develop their theoretical knowledge.

The best development is that which is linked to everyday practice—not simply in the way of drawing lessons from the results of our work, but trying to deepen our understanding of what we are aiming at and why.

From this standpoint, the study of the current policy of the Party is vital. "Theory"

## The difference that schools should make

—the generalised experience of the working class—is not only to be found in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It is in every Party statement, in the current Party pamphlets, the editorials and special articles in the *Daily Worker* and other periodicals.

Current practice is inseparable from current theory, theory as applied to current events and current problems. Therefore those who have been through District schools must feel an absolute obligation to study Party policy as it develops in relation to the developing situation. It is terrible to hear comrades say that they have not read a pamphlet which they have energetically sold. It is terrible to hear points raised which have been abundantly answered in our Party press.

This study of the Party policy in our current publications is the most vital form of self-study; without it we *cannot* guide our practice, however many of the classics we read.

But on the basis of study of the current policy of the Party, we can then enormously strengthen our understanding of it if we turn to the classics—for example, to get a better grasp of why and in what circumstances the proletariat has always sought allies in the past.

Moreover, once we really understand the Party's current policy we are able also to turn to the classics with more detailed questions; we can "consult with Marx"—or other Marxist writers—and get real help on questions of strategy and tactics in our own personal work, in connection with current problems.

This "consultation" on special points is the most useful way to study the classics, be-

cause it is closely linked with practice; it is infinitely better than reading a book through from cover to cover in a passive way—asking it no questions and therefore getting no answers out of it.

### TAKING THEORY TO OTHERS

I have already referred to giving guidance to others on the basis of what was learnt at the schools. But this is not enough. Comrades who have had the privilege of attending a school, and who feel themselves better and stronger Communists as a result, should also see that they have a very real job to do in taking theory to other comrades in a planned, organised way. This means in the first place *taking an interest in Party education*.

Why is this important? Because there is too little appreciation of the need of theory in the Party; because there is in many branches and groups a rush of detailed work which pushes aside Party education as something secondary.

This cannot be put right by circulars. Only comrades who *know* the difference that a school has made to them can make that quiet, persistent drive, with practical proposals, which will turn the outlook of other comrades in the right direction.

Naturally, comrades who have been through a school should take an active part in the educational work of their branch or group, especially by actually taking classes, using the syllabuses *Communist Party Theory and Practice* and the method developed in the schools. And they must in turn help to develop other new tutors, and encourage all forms of educational work, so that the



knowledge and the outlook that the schools have given them spreads out beyond them, and become the property of the whole Party and the whole working-class movement.

There is one other way in which those who have been to the schools can give special help to the spreading of theory. For a long time the Party Centre has called attention to the need to improve the political character of branch and group meetings; but it must be said that we have still a long way to go in this direction. Comrades with school experience can help, whether they are opening a discussion or taking part in it, by working out and showing the *theory* of the subject under discussion; they can call attention to pamphlets or sections of books which illuminate it, and in this way both make the discussion more interesting and encourage other comrades to read and develop their own political understanding in close relation to the work of the branch and group.

### ALL RIGHT IN THEORY, BUT—

Can comrades who have been through the schools do all these things? They have gone back to their practical work with more confidence and courage, but at the same time they have probably been given or undertaken more practical responsibility than they had before. Is it conceivable that they can find time and energy to do all that I have suggested above?

Not only is it conceivable, but it is necessary. If the comrades have not understood this, then they have not grasped the essence of the school. For the purpose of the school is only incidentally—I hope they won't misunderstand me—to train them. They have been privileged, but not to set them up as a privileged section. It is an old saying that the British

## PARTY EDUCATION

workers are backward in theory; all Party education is directed to overcoming this backwardness in the British labour movement—it is the privilege of Party students to be the instruments through which this is done. Theory cannot be carried to the movement without practice; the basis for educational work must be practical activity, but unless the comrades who have been through the schools organise their Party lives in such a way that they combine the two, the purpose of the school is only half fulfilled.

The first thing is to see that this work is necessary; the second is to see how to make it possible. And as a rule this means: *throwing off some practical activities* on to other comrades—which is already the first step to training these other comrades; setting aside certain times for self-study and educational work, and standing firm against the tide of detailed practical work, mastering it instead of letting it master you.

You must do this not for your own sake but for the sake of the Party and the whole Labour movement. The Party needs new leading forces in every field—it will need more and more. The schools will have helped, but only if the students carry the results forward and develop them.

Let it be said of those who have been through the schools, as Stalin said of new cadres:

*“They develop and acquire knowledge so rapidly, they press forward so eagerly, that the time is not far off when they will overtake the old fellows, take their stand side by side with them, and become worthy of replacing them.”*

## THE WORK OF A SUB-DISTRICT EDUCATION ORGANISER

by M. RUHEMANN

### OUR AIM

THE AIM OF PARTY education is to put weapons into our comrades' hands, to give them the best possible equipment in the struggle against Fascism and for the achievement of socialism. “Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.”

The more each Party member develops and extends his knowledge and understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory, the more capable he becomes of playing an effective part in the practical work of the Party. Our education therefore must enable comrades to understand this theory and to apply it to all immediate problems.

To-day our principal task must be to bring political education to more and more people, and at the very least to all our own members.

### EDUCATION IN THE CENTRE OF PARTY WORK

Education must be more than a section of the sub-district plan; it must enter into every aspect of the work and be a powerful instrument in bringing the plan to fruition.

Why, for instance, have we failed up to now to achieve unity of the Labour Movement? First because our Party comrades do not understand the Labour Movement and have not studied its history; secondly because, as a result of this, they do not realise the significance of the Labour Movement; and finally, because they do not know how to work correctly for unity of the Labour Movement.

### EDUCATION PLANNED AND ORGANISED

The work of a sub-district education organiser is to lead and organise education: it is not to attempt to tutor every course.

It goes without saying that he must himself be enthusiastically convinced of the power and importance of Marxist-Leninist theory, and must continually be developing his own knowledge in this respect.

In addition, he must know the area in which he is working, its industries and population. He must have a full understanding of the sub-district plan and formulate his own plans accordingly, in conjunction with the propaganda team, so that he may be assured of its backing and that of the sub-D.P.C.

But his success in his job depends not only on his own direct efforts, but on the building up of an organisation to share in the work.

It can take various forms. We in the North London sub-district work along the following lines:—

1. We have a sub-district educational team consisting of three comrades who are in close touch with one another, agree on all essential points and can replace each other without causing confusion. We are lucky to have also one technical comrade on the team, who takes down our reports in shorthand after the meetings, sessions or discussions that we have attended, and sends typed copies to the other team members. This team can keep in close touch with all the branches, and can keep an eye on all aspects of the work in a way that

would be very difficult for the education organiser to manage alone.

2. The sub-district education organiser helps the branch education organisers to form teams in their branches. These consist of the branch education organiser, one or two assistants, whose work is not confined to one group and who are being trained as the branch education organiser's successors, and the education organisers of each of the groups in the branch. We have achieved this in some of our branches, but not yet in all.

3. One of the sub-district team has the special responsibility of helping and training tutors and drawing them into the educational work of the branches. A useful method for doing this, which has been successful in several branches, is the holding of tutors' day schools, at which comrades give short prepared contributions in the form of extracts from classes. These contributions are discussed and errors in substance and presentation corrected.

4. The other comrade on our team is specialising in checking up on the use and presentation of syllabuses and on how the students are reacting to them. Not every syllabus is suitable for every group, and subjects must be presented differently to different kinds of people.

(CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 21)

tisement of a Ministry of Information film show which we intend to show with special women's films.

Our campaign is only in its early stages, but it is already clear that by tackling a local issue in this way and voicing the needs of the people, we shall be able to establish the Party in a new way, and win

## POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND TECHNICAL TRAINING.

We, like all other Party bodies, have our organisational problems, and we must play our full part in demonstrating the importance of good Party organisation. But it is not our task to replace the organisational teams. We have to show comrades the political significance of the jobs they are doing, and how to set about them in a political way; but we are not a training college for dues collectors or literature secretaries.

As his organisation takes shape and begins to function, the sub-district education organiser will be able to deal successfully with the many problems that confront him and his team.

He will be able to help and advise the branch education organisers to devise ever new methods of approach and presentation, suitable to changing circumstances; lunch hour discussions, day schools, public lectures, brains trusts and many more. He will be able to help in discovering new cadres inside and outside the Party capable of assuming leadership, and he will begin to receive accurate and full reports from which he can both appraise the errors and failings of himself and his team, and also proudly register success.

new sections of the community for our policy. The undertaking of a definite campaign is the finest method of mobilising Branch members, and we are developing increasingly enthusiastic co-operation from them. We are confident that there are endless opportunities for the successful development of the campaign.

## EDUCATION IS HELPING TO BUILD STROUD BRANCH

### PARTY EDUCATION

**BUILDING A PARTY** branch in a country district which includes one or two small towns and a number of villages is by no means easy. The Stroud branch of the West of England District, in spite of such difficulties, has made considerable progress in the last three months.

The branch education organiser reports that as the branch has grown in numbers and strength, so the need and enthusiasm for political classes have become greater and the work of the organisers of such classes has met with an increasingly encouraging reception; and similarly, as education has developed in extent, so it has also had its effect on membership and branch activities in general.

In September, 1942, the branch membership was only 30, about a third of the members being in the factories. There was only one properly functioning factory group; education was sparse and spasmodic; meetings and such classes as were held were badly attended, and organisers tended to bewail the non-attendance of people from outlying districts instead of getting down to the task of going out to these districts themselves. Apart from an occasional New Members' Class, the only educational work of much value was being done in the Sperry's factory group, where, as a result of consistent propaganda and discussion by the comrades, the group was growing and becoming more active.

The branch aimed at a mem-

bership of 60 by December 31st, and arrived at over 50, most of the new members being recruited in the factories. A new drive for political education accompanied and contributed to the growth in membership.

A good beginning was made with a One-Day School, at which the district education organiser took the two sessions, *The Communist Party and the National Front*, and *Dialectics as an Aid to Political Work*. The school was well attended, and the students obviously anxious for more.

A second and third school were, however, poorly attended, which indicated that the next step forward would be to take education to the comrades in the various towns and villages. This was done, and a New Members' Course in Nailsworth resulted in the formation of a factory group.

A course of fortnightly classes based on the *History of the C.P.S.U.* has been running in Nailsworth since early November, and a class on *Marxism and the Industrial Workers* is to be taken there in early January. This class will be taken in Stroud also, where a similar course on the *History of the C.P.S.U.* is being run.

New 'Members' Courses have been more regular, political discussion has occupied a greater proportion of time at branch meetings, literature sales have increased, and there is a considerable demand for Marxist classics from some of the leading members. A branch library has been formed, with a growing stock of material; and a Labour Monthly discussion group is meeting monthly.

With the increase in numbers and in the area to be covered, it became necessary to develop and train more and more comrades to act as tutors; and with this aim in view a session on Education, giving advice to leading comrades on taking classes and conducting political education generally, was taken early in December by the District education organiser. The class was well attended, and much appreciated, and leading comrades are quite prepared to undertake tutorial work, and are becoming increasingly well-equipped to do so.

It is now possible for the branch to draw up for the first months of 1943 a much more far-reaching plan, embracing more villages, linking up factory groups with area groups, with a greater number of open classes which will help in recruiting, and, in their turn, train more comrades to help in the work of education. It is only through the willing co-operation of leading comrades that the drawing up of such a plan will be possible; and it is very clear already that this co-operation will not be lacking.

One of the main reasons for the progress in educational work, and in the development of the branch generally, seems to be the fact that individual initiative has developed during the last few months, more responsibility has been given to comparatively new comrades, and the branch committee has been extended so that its members are not, as in the past, each trying to do two or three jobs and failing to do one of them adequately. This development of individual initiative has led comrades to read more, and to welcome all forms of education so as to strengthen their understanding of the problems presented by their particular job.

IN CONNECTION WITH PROPAGANDA in 1943, we are presented with two immediate and urgent tasks: the securing of the immediate opening of a second front, and unity in the Labour Movement in this country. In connection with these tasks, literature must play an important role and 1943 offers tremendous possibilities for the development of sales. It is, therefore, essential that we should tackle the task of making perfect our machinery for distribution.

On the question of unity in the Labour Movement, the pamphlet "Labour Party and Communist Party, the Case for Affiliation," by Emile Burns, must be looked upon as one of the most important weapons.

Some examples of what is being done in districts throughout the country will be helpful to our comrades who are responsible for literature distribution. *South-East Midlands, Northampton Branch*, comrade Francis Goodman writes:

"My first task when I took over the job of literature secretary about 18 months ago was to build some form of literature organisation out of practically nothing. With the help of the branch secretary a list was made of members and contacts who would buy literature regularly if it were delivered, and an appeal was made for literature stewards. Steady work by three women comrades on this job resulted in the development of branch sales to about £13 a month.

"It was on the basis of this progress that the Branch Committee decided to take a small shop to be used as a bookshop and branch premises. With a loan of £20 with which to buy us stock and put the shop in

## On the Literature Front

### By Ben Bradley

good condition, and with plenty of enthusiasm, we managed to make quite an attractive bookshop.

"But this was only the beginning. How to keep the shop open? How to develop sales to the ultimate aim of opening as a full-time district bookshop? How to relate the building of branch sales to bookshop sales? These were some of the problems that had to be tackled.

"Our first big mistake was to assume that the bookshop would take the place of branch sales. Those who had been visited weekly were notified that the shop was now opened, and we then waited in vain for them to call in for literature, with the result that a whole round that had been carefully built up collapsed completely.

As soon as we realised our mistake we set about the task of building strong group sales. An effort was made to get literature secretaries in each group. At the same time, to promote socialist competition between the groups, a prize was given each month for the best individual or collective effort. It was found that in each group where there was a keen literature secretary, sales developed steadily.

#### TAKE LITERATURE TO TRADE UNION BRANCHES

"Literature sales in the Unions provide some useful lessons. When the branch was still small and there was not a single member in the A.E.U., sales were started outside the premises where the A.E.U. branch met.

Literature was sold regularly every fortnight for six months, with an average sale of 8s. to 10s., and then we made an official application to the union secretary for permission to sell inside the meeting. Next week I was informed that the Branch had unanimously passed a resolution giving me permission to sell inside although they knew I was not a member of the union. Undoubtedly it was the regular sales which won the support of the union.

"During the past year successes have been achieved in popularising the bookshop and developing sales. Over £20 of literature was sold at a cinema during the showing of the film "The Defeat of the Germans near Moscow." During the summer we have had a stall in the market with average sales of about £2 per week. A circular and book list was sent to every member and all working-class organisations, and reports show that they were very well received. The result of this drive was an increase in sales to £43, £26 of which was sold in the shop.

*To sum up, the experiences of the past year have shown that:—*

1. There is no quick cut to success. Results are only achieved after long periods of solid work.
2. Comrades should not be diffident about approaching other organisations, cinema managers, etc., for permission to sell literature when there is an opportunity. In nearly all cases we have not only got permission, but met with friendliness and co-operation.
3. Bookshop sales can only





MAURICE

CORNFORTH :

# PARTY WORK

OUR EXPERIENCES IN EAST Anglia during the last two months have proved the great possibilities which exist for extending the Party's propaganda, and for recruiting to the Party in the agricultural districts and amongst farm workers. Village meetings called by the Party are well attended, and farm workers, and country people generally, are eager to hear our message and ready to join the Party.

In planning village meetings it is important to bear in mind what the main centre of interest is, in order that the meeting can be built around this interest. Without a doubt this main centre of interest is in Russia.

The country people (like everyone else) have been moved and inspired by the tremendous example of Soviet resistance and Soviet achievements; they realise that what they have heard about the Soviet Union in the past has been mostly lies, and they want to learn the truth. Therefore we find that we can build meetings up around this interest in the Soviet Union, and connect with this the question of what WE can do towards the common struggle for victory, and what we can do in the countryside in particular.

As an additional attraction for our village meetings we secured the help of members of the S.C.R. in preparing a small exhibition of photos of life in the Soviet Union. We adver-

tise that this exhibition will be on show, and it is invariably very popular. (Of course, the best thing of all would be to have a short film show at the meetings, but this is very difficult to arrange on account of expense and the difficulty of getting a projector out to remote villages.)

For advertising a village meeting we use standard printed handbills (with a blank on them so that the details of the meeting for different villages can be filled in). About 150 to 200 leaflets are enough to cover most villages. We also have some small posters, which can be stuck up in the bar of the local pubs, on notice boards, etc. (But before we had these leaflets printed, incidentally, we ran two very successful meetings using only a few small duplicated notices and no posters at all.)

The type of speech that is made at the meeting is naturally very important. It should be very simple, plain-spoken and direct—no long words or technical phrases, but plain working-class language, making the strongest appeal all the time to *class-consciousness* of the rural workers.

Since one of the main points of the meeting is to meet the great interest in the Soviet Union, about half the time can be spent on the Soviet Union. Do not give a lecture on "What I saw in the Soviet Union," but bring out the main fundamental facts—the nature of the 1917 Revolution, that Russia is a workers' country, what this means, and the lead it gives to the workers everywhere.

# IN THE VILLAGES

At the opening of the meeting a few words should be said about the Communist Party, explaining what the Party is, our relations with the Labour Party, and our desire for unity. The main Party line about the war, and about after the war, should be put plainly and directly. A section of the speech should deal with agriculture, as arising from the problems of the war. Some of the main points of the Party's agricultural policy should be brought forward, and related to local conditions and current agricultural events (e.g., a speech by the Minister of Agriculture). But it would be quite a mistake to try to go into this in too much technical detail, or to start giving a lecture on the Communist Party's "Memorandum on Agriculture."

A special appeal should be made for recruits, and literature should be sold and a collection taken.

In East Anglia we have concentrated on holding meetings in those places in which or near which we already have a member, and we have asked these members to undertake to organise the meeting. In some cases it is possible to book a village hall; but the club-room at a village pub. is perfectly suitable.

Of course, what is a large meeting in a village would be a very small meeting in a town—we would count anything over 20 people as a very successful and large village meeting. We want to hold these meetings at the real *agricultural* villages, which are usually a

long way away from any town; villages just outside towns are usually semi-urban, and so meetings there, while valuable, don't have the same significance in the way of breaking new agricultural ground.

The first village meeting we held was at a place called Kenninghall, in a remote part of Norfolk, and it was organised by a land girl. At that meeting we made 10 new members, and now have 19 members in the village. They are now organising another meeting in the next village, and in this way we must try to spread out from a centre, once we have established the Party there.

At a meeting at Tendring, another very remote place in Essex, we made four new members; and another two at a meeting at the near-by village of Thorpe-le-Soken, having now 16 members round there. At another out-of-the-way place, in Suffolk, miles from any railway, called Boxford, we had 45 people in the village hall, and a collection of £5.

Of course, to establish the Party in a village is only the bare beginning of the work. It is necessary to pay the greatest attention to the new groups; to feed them with literature and propaganda material; to hold further meetings; and to show the new members how we can work to strengthen the Trade Unions in order to build up the whole local movement in the fight for increased agricultural production, for working-class unity, and for victory.

The guiding line for the Party's approach to all post-war questions have been discussed by the Central Committee and can be referred to in the printed statement circulated to Branches, *Guiding Lines on Questions of Post-War Reconstruction*.

## V—PARTY ORGANISATION AND RULES

The Party has made a considerable advance in influence and membership, but its consolidation and further rapid growth is essential for the strengthening of the working class - and democratic forces, both to achieve speedy victory and for the solution of the post-war questions.

In order to achieve this, the new problems of a large and rapidly growing Party must be solved. Experience shows that some of the most important of these problems are:

How best to ensure that the Party's policy on the current situation reaches and is understood by the entire membership.

How to get the most effective political leadership through the Central Committee, Districts, Sub-Districts, Branches and Groups and to ensure the closest links between the Party Factory Groups and the Party Branches and leading committees.

How to ensure that this leadership is concrete, relating to the local conditions and local issues, so as to draw into activity the widest masses of the people.

How to strengthen the education of the Party membership in Communist principles and theory.

How to mobilise the activity of the entire membership and to make the best use of the capabilities and spe-

cial opportunities and interests of every comrade. How to get the most effective use of the *Daily Worker* in all our work; the extension of its influence throughout the Labour and democratic movement; and closer links between the *Daily Worker* and all spheres of the movement.

**Draft Party Rules:** (These will be circulated to Branches at a later stage).

## VI—ELECTION OF COMMITTEE AND CONTROL COMMISSION

The following considerations will help in the discussion of nominations (see also Political Bureau letter of January 4th, dealing with the Party Congress).

**Central Committee** (25 members). Experience shows that what is needed is a combination of old and widely experienced comrades along with new developing comrades who have shown real capacity to understand and carry into practice the policy of the Party in the present situation. Nominations should, therefore, be made with this in view; some comrades with national experience and others who have shown their capacity for leadership in the District and are considered able to play an effective part in national leadership. Comrades nominated must have at least one year's membership of the Party.

**Control Commission** (7 members). The Control Commission requires comrades experienced in dealing with Party comrades and organisations, Party finances and business enterprises; comrades of long standing in the Party (7 years' Party membership is required) who have given proof of their loyalty and devotion to our cause in widely varying fields of Party work.