The International Workers Order has been built by and is composed mostly of economically insecure people. It is the people in this category that join the fraternal movement in mass as a measure of meeting some of their economic problems. This fact obligates the Order first of all to function as an effective insurance and mutual aid organization. It also places the duty upon the Order to be a persistent organizer and leader of a movement for the establishment of greater social security.

The Order must perform these duties through lodges which, in conformity with the traditions of fraternal organizations in America, are made into centers of social life for their members and for their communities.

These purposes and tasks must guide everyone of our efforts of solving the daily problems of our work. They must also guide us in our decision on how to improve our work among the different national groups in the country.

Why does work among different national groups present a special and serious problem for our Order?

Why Work Among National Groups

In all capitalist countries an important object of education is the development among the people of a blind adherence to their respective ruling classes. This means,
course, adherence to the economic and political interests of their rulers. To this end capitalism has created nationalism. With the aid of this nationalism, the ruling classes of the various nations are keeping their people suspicious and even contemptuous of other nations and other peoples. They pour into the heads of their nationals absurd theories of the superiority of their race, their nation or their culture, over the races, nationalities or cultures of other peoples. By these means they make their people willing at the command and on the signal of their rulers to jump at the throats of other people ready to kill or be killed -- ostensibly for the glory of their nations, in reality for the profits of their ruling classes.

By these means they also maintain an air of sacredness around the institution of the exploitation of the people of the various nations by their respective exploiters. As long as this air remains effective, the institution of exploitation and the profits of the exploiters are comparatively safe from attacks by their victims.

**American Rulers Exploit National Divisions**

Our United States is also a capitalist country, also ruled by exploiters. That is why in America too, nationalism is utilized for the benefit of the exploiters. It is utilized in two ways:

1. By keeping alive old national antagonisms between immigrants;
2. By creating an additional division between the "Americans" and the immigrants.

Our United States is a land settled and developed by immigrants. The American people are a people made up of immigrants and descendants of immigrants. In trying to misuse this fact for their profit interests, the exploiters of the American people and
of the natural wealth of America, endeavor to keep alive between the
different national groups of the American people the germ of mutual
suspicions, the idea of their own superiority over and contempt for
other nationals, which the rulers of the country of their origin have
planted in them. This job is assigned to the bourgeois leaders among the various
national groups. The efforts of these leaders are designed to keep the American people divided along national lines.

In addition to this the American exploiters are putting
forward the slogan of a new nationalism -- American nationalism.
This nationalism denies the historic fact that the various manifested-
tions of American life are a synthesis of the contributions made by
the immigrants. By implication it denies that all Americans or
their ancestors came from all nations and united their endeavors,
efforts and struggles for the building of a country and a
nation, and that that country and that nation have within them
something of all of their creators.

American Nationalism Also Divides

The economic royalists counterpose this artificial Ameri-
canism to the aspirations and concepts of the many groups in the
country which more recently came from other lands. Thus reaction
adds to the nationalist antagonisms among the immigrants an antagonism
between the "American" on one side, and all immigrants on the other.

With these endeavors the enemies of the working people of
America try to interfere with the natural and progressive process
of assimilation; the assimilation of America by the immigrants and
the assimilation by America of the immigrants and the
ideological and cultural values they brought with them. Thus
nationalist antagonisms and prejudices are kept alive
imperatively
unification of the American masses for the defense of their interests
is slowed up.
Order Must Combat Nationalist Influence

The International Workers Order and all workers organizations must recognize the misuse of national divisions among the American people and must try to counteract it in their day-to-day work. That is why we must concern ourselves with the problems of the work of our Order among the various national groups in the land.

The first one of them is the ideology of superiority of one race or one nationality or their culture over another. This is the most poisonous phase. It is the greatest obstacle on the road to workers unity. No workers organization can make any kind of concession to this phase. Our Order must, therefore, uncompromisingly combat it.

Another phase of the problem is the influence of the historic and so-called cultural traditions of the various nations upon their nationals. This is in the main the influence upon the various nationals of the culture of their ruling and exploiting classes. The influence of this culture veils class divisions and class antagonisms. It creates illusions among the workers that there is an important common base between them and the exploiters of their own national group.

It would be obviously wrong for a workers organization to help establish or maintain such illusions. We must instead make the masses conscious of the fact that there is no common base of interest
whatever between exploiters and exploited. By doing that we will replace prevailing national consciousness among the masses with class consciousness.

Therefore, this "cultural" nationalism must also be combated by our Order.

Democratic Traditions

There remains a most important third phase: It is embodied in the democratic and progressive traditions of the exploited peoples of the various nations. It is embodied in the traditions of their struggles for their freedom, in the traditions of these struggles of their peasants and their workers against their exploiters.

These traditions, therefore, must supply most of the materials for our work among national groups. The development of these traditions, though starting out from different national bases, leads away from national consciousness and towards class consciousness.

Recapitulating all the foregoing, we may say that our Order must never do anything that might strengthen national influences, prejudices and fears. On the contrary it must do everything to overcome them as a means of unifying its members and the workers.

Persecution Because of Nationality

The need of special attention to the work of our Order among national groups is intensified by persecutions based upon the various theories of nationalism. Though these theories are false, yet the
exploiters have made them the basis of prejudicial laws. Their tormentors proceed on the assumption that as long as the workers are at each other's throats because of the illusionary differences in their nationalities, so long the throats of the exploiters are safe from united attacks by their victims. The exploiters have therefore placed upon the statute books prejudicial laws against individual national groups, as well as against immigrants in general.

These persecutions tend to intensify nationalist disunity. They are intended to dampen or kill any desire on the part of the "Americans" to associate or organize with the foreign born. At the same time they tend to feed the desire of the foreign born to segregate themselves from the general life and general organizations in America by withdrawing into their own narrow national groups.

Must Fight For Democracy

In the course of the defense of the workers interests, our Order like all workers organizations, must vigorously defend all national groups against every form of persecution. This defense must take the form of a persistent defense and fight for expansion of democracy. This is the only possible course because the economic royalists attack the rights of parts of the people, and segregation of democracy. By limiting the rights of parts of the people, such legislation cannot be successfully repulsed by the persecuted groups alone. The defeat of such attacks demands the action of all the people. Only the vigilance of the people as a whole can save and expand democracy. Any other concept of the problem would play into the hands of the persecutors. Any other method of fighting such attacks would demobilize a larger part of the American masses against the struggle against such legislation. It would tend to line up on the side of the persecutors. It matters little whether that line-up would take the form of apathy toward such legislation, or the form of active support for it.
Here is an important fact. We often tend to picture the special problems of the American people of different national groups, as do not differ from the special problems of scores of other groups of Americans. The fundamental and common problems of all these groups are those arising from their economic insecurity, their many and diverse groups are not free. Their special problems are indeed the special problems of any particular group, instead they are various and different phases of the traditional or social security of the population. In the neighborhood or community where existing problems are shared by most or by all the people, united organizations.

In this respect these special problems are at par with the special problems of the children, the old people, of young people, of the women, of the labor movement...

Neighborhood Activities

The best way of solving a problem is to attack it where it appears in its most concrete form. Pages and even books may be written about the various and intricate problems of different national groups. But such writings would not bring us nearer the solution. If, however, we take the concrete manifestations of the problems of a particular group in a particular community or neighborhood, we will find the community in the form of very serious, yet also very simple problems of the individuals and the collective of the community. They appear as the problems of living, of earning, of housing, of health, of the social security of the population. In the neighborhood or community where existing problems are shared by most or by all the people, united orga-
nization and united action for their solution meets few difficulties.

If that is so, then where does the peculiarity of the problem of existing national groups come in?

We have already learned that they are not separate and different. In the community or neighborhood, it becomes apparent to different national groups in the neighborhood that their seemingly different problems are inseparable from the problems of democracy and social security in America and are inseparable from the problems of the other working people in their communities. Thus, they all become convinced that they must unite with all these people for the solution of these problems. This makes them realize that divisions in their community are not dividing issues of real importance. As a result they will gladly agree that in divisions existing all organizations indirectly and indirectly—similarly important

Adapted work must be adapted to the people.

If a neighborhood is populated by one or another specific national group, all the problems of the workers in that neighborhood will be colored by the problems of that national group. Fundamentally, of course, they will still be the problems of housing, of health, of earning, of living, of social security of the people in the neighborhood. In most instances, the need of appealing to a particular national group require the raising of new and special demands. In most instances it is necessary to adapt the demands of the regular

demands to the needs of defending particular groups of the population against discrimination.

The work among the national group, in the main, therefore demands the concretizing of our campaigns, the concretizing of our propaganda, and the concretizing of our program in every community or neighborhood.

Why No English Lodges of National Sections

In this connection the question may be asked, whether this work could not be done best by assigning all English lodges of common
national origin to the jurisdiction of the present language sections, thereby transforming these sections into national group organization?

Would not that assure a more persistent and systematic attention by these lodges to the problems of work among their nationals?

'The answer to this question must be an emphatic, NO. The attaching of English-speaking lodges to the present language sections, instead of over-bridging and liquidating nationalist tendencies, and thereby strengthening the desires and ties of unity between all workers in America, would feed nationalist feelings.)

Instead of helping us get more concerted and therefore more effective action out of our Order, an accomplishment very much needed, such a measure would increase the existing divisions to the point of confusion. There is absolutely no need for separate policies, separate programs, separate campaigns, and, therefore, certainly not for separate leaderships to serve the purposes of our work among different national groups. The required adaptation of our policies, our program, our campaigns and our methods of work to local peculiarities and conditions could not be achieved by expanding our organizational subdivision of language sections into National Group Sections. One and the same campaign, carried through among a group of nationals in the mining territories of Western Pennsylvania and carried through among a group of the same nationals in the city of New York would call for very different methods, and different formulation of demands in each of these territories. The local leadership of the Order can supply such an adaptation much more certainly than any

National Apparatus Must Be Simplified

Even if we were inclined to drop all theoretical considerations against it, we would still not be able to accept the turning of our Order into a federation of national fraternal groups. If we have learned
anything out of our past work we have learned that we need a strengthening of the power and responsibility of leadership of the General Executive Board and of the general state and city committees. The broadening of the jurisdiction of the sections would necessarily defeat this objective. Therefore, even assuming that an appropriate modus could be found to meet all other objections to it, the assignment of English lodges to any of the present sections would still be inadvisable and wrong.

Such an assignment would also require the immediate enlargement of the present section apparatuses by adding to each one of them an American secretary; such a step would cause an indefensible waste of the dues paid by the members. In addition, it would actually make insoluble the problem of the coordination of the work and functioning of our Order.

Of course, such enlargement of the staff of the sections could be avoided by the replacement of all the present secretaries with candidates capable of doing both, foreign and English-language work. However, we are prevented both by political and physical considerations from making such a change overnight. Yet, without taking either one of the two steps indicated, the assignment to the present sections and their leaderships of the job of organizing and leading American born contingents of their national groups would be tantamount to inviting disaster. Even a superficial look at our present sections, their leaderships and their functioning are confirming proof of this.

Present Work Of Sections Weak

The expectation that the needed change of our work among national groups will be considerably enhanced by extending the jurisdiction of the present foreign language sections to English-speaking lodges, assumes that these sections do effective work among the part of their national groups speaking their own languages. This is far from being so. The membership movements of some of our largest sections during the past two or three years prove that. To expand the jurisdiction of their responsibilities under existing conditions would merely increase their difficulties and thus broaden the field of their stagnation. It cer-
tainly would not overcome it. To say that the expansion of their jurisdiction will teach the sections that their present methods of work are faulty and inadequate, would merely say that we have

Of course if English-speaking lodges in any neighborhoods are mainly made up of members or descendants of one nationality, and if, therefore, they wish to be known and to operate as Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans, or similarly styled lodges, they should have a perfect right to do so. After all, though its major purpose is to serve an economic interest of the toilers, the Order also owes its members the development of fraternal lodge life. For this, every lodge may select its own membership base within the rules and purposes of the ITO.

Work Among Women Also Special Problem

In looking for a solution to our problem we must keep in mind that the adaptation of our work to the peculiarities of national groups is not the only problem of its kind confronting us. Adapting our work to the needs of the young people is an identical problem; so is the need of adapting our work to the needs of the women, or to the needs of the children. Neither of these problems will be solved by increased sectionalism. On the very contrary; already existing sectionalism is the most serious barrier against their solution. Finally, it obviously would have a very bad effect upon our job of uniting the masses, if we were to separate them along the very lines on which the enemies of the workers are trying to keep them separated.

Districts Must Shoulder Responsibility

A most effective and therefore immediately necessary step toward overcoming the weaknesses of our work among national groups will be to make the leaderships of the Order in the districts and communities directly responsible for the concretization of their work in every subdivision of their territories. Their own local membership will supply a valuable source of knowledge for the needs of such concretization. These local members live in the communities, they are pestered by its problems, and they themselves belong to the prevailing nationalities.
Another step is to expand the duties of the National Committees of the language sections. In addition to their present tasks, they should be made to act also as aides and guides for the Districts in their work among their respective nationals. This will require a change in the methods of their work. Besides being national committees of language sections, they must also become departments of the Order for work among their nationals. The territorial apparatuses of the sections which now exist and function beside the districts, must be made function as a part of them.

**Need of Fraternal Lodge Life**

Still another step toward solving the problem under consideration is the promotion of a better fraternal lodge life in our Order. No matter what decisions may be made at conventions or by the leadership of the Order about improving our work among different nationals, they will remain ineffective, unless the lodges of the Order become ever more effective means of assimilating and unifying the masses who join them. A fraternal lodge life adapted by the individual lodges to the peculiarities, desires and traditions of their members will accomplish such assimilation. In the degree in which this assimilation proceeds, in that degree the national organization of our Order can lead all of its members into united action for the realization of our common program.

All the above steps together will assign the main duties for adapting our work to the particular groups of people among whom we work, to the local organizations and lodges of the Order. That is where the activities of the Order can be most realistically concretized.

At the same time it assigns the major responsibility for the united and uniform actions of the Order to the General Executive Board. That is the institution which can best guarantee that job done. The responsibility is likewise the problem of our national organization.
Measures for Improving Work Among National Groups

Because of all the above considerations, the General Executive Board of the Order decides that our work among national groups shall be improved and made more effective by the following steps and policies.

1. All State Committees shall be made responsible for systematic efforts to generate fraternal club life in all lodges. This is the surest means of adapting the life and the activities of the Order to the desires and necessities of its members.

2. Wherever organizational weaknesses of existing lodges make the development of fraternal life in them difficult or impossible, there the district leaders must, in accordance with our decisions on consolidation, endeavor to strengthen these lodges by means of building them, or merging them with others, also by means of systematic efforts to assure leadership to all of them. Thus guarantees must be established for a minimum of functioning for all subdivisions or lodges of the Order.

3. The national committees of the various sections shall be assigned the duty of preparing and supplying materials based on the democratic traditions of their respective nations, as a source of inspiring and feeding the cultural life of their lodges. By this means the life in all lodges can be based in part upon the healthy democratic traditions of the peoples of their nationalities. The greater attraction which such cultural activities will supply for the members of their lodges will become a factor of strengthening their social security campaign and their neighborhood activities.

4. All State Committees of our Order shall be obligated to concretize our campaign for social security in such a manner as to assure the adaptation of our demands and our efforts of propaganda and mass mobilization, to the needs peculiar to different national groups in different neighborhoods and communities.

5. To establish our Order in the minds of these groups as a
defender of their particular interests and as a fighter for their grievances, the leaders of the Order must solicit the participation of our lodges in every worthwhile effort for local civic improvements.

(6) To assure these efforts the greatest effectiveness, and to accomplish greater unity of action between all parts of our Order, all District organizations must establish in place of the present Section District Committees, committees for work among each of the different national groups in their territories. These committees must be made up of both immigrant and native elements of the respective nationality. Such composition must assure a reversal of the present tendency of letting national group problems eclipse the problems of paramount importance, the problems of social security and democracy for the American masses.

These committees must be made to function under the direction of the general district leaderships.

(7) The committees provided for in paragraph Six must also be made to function as the district apparatuses of the national sections. The sections, in turn, must facilitate the work of these committees under the direction of the general district committees of the Order.

(8) All efforts for developing and bringing to the fore additional and new leaders for our Order must groom people capable and acceptable for leadership by the different national groups among the American masses.

(9) The national committees of the Language Sections must broaden their present functioning. They must become instruments of the national organization of the Order for work among their respective national groups. They must be made responsible for supplying the state organizations with materials for this work. They must help adapt the activities and materials of the Order to the needs of work among their respective nationals.

(10) The Order through all its State organizations must multiply and systematize its efforts to drive the roots of the Order deeper into
the American masses and into American life. These efforts must result in building more and stronger general lodges, and of the life and the activities of our Order more intimately to the life and the activities of the American labor movement.

(11) If and where there are desires on the part of members organized in general lodges to have their lodge known and function as Italian-American or similarly named or characterized lodges, they should be permitted to do so. Such lodges should be aided in any effort to adapt their appeal to the peculiar needs and desires of their respective national groups.

(12) In addition to all these measures a careful analysis of the methods of work and activities of the present sections and their lodges must be made, with a view of improving them. To this end the Organization Department is instructed to cooperate with the National Section Committees, to assure an early preparation and submission to the G.E.B. of materials and proposals concerning each section.