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**Party
Organizer**

**Volume 5
1932**



Greenwood Reprint Corporation
New York
1968



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Printed in the United States of America

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KENT STATE UNIVERSITY

Party Organizer



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Vol. V

JANUARY, 1932

No. 1

Issued by

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A

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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. V.

January, 1932

No. 1

The Shop the Basis of Our Recruiting Drive

THE recruiting drive of our Party which starts January 11 and will end on March 18, is now rapidly getting under way. Prior to these dates many districts made the recruiting drive a part of their every-day activities to bring in new members into the Party as a result of the struggles led. This is a good beginning. This recruiting drive intends to establish recruiting as a natural every-day activity of our Party.

The recruiting drive is in time. Our Party is now involved in a series of campaigns which if properly developed will mobilize millions of workers in the struggle against the economic and political offensive of the bosses. The February Fourth campaign and the struggle for the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill, the support to the Kentucky striking miners, the struggle for the unconditional release of the Scottsboro boys, the fight against the ever-increasing war danger, will mobilize masses of workers under the leadership of our Party.

In order to carry through all these campaigns we must shift the base of these campaigns to the shops and factories and there, as well as among the unemployed, bring these issues to the forefront and link them up with the every-day conditions of the workers in the shops, neighborhoods and breadlines.

Therefore shop work is not a separate campaign of the Party. It is the base on which all the Party campaigns are built and carried on. In the past, while carrying on struggles, the building of the Party was neglected and we repeated many times the correct formulation that our Party will be built in struggles, but when struggles occurred we were absorbed in these struggles without understanding that one of the major tasks of our Party in these struggles is to build our Party, to recruit new members and to strengthen our organizational base.

This recruiting drive of the Party stresses primarily this question and while leading masses of workers in the struggle for better conditions, against wage-cuts and speed-up, against

unemployment, for the support of the miners, the Party will become the unifying factor of all these struggles, the leader of all these movements, and must be brought as such to the masses of workers. This is how we will build our Party and this how our recruiting drive will be successful. Quite often struggles are considered only strikes — thus the approach that where strikes are not developed yet, our Party cannot be built. This is a wrong conception. The preparations for strikes are a part of the struggle. The building of shop committees, the building of our unions, the organization of the unemployed is an important part of the struggle, because they lead to the development of struggles.

It is in these preparatory steps where our Party must be strengthened—must be built. It will be the Party nucleus which will accentuate and lead the struggle of the workers.

The recruiting drive is on. We have set definite objectives:

1. Double the Party membership.
2. 100 new shop nuclei.
3. 30 new shop papers.

Can it be carried through? Of course it can. We will do it only, if we on one hand make this drive a real political drive, linking it up with the political campaigns of the Party, and simultaneously take the necessary organizational steps to insure a successful drive.

The steps to be taken are:

1. Bring in the drive into every unit, every fraction, every Party committee, and through them into the shops, unions and mass organizations.
2. Show the comrades how to approach the workers in the shops to join our Party.
3. Make the Party unit a fit place to keep and develop the new members.

The Polburo Circular No. 5 shall be studied by every Party member (it was printed in the *Daily Worker* in installments). The revolutionary competition will bring out more and more potential forces in this drive, which if properly carried through, will not only bring in new members into the Party, but help to solve some burning problems of our Party—closer connections with shop, more proletarian cadres, and above all the developing of new struggles against the economic and political offensive of the bosses and their government.

From the Practical Work For the Practical Work

In this Section of the PARTY ORGANIZER the comrades of the shop nuclei, fractions and street nuclei speak. Send in your experiences in all fields of Party work to the PARTY ORGANIZER, P. O. Box 87, Station D, New York City.

Unemployment Work

Uniting the Struggle of Employed and Unemployed

Briggs Hunger March

Conditions in the Briggs Shop

ON November 23rd for the first time we had united employed and unemployed workers of a factory placing their demands for *Unemployment Insurance* before the factory gate and employment office. *How did the union organize this action?*

First let us see what are the conditions in the Briggs H. P. plant. There were at one time 10,000 working now there are about 500. In Dept. No. 272, three butt welding machines were introduced which have put out of work permanently 100 men who will never get their jobs back. In the Carpeting Department the girls formerly got 60c an hour; they have been cut 6 times. Those that are working make part time. One worker reported \$4.75 at the end of two weeks. Another Negro worker reported \$2.75 for two weeks pay. And he has a family of 4. Out of these pays \$1.25 had gone to the Community Fund and for "insurance" which never insured anyone. There is a sign in the Briggs laboratory for girls which says that any girl found talking with a Negro worker will be immediately fired. The majority of the Briggs workers are starving. The Briggs Plant depends on Ford for its orders.

The Y.C.L. Gets on the Job

A few months ago the Y.C.L. decided to concentrate on this plant and in one of the units we organized a *Shock Brigade*. After getting a couple of connections we did not let them stay on file in order to accumulate enough to build a union branch, but immediately asked these workers to build groups from their department or floor. In a short time there were about 10 members meeting regularly in each other's homes. Almost every week the leading comrades would come down and speak on the necessity of organization and the victories of the unemployed council in winning relief for the unemployed families. After a while these workers began to say why can't we do something also? Why can't we have a Hunger March, like the Unemployed Council? And so we discussed it and decided to bring our demands to the Briggs Company. Briggs is supposed to have a "Welfare." They are supposed to give \$5 a week to unemployed Briggs families and free food checks. But only a very few workers get this. If they do they have to get the O.K. from the Plant Manager to the smallest straw boss. We decided to ask the Unemployed Council and other working class organizations in that neighborhood for assistance in mobilizing the unemployed Briggs workers. We drew up a plan of how to work. First we drew up our demands which were:

1. *Unemployment insurance equal to wages while working and not less than \$15 a week.*
2. *No discrimination against women, single, Negro or young workers.*
3. *8 tons of coal immediately for the families. Free groceries until insurance goes into effect.*
4. *And for the employed:*
5. *Full pay for part time work.*
6. *No insurance money out of our pay.*

In order to widen the appeal of the Hunger March we decided to raise demands for the unemployed Ford workers. In the same block as the Briggs employment office is the *Company Grocery Store*. We asked the Ford workers to march with the Briggs workers for free groceries. We knew also that in order to present our demands more effectively before the company, we should have a list of the families that

are in need of spot relief. The territory surrounding the Briggs Plant is most like a company town with the streets occupied entirely with Briggs and Ford workers. So we mapped out a number of streets and with the help of the Unemployed Council and the Y.C.L. we went from house to house telling of the Hunger March and asking for the names of those who needed aid immediately. In one week's time we secured almost 35 Briggs Families and 40 Ford families and cases of young workers who were on the verge of starvation. There were 4 kinds of leaflets issued. One leaflet called upon all Unemployed Briggs and Ford workers to support the Hunger March; this was used in the house to house canvas. Another leaflet was to the workers directly in the shop. One was for the young workers, and one for all unemployed workers called for support for the Hunger March. Three mass meetings were held in preparation, one of which was held by the Y.C.L. At these meetings we collected money for the leaflets. The day before the Hunger March there were two children's parades who marched around in the territory with noise makers and signs saying: "*Walter P. Briggs children have their own ponies. Briggs workers' children starve. All out to the Briggs Hunger March.*" All this raised great enthusiasm for the March.

The March

Our leaflets called upon the unemployed Briggs and Ford workers to assemble at the Unemployed Council headquarters to prepare for the March. Early in the morning we had distributed special leaflets to the men in the plant that we were coming about noon hour and that they should come out and support the fight for unemployment insurance. At 10 o'clock about 250 men and women and children assembled in the council headquarters to prepare for the march. First we had a meeting. A vote was taken on the demands. A committee of 5, was elected, one Negro Briggs worker, one young girl Briggs worker, one white worker, and two members of the Unemployed Council. Many members of the Council were unemployed Briggs or Ford workers. This committee was to be our spokesmen and present the demands. The workers then lined up and received their banners. And then the March began. But here we saw how far Murphy's dem-

agogy had penetrated even the leadership. We thought we would have no trouble in marching because we had been allowed before. We had not marched two blocks when Murphy's police in scout cars drove into a street we were crossing and made a barricade of scout cars. But the workers fought back and defended their banners. Especially the women led the line to smash through the police. Three times the workers were attacked and fought back with the utmost militancy defending themselves with bricks and sticks from their banners. The police were repulsed and the line now swelling to 600 marched in orderly fashion on to the plant. Just as we reached Highland Park, the H.P. police came to meet us and asked us who was in charge. The workers almost as one answered "*We Are.*"

Locked in the Shop

The auto bosses unable to smash the line before we got there tried another method. When we got to the plant they swung every gate and door tight shut. *They locked the workers in the shop from coming out at lunch hour. In front of the plant* there were many workers waiting for the March to arrive and in about 15 minutes there were around 5,000 workers in front of the Briggs employment office. The employment bosses sneaked away from meeting our committee. Inside the plant the workers who were locked in became indignant and demanded that they be allowed to go out. In fact the work for the whole afternoon was disrupted. The fellows who had gone out for the early lunch hour were locked out and could not go into the plant and join the demonstration. Many workers sneaked out through an unused door and joined in. The rest of the workers leaned out of the windows listening to the speakers. *We told the workers "We, the unemployed, are organizing. If you fellows go out on strike we will not scab. We must fight together for unemployment insurance from the company."* A vote on the demands was taken with unanimous voting and cheering on every demand. The delegates to the National Hunger March spoke and the crowd voted to support the National Hunger March to *Washington and cheered the delegates.* For two hours we demanded that the Briggs boss see our committee. We then took a vote from the workers to march to the *Food Company Store.* With a

cheer the workers marched to get their "turkey." Just as we reached the Ford Company Store the Ford flunkeys hurriedly cleared the store of customers and slammed the doors in the face of the hungry Ford workers *the day before Thanksgiving*. When it became apparent that we could do nothing more then, we marched back to protest the arrest of two workers during the fights in the March. At the protest meeting 45 workers joined the Union from Ford, Briggs and other plants. Now the Union has been following up these contacts and many have become real members. Many of the families who signed up for relief also joined the Union. The original Union group has grown to about 25 and the Ford group has jumped to over 100 members in that territory. A characteristic of the whole march was the large amount of young workers, about 30%.

The workers are now all saying *How about a Hunger March to our plant?* The whole prestige of the Union has been raised. Now the Union group says we cannot rest on the laurels of the last demonstration, we still have not received relief for the starving Briggs families. So now we are going to take these families down in committees to the *Briggs Welfare and demand relief for them*. Now the Ford Branch of the Union is planning a *Hunger March to the Ford River Rouge plant to demand jobs or Unemployment Insurance*. It will take place on February 8 with the eyes of all the workers on this united move of employed and unemployed workers.

NYDIA BARKER (*Detroit*)

Involving the A. F. of L. Workers in the Hunger March

THE importance of the National Hunger March as an action placing important organizational and political tasks before the movement as an immediate practical task that must be carried through without delay is nowhere better set forth than in our experience in Kalamazoo, Michigan.

Kalamazoo was chosen as an overnight stopping point of Column No. 3 of the March, despite the fact that we had no connection then to solve the problem of housing and feeding the marchers.

Going into the town less than two weeks before the March we were able to get the carpenters' union (Local 297) to vote the use of their hall free of charge for the marchers, and the Federation of Labor of Kalamazoo which manages the city controlled dining room, agreed to feed the marchers. We went before the city manager, city mayor and city commission and got an emphatic refusal from each. Despite the attitude of the bosses' agents in the city government, the federation proceeded to prepare the food and when the police on orders from the mayor refused the marchers admission to the building where the food was prepared, the workers in the kitchen took the food to Carpenters' Hall and served it there. The March had been attacked in Hammond, Indiana, and the marchers delayed, and until midnight officials and workers of the union were serving food to the marchers who had been condemned by Green, Woll, and the rest of the fakers.

On the return journey the men were immediately housed and fed. However, when a meeting in the court arranged on the return journey was stopped by the police, the Carpenters' Union secretary opened the office of the union and held the local police out while a hunger marcher spoke from a second story window to some 600 workers who had gathered below. Only after a contingent of the state had reinforced the local club-wielders, was the secretary brushed aside and the speaking stopped.

Thus in a town wherein we have no connections we have been able to get the fullest cooperation from American Federation of Labor workers that has marked the whole Hunger March. We have established that these workers of Kalamazoo who are typical of rank and file elements throughout the country are opposed to Green's and Woll's policy of betrayal and starvation.

We have involved the Carpenters' Union in an action of great political significance wherein the workers could see the role of the police and of the government representing bosses.

In Kalamazoo the practical tasks set forth by the Hunger March have borne political fruits of the highest order. Kalamazoo indicates the seething caldron upon which Wall and Green sit with such foolish and callous complacency.

Let us have more hunger marchers compelling us where this compulsion is necessary to say to the workers in American Federation of Labor locals; "Here are problems of hunger. Fight side by side with us to solve them!"

W. REYNOLDS (*Detroit*).

Local Struggles and the Building of Unemployed Councils in Preparation for the Hunger March

IN order to build Unemployed Councils and to speed up the organization of the unemployed, it is necessary for us to be flexible and adopt proper demands that will fit in for the territory in which we build.

Here on the North Side in Chicago we had some very interesting experiences which proved to us that the workers are ready to struggle if proper demands are put up.

Council No. 17 is located in a territory where most of the unemployed workers are single men and there is no provisions made by the charities for single men. In order to lead the workers in this locality in struggle, new methods had to be adopted as we could not lead them on the issues of evictions—no shutting off of gas, electricity, etc.

We organized a committee to present the demands of the single men to the alderman of the ward, Oscar Nelson, who is also vice-president of the Chicago Federation of Labor. Oscar Nelson met the delegation not alone, but with the Red Squad present.

The results of this committee was reported before a huge open air meeting and a date was set for a demonstration to be staged in front of the alderman's office.

On the day of the demonstration the street in front of the

alderman's office was lined with police and detectives for several hours before the announced time of the demonstration and of course succeeded in breaking up this demonstration. The Council reacted real quickly to this situation, mimeographed new leaflets and distributed them the same night, calling the workers' attention to the fakery of Oscar Nelson and for the support of the unemployed. This demonstration was staged on the next night with splendid response from the workers.

The importance of the question of single men in this territory can best be seen by the fact that the Swedish bourgeoisie immediately reacted to this campaign by starting their machinery to combat this struggle. The Unemployed Council was asked to send delegates down to the Swedish National Society to discuss ways and means to meet the situation. They asked the Council members if they would cooperate with them in handling the meal tickets and housing. This was just another demagogic trick.

The shortcoming of the Council was that they were satisfied with the small concession that they had gained and did not continue to struggle. Instead of organizing bigger demonstrations and taking advantage of the favorable situation, the Council lagged in their work and gave the bourgeoisie a chance to divide the workers by giving certain ones a hand-out.

To utilize the situation which exists on the North Side, it is necessary to adopt such slogans and to use tactics which will apply to both married and single men. To intensify the struggle against the faker Oscar Nelson, with special attention to the American Federation of Labor locals. To organize real mass demonstrations in front of his office. The National Hunger Marchers can very well be utilized in this campaign, both in exposing faker Oscar Nelson before the American Federation of Labor locals and in stimulating and helping the workers on the North Side to build a bigger unemployment movement.

G. P.

Strike and Trade Union Work

Notes on Strike Strategy in Lawrence

THE Lawrence workers struck twice in 1931. In February 10,000 American Woolen Company workers came out against the speed-up and won a partial victory. On October 5th to November 11th, the mills were completely emptied by the walkout of 23,000 workers. The February strike showed the possibility of striking and winning under Communist leadership in the midst of the economic crisis. The October strike was the first mass answer of the workers to the national wage cutting drive of 1931. It was defeated by a United Textile Workers sell-out. In this short article I will indicate three reasons (among others) for our inability to prevent the U.T.W. sell-out:

1. Lack of Preparatory Work for the Strike

From February to October we did not continue our work in Lawrence. The necessary change of orientation to the Rhode Island silk strikes last summer led to an impermissible exodus from the Lawrence sector; particularly since we had failed to build a local union and Party leadership last February. We took a step towards preventing the recurrence of this situation in the October strike by building four mill nuclei with 40 new Party members, recruiting 30 Y.C.L. members, about 700 new union members, four mill locals of the union, a union District Board and retaining 3 union organizers and one Party organizer in Lawrence after the strike. We now have the task of systematically continuing the struggle with this organizational basis.

2. Narrowing Down the United Front

The workers could see no distinction between our union and the united front during the strike. There was neither a broadly organized united front nor a real independent role of the union within the united front. Our efforts to capture the masses from the U.T.W.-American Union bureaucrats lacked the following decisive features:

(a) Building of an opposition to the bureaucrats at the City Common meetings by concrete exposures through questioning, challenges, proposing concrete actions, etc.; (b) building a steady opposition group in the U.T.W. and American Union locals; (c) sending of open letters and delegations to the reactionary unions to win the members for concrete aspects of the united front (one picket line, one relief committee, etc.) This was only undertaken in the last week and weakly applied.

Other indications of the narrowness of our united front tactic were (a) the call for the strikers' conference to elect the rank and file united front strike committee was issued in the name of the rank and file committee and the N.T.W.U.; leading to a confusion of the united front with the union. (b) the initiative of the united front strike committee was stifled by certain long-winded organizers—instead of arousing action they talked the committee to sleep; (c) there was no Strike Committee Bureau functioning daily. Hence the execution of strike decisions was left solely in the hands of the leading Party fraction (during the strike no leading union committees existed.)

3. Need for Bolshevik Decisiveness

During crucial moments of the strike our leadership showed a lack of Bolshevik decisiveness as for example: (a) when the masses swung out of the mills on October 5th on the basis of our strike call we allowed them to disperse for home instead of marching them on to the City Common, taking it over and electing the strike committee then and there. This has a historical significance in connection with past Lawrence strikes; (b) on November 10th (the day before the final back to work stream) when 8,000 strikers were deserted on the City Common by the A. F. of L.-Socialist misleaders, we were not there to give them leadership; we were quite busy repeating the same old speech to 500 workers on our own lot. We failed to recognize that a strike is a major battle in the class war and we have to think fast in order to move our army (and with them our generals) to a decisive front of the battle.

NAT KAPLAN

Party Recruitment Work

A Brief Glimpse at the Recruiting Drive in Chicago District

AT THE District Plenum held in July, 1931, we decided to double the Party membership in Chicago by November 7 and in out of town sections by Lenin Memorial. Supplementing this, at a later Plenum in September, we placed greater emphasis on recruiting from shops, indicating specific shops for concentration and decided that at least 20 per cent of new recruits must be from shop nuclei or shops of concentration.

To What Extent Carried Out?

Between July 18 and November 28 (approximately 4 1-2 months) there were a total of 1,374 new members accepted into the Party and issued membership books on the basis of having attended two unit meetings and paid initiation. This means more than doubling the total membership, as the actual membership on July 1 was 1,268. Five sections (2, 4 and 6 in Chicago and Indianapolis and Calumet out of town, doubled their membership).

An interesting fact to be elaborated upon later, is the steady growth of recruiting monthly until November, when there was a drop. It runs like this: July (last two weeks) 45; August 255; September 285; October 506, and November 283.

Have We Penetrated the Shop?

An examination of these 1,374 new recruits shows 80 per cent were unemployed and only 20 per cent employed, according to initiation. The majority of the sections adopted plans of work. In ten of these there are a total of 40 shops being concentrated upon to recruit and build new shop nuclei during the 4 months plan of work (October 15 to February 15).

An examination of the recruiting from shops since the Plenum (September 15 to November 28) shows that 40 new members were recruited from shops of concentration; 23 new

members were recruited by old shop nuclei, and 3 new shop nuclei were organized with a total of 21 members. This makes a total of 84 new members from these three shop sources. Contrasted with the total recruited during this same exact period we find it to be a little more than 9 per cent. Therefore, while we fulfilled our objective, we have fallen down on the more important objective of rooting the Party in the shops.

Fluctuation of Membership

Another serious problem is our capacity to keep the new members, which, incidentally, is closely connected to an extent with the type of workers recruited and the methods used. Examining section by section, their membership on July 1st, also their new recruits and contrasting this with what their membership should be if all new and old members were kept in the Party, with the actual membership, we see the high rate of fluctuation. While District 8 membership has increased absolutely from 1268 on July 1st to 1,963 on November 28th, if the fluctuation was not so high we should have a much larger membership. On a district scale we have a fluctuation of 47% during this period. What is important is the fact that *those sections which are conducting their mass work and all Party work best, have the lowest fluctuation. This fluctuation raises four basic problems of: (1) improving the political life of the Party units, (2) improving the inner organizational functioning of lower Party organs, (3) more concentrated recruiting from shops and through our fractions and (4) more intensive Party education.*

Yardstick of Membership

The only reliable yardstick of membership is dues sales. While a small margin can always be allowed even in the best functioning Party, the excuses of some districts about rawness of new members or unemployment should not be tolerated. Generally these same comrades whose rawness is used as an excuse by the district committee, understand the importance of paying dues in a working-class organization, due to years of training in trade-unions. Certainly, unemployment is no excuse since there is such a thing as exempt stamps. In District 8, while on July 1st when we had 1,268 actual mem-

bers we had an average dues sales for the three preceding months of 1,093, today when we have an actual membership of 1,963 we have an average dues sales for the months of October, and November of 1,735. There is still too great a discrepancy but the substantial increase of dues sales shows the solid character of the present actual membership.

Start "Drive for New Members from Shops"

As a part of the recruiting drive of the whole Party, Chicago district will concentrate during January and February to increase the present membership by 50%, but the emphasis will be in the mining, steel, railroad and packing industries.

Challenge Pittsburgh District

As a part of this drive, the Chicago District challenges Pittsburgh district to the following during the two-month period of January and February:

(1) *To increase our present actual membership by 50% quicker than Pittsburgh.*

(2) *What at the end of this drive, the average dues sales for the months of December, January and February must be equivalent to 90% of the actual membership.*

(3) *That Chicago district will double the present number of coal miners in the Party and challenges Pittsburgh to do likewise.*

(4) *That we will organize 10 new shop nuclei in steel and metal industry and recruit at least 175 new Party members from steel and metal industry.*

(5) *To issue 7 new shop papers each month during this period.*

Importance of Records and Statistics

Every district org. department should have a sub-committee on Party statistics. Some comrades scorn this, but if the Party is to draw some important political and organizational conclusions, the vital statistics of our Party is absolutely necessary. This, of course, should not become an end in itself or hamper the study or understanding of the political events taking place. Only through organized collective work can the Party under-

stand the events taking place and its role in the class struggle as the political and organizational leader of the masses.

J. WILLIAMSON.

(Later on a separate article will analyze the reasons for the fluctuations and some important political and organizational conclusions from the above figures of Chicago district, which lack of space prevents in this article.—J. W.)

On the Building of Shop Nuclei

TO BE able to recruit our new members from the shops and build shop nuclei, we must make clear to the entire membership of the Party the methods of building organizations in the shops, and *how to approach a worker* in order to draw him into organization.

Very often good contacts, workers working in big factories, are scared away from organization by a wrong approach. They think that by joining the Party they must carry on open activities, expose themselves and lose their jobs.

Members of the Party working in big shops are made to carry on open activities and are forced to drop out from the Party.

Workers through wrong approach get the wrong and dangerous conception that our Party—the Party that is fighting for the final emancipation of the working class—is not interested in the immediate betterment of the conditions of the workers.

These misconceptions expressed themselves clearly in the following two instances: In visiting contacts of a factory where about 1,200 workers are working over time to prepare hospital supplies for the coming war I found the following:

One of the contacts was a member of the Party for quite a time. Being in the Party he was made trade union organizer of the unit, had to come up to Party headquarters (which in a small town means openly to expose himself) and carry on other open Party activities. As a result, he started to drop

out from the Party and was, a couple of months ago, officially dropped by the unit.

After I explained to the worker that he can be in the Party without doing any open Party work, that he can carry on work in the shop without exposing himself, he was ready to give us information on the shop, and agreed to meet with a couple more workers.

The comrade who was with me visiting the contacts, an active member of the unit, in place of trying to find out the specific grievances of the workers in the shop and on that basis try to draw the worker into organization, in a "very short and business-like manner" explained to the worker that: "*The Party has decided to build a shop nucleus in the shop, and would he like to join it!*"

It is clear that with this method of approach, with this conception of how to activize members of the Party working in important shops we can not build shop nuclei.

If we are to recruit our new members from the shops and build shop nuclei, we must make clear to the membership of the Party that the shop nucleus is an *illegal form of organization* especially at this period. We must emphasize that nuclei can be built only on the immediate and partial demands of the workers in the shops.

At the last Plenum of our Central Committee comrade Browder in speaking, in his report, on the building of properly functioning shop nuclei said:

"I think it would not be a bad idea to give the task to each district committee to select one shop nucleus for which the district committee assumes the direct responsibility for leading. The district committee should assume complete responsibility for leading. The district committee should assume complete responsibility for acquiring a knowledge of the problems of that shop in the next sixty days, and working out for that shop such methods of work by the comrades there that will successfully carry on some mass work in that shop and not get discharged.

This can be very well applied to the section committees. The section committee should assume direct responsibility in conducting the work in a shop where one or two Party members are working; acquire a knowledge of the problems of that

shop; meet with the comrades from the shop, work out with them methods of work, assign members of the section committee to visit, together with members of the unit in that territory, the contacts from the shop for the building of a shop nucleus and carry on mass work. Doing that we will suddenly begin to find this is not such a difficult problem when we go about it right. *It can be done.*

J. Halpern (New Jersey).

Concentration Work

HOW is our concentration work carried on? The plan of the district is that shock troops (special groups) are chosen on the basis of special abilities, and adaptability for the work. This is on a voluntary basis. The comrades in the shock troop must be so organized that they are able to work together without any difficulties. Each individual comrade in the shock troop must be given a specific task (getting new contacts, visiting old contacts, distribution, etc.), the carrying out of which is checked up regularly by the captain of the group. This shock troop is not a regular Party organization. This is important to note because of the fact that there has been a tendency to turn these shock troops into regular units of the Party. These comrades although members of a particular shock troop remain in their own unit but devote their major activity to the shock troop.

The work of the shock troop must be co-ordinated with the work of the particular union or league working in that trade. The plan worked out by the shock troop must be gone over with the comrades in the trade unions.

We must not be mechanical in forming these groups for if a comrade is active and is needed in a particular trade union (especially A. F. of L.), this comrade should not be taken out from this work. We have one instance where a comrade was drawn into a shock troop to build a group of the metal workers when this comrade was actively engaged in work in his own local of the Carpenters Union and where the possibilities of taking the leadership of the union was very

good. This is not our understanding of shock troop work.

We must also blast the idea that concentration work means *only* carrying out work in the concentration point. To do this will tend to liquidate the Party organization. The general work of the Party goes on, but the best forces are drawn into this phase of activity. You must work in such a way that struggles and movements are developed in other phases of activity so that work can be developed outside of our concentration points.

Concentration means planned work which must penetrate all our Party and trade union activities.

J. PERILLA.

Agit Prop Work

Shop Papers 1931

WITH the issuance of the December number of the "National Shop Paper Editor," the first year of concrete guidance of our shop papers by the central office came to a close. Looking back over this year, we see a great deal of progress in the improved quality of the shop papers, but also the hangovers of some very great shortcomings.

Shop News

The greatest improvement is in the field of concrete shop news. Most of the papers actually reflect conditions in the shop, and to such an extent that the "Pravda," central organ of the C.P.S.U., devoted almost a third of a page on Nov. 15, to showing how the shop papers in the United States reflect the crisis, and how they give the reader a concrete picture of the worsening conditions in the shops.

Linking Up

However, the papers have not yet learned how to use this material skilfully for mobilizing the workers for our campaigns and for raising the political level of these workers.

There is great improvement in some papers in this direction. Not an event in the shop without either organizational or political conclusions drawn from it. But this holds true only of a few papers. Too often, for example, a small item on a lay-off in the shop is printed in a small paragraph somewhere without comment, and then a long heavy article on our unemployment program somewhere else in the paper, without any shop material whatever.

More and more the comrades are beginning to suggest action on the basis of some grievance in the shop through the shop paper. Hardly any of the papers made a practice of doing that formerly. Some of them still confine themselves to saying "we must do something about this," when describing a shop grievance. But there has undoubtedly been great improvement in some of the older papers.

The Shop Paper as Organizer

Also, the phrase "we must get together," is no longer the only organizational advice which a paper gives, except in the very recent papers which have not yet had any experience as organizer within the shop. At least the paper suggest some form of organization.

The type of organization inside the shop. In some articles the comrades advocate a grievance committee, department committee, shop committee, and union, all in one breath, and some even take the Party into this list.

However, in these shops where the comrades active in the organizing work are those who put out the paper, we find the most careful formulation attempted in putting forward shop organization.

Although on organizational forms in the shop, they do not yet approach the workers concretely enough—tell them *how* a grievance committee functions, what to do to organize a grievance committee, etc.

The greatest weakness of the papers, however, is the irregularity with which they appear and the small number of papers in the country. The very fact that the greatest number appear in the occasion of our regular campaigns—January 21, May 1, August 1, and November 7—shows that the comrades don't know yet that the shop paper is the regularly appearing organ of the unit in the shop, and not a special bulletin issued

on a special occasion, to mobilize the workers for a special campaign. And yet these special bulletins appear as shop papers, with the name, the date, the volume and number, as though they were regularly appearing organs.

1932

During the coming year, the shortcomings will be still further overcome, for the progress has been steady and rapid. Also there will be stress laid on getting out *more* shop papers. It will be necessary to get the districts as a whole behind shop paper work. Left entirely within the district agitprop apparatus, the shop papers will not flourish. They must be the product of agitprop, org. and trade unions, with the district leadership co-ordinating this work, for they are not only agitators and propagandists in the shops, but active organizers of the Party and of the union.

—G. H.

A New Weapon of Agitation and Propaganda

Agit-Prop Theatre in New York City Elections

IN the recent election campaign, the Communist Party had the services of an agit-prop theatre group formed by the Workers Dramatic Council of New York. A committee of the Dram-Council wrote a play, *Vote Communist!*, especially suitable for performances from even the smallest platform. After four rehearsals, the agit-prop theater group gave their first performance at an open-air election meeting on Tuesday, October 27. They were enthusiastically received by the workers. A second performance was given at another open-air meeting on Thursday. And on Monday evening, November 2—the day before election—the group, by arrangement with the campaign manager of Section 1, came to the big open-air meeting of Section 1, which was being conducted from four platforms. There they gave four performances in succession—one from each platform. Party functionaries of Section 1 saw for themselves how effective this work was, both in drawing the masses of workers

around the speakers' platform (where the workers remained afterwards to hear our speakers) and in arousing the enthusiasm of the workers. This enthusiasm was a very important factor in the good collections for the campaign funds that were taken up after the performances.

The production of the agit-prop play was made with careful consideration of the technical limitations of open-air meetings. Platform space was needed for just one player; at first a capitalist, who after being exposed in his three disguises of Democratic party, Republican party, and Socialist party, was then displaced by a Communist. Six other worker-players spoke their lines from that section of the audience nearest the platform. Each had a red megaphone (made of cardboard), which helped them to be heard. The final slogans, each ending with "Vote Communist!", were quickly caught up and shouted by the workers.

This was only the beginning of outdoor agit-prop theater work. At indoor meetings and workers' affairs, another *Vote Communist!* play was presented several times by the Workers Laboratory Theater, of the W.I.R. The Prolet-Buhne, a New York group, has presented *Vote Communist!* plays in German. Bearing in mind how effective the agit-prop play can be in attracting the workers to our meetings, in educating and arousing their enthusiasm for our policies, and in stimulating the collection of funds (and the sale of our literature), our Party should encourage and support the workers theater movement, which is developing throughout the country.

Agit-prop theater groups can quickly be built up in number and influence on a national scale through active support by the Party. In many countries of Europe the revolutionary theater is already a mass weapon of agitation and propaganda. And when a considerable number of such groups exist here, the Party will have a powerful weapon for reaching and influencing wide masses of workers quickly with effective agitation and propaganda *in every big campaign of the Party.*

BEN BLAKE, Sec. 1, N. Y.

WORKERS

of the

CHICAGO SCREW CO.

A Grievance Committee has been formed
in the shop to protest against

OIL DRIPPING

THROUGH THE FLOORS

ALL DAY LONG
DOWN OUR NECKS
ON OUR HEAD
INTO OUR EYES

Drops of OIL—OIL—OIL
Seeping thru the Floors on us

This condition can be prevented by the com-
pany and we DEMAND that the dripping of oil
STOP at once!

Workers, join in this demand!

GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE
Chicago Screw Co.

The leaflet reproduced above is a good example of how to seize upon a specific grievance in a shop and graphically dramatize it for the purpose of mobilizing the workers into some organizational form—in this case very correctly a Grievance Committee.

The technical make-up is striking—the issue stands out without tedious explanation.

Improving Internal Life of the Party Drawing in the Members More Closely in Political Actions

THIS is a report on activities immediately prior and after the smashing of our two demonstrations, *i.e.*, the Hunger March demonstration, Wednesday, November 25, and the children's and parents' demonstration on Saturday, November 28. The first had the demands of housing and feeding the Hunger Marchers, also anti-war; while the second had for its demands that money collected by Murphy's Tag Day for children (Murphy is the demagogic mayor of Detroit), be turned over to the Workers International Relief for the children's feeding stations.

These two demonstrations were prepared in a very short time, and upon the conviction of the district buro that permits would be granted for both, otherwise we would not have prepared for two demonstrations within three days. Meetings have been peaceful in Detroit since March, 1930.

Because of the fight with the police on Wednesday we had an emergency mobilization of Party members in about 36 hours and got 350 members present, where we discussed the events of Wednesday, and also laid down plans for Saturday's demonstration. The next day (Saturday) the newspapers carried reports of our Friday membership meeting, also plans laid. The whole police department was mobilized (about 1,500 uniformed policemen were out besides the detectives) and having reports from our membership meeting, knew how our Party membership was to be stationed, and forestalled an effective fight on our side. Attempts were made to carry out our decisions, but were not very successful.

We thought that as a result of the Saturday's demonstration, pessimism would develop and therefore called a meeting of unit organizers for Tuesday, December 2, prior to the unit meetings, to lead discussions in the units.

At this meeting of the organizers, questions were asked as to what the opinion of Party members is in regards to the smashing of the demonstrations, change in Murphy's policy, the district leadership, also what our sympathizers think, and

finally what the workers in general thought. Twenty-two out of twenty-seven organizers were present and the concensus of opinion was:

1. Our Party membership was glad that this happened, as it will help them greatly to expose Murphy.

2. Time for demonstrations too early (10 A. M.); should have been 1:30 or 2 P. M.

3. Most sympathizers were surprised, but thought it a good thing to happen, when it did, while the hunger marchers were coming to town.

4. Workers, in general, thought that Murphy was "better" than Bowles, but now found out the true side and role of him.

5. Criticism from some sympathizers, that defense corps was not organized.

6. Party members and sympathizers expecting another demonstration, but better prepared, with defense corps and general mobilization with more time.

On the whole, only one organizer displayed a little pessimism, as to the possibility of mobilization of the masses, also Party members.

Now we will have a discussion in the units on Murphy's smashing our demonstration to draw the necessary lessons.

—From a Report from the Detroit District by A. G.

* * *

NOTE: *The above report shows two things first, a particularly healthy relationship between the District leadership and the membership (lower functionaries, etc.). Both during and after the critical period of these two demonstrations, the leadership far from bureaucratically cutting itself off from the lower ranks, mobilized them and invited and stimulated criticism and suggestions. The value of the suggestions is obvious, the leadership was informed of the mood of the rank and file and the non-Party members, and as a result pessimism did not develop neither on top nor below.*

Organize the Work Among Women!

THE recent Party registration shows just how we recruit women for the Party. In the Chicago District only 15 per cent of the membership are women. Of this 15 per cent, only half are working women. What number of the 7 per cent are in shop units is not reported. Considering the number of members in shop units in this District, it is safe to say that very few women are in the shop units. On checking up on the method of recruiting women for the Party and Trade Union Unity League in shops, this is an example that happened in Section 6, Chicago:

A woman comrade is working in a steel mill; there are only a small number of women compared to men working in the mill; the Party is trying to build an organization committee in the mill (there is no shop unit there), but no one thinks it is important to ask the woman comrade to join the Trade Union Unity League or to ask her to work among the women and draw them into the shop organization committee. Our comrades think that this small number of women in the steel mill is very insignificant and why should they waste their time in trying to organize them? They do not consider that the women could help in getting contacts with men in the mills, that women could help in organizing and winning the wives of the steel workers for our movement and really prepare the ground for strike struggles in the steel mills.

The wages of steel workers are very low, many are unemployed and the conditions of the steel workers' children are very bad. Through the women we would be able to reach the children and develop fights around the schools for free food and clothing, for free school supplies, etc. Such things are overlooked by our comrades who are trying to organize the workers in the factories.

In the work among the unemployed, the situation is not much better. Our methods of work in drawing women into the unemployed organizations are not the best. In most sections the women are organized in women's councils and mothers' leagues, instead of being drawn into the unemployed branches and block committees. There is an instance in

Morgan Park where the comrades have organized a *Women's Unemployed Council* and a *Men's Unemployed Council*. Instead of organizing both men and women into the unemployed branch, they are dividing the two sections of the working class into two separate unemployed organizations.

In some of our unemployed branches in Chicago, the women constitute the most active elements in the unemployed branch, yet we find that at a meeting of the City Committee of the Unemployed Councils only one woman delegate is present. The tendency in the unemployed councils is that women can do the technical work, distribute leaflets, fight evictions and appear before charities for relief, *but* women are not eligible as delegates to the City Committee from their respective unemployed branches.

At the last meeting of the City Committee of the Unemployed Councils, we took up the question of women's committees in the branches and block committees, about calling special neighborhood meetings of women, of getting these women to join the branches in order to fight effectively for relief and unemployment insurance. There was a good discussion in the City Committee. Our tasks now are to see to it that the decisions made at the City Committee are carried out. This can be done if there is a functioning apparatus on a district, section and unit scale. The Party sections must see to it that unemployed women comrades are active in the unemployed branches and give leadership in calling special neighborhood meetings of women, taking up the demands of women in that particular neighborhood.

Through all these activities, we must draw women into our Party. Every effort must be made to develop these women into able leaders instead of just giving them technical work.

Study circles involving as many women as possible, Party and non-Party, especially women who are active in unemployed councils and mass organizations, should be organized on a section scale to develop women for leadership in Party and the mass organizations.

—K. E.

Material For a Course on Organizational Questions

(Continued from last month)

II

A. *The difference between Party and trade unions.*

AT the beginning of the trade union movement, Karl Marx exercised great influence upon them and actively participated in their development. With his theory that the capitalist social system is on the one hand the source of wealth and profits of the owners of the means of production and on the other hand the cause of the misery and exploitation of the proletariat, he pointed out the path of class struggle to the working class. Karl Marx furnished the theoretical weapon for this struggle.

At the Geneva Congress of the First International in 1866 Karl Marx laid down the tasks of the trade unions in the trade union resolution. In this resolution Marx wrote:

“Capital is a concentrated social power while the worker owns only his personal labor. . . . Their only social power is their numbers, which are broken by their lack of unity. The lack of unity of the workers is created and nurtured by the unavoidable competition between them. The trade unions originated in the voluntary efforts of the workers to overcome this competition, or at least to limit it, with the aim of gaining certain conditions by agreement, by which they were to be raised above the status of simple slaves. The *immediate aim* of the trade unions is thus limited to the daily needs, to temporary means of struggle against the constant attacks of capital—in a word: to the question of wages and hours of labor. This activity of the trade unions is not only justified but is necessary. It must not be given up.”

But the organization of the workers for struggle for the economic day-to-day demands does not suffice to do away with exploitation and misery, which are necessarily bound up with the capitalist system. The trade unions should by no means

limit themselves to the resistance to the attacks of the bosses, but:

“If the trade unions are indispensable for the daily little war between capital and labor, they are much more important still as an organizing force in the demand for doing away with the wage system itself.” (*Taken from the Geneva Resolution.*)

Thus at the very beginnings of the trade union movement, it was already emphasized that they must under no circumstances limit themselves to the daily struggle for wages, bread and hours of labor, but that these economic questions can be solved only by doing away with the system of wages and by the destruction of capitalist domination. Therefore the trade unions must conduct their fight toward the achievement of this final goal. Karl Marx wrote the following about the important role of the trade unions in the labor movement:

“The trade unions are the school for Socialism. In the trade unions the workers are trained as Socialists, because here the fight against capital is carried on day by day before their very eyes.”

Lenin also spoke repeatedly about the trade unions as a school for Communism. He said:

“The trade unions have the task of leading the toiling masses from simple to complicated, and beyond that to the most difficult tasks of the class struggle.” (*Speech at the Second Congress of the Russian Trade Unions in 1909.*)

The clear distinction between the political and trade union organization, recognizing at the same time that the economic struggles must also be under the leadership of the Party, is one of the basic teachings of Leninism. In *What Is to Be Done?* Lenin writes:

“The organization of the workers (for the economic struggle) must be, first of all, a trade union organization. Second, it must be as broad as possible. Third, it must be as open (unconspiratorial) as possible. (I am speaking here and further on only of Russia under the Tzar.) The organization of revolutionists on the contrary, must be composed chiefly and above all of people whose profession is revolu-

tionary activity (this is why I speak of the organization of revolutionists, by which I mean the revolutionary Social-Democrats)."

This sharp distinction signifies a condemnation of the practice of those units which do nothing but Trade Union Unity League work and also shows the incorrectness of the situation where the T. U. U. L. is not much broader than the Party organization (for the object of the T. U. U. L. is to embrace broader masses than is possible in the Party). But it would be basically wrong to confuse the distinction between trade union and Party organization with the question of the leadership of the Party in the economic struggles. In this connection Lenin repeatedly emphasized the limitations even of the Red unions, for example in the *Infantile Sickness*:

"When the highest form of class organization of the proletarians, the revolutionary Party of the proletariat . . . began to form, certain inevitable, reactionary traits of the trade unions began to become clear: a certain narrowness, a certain non-political tendency, a certain tendency to petrification, etc. . . . Certain 'reactionary traits' of the unions in the above mentioned sense are also inevitable under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Certain "reactionary traits" of the unions—a tendency to a limited viewpoint on the special economic interests of the special group; lack of understanding of the larger political problems; "petrification" (that is, viewing things from the purely technical-organizational side)—exist, even at the beginning of the period of socialist construction. Could they then be absent in our own Red unions? (Any observer can see that they are certainly not.) Who, then, can help the Red unions to reduce these weaknesses to the most unavoidable minimum? Only the Party—the proletarian vanguard. Without serious leadership by the Party the unions cannot be *really* Red, and cannot lead a strike to victory.

Thus the relation and difference between the trade unions and the Party is defined. The difference between the trade unions and the Party is: the trade union is an organization of *all* workers who recognize their conflict of interests with the boss and the necessity of a common struggle together with their fellow-workers. They fight for the immediate day-to-day

life interests of the workers. The Party is the organization of the most class-conscious and advanced elements of the proletarian class; it is the organization of the revolutionary vanguard, leading the entire class in the fight for power and for the building up of Socialism. Lenin gives the following formulation on membership in the trade unions:

"The organization of the wage workers must be brought about on the basis of their mutual economic interests, without discrimination against sex or nationality. Membership in the trade unions must not be made dependent on the acceptance of any political or religious principles." (*Lenin on the Trade Unions.*)

The relation between Party and trade unions is determined by the leading role of the Party as vanguard of the class. The members of the Party are those who accept Communism in all its phases. The trade unions, on the other hand, must accept all workers, regardless of their political outlook, their religion, etc., if they are ready to conduct the struggle for the day-to-day interests, wages, hours of labor, and better working conditions against capital. *Therefore it is the first duty of every worker, and above all of every Party member, to become a member of a revolutionary trade union.* But the trade unions cannot conduct their fight for the day-to-day interests in a consistent manner, and in necessary connection with the political fight, without the guidance of the Party. But on the other hand, the Party cannot fulfil its tasks without acquiring a decisive influence over the masses (trade unions and other proletarian mass organizations). Therefore the leadership by the Party of the mass organizations of the proletariat, which include the trade unions, is necessary.

B. The difference between the organizational forms and methods of work of the Party and the proletarian mass organizations.

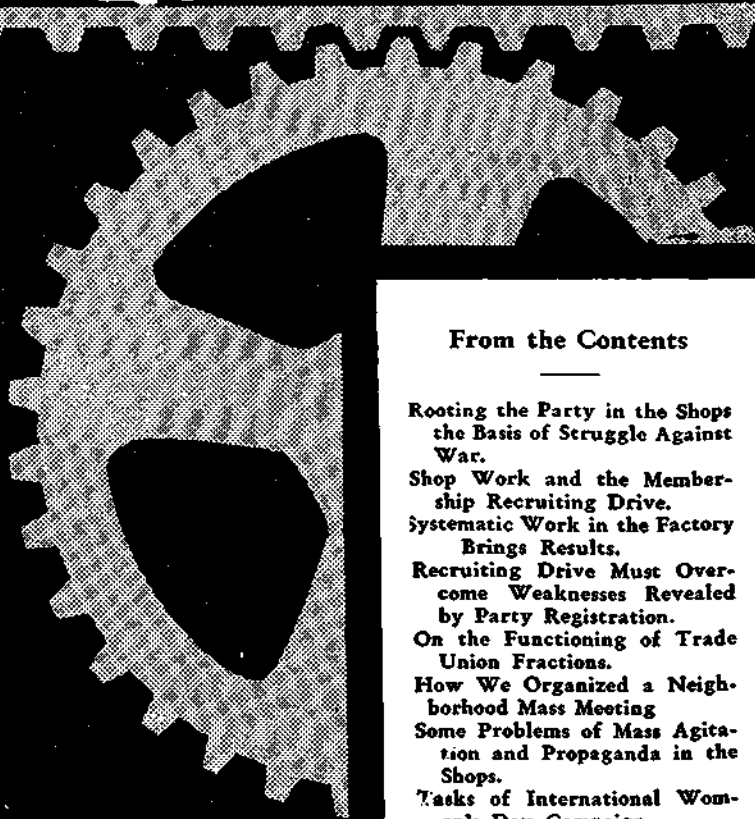
These tasks, as laid down in the previous section, in connection with the relation to the Party and to the trade unions, hold good also for the other proletarian mass organizations, and naturally exercise influence on the variety of organizational forms and methods of work between the Party and the other proletarian mass organizations. The Party embraces the most advanced, most class-conscious section of the working class

and its task is the fight for the overthrow of capitalist economy and the capitalist state apparatus as a capitalist organ of power. The special task of the trade unions is to lead the economic *daily* struggle of the workers. Thus they embrace the broadest sections of the masses of workers and must have a different, less rigidly disciplined, organizational form than the Party, which requires iron discipline and rigid organization.

In the building and leadership of the trade unions, more democracy must be expressed than in the Party. Our chief weakness consists in the fact that we have far too few non-Party members in the leadership of the trade unions. In addition, too few membership meetings in which the trade union leaders report to the membership on the work carried out and the financial situation. Much too little collective work. More opportunity for the membership to participate in decisions. The trade unions also have their main base in the factory branches.

In other proletarian mass organizations, such as the labor sports, tenants, cultural organizations, labor defense, relief, etc., the organizational forms must be still more flexible, since the strata of membership of these organizations have only made the first steps in the direction of the class struggle, and these organizations conduct only partial tasks in the various spheres of the proletarian class struggle. Therefore sections of these mass organizations must be organized in the form of committees or in the form of a federation. We must guard ourselves against mechanically imposing the rigid centralized organizational form of the Party, with its iron discipline, on the other proletarian mass organizations. All our proletarian mass organizations must direct their main work on the millions of masses of factory workers, because they are the picked troops of the working class.

Party Organizer



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Vol. V

FEBRUARY, 1932

No. 2

Issued by

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A

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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. V

FEBRUARY, 1932

No. 2

Rooting the Party in the Shops the Basis of Struggle Against War

"Now a word about the factory circles. They are of extreme importance to us: the main strength of our movement lies in the workers' organizations in the large factories. For in the large factories (and works) are concentrated that section of the working class which is not only predominant in numbers, but still more predominant in influence, development and fighting capacity. Every factory must be our stronghold." (From A Letter to a Comrade on Our Problems of Organization, Lenin; written in September, 1902.)

THE center of mobilization of the workers in the struggle against war is the shop.

Comrade Lenin repeatedly stated that the struggle against war must be carried on not only *after* the war breaks out, but also *before* it breaks out. And that the fight against war must be carried on *daily, hourly*. The shop, the mill, the mine, are the most important places for the carrying on of continuous, organized, daily, hourly struggle against war.

Modern warfare is dependent on the industries. Military strategy today plans its warfare also on the ability of mobilizing the industries for the supply of war materials. There is hardly any large scale factory *today*, that could not in twenty-four hours be turned into a munition plant. Our influence and organization in the factories is of decisive importance in the struggle, against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in its resolution on "The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists" emphasizes a great deal the importance of our work in the factories in connection with our struggle against imperialist war. The resolution states "*Factory and trade union activity must be concentrated primarily in the industries which serve the mobilization for and conduct of war, like the metal industry, the chemical industry and transport.*"

Our anti-war agitation and organization in the factories can be successful only if we become the champions of the economic demands of the workers and link them up with our anti-war activities. This is the key to turning the factories into the very center of struggle against the imperialist war. The various grievance committees and other forms of economic united front shop organizations can and must become important organs of struggle against war within their respective shops.

We cannot however, merely confine ourselves to having the various economic forms of shop organization within the shop carry on the struggle against the war. It is necessary to bear in mind that "it is particularly important to apply the tactics of the proletarian united front and to secure the organizational consolidations of its results, establishment of committees of action against war, etc." (From the Sixth World Congress resolution).

The most decisive point in considering the establishment of broad united front forms of struggle against war within the factories is to develop communist leadership within the shop—to establish *shop nuclei*. Struggle against war without decisive revolutionary leadership is impossible. To make the factory the center of our anti-war activities demands the utmost concentration of the Party in the present recruiting drive in the building of *shop nuclei*, in recruiting workers from the shops, mills and mines.

WAR!

More and better concentration in the war industries! Carry through and double your quotas in steel, transport, chemical and metal! Which is the first district to answer the attack on the Chinese masses and the acute war danger to the Soviet Union with

INCREASED RECRUITING QUOTA!

Shop Work and the Membership Recruiting Drive

THE membership drive is going forward—but it is confronted with the *most serious* weaknesses. If these weaknesses are not corrected immediately, by a *turn to the shops* and the *carrying on of shop work*, then the recruiting drive will not only not have been a success, but the Party will not be able to perform even a small part of its duties in the present period.

We are living in a *war period*. War is on in China, and perhaps before these lines appear, war may have been declared or be on in full swing. What is the Party going to do to fight against war *before* it is in full progress? What is the Party going to do *after* war is declared, if we are not firmly entrenched in the shops of war industry? Do our Party members believe that the slogan of turning imperialist war into class war is the sum total of what we are to do—a *simple, single, act*? This would be folly, and we must wake up to the true situation.

The Party as a *whole* is divorced from the workers in the shops. Not that we have not some nuclei in some of the shops of heavy industry, but the *overwhelming majority* of the Party members are in street units, not because the work of the street units is more interesting or important, but because the Party members have too few connections in the shops—and *do not make it their business to get these contacts, build them up, and establish nuclei in the shops*. Work against the imperialist war, both before and during the war, will have to be done *primarily* in the shops. It is *there above all* that we will be able to carry on *real communist work to obstruct the war machine* of the imperialist government. And it is there that we are *weakest*, and the recruiting campaign is not improving it sufficiently.

We are taking new workers into the Party—but from where? Not that these workers are not welcome. Not that they will not give us a basis for forming shop nuclei. But the very recruitment demonstrates that the instructions that have been issued, the discussions that have been held, have borne little fruit. *The Party members are not awake to the danger of war, the crying need of the Party in face of this danger, and of its fundamental duties: The establishment of the Party in the shops.*

In some of the districts, a great majority of the recruits are from among the unemployed. The unemployed must be recruited, but it must be remembered that the majority of the workers are still working in the shops—most of them part time—and the unemployed will be the first recruits for the imperialist armies. *These workers in the armies plus the workers in the shops must be the ones to carry on the anti-imperialist activities and turn the imperialist war into class war.* The workers in the shops will be able to do the most extensive work—but if the Party is

not there through the efforts of the Party members to build up shop nuclei and shop groups of the unions, then we will be in a serious situation.

The units must check up on each and every Party and Y.C.L. member. The question is not only whether he or she has recruited workers into the Party, but also *where* these recruits have been won. There is absolutely no reason why every Party member who is working should not be able to recruit other workers into the Party and into the revolutionary union of his trade. No reason—except that the Party members either do not understand how to carry on work in the shop, or simply do no communist work in the shop. This is *inexcusable*—and the units and section committees must take up this question very seriously *at once*, while recruiting is possible on the scale on which we can carry it on at the present time. The section bureaus and committees and they together with the unit bureaus must immediately review the recruiting by each member of the unit and check up the method and place of recruiting. The situation in each shop must be discussed and ways be worked out for the Party members. This must be checked up within a specified time.

The same applies to the Party fractions in the unions. The leading fraction must take up this matter most seriously, find out why our Party members are not recruiting into the union by establishing union groups in the shops, and taking the most militant workers in the shop-groups into the Party; why the union fractions are not recruiting rapidly enough into the Party, and thereby establishing contact in the shops, through which we can form shop nuclei; why the recruitment through the language fractions in the mass organizations is not used to establish contact with the shops and thereby lay the basis for the formation of shop nuclei in the shops.

The districts cannot emphasize this most important phase of our work sufficiently. *The Central Committee is sounding the alarm. The Communist International has pointed out this danger. It shows clearly that our Party is not turning to the shops, is not doing shop work.* Failure to do this work is a *serious social democratic opportunist deviation*, which will prevent our Party from growing, will expose it to every kind of right deviation, and make it easy for our enemies to attack us.

An immediate turn to shop work, to building up shop nuclei is the demand of the hour. The Party sections and units must make an immediate check-up on the present state of the recruitment drive, and make the turn to Bolshevik work in the shops.

The March issue of the Party Organizer will be a special SHOP ISSUE. Send in articles at once on your experiences in shop work.

From the Practical Work For the Practical Work

In this Section of the PARTY ORGANIZER the comrades of the shop nuclei, fractions and street nuclei speak. Send in your experiences in all fields of Party work to the PARTY ORGANIZER, P. O. Box 87, Station D, New York City.

Rooting the Party in the Shops Systematic Work in the Factory Brings Results

THIS unit works in a large automobile factory and is comparatively new. A year ago I was the only Party member in this department; today we have ten members. We have tried to work, from the very beginning, planfully and systematically. When another worker became a member of the Party, both he and I talked over every step we did in order to carry out the general Party activity in the department. This work has been kept up as the unit grew.

After attending the unit meeting of the building, the comrades from our department would meet once or twice a week and discuss the work to be done in the department. Our new members were recruited into the Party carefully. Two of our comrades would meet a prospective comrade in their home, once or sometimes more often, to discuss things and problems with him. We would try to find out what his specific grievances were, the kind of an individual he was, his experiences, and how much he knew about the class struggle, and to what extent he was willing to fight. The members would pass their judgment about the prospective comrade, and only if all were of the opinion that he would make a good Party member, he would be asked to join the Party by one of the comrades.

When we began to carry on propaganda and agitation on a wider scale, our first step was to make out a list of *all* the sympathizers from the seven hundred workers in this department. We divided this list into three classes, namely, the first class consisted of those workers whom we considered material for the Party; secondly, of those who were readers of the *Daily Worker* or who could safely be approached to subscribe; and third, of those who would buy tickets, a pamphlet or contribute money for Party affairs. The work of the individual comrades in turn was divided among these three classes of sympathizers according to their ability, which depended upon certain conditions under which they had to work and as to their experiences, etc.

One comrade who could absorb much time during working hours and had possibilities to go around and speak to the workers was very successful in obtaining subscribers for the *Daily Worker*, selling tickets and collecting funds. He could, however, speak to the worker for a short time, but to a great number of them throughout the day. The other comrades spoke to a few workers during the week but were able to carry out more agitational and educational work.

In our meetings we discussed what we did in the last week, what contacts we met, the experiences we had and what successes and mistakes we made. We would discuss the methods of approach and plan our work for the following week. This unit is firmly established in this department and is working steadily. We have gained our sympathizers' confidence who feel that we know what we are doing, and that we take our work seriously, not exposing ourselves or them.

To put our results into actual figures the unit has accomplished during the course of a year the following: \$325.00 was mailed to the *Daily Worker* as subscriptions and donations; \$131.80 to the striking miners, as cash, clothing and food; we have supported our district training school with \$15.00; and have sold over 350 tickets for our affairs, and over a hundred pamphlets.

The unit is in a healthy condition, the comrades come to the meetings regularly and with enthusiasm. To date, we have only lost one member due to the strong opposition of his wife to the Party. We have a well functioning unit buro, which meets every two weeks. Good discussions on all the outstanding problems and campaigns of the Party are taken up and comrades understand them well. Education is also taken up in the unit meetings. All the comrades are regular readers of *The Communist*, *Imprecorr* and the *Party Organizer*.

What is our prospective for the near future? It is therefore most essential that the leading comrades of the shop units in Detroit do their utmost to lay a good foundation for the *Auto Workers Union*. As we go along in the crisis and conditions of the workers in the automobile industry become worse the workers will fight, provided they see responsible leadership. It is very important that in the event of a strike and struggles the *Party* and the *Union* are well entrenched in the the factories.

J. M. (Detroit)

The approach outlined by the comrade is a good example to follow. But what about the economic conditions in the shop and the organization of a struggle against them?—EDITOR.

The Meaning of Concentration

THE idea of storming the factories by our Party sections is a good one. By storming the factories we don't mean storm-

ing it with many internal meetings and many internal noisy talks. In this way we only storm section headquarters. To concentrate on a factory that employs at present 14,000 workers, and when the factory is busy, employs 25,000 workers, to many of our sections would be a problem not merely of one section of the Party, but even more than that. And as a result we would have much talk, plans of action, decisions, complaints, charges—but concentration. It happens that this factory is located in such a place where there is no Party section with 300-400 members. There is hardly any Party unit.

Under these circumstances concentration on this factory was started by two comrades. Two comrades started to storm a factory of thousands. This decision for concentration was taken seriously by these comrades. It was understood by these comrades that a shock troop of two comrades does not mean running out in front of the factory gate once a week and then report to the unit buro that the assignment was carried out, and be done with it.

These comrades used all methods that are well known to most of our Party membership, namely, going to the gate, issuing a shop paper, visiting contacts, organizing open forums near the factory. In checking up on the work done for a period of three weeks the following was accomplished:

A shop nucleus of five entirely new members was established in the factory. One issue of the shop paper was issued during this time, which was greeted very well by the workers. A group of workers are coming together weekly and are conducting a study circle. These new Party members are being activized and taught how to do work in the shop without being exposed. Many contacts are being gotten for a broad grievance committee.

All this work was conducted by two comrades who composed the shock troop for this gigantic factory. In many parts of our district we heard that even leading comrades in the sections came to the conclusion that shock troops for shop work proved to be ineffective.

It is correct that shock troops for internal meetings and concentration at section headquarters will be ineffective even if they are as large as 25-50 comrades. But at the same time, shock troops, no matter how small they will be, if they have as their objective to establish shop organization by all means and who will devote time and effort for this work, will undoubtedly get good results.

—M.

Self-Criticism Must be Followed by Correction

IN ANALYZING our shop activity we must concretely learn from the experience of our comrades inside the factories. Let us therefore take the experience of one shop nucleus—the Fisher

Body nucleus in Cleveland. That nucleus with a membership of 10 was allowed to drop its activity for close to two months when the factory shut down last October. Instead of utilizing the period when the plant was shut down to maintain the nucleus, find methods of reaching the workers at home, distribute the shop papers to them, reach the workers on days when they came to the employment office for a job, this task was totally neglected. With the start of work, the nucleus has again begun activity, but we have not yet found methods of overcoming the difficulties in that factory with the workers employed on different shifts. This lack of response shows an unsystematic study of the conditions in each particular shop and the necessity as pointed out in the Central Committee resolution of adapting our activity to the particular characteristics of each factory.

Outstanding weakness in regards to shop activity is the discontinuance of the Steel Brigade, in Cleveland. This brigade, organized to concentrate our activity in the American Steel and Wire, was allowed by the District Secretariat to dissolve, when some of the comrades, capitulating to difficulties in conducting work at the steel mill, did not respond to the tasks. Instead of constant guidance and careful check-up by the Secretariat of the work in this brigade and as decided, to attach a leading comrade to help in the work, the brigade was permitted to dissolve and our work in that factory stopped.

CLEVELAND.

Direct Leadership Helps in the Growth of S. Nucleus

THE S. plant is of greatest importance to our District, not only because it is a heavy industry plant, but because in time of war, this plant can produce war materials within 24 hours.

At the present time, there are 3,500 workers employed in this plant. We have a shop nucleus in existence for quite a while. However, two months ago the district called a meeting of these comrades and in checking up on their work, we found out that most of the comrades did not think the shop nucleus was the best form of organization because of the fact that they received little concrete guidance and help from the district and from the section and because the comrades did not know just how to begin to work inside the factory. In view of this, they developed theories that the language form of organization was the best for the Party, that the workers in the various departments are dumb and are not ready for struggle and such opportunist tendencies occupied most of that meeting.

The district org. representative was very sharp and persistent in pointing out the importance of shop work and assigned every

comrade to a particular task. It was also decided that the section org. secretary should be assigned to this shop nucleus and help the comrades not only in giving instructions, but in actually putting into effect the decisions made for carrying on the work in the shop.

Now, two months later, we have the following representation in that factory: 4 workers have joined the ranks of the Party and are members of the shop nucleus. We have contacts in 11 departments of the shop, instead of in 2 as we had two months ago. At a meeting that was held 2 weeks ago with the comrades of this nucleus, an entirely different spirit existed. Those who were very much opposed to the shop nucleus form of organization two months ago were now very enthusiastic and showed what can be done in the work.

This experience of the S. nucleus should be an indication to us on how to mobilize the comrades for shop activity. We cannot expect that simply through paper guidance will we be able to convince the comrades of the importance of doing shop work. The leading comrades must be assigned to these shop units and must help the comrades in the daily work with concrete proposals and suggestions to put across the policy of the Party in the shop without endangering the jobs of the comrades and at the same time mobilizing the new elements of workers in the shop into the ranks of our Party.

L. D.

Party Recruitment Drive

Recruiting Drive Must Overcome Weaknesses Revealed by Party Registration

THE recent Party registration is looked upon too much merely as a statistical matter, and since it is completed, is of no further value. This is wrong. The purpose was to equip the Party to better carry out its decisions of mass work and struggle.

Although District 8 comprises four states, which are highly industrial in character, the registration shows that not even one-third of the membership is in the four key industries of mining, steel and metal, railroad and packing.

The registration revealed complete ignorance on four key questions:

(1) *What revolutionary unions are in territory of section.* Only Sections 5 and 6 answered this question.

(2) *What reformist unions are in territory.* Only Section 6 answered this question.

(3) *What fractions exist in mass organizations.* No section answered this based on knowledge of the situation. A few guessed at the answer.

(4) *What large factories in territory.* Only a few sections answered, including Sections 2, 4, Milwaukee and St. Louis.

The collapse of the registration on these four questions is not just a technical oversight but reflects the basic weak spots of the Party in District 8. There is a complete lack of understanding and a great underestimation of trade union work, and while the sections increase the volume of activity, they don't learn to involve non-Party working class organizations, through activity of Party fractions, and consequently, up until now the section committee did not feel responsible, and did not supervise and give guidance to the fractions or check the assignment and activity of Party members in mass organizations.

Chief Shortcomings in District 8 Registration

The registration also exposed some other shortcomings in the composition of the membership, such as:

(1) Out of the 1,700 members registered, only 462 work in shops and of these 242 are in shops with less than 100 workers.

(2) There are 945 members listed as unemployed, but only 462 are recorded as members of the Unemployed Council and we know a much small number actually are in fractions, although the Unemployed Council registrations throughout the district numbers nearly 14,000.

(3) Only 127 Party members belong to the T. U. U. L. and 156 to the A. F. of L.

(4) While 412 Party members are Negro comrades, 75 per cent of these, or 332 are in Chicago, while Calumet, Indianapolis and Milwaukee have a negligible number.

(5) Of the 252 women Party members, only 126 are working women.

(6) The age composition is unsatisfactory. There are just as many Party members over 50 years as under 30 years.

Each of these weaknesses should be thoroughly examined by each section committee and each unit buro, and in the course of all activities, make an organized effort to overcome these weaknesses. If these weaknesses are merely recorded and no steps taken to change the situation, it shows incapacity to give leadership.

Type of Recruiting Reflects Type of Mass Activity

The present recruiting drive follows upon the registration to give the Party the opportunity to correct these shortcomings. The type of members recruited is always a reflection of the

type of mass activity the Party is engaged in. During the period of August, September, October and November, when over 1,300 new members were recruited in District 8, 80 per cent were unemployed, because it was in this field that the Party had conducted and led successful mass struggles. Here was reflected the glaring weakness of shop activity.

Even during November and December we see still too small a percentage of new members from shops of concentration, old or new shop nuclei. The results of concentration on shops of the 2,000 Party members for one month (December) is 22 new members from these shops of concentration. Obviously it is not concentration, but only the work of a few individual comrades. Or in the case of new shop nuclei; we find in two months in the city of Chicago *not a single new shop nucleus*, while outside of the city four were organized. These figures should arouse the section committees to take seriously the question—not only of giving out fine directives—but of organizing the membership down below to carry through these directives.

Coordination of Departments

One of the greatest shortcomings in the approach to recruiting is the lack of coordination between both district and section departments. There is a tendency to view recruiting as merely a matter of figures and relegate it only to the Org. Department to worry about. This shows a complete underestimation of the recruiting being a part of our every campaign. We are also too schematic in our approach to many questions. Without the Agit-Prop Department considering recruiting as one of its central tasks, the recruiting drive will be a failure. The Party must be politically mobilized for the drive; greater attention to explaining the revolutionary role of the Party is necessary; assistance must be given to the shop nuclei in getting facts about their company and also how to conduct work inside shops; better planned methods of speaking to the workers on given issues so as to combat the poison and demagoguery of the bourgeoisie; greater variety and lighter features in agitational work; training new members once they come into the Party. These are just a few of the urgent things which the Agit-Prop Department must contribute if the recruiting drive is to be successful.

J. W.

Open Wide the Door of the Party to the Workers

THE New York District has inaugurated a new method in the recruiting drive that is bearing results. It sent out a letter to the revolutionary unions and revolutionary oppositions, to the clubs and fraternal organizations, asking them to discuss the

Communist Party and its role in the class struggle, and to invite a speaker of the Party to their meeting. It asked them to have their membership select as candidates for the Party, workers who through their activity in the organization of the struggle have come to the front.

This method has borne results. The clubs, unions, etc. have gone into competition with each other. At many of the meetings, the workers have asked why the Party has not come to them before. At others, the workers have stated why they do not yet feel prepared to join the Party. The union where the biggest struggles have been conducted—the needle trades—has been the *slowest* to recruit and yet the workers recognize the leadership of the Party, the leadership of the Party fraction in the union.

Although the results have been good, the meetings show conclusively that we are *too careful* in recruiting into the Party. Only the close sympathizers have been called to the meetings—and this is a serious mistake. *The wider masses are ready for the Party.* These meetings should be broad meetings (as the clubs have arranged them); a thorough discussion should be held, and there is no doubt that many more workers will join the Party.

The doors of the Party must be opened to *all* workers. The struggle is getting keener, the enemies of the Party are uncovering their faces. They are proving to wider masses that they are tools of the bosses. Is it not apparent to the railroad workers that their "leaders" sold them out, and only put up a sham fight, which was called to a halt by the *ultimatum* of Mr. Williard, president of the company-unionized Baltimore and Ohio Railroad? Will it not become clear to the membership of the railroad unions in a short time that their unions have been sold out, in the very statement of Williard that each road will deal with its men? Is it not clear to the needle workers, the shoe and food workers what the role of the leaders of the A. F. of L. is? Do not the unorganized who are led in struggle by the revolutionary unions know that struggle is the method of organization and that their leaders in the main are Communists? Do not the unemployed know that the leaders of the unemployed movement, the policy and strategy, come from the Communists? Do not the Negroes in ever larger numbers know that the Communists are the only ones conducting a struggle in their behalf?

They do—but we do not open the door to them. Therefore this Lenin recruiting drive must *open the doors wide to the workers.* Our Party members must not hesitate: War is on in China—the attack on the Soviet Union is in the offing. Masses will rally to our call. They must be brought into the Party.

I. AMTER.

A Correct Challenge in the Recruiting Drive

The Anthracite Section of Philadelphia District Has Challenged the Baltimore Section in the Membership Drive

Our challenge is:

1. To recruit one miner for every steel wrker recruited in Baltimore the section.
2. To build one mine nucleus for every shop nucleus established in the Baltimore section.
3. To issue regularly one mine paper for every shop paper issued in Baltimore Section.

Our aim in the membership drive is:

1. To double the number of functioning mine nuclei.
2. To double the membership in the existing mine nuclei and the membership in the section.
3. To have six regularly issued mine papers.
4. To have by the end of the drive 10 mine nuclei well functioning.
5. To intensify the work of the Party members in the U. M. W. of A. locals.

Here Is How We Stand Today

Two new mine nuclei have been organized in preparation and during the membership drive. Altogether we have five mine nuclei with 61 members in them.

One new mine paper was started during the drive.

We recruited 46 new members in preparations and during the drive.

From January 1st to January 11th—19 members.

From January 11th to February 2nd—27 members.

44 out of the 46 are miners, only small percentage of them unemployed.

All of the miners are members of the U. M. W. of A.

We have so far accomplished 27 per cent of our quota.

Baltimore, what is your quota? How do you stand today? Have you any objection to our challenge? Can you arrange a meeting of your and our section bureaus to discuss methods used in recruiting new members?

Experience in Party Building Among Kentucky, Tennessee Miners

THERE is hardly a more pointed indicator of the readiness of the workers to join the ranks of the Communist Party than the response shown by the miners of south eastern Kentucky and eastern Tennessee to our initial step in organizing Party units in the mining camps.

In the mountain range of Kentucky and Tennessee we deal with workers of a semi-peasant type who lead a primitive life in a semi-feudal state. They have been kept by the coal operators in dire poverty and ignorance. Family life and church activities were the only "happiness" permitted the miners and the only expression left to them as their social life.

But, starvation broke their isolation. With open arms the miners received the organizers of the National Miners Union although they were "foreigners"—meaning people from the North and West. With the same readiness they listened to the organizers of the Party who were not only "foreigners," but non-miners.

I participated in the organizing of two units, one in Stony-Creek, Bell County, Kentucky, and the second in Peabody, Tennessee. Of course those who had been present were the most active workers in the camp, nevertheless I was impressed by the eagerness with which they accepted the Party.

The constant starvation of the last few years and the short but bitter experiences with the United Mine Workers Union, and their new contact with a militant working class organization has caused a tremendous change in the mental state among the more active miners. When we speak to them about the fundamentals of Communism—the overthrow of the capitalist state—they were not shocked by these "terrible" aims. On the contrary they showed complete understanding. They are so disgusted with their present conditions that a revolutionary change in the present system is welcomed by them.

In Stony Creek, we encountered two stumbling blocks—religion and the Negro question. There is no doubt that these two problems are general in most of the mining camps. A miner present—one of the most active and trusted strike workers—said: "I agree with the principles of the Party, I am ready to join it, but I must tell you beforehand that the belief in a supreme being is with both feet in my head, no one can knock it out." He said this in an apologetic manner. He was eager to join the Party but was afraid that his belief in a supreme being will prevent him from becoming a member. We answered by pointing out again the anti-working class role of the church, with which he and other miners agreed, and then left the "supreme being" aside for the time being with the knowledge that in the course of the class struggle this belief will be knocked out of his head while proletarian ideology will replace it.

The Party's attitude towards the Negro masses was presented very clearly and sharply by us. The reaction of the miners was the following: economic and political equality—YES. Social equality—the Negro is not educated as yet. We were ready for that attitude, having in mind the age-long tradition and race prejudice with which the white workers were imbued. We had to dwell in detail upon the causes of the backwardness

of the Negro masses and the tactics of the bosses in creating a social division on the race line among the workers. We succeeded in overcoming this obstacle. But, this does not mean that we succeeded entirely in eradicating this remnant of race prejudice.

In the second unit—the work progressed more smoothly. We learned from experience and presented the program of the Party in a more simple manner. At the second meeting the unit took in four new members, making a total of fourteen. Six new members were proposed—and passed upon.

Anything we said to the miners was a revelation. They piled questions on us and their eyes sparkled when we told them about the conditions of the miners in the Soviet Union. The meeting took place in a miner's house, the fireplace giving the only light in the room. The coals had to be shoved aside in order to get the light by which we could fill out the C.P. books.

These comrades are all a fine bunch of sturdy workers, eager to know more about the class struggle and the Party which they have joined. They read the *Daily Worker* regularly whenever, received, and they like to receive literature. A few of them should be sent to a training school. Their only handicap is lack of initiative and absence of organization experiences. Both can be overcome if the Party will give them due attention and concentrate on developing leadership amongst them.

These two units mentioned and a third one in Straight Creek, Bell County will serve as a basis for building Party units in all of the mining camps in that territory.

E. P.

Recruiting on the Basis of Participation in Struggles

DURING the Recruiting Drive it was emphasized again and again that we must concentrate on workers from the shops, particularly on workers from basic industries, and that this can best be brought about on the basis of our actual participation in the struggles of the workers.

There is one glaring example before us which shows that we are not utilizing our opportunities to participate in the struggles of the workers and on the basis of this draw the elements into the Party.

The workers of the Artistic Wire Company were out on strike for two weeks. The strike was lost. One of the important reasons for the loss of this strike was that, with the

exception of several leading comrades from the Metal Workers' League, they had no cooperation either in leadership of the strike nor in picketing. Mass picketing was essential in this strike to raise the morale of the workers on strike who had no organizational or strike experience to overcome the organized gangs hired by the boss, and the large police force. And no such mass picketing was possible without the help from outside the shop. Mind you, this is a metal shop, located right in our section. And our section—that is the leadership of the section—knew of this strike from the beginning. Yet we were not able to mobilize the membership for this strike. Appeals were made to the Marine Workers and to the unemployed council but no help came from these organizations either.

The result? The strike is lost. Not a single worker joined the Metal Workers' League. Not a single worker joined the Party.

The lesson is clear. We have failed in our duty to workers in struggle, and, therefore, failed to recruit workers from a basic industry.

We must quickly correct this shortcoming if we really mean to recruit workers from the shops; if we really mean to strengthen the base of the Party; if we really mean to make every factory a fortress of Communism.

L.

Fraction Work

A Turn in Words and Stagnation in Deeds

IT IS now *over 3 months* since the Building and Construction Workers Industrial League fraction has submitted names and addresses of comrades whom we asked to be assigned as their major task work in the Trade Union Unity League and the reformist unions.

The reason for doing this lies in the fact that the District Secretariat of District 2, at a meeting held in September, 1931, with the leading comrades of the building trades, promised that when we will have these names filed for assignment it will be no difficulty on the part of the district to assign these comrades for activity.

Over 3 months have passed since this promise of the district and the leading comrades of the building trades are still on a wild goose chase for functionaries in the various T. U. U. L. groups in existence.

Why are we sending this alarm at this moment? The fact is that in a normal time of the existence of our Leagues we were always short of Party members to be active. At all times

the Party membership in our district were the least active in the T. U. U. L. with the exception of a sprinkling of Party members here and there. We had numerous cases where members of the T. U. U. L., good honest proletarian elements, raised hell with our committee why we are not taking any measures to force the Party membership in the various local unions to attend meetings, to be active and to devote most of their time to T. U. U. L. work. At the present time we have situations where numerous groups of American Federation of Labor workers take the initiative themselves without the least bit of assistance on the part of our League or Party membership in order to organize themselves into an opposition group and come to us for assistance. These groups spring up without our encouragement and if these workers would not take the initiative and come around and inform us about their activity, we would never know of their existence. However, when we begin to check up we find here and there a few Party members carrying a union book and who have not attended their union meetings for ages.

An illustration of this sort can be seen in a local union of painters in Long Island, where we had the names of 2 or 3 Party members, whom we asked time and time again to get busy and organize a group in their local union. But as the matter stands it took a non-Party worker in the leadership, a sympathizer, to organize an opposition group and come to the T. U. U. L. for advice. It was only then that the Party members in that local union decided that they should be members of this opposition group. That is only one case.

We have another case where a non-Party worker from a carpenters' local union has been chasing for months to get a hold of the 2 Party members in the local union in order to organize a group. So far we have not been able to get hold of this Party member in order to be able to build up this group. These Party members in question are very, very busy in the Freiheit Gesang Ferein and the few more of the mass organizations, such as Bronx Workers Club, etc., but never attend their local union. (We will gladly furnish the names and addresses of these comrades to the district upon request.)

We could go on and mention many cases where non-Party workers decided to bring up on charges Party members for non-attendance of local union and group meetings. We believe that the situation mentioned above comes as a result of the failure on the part of the District Org. Department to take up once for all this matter of carrying out the assignments as the district decided.

Of the 300 Party members in the building trades fraction, one-half would give the Building and Construction Workers Industrial League an opportunity to lay the basis for a real mass movement within the A. F. of L. because most of our Party

membership in the building trades of our district are in the A. F. of L., in not less than 50 local unions in this city.

We are writing this not for the sake of simply emphasizing the shortcomings existing in the relation of the Party fraction to the building trade league, but we hope that this will send a warning to the District that the opportunity for organization within the League is slipping by because of the gap that exists between the building trades Party membership and our League.

It is worth while saying that the blame doesn't entirely fall on the Org. Department. Many unit and section organizers overstepped the decision of the Org. Department on these assignments and withheld from the particular comrades assigned, the information that they were assigned to do T. U. U. L. work.

We believe that if the Party will take this question up seriously there will be no need to write about it any more.

L. J. BRAVERMAN.

On the Functioning of Trade Union Fractions

THE Party fraction in the trade unions is the best guarantee for the carrying out of the line of the Party in the trade unions, and for bringing in the campaigns of the Party and thus politicalizing their work. Unless this is done, our unions and leagues cannot grow into weapons of struggle of the revolutionary movement, but instead, will become merely economic organizations that are separate and distinct from the line of the Party. The danger of economism is great. Ideas are springing up of the necessity of separating the trade union work from Party work. These ideas of separatism must be fought, both in the Party proper, and in the Party fractions. The best way to overcome this danger is for the Party to really orientate itself to direct the carrying out of shop work and to give detailed political guidance to our trade union fractions. In the city of New York we have had in the latest period some experiences and some success in trade union work. It was very clearly illustrated that where we had the Party fraction as the guiding and driving force, the trade unions grew and orientated themselves in the direction. I will give just two illustrations:

1. A good functioning fraction—the Shoe Workers fraction.
2. A bad functioning fraction—the Amalgamated fraction.

In the case of the Shoe Workers, the union, after facing the attacks of the bosses, the Labor Department and the company unions, was practically liquidated. The union was only a shell of its former self. The leadership was practically non-existent. At the same time, one attack after the other was carried through

against the workers. The total paper membership was about 300. The comrades in this fraction, however, pulled themselves together, and worked out a program of action based upon shop activities and shop organization. This plan was immediately put into operation, and within a short time a number of strike struggles were carried through in the slipper trade, an auxiliary of the shoe industry. It was pointed out to the comrades that this cannot be their main orientation, and in a collective manner they started to concentrate on the large shoe shops. Today we can record the fact that there are 21 shop groups in the largest shops in the industry in the city of New York. These shop groups are given the main attention by the comrades in the leadership of this union. Instead of theorizing about shop work, they are actually carrying it into life. The greatest portion of the Party membership is involved in the daily work of the union, and in its various departments and committees. Non-Party workers have been drawn into the leadership of the union. Functioning departments have been set up, and are guided by our comrades. In the last six months, the union has grown from a membership approximating 300 to a present membership of 900. Every Party member is assigned definite tasks, for which he is accountable to the leading fraction of the union. No doubt this is one union which shows great possibilities of carrying through struggles of tremendous size within the next period. The short-coming of our Party fraction is the fact that it has not been sufficiently politicalized. The campaigns of the Party are acted upon too slowly. In the Party recruiting drive, there has been very little response in the way of recruiting new members into the ranks of our Party.

In the case of the Amalgamated fraction, our comrades have shown complete bankruptcy, both organizationally and politically. The forces of the fraction do not work as one solid unit to organize and destroy the present leadership of the Amalgamated which is exposed in the eyes of all workers. By the type and character of the work carried on by our comrades, we do not arouse confidence in the workers that we can really organize them into struggle against the machine. No political life exists in the Party fraction. In this situation, where the unemployed funds were given to hired gunmen, and where the conditions of the workers are being lowered week after week with the consent of the officials of the Amalgamated machine, our Party fraction as the leadership of the rank and file movement, plays no part. Unless some immediate steps are taken in the situation, and our Party fraction really orientated towards the shops, towards the shop problems, and taking the initiative in the struggles in the shops, there is a danger that the opposition movement will slip out of our hands.

J. P.



Building a Mass Movement in a Small Industrial Town

GARDNER, Mass., is a small town of some 20,000 population. The factories include the Florence Stove Factory employing about 800 workers, some large furniture factories, small metal shops and one or two shoe factories.

Up to about three months ago our Party had about 15 members, the Young Communist League had about 25 members and the Pioneers about 40 members. The composition was practically all Finnish. Half the Party members could not speak English very well. Most of the Party and Y.C.L. activity was inner work around the hall, in the Finnish Club, the Labor Sports Union, women's clubs, etc. The only mass work carried on consisted of mass meetings, leaflet distribution and to some extent "Daily Worker" distribution.

Today our movement in this town is something that the city authorities have to reckon with. For example, the other day a cop found our comrades distributing leaflets advertising the Lenin meeting. He was going to arrest the comrade, but when he saw that there were 50 or more distributing, he backed out and our comrades continued with their work. These results were achieved in the following way:

About three months ago the Y.C.L. began to develop mass work: house-to-house canvassing, visiting public places where young workers gather, penetrating some of the youth clubs and carrying on a campaign of agitation among the young workers and workers of Gardner, with particular attention to reaching English-speaking and American elements.

The response to the agitation and activities was very satisfactory. Every time the comrades mobilized for house-to-house canvassing, squads were sent out to visit young workers. This brought results. The League began to grow. The Pioneers also reached out among the French children through school activities, and recruited about 40 children of French parentage. A real system of competition developed. Every member was given responsibility to recruit new members. Every affair and meeting was utilized for recruiting. The Y.C.L. reached out among the Young People's Socialist League members and won over a few of their best elements. Within two months the Y.C.L. doubled its membership.

The Lenin-Liebknecht meeting was the biggest ever held in

Gardner by our organization. There were workers of all nationalities, many young people; there was great enthusiasm and great response.

The Y.C.L. now has close to 100 signed up for membership. The Party has only 25, but plans are being worked out for mass recruiting for the Party.

There is a great deal of unemployment in the city. Since Christmas the stove factory shut down and locked out its 800 workers. Last Monday it opened up but refused to take in non-citizens and gives all preference to American born. Anyone connected with our movement is deprived of a job. The same system of discrimination is beginning to be used in all other shops in the city, as well as in aid from the city to the unemployed.

Right now we are taking up the following problems raised by the present situation: 1) keeping, activizing and educating our new recruits; 2) issuing the proper slogans and rallying the masses around these slogans for struggle; 3) winning the American workers; 4) taking immediate precautionary steps against terror, deportation and raids; 5) actually establishing organization in the shops for the unions and Party.

How We Organized a Neighborhood Mass Meeting

MANY comrades in organizing a mass meeting in a neighborhood, especially a new neighborhood, do the following three things:

1. Locate a hall.
2. Print and distribute leaflets.
3. Get to the hall and wait for the workers to show up.

This method of preparing a mass meeting on a neighborhood scale has proven to be wholly inadequate, and in most instances, unfruitful. Many of our failures to have successful turnouts to such meetings have had a demoralizing effect on new comrades who put in work and preparation for the meetings.

During the recruiting drive one of our units in Kansas City decided to hold an unemployed mass meeting in a neighborhood, in which we had carried on no activity, with a view to strengthening the February Fourth campaign and broadening our organizational base. The following steps were taken:

A hall was looked up and the price of renting it for one night was gotten from the agent. Then we received an estimate of the printing. With these figures, so far as the finances were concerned, the comrades immediately made out a petition somewhat on the order of our Unemployment Insurance bill petition, which was circulated house to house in the neighborhood. At each house the workers were told about the meeting, about Unemployment Insurance, about the present condi-

tion of the unemployed, and asked to contribute small sums for taking care of the expense in connection with the meeting. In about two hours of such canvassing the total amount needed for the meeting (\$9.00) had been collected, and the workers who contributed it were listed on the petition list. This method gave us a corps of workers who were already partly organized and in support of our program before the meeting was called. The meeting itself was stopped by the police, who forced the landlord to padlock the hall. When the workers showed up and had explained to them the reason the meeting was not held, they were all the more with us, and determined to see that the meeting went through. We have kept in constant touch with these workers who contributed, both by personal visit and letters. From this neighborhood will come a delegation to our February Fourth demonstration.

As a result of the methods used in arranging the meeting, we are able, despite the police terror, to organize these workers on the basis of their local concrete demands, together with our general program, and to use such organization to break the police terror. (These workers are all basic 100 per cent Americans.) On the other hand, using the old leaflet method, the money would have been wasted on the leaflet, except for what propaganda we would have put out through it, and we would have had no contacts in the neighborhood, after the hall for the meeting was denied us.

Our comrades must in the future pay more attention to carefully planning and arranging mass meetings, so as to get the maximum organizational and political results from them, even in such cases where meetings are broken up or not allowed to be held. We think the above cited method is one with which we can so prepare our meetings.

A. W. B.—Kansas City.

The Political Significance of "Rent Strikes"

THE rent strikes that have been and are organized and led by the Upper Bronx Unemployed Council gives us a treasure of experience. It is worthwhile to analyze these experiences and evaluate the political importance of these rent strikes.

The Rent Problem of the Workers

In organizing House and Block Committees, we found that the rent problem is one of the most burning one the workers are facing at the present time and which most important for the demand to reduce the high rents they *are ready to organize and carry on a struggle*. I think we can state that the Party as a whole up till the present time underestimated the immense possibilities that lays in organizing tens of thousands of workers

through the organization of rent strikes. We also find that these rent strikes are developing not only amongst the poor workers, living in fire traps, paying 20-25 dollars a week, but also amongst the "better paid" workers. Certain comrades—at the beginning—wanted to ridicule the movement, not realizing the fact that these "better paid" workers are members of the American Federation of Labor, many of them working in basic industries, such as railroads, others in the building and other important industries. In other words we can reach good proletarian elements, we can draw them into struggle under our leadership and then recruit them in the unions and shop organizations.

Great Masses are Involved

The rent strikes conducted during the past few weeks in Upper Bronx prove that we were able to draw into the struggle elements, which never before participated in any way or form in the class struggle. We also found that under proper leadership and guidance we can involve them to participate for the immediate demands of lower rent, but also for immediate unemployment relief and unemployment insurance as well. So we found that the working men and working women who won their struggle under our leadership for lower rent participated in our January 30th Hunger March to Boro Hall, demanding immediate relief and unemployment insurance. They have marched with us miles, in spite of the rain for the first time in their life.

Uniting the Employed and Unemployed

Our unemployed movement lacked from the very beginning the unity of the employed and unemployed. This was and is the weakest point in our fight for unemployment insurance. In organizing House and Block Committees for reduction of rents, we succeeded in uniting both employed and unemployed workers for their immediate demands.

Rent Strikes and the Press

Great publicity is given to these rent strikes not only by our press, but also by the capitalist sheets. The workers, who are engaged in the struggle eagerly read these news and convince themselves that only the communist press writes the truth and helps them in the struggle. As a result of this we gained many new readers for the *Daily Worker* and the *Freiheit*.

A Lesson in American "Democracy"

The strikes that are carried on for lower rents by thousands of workers always develops into a political struggle with the interference of the capitalist state apparatus. The courts and police were mobilized to defend the interest of the landlords. Due to this the workers learned from experience the role of the

capitalist state. At one of the open air meetings held after the eviction of some of the rent strikers took place, which was attended by 3,000 people, one of the strikers standing on top of his furniture on the streets, his 13 year old daughter in his hands said the following: "I have told my daughter for years, that there is no democracy in this country for the workers, but she did not believe me. Now she is standing beside me *and she agrees with me.*" After his speech hundreds of school children demonstrated right there against police brutality and a great number have been recruited for the Pioneers.

Building Our Organizations through Rent Strikes

We are reaching out to new and up till now untouched elements through the organization of rent strikes. These elements during the struggle gain class consciousness and a wider outlook. These elements shall and must be approached by us and be convinced to join one of our mass organizations. Our experience shows this can be done. In one of our rent strikes we succeeded in organizing a new English speaking Woman's Council out of the women who joined from one house. We can draw in others to the I.L.D., W.I.R., etc. and transform these organizations into real mass organizations.

But the most important thing is to approach the workers, working in the shops, to join our unions, to form shop committees.

Rent Strikes and the Political Parties

In organizing House Committees and conducting rent strikes we came across houses, where a number of socialists were living. These socialists did everything in their power to break the strike with such arguments as: "The landlords have to pay high taxes, we must pay high rents," etc. The reaction of the workers was always: "If the socialists are against lower rents, we are against the socialists and if the communists are for lower rents, we are with the communists."

Other times, non-Party workers at mass meetings stood up and said:

"Why is it that the Republican and Democratic parties are helping the landlords by mobilizing the police, the courts, the gangsters against us? Why is it that the Socialist Party is not coming to us and organizing us against the landlords? It is because all these parties are parties of the bosses, of the landlords and only the Communist Party is fighting in the interest of the working class."

This proves that in the process of organizing and carrying on militant struggles for the immediate interests of the workers, they learn from experience that the Communist Party is the only Party of their class.

Therefore, it is our duty to pick out the best fighters from amongst the rent strikers *and recruit them for the Party.*

Agit-Prop Work

Some Problems in Mass Agitation and Propaganda in the Shops

OUR mass agitation and propaganda work in the shops must start out from the very conditions of the workers in the shop.

We find comrades even in large districts with a more or less politically developed membership, that the comrades will stick to the old worn-out excuse for not carrying on shop work. "There are no issues in our shop." But when examining the situation closer, we see that these are simply excuses for passivity; that there are plenty of problems confronting the workers and issues around which to develop struggles and build up shop organization. This has been proven time and again.

Use "Little" Grievances for Shop Struggles

The reason that these comrades find "no issues" is because they pay no attention to the "little" things in the shop. They can't see the "small" grievances of the workers. And yet we know that these "small" grievances are precisely the fuel for developing shop struggles and building shop organization.

This has been proven in California on the question of drinking water; in Birmingham, Ala., on the question of winning back an hour from the bosses; the employers of this factory had forced the workers to come in an hour earlier (6:45 A. M.) to work, without of course, any additional pay. Our paper, the *Red Stockham Worker*, has raised a campaign against this, mobilizing the workers to back up this demand, and as a result, the company was forced to withdraw this order, and the workers now come in 7:30 to work *without a loss in pay*.

Not Making Use of Shop Issues

But in too many instances do we see that comrades make very little use of shop issues.

For instance: in another shop in California the workers are forced to pay \$1.50 to \$5.00 a month of their wages to a company fake insurance scheme. A worker has paid in during the year \$50 to this "fund." When he got sick the company gave him \$14. This means that the company has actually robbed this particular worker of \$36. This robbery still goes on not only for this work, but for all the workers in the shop.

And what was the central slogan of our shop paper in this particular case? *Unemployment and Social Insurance Paid by the Bosses and Their Government!*

Was it wrong here to bring in the demand for Unemployment Insurance? No, it was not wrong. In fact, it is proper and cor-

rect to bring in, and link up our fight for social insurance with concrete cases.

Not Linking up Particular Shop Demands with General Struggles

But the trouble here was that the concrete case *was entirely forgotten*. Instead of developing a struggle around this particular case on the basis of concrete demands for this particular worker and the other workers of the shop (adequate compensation for the sick worker; no deductions of the workers' wages for the boss fake fund, etc., etc.) and link this up with our general demand for social insurance, to show these workers the connection between their own shop struggles and the struggle for these general demands, thus furthering the struggle for both, our comrades contented themselves with the "general" slogan for social insurance, not showing any connection of the problems of the workers in the shop and this demand. This meant not mobilizing the shop workers for the particular struggles in the shop, and of course, also not for our demand for social insurance.

Numerous additional such examples could be brought, all of which would show the very same thing: we don't utilize shop issues to develop shop struggles and organization, linking up these struggles with our general campaigns.

Some Methods for Mass Agitation

What methods should be used in this work?

In some shops correct methods were used and brought results. The workers were robbed of a bonus. Our paper has suggested the pasting up of the walls of the shop with: *We Want Our Bonus*. This worked. (See *Shop Paper Manual*, page 12.) Others have pasted up the walls with *We Want Sleeves*. Here too results were gotten. The same thing can be done on general campaigns: *We Want Unemployment Relief*; *No Deductions of Workers' Wages for Bosses' Fake Insurance Schemes*; *Vote Communist*, in time of elections; *All Out on February Fourth*, or any other demonstration that comes along. Paste up with stickers, or paint up the walls of the factory and the surrounding territory (around the factory) with these slogans and calls.

Bringing in leaflets into the shop is a very effective method. Just cover the whole factory with these leaflets. The bringing in of popular pamphlets into the factory is also very important.

Noon-day meetings, shop gate meetings, are very good. These meetings to concentrate mostly around shop problems and issues, linking them up, of course, with our general campaigns and struggles.

Spreading of our Party press is very necessary. The *Daily Worker* especially, and where there are foreign-born workers

who don't read English, bring in foreign language Party press into the shop.

Methods of bringing in leaflets and literature into the shop must be found. It is hard to give a "blue print" of the methods to be used in this work. When the comrades will *start this work*, and *think of methods*, it will be surprising just how many clever schemes can be found.

In some cases, putting leaflets, literature into the coat pockets where the workers keep their clothes will prove (and in some cases has proven) to be successful. Also, nearby grocery stores and restaurants can be used for this purpose. You get a sympathetic grocery store, restaurant or barber shop near the factory where the workers come in, and leave these leaflets and literature, and the workers of the factory will fall into the habit, after a while, always to "drop in" to these places for their literature. Having a corps of comrades near the factory at certain set days, distributing leaflets, selling literature, will prove, and already in cases, has been proven successful. Many more methods and devices will be found by the comrades when this work will be established and thinking, *planning* of methods will be started.

But most important of all things is personal contact—speaking to the workers in the shop personally. Our comrades in the shop should not rely on shop gate meetings alone (when held) to do the trick; should not rely on leaflets, pamphlets and newspapers (when distributed alone), to suffice. Our comrades in the shops should be *the* meetings, *the* literature to the workers in the shop. That means that we should discuss with the workers what has been touched upon at the shop gate meeting; what was said in the particular paper that we distributed in the shop; the leaflet, the pamphlet, etc. In order to be in a position to discuss with the workers this distributed literature, our comrades in the shop must read and absorb this literature.

Another method that has been proven good was issuing of leaflets, short leaflets, on particular problems and grievances in a particular shop or department. (Chicago Screw Company *Oil*.) These methods have proven successful and should be practiced by other comrades in different shops.

In time of a specific big campaign (election, unemployment, etc.), it would be well to have rallies around given (large) shops. In these rallies the use of orchestras, bands, would be a very good means of attracting the attention of the workers.

Leaflets advertising a coming event (issuance of a shop paper, the holding of a shop gate meeting, a rally, etc.) will also prove of great help.

The regular issuance of shop papers will be of the greatest help in carrying on systematic, lasting agitation, propaganda and organizational work.

—E. S.

Double the Circulation of The Communist

A GREATER appreciation for the importance of theory is developing in the Party. There is a greater eagerness for study. But this increase of interest in theory, in study is, so far, by no means general, nor sufficiently related to the *practical* tasks and problems confronting the Party. The greatest existing weakness in relation to the raising of the theoretical political level of the Party membership is demonstrated by the *barren political life of the Party units*, the difficulties in mobilizing the Party membership and functionaries for the mass activities, the inexcusably slow tempo in the development of new forces, the training of the existing cadres, the education of the new members, etc.

We will in connection with the above, examine how the Party is making use of only one of the important weapons in raising the theoretical level of the Party. We refer to *The Communist*.

Let us examine the circulation of the various Districts.

If we take the Philadelphia District the situation is especially bad and *absolutely inexcusable*. For the month of January the Philadelphia District headquarters ordered 85 copies. And this is an increase over previous months! These figures speak for themselves. The Cleveland District for the month of January ordered 60 copies. This is also an increase over previous months. . . . These figures show that not even all the functionaries in the District read *The Communist*, let alone the membership. District 9 took only 30 copies for the current month!

While the relative figures for the other Districts might be slightly better the lessons drawn from the above mentioned Districts absolutely hold good for all other Districts.

The situation is particularly bad with the sections located outside of the District headquarters cities. In many of these "out of town" sections, where important mass struggles took place, for months, there was not a single copy of *The Communist* on sale. This is a clear reflection on the neglect of the districts to bring in political life into the out of town sections.

We are not dealing in this article with the contents and nature of *The Communist*. An improvement of *The Communist* will undoubtedly help to increase the circulation. In connection with the campaign to double the circulation, we urge the comrades to send in suggestions and opinions on how to improve *The Communist*. *The increase of the circulation by 1,500 since last August, show the possibilities for the growth of our theoretical magazine*. A serious appreciation of the role of *The Communist*, the proper organization of the campaign to double the circulation, will undoubtedly realize the aim of the campaign.

Tasks of International Women's Day Campaign

INTERNATIONAL Women's Day, March 8th, this year should mark a real turn in our work among women, first and foremost toward women factory workers, unemployed and Negro women.

The tasks set down in a recent E.C.C.I. letter to the Central Committee of our Party on March 8th, states: "The Polit Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. makes the Central Committee responsible for the carrying through of the campaign on a large scale. March 8th must be observed in all capitalist countries as an international demonstration and fighting day. Its keynote is the struggle against the capitalist offensive and against the threatening war danger, especially the danger of intervention against the Soviet Union and against the fascist reaction." It states further: "We lay stress on the tasks set down by the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. of 'utilization of the slightest signs of protest of the working class against the exploitation and fascist reaction for work among women. We emphasize that March 8th campaign is the task of the *whole Party*."

Negro Women Most Militant Fighters

The objective conditions for making I.W.D. a mass campaign of struggle against U. S. capitalism are very favorable. The effects of the third year of economic crisis in U. S. has had a great radicalization effect on the Negro and white working-class women. Wherever the Party and the T.U.U.L. made attempts to mobilize women for partial demands affecting their daily lives the results were above expectations. We need only look towards the recent strikes in Lawrence, coal strikes in Pennsylvania, Kentucky; dressmakers' strike in New York. The experiences of struggles against high cost of living, etc., against evictions, for immediate relief for school children showed good examples of united front struggles (small scale), and proved the correctness of struggles for partial demands.

In Cleveland there exist now, as a result of these struggles, well organized unemployed branches which have over 500 women members, the largest number being Negro women, who are the most militant and leading forces in the unemployment activities. Maggie Jones, a Negro women, is the organizer of the largest Unemployed Council in Cleveland.

Bring March 8th into Factories

The tasks confronting the Party in connection with I. W. D. campaign is to develop, broaden out and dramatize the struggles among the masses of women. To utilize the burning issues of the daily demands of the working class women for developing the campaign of I. W. D.

In all activities the Party must consciously direct the work

among factory workers, among unemployed and Negro women, and make every effort to gain members for the Party to better the composition of the Party. We must throughout the campaign arouse the working women to the reality of imperialist war and the war of intervention against the Soviet Union and Soviet China; to counteract the dangerous pacifist and the patriotic influences among the working class women and win them for the class struggle.

We must begin careful work in the factories by taking the very first steps to group our contacts, meet with them, discuss their daily problems in the factories and homes, work out demands, and lay a basis for delegate meetings from factory workers.

International Women's Day—a Party Campaign

In the directives of the Central Committee on International Women's Day, we have tried to give in a concrete and simple form how to conduct I. W. D. campaign, laying the greatest stress on factory activities. It goes without saying that these directives will have to be on district, city and town scale, paying attention to the outlying industrial sections.

We must state frankly that judging from the reports received to date in the Central Committee, there is no indication that the districts plan to make I.W.D. a Party campaign. So far it seems to be a campaign of the Women's Departments only. This impermissible situation has to be remedied at once. There is only one month left, and the District Committees must immediately throw the forces of the Party in the campaign, tighten up the activities. The entire Party must be made conscious of the political significance of the campaign and mobilized for the tasks.

Don't Repeat Past Mistakes

This year the weaknesses of last campaign were forcibly brought out in the I. W. D. preparatory conferences which have been held in Chicago and in New York.

These conferences were supposed to have been *broad united front* conferences around immediate concrete issues, and were to be used as a basis for developing struggles on a larger scale. In reality they were no different from the traditional conferences of the past and did not sufficiently represent women factory workers. We did not get beyond our closest Party and Trade Union Unity League sympathizers.

In Chicago the comrades did succeed in mobilizing the Negro women (out of 110 delegates, 50 were Negro). This is an outstanding achievement.

In the short time left, the Districts, sections and units should without further delay, activate the campaign in line with the E. C. C. I. and Central Committee directives.

Anna Damon.

Material For a Course on Organizational Questions

(Continued from last month)

III

A. How do we organize a factory nucleus?

1. Find out the local conditions in the shops, and the actions and policy of the bosses, the American Federation of Labor, the social-fascists, if they have any connection, etc.

2. Obtain the names of any members of sympathetic mass organizations who work in the factory.

3. Formation of shock troops consisting of *the best comrades* of the street nuclei and under the leadership of a leading comrade of the district (or section) committee.

4. Find out the factory workers in the street nuclei and assign them for building of shop nuclei in their own factories. Formation of building nuclei in the case of small factories.

Methods: Shop-gate meetings when the workers leave work, leaflet and newspaper distribution before the factories; talks with sympathizers, etc., *especially by the Party members who are actually working in the shop; initiation of struggles against grievances by Party members working in the shop.*

2. How should the inner apparatus of a factory nucleus be built up? Unit Buro—its composition. (a) Organizer and financial secretary. (b) Agit-prop and literature. (c) Trade union organizer. (d) Woman, youth or Negro work director where there are large numbers of such working in the factory; its tasks; collective work; apparatus of department organizers in the various departments of the factory where this becomes necessary. (Agrarian nuclei on large plantations, etc., are organized similarly.)

3. What tasks has the Communist factory nucleus in the factory. In mobilizing the workers for the economic struggles, link up all political questions: parliamentary elections, campaign for political prisoners, fight against the police and state apparatus, against social-democracy and fascism. All these questions to be linked up with concrete agitation for the Soviet Union and with it, the proletarian dictatorship. *The main task of the unit is the organization of a branch of our revolutionary union and of an opposition group in the reactionary union.*

4. What are the forms and methods of mass work in the factory nuclei? Verbal agitation, discussion with sympathizers among the shop-mates, organizing and registering the sympathizers in the factories. Issuing of shop papers and other agitational material, campaign for the *Daily Worker* and getting subscribers for the Communist press. Distribution of our Communist literature in the factory, organization of department meetings and full meetings of the entire factory, formation of grievance and shop committees, formation of committees of ac-

tion and strike committees, organization of united action of employed and unemployed, organization of Y.C.L. nuclei, special attention to the winning of Negroes, women and youth, organization of agitational troops for mobilizing workers, organizing courses for sympathizers in the factory, training courses, mobilizing the entire body of workers for demonstrations and mass meetings, etc. The main task of the factory nucleus is the agitation for our Red trade unions, building up the Red trade union organizations in the factory, fighting against the opposing trade unions, recruiting for I.L.D., W.I.R., F.S.U. in the factory. (See *Imprecorr*, Nos. 59 and 60, 1930, *The Work of the Factory Nuclei*.)

B. Street nuclei.

Street nuclei should be composed only of comrades who are not working in shops (unemployed workers should as much as possible be members of the factory nuclei of the factories where they formerly worked). The best possibility for building street nuclei is given by the unemployed struggles, struggles against slum conditions, high rents, police terror, etc. The apparatus and methods if work are in general similar to those of the shop nucleus. The special task of the street nuclei in the present period consists in the organization (through methods of concentration, etc.) of shop nuclei and branches of the unions.

C. How do we organize Communist fractions in the trade unions and other mass organizations?

We must organize fractions in all the mass organizations of the working class and carry on revolutionary war, wherever there are masses of organized workers, including those in the reactionary trade unions, in the openly fascist organizations, and also in our trade unions, in the I.L.D., in the W.I.R., etc.

1. How do we organize a fraction?
2. Which comrades should belong to the leadership of the fraction?
3. What is the relation of the fraction to the factory nucleus and to the Party committee?
4. How do we organize the mass work through fractions (fraction discipline)?
5. Struggle against the false conception that work in the reactionary unions and mass organizations is not "Party" work.

Reference material:

- Decisions of the Second Org. Conference of the C.I.
- Resolution of the Fifth Congress of the C. I. on Shop Nuclei.
- Resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I., January, 1924, on Organization of Shop Nuclei.
- Statutes of the C.I. and of the C.P.U.S.A.
- The Twenty-one Conditions of the Admission to the Communist International.

Resolution of the E.C.C.I., February, 1924, on Fractions.

(To be continued)

Party Organizer



From the Contents

On Carrying On Communist Work in Shops.

From a Grievance to a Grievance Committee.

A Shop Nucleus Facing an "Acid Test."

Experience in the Formation of a Shop Nucleus.

Experiences in Recruiting and Building New Young Communist League Units Immediately After the Ford Massacre.

A New Communist Unit in Action.

The Party and the Elections—Some Mistakes and Lessons.

Directives on Literature Distribution in Mobilizing for May Day.

On the Sale of Literature at Open Meetings.

For Greater Use of Open Forums.

Vol. V

MARCH-APRIL, 1932

No. 3-4

Issued by

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A

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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. V

March-April, 1932

No. 3-4

May Day, 1932

(Excerpts from the Directives of the Org. Department C.C.)

MAY FIRST this year assumes special importance. Due to the deepening economic crisis and increased acuteness of the war danger, May First, which is the traditional day of struggle of the international working class, assumes a great importance as a day of struggle in the United States. May First cannot be viewed as a separate campaign of the Party. It is closely linked up with the every-day activities of the Party, with the struggle against war, for unemployment insurance, against the attacks on the working class. In preparation for May First, all campaigns of the Party must be intensified and special attention must be given to making the international day of struggle a real day of mobilization of working class solidarity and action around the major demands of the Party.

Mass mobilization for the May Day demonstration cannot be accomplished through leaflets only. The mobilization of masses must occur on the basis of popularizing the slogans and demands and taking the necessary organizational steps to bring the campaign into the shops and factories in the neighborhoods—as well as in the working class organizations.

Slogans

Stop the imperialist war against the Chinese people!

For the defense of the Soviet Union — the fatherland of the workers of the world!

All war funds for the unemployed!

Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers!

Down with pacifism, social-fascism, and the League of Nations, imperialist instruments for war preparations!

Against the persecution of the foreign-born workers!

Equal rights for the Negroes and self-determination for the Black Belt!

Against capitalist terror; against all forms of suppression of the political rights of the workers!

Emergency relief for the poor farmers, without restrictions by government and banks; exemption of poor farmers from taxation and forced collection of debts!

For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

The Task of the Shop Units

On the broadest united front basis, mass mobilization for May First must be carried through. The base of our mass mobilization must be in the shop, based on the immediate grievances of the workers.

In the shops: May First activities shall be brought into every shop group, shop organization, and shop local through our shop nuclei. All the economic organizations existing in the shop must become instrumental in broadening the activities and mobilizing the workers for May First. We shall not issue the slogan of special May First committees, but utilize the traditions and character of May First for the strengthening of our economic organizations in the shop. We must make a real effort to call larger groups of sympathetic workers to discuss the importance of May Day, to adopt resolutions and to link up the necessity of participation in May Day with the every-day struggles for the economic demands in the shops and factories.

The inside shop activities shall also consist of wide agitational activities among *all* the workers in that particular plant, through stickers, special leaflets, special bulletins, linking up the character of May First, its traditions in the struggle against the bosses, with the immediate demands of that particular factory.

These activities shall be supplemented with a series of activities in front of the factories, as open air meetings, stencilling the streets around the factories and actually creating a mass campaign, especially around the factory of concentration.

Resolutions by the workers present at these meetings to be introduced at all factory gate meetings. These resolutions shall not be of a stereotyped character, but shall contain the particular conditions in that shop and on the basis of these conditions endorse May Day and the general slogans and demands.

In reviewing some of our united front conferences held recently, we must stress especially that all the united front conferences, *with no exception*, are unsatisfactory because they are primarily limited to our organizations, with only very few A. F. of L. locals, very few outside organizations. We wish, therefore, to emphasize that in connection with May First, the united front conferences will be of no value, if we do not take the necessary steps to utilize the preparations for May First to penetrate into *new organizations*, A. F. of L. locals, workers' organizations, etc.

Trade Unions

American Federation of Labor locals shall be visited by our committees and asked to endorse May First. Wherever we are not admitted, we should after adjournment of the meeting, talk personally with the workers and make contacts.

From the experiences of the past, the Red unions, leagues and groups, just because they are "our own," have been insufficiently mobilized for our campaign, either anti-war or any other campaign. Discussions are not held in the local union meetings of the Trade Union Unity League, T. U. U. L. groups, etc. We wish to emphasize that special attention shall be paid to have thorough discussions in the unions of the Trade Union Unity League. Resolutions shall be adopted and the whole membership mobilized, to utilize May First activities for the strengthening of our unions.

Neighborhood Activities

Special attention must be given to the neighborhood activities involving the unorganized workers. Every Party unit shall have as its task to call a meeting in the preparations for May First, in the neighborhoods.

Activities shall be carried on in the neighborhood, consisting of regular visiting of the workers with literature and leaflets at the Labor Temples, union day rooms, workers' lyceums, etc., simultaneously with leaflet distribution, also contact should be made with the workers in the neighborhoods.

All these activities shall lead up to the May First demonstration, and in view of the fact that May First is on Sunday, that the week before May First shall be a special *concentration week in front of factories and shops*. There should not be a *single large shop* in your district which shall not be visited by speakers, leaflet distribution, papers, etc.

The Study of the Resolution

WE mean the resolution on the tasks of the Communist Party, U. S. A., for the Plenum of the Central Committee, published in the April issue of *The Communist*.

This resolution is of historical importance for our Party and for the further development of the proletarian class struggle in the United States. It is therefore clear without saying, that it must become the property of the whole Party, of its every organization and of every member.

The resolution is a very critical one. It states among other things that, notwithstanding some improvement in the Party work in strikes, hunger marches and struggles of the Negroes, "the radical turn towards revolutionary mass work among the basic sections of the American proletariat which has been demanded by the E. C. C. I. in its resolutions and directives, has up until now essentially not been carried through in practice."

But the resolution does not only state the weaknesses. It clearly points out the situation we are in and the tasks waiting for their accomplishment by the Party.

It is up to the Party, its every member, committee and organization to do their utmost in carrying out these tasks.

The first prerequisite to reach this is the thorough study of this resolution, but not, as we used to say, in an academic manner. Even if every Party member would know this resolution by heart, it would still have only little or no use for the work of the Party. The study of this document can be useful only under the condition that it is done (1) in a strongly self-critical way, and (2) that the criticism exercised and the tasks pointed out by the resolution will be ceaselessly applied to the work of every Party organization from top to bottom.

Only after so putting the work of every Party organization under the most severe self-criticism, exposing the weaknesses and failures, and drawing up in the light of this basic document the local tasks of every unit, every shop nucleus, every Party fraction in the mass organizations, will it be possible to the whole party to accomplish the tremendous tasks laying before it.

Therefore: make the Bolshevik study of this resolution an immediate task, and remember that it is not meant as an academic science but as a guidance for activity.

The contents of this resolution must be transformed into life as soon as possible. The study of the resolution is therefore to be organized everywhere in the Party.

What Kind of Activists Does the Party Need at Present

THE present situation of sharpening class-struggles demands a requalifying of leading Party functionaries. At present, in the front ranks and throughout the ranks, organizers are needed who will work for close linking-up with the masses, who will devote themselves unreservedly to the task of the revolutionary organization of the masses, who will not give way before any difficulties or obstacles whatsoever, who will not be concerned about rest days and hours, and above all, will have no interest in the question of their personal well-being or comfort. On this point, there is stated, in a different situation, of course, the following, in the Trade Union resolution of the II Party Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"It is essential to have a system of choosing responsible comrades from the ranks of the Communists who lead the lives of workers, who know it through and through, who will be infallible in the sizing up of all their problems, who can gauge at any moment the feeling of the masses, their actual striving and their needs, . . . who will know how to gain the absolute confidence of the masses through comradely relations and through fulfillment of their needs."

VASSILIEV.

From the Practical Work For the Practical Work

In this Section of the PARTY ORGANIZER the comrades of the shop nuclei, fractions and street nuclei speak. Send in your experiences in all fields of Party work to the PARTY ORGANIZER, P. O. Box 87, Station D, New York City.

Rooting the Party in the Shops

On Carrying on Communist Work in Shops

The First Meeting of a Newly Organized Shop Nucleus

"Comrades, let's discuss generally what the shop nucleus is, how it works, and what its tasks are in the shop," said one of the comrades at the first meeting of the newly organized shop nucleus. This nucleus consists of eight members in a shoe factory, organized by Section 2, District 2, in the present recruiting drive. These comrades, except for one who is a new member, formerly belonged to street units. Most of the comrades are from six months to a year in the Party and only one is in the Party more than two years.

The comrade was right. Such a discussion was absolutely necessary as was later evident as the discussion developed. After a talk on what a shop nucleus is, its work, role and tasks, the comrades asked some questions that revealed the lack of clarity in our ranks on the question of shop nuclei and shop work.

Here we want to relate the various questions asked by the comrades and part of the answers given, as these questions undoubtedly arise in the minds of many comrades confronted with the problem of organizing shop nuclei, or being members of shop nuclei in carrying on work.

What These Questions Were

"We agree that the Party, in order to carry on its work in the shops must be organized on the basis of shop nuclei," a comrade said. "But the question is," the comrade was really interested to know, "*can a Party member develop himself politically in a shop nucleus as well as in a street nucleus?*"

The reason this question came to the mind of this comrade, was, "After all the main things a shop nucleus takes up are shop conditions and shop problems. The nucleus is more like a union than a part of the Communist Party."

The shop nucleus does not become a trade union branch just

because it discusses shop problems, and bases its main work on shop conditions. For the entire discussion on shop problems, the entire work in the shop nucleus is closely inter-connected with the general campaigns of the Party, with the entire work and life of the Party. *The entire Party life must become the life of the shop nucleus.*

From this it becomes clear that the possibilities for political development of the comrades in the shop nucleus are great, far greater than that of the street unit. For the shop nucleus is constantly confronted with the basic political problems of the Party—namely, the mass work of the Party in the shops and factories. There where our campaigns against imperialist war and the defense of the Soviet Union, wage-cuts, speed-up, unemployment, etc., take on flesh and blood, as they become part and parcel of the everyday life and struggles of these workers. In solving these problems in carrying on this work, each and every member of the nucleus has therefore the greatest possible opportunity for political development. In addition to this the nucleus is to have a study circle where it takes up fundamentals of Communism, according to the requirements and needs of the nucleus in question.

Shop Nucleus—Basic Unit of the Party

“But how will we be connected with the Party, section or regular unit?” another comrade asked, still thinking that the “regular” unit of the Party is the street unit, and that the shop nucleus is something of lesser importance, a sort of an appendage to the street unit. And because of this, he was pleading: *“Can’t we have our nucleus meeting on another night so that we can attend the meeting of the ‘regular’ unit of the Party?”*

The shop nucleus is the basic unit of the Party. The shop nucleus is the Party unit. The street unit is a “transitory” unit of the Party, if we may use this term. The street unit is a transition to building shop nuclei. As soon as the street unit finds that it has a sufficient number of comrades in one shop to build a shop nucleus, (of course, with the full help of the section and district committees) a shop nucleus is built. When all members of a given street unit can be transferred to the newly organized (or old) shop nuclei, the street unit may be dissolved, unless new members for this territory, no working in one shop are gotten in, and the street unit therefore has another task to perform: to teach these new members how to carry on Communist shop work, see to it that these members are active in the shop, so that more shop nuclei are organized.

How is the nucleus connected with the Party, with the section? First of all the nucleus is the Party — a part of the Party — the basic unit of the Party. It is part of a given sec-

tion, just as a street unit is, as the shop nucleus requires more attention from the section, because it has more problems, more tasks to perform than a street unit, and the section and district therefore has to give it daily, personal leadership and guidance, which makes the ties between the section and shop nucleus much more close, than between the street nucleus and section.

Utilizing Grievances and Victories Gained for Further Struggles and Organization

After further discussion on how to link up general Party campaigns with shop work, methods of working in the shop, etc., the comrades started to tell about the situation in their various departments.

A comrade reported on the maneuvers of the boss to indirectly cut wages. The foreman came over to the workers in a section of the department where a comrade of ours is working and said that certain operations on the shoe will be eliminated. Therefore, the prices in the whole operation (they work piece work) will be cut. The workers in this section refused, as this meant a cut in their hourly earnings. The foreman then went to another section in the same department and made the proposition, and the workers there accepted. At night, going home from work, our comrade talked with a worker of the other section, explained to him the trick of the boss. The worker understood. He promised to speak to other workers in his section. Next day when he came in to the shop, he did so. The other workers, too, "got wise" to the boss' trick. A group of workers of the department went down to the office and said that they, too, refuse to accept this wage cut. They demanded the same price. The boss saw that this trick did not work and granted the demand of the workers. The comrade reporting, asked whether or not he acted correctly, in line with what was said earlier in the meeting about carrying on shop work.

Of course, the comrade was correct in speaking to the workers. But in addition all the workers in the shop should have been informed about this "incident"; it should have been pointed out that only through organized action and resistance on the part of the workers to this wage cut, was the wage cut withdrawn; which means that strong organization is necessary in order to prevent further wage cuts, to fight for other demands of the workers. Which means *capitalizing on victories*, for further struggle, organization, the winning of more demands. This could have been done through our comrades' speaking to the workers of other departments, issuing a leaflet, etc., explaining, and capitalizing organizationally, on this victory.

The reports of the comrades were very detailed, giving the conditions in their department. Such detailed reports and discussions are essential to the carrying on of good shop work, as

was clearly pointed out in the resolution of the 13th Plenum where it deals with this point.

"We spend time here on little petty things," complained a comrade commenting on their discussion. *"What we must discuss in a unit is—the general problems of the Party and not these little petty things that we have been discussing all night long."*

This conception of discussing "general" problems at the expense of the "little petty things" in the shop is still prevalent, too prevalent in our ranks. This will account much for our lack of shop work. This will account for the fact that our comrades in shops do not really know the conditions in the shop, that we do not develop shop struggles around particular conditions and demands, that we do not build shop organization.

No grievance of the workers in a shop is too "little," too "petty." Every grievance, every problem of the workers must be taken up, discussed, demands formulated with the express view in mind of developing shop struggles around these demands, developing shop organization. The discussion convinced the comrade who raised this "objection against taking up little things" of his error and the correctness of the line followed by the Party and so clearly brought out by the 13th Plenum of the C. C.

This meeting showed us just how much confusion there still exists in our ranks on the question of shop work and the building of shop nuclei. Such elaborate, detailed discussions as this unit had, would greatly help in bringing in clarity and in intensifying our shop work. This does not mean that we should now have, general abstract discussions on "shop work." It means just such concrete discussions as this nucleus had, *on the basis of actual work of the nucleus in question.*

This also means, just as the 13th Plenum resolution points out: *For good shop work it is necessary to give constant individual guidance and leadership to the nuclei and individual members in the shop by leading Party committees—both section and district.*

From a Grievance to a Grievance Committee

GRIEVANCES of the workers are sparks that can be developed into roaring flames of strike if they are carefully handled. The question is what to do with this little spark. The spark can be cooled very easily . . . but that means cooling the class struggle and betraying the workers, and playing into the hands of the capitalist class. Revolutionary workers have the task of developing the grievance to the highest level.

The Bethlehem Steel mill at Sparrows Point, Maryland, *finished the week's work last week on Friday and will start work*

on Tuesday morning. Pay day is on Monday, the day of no work.

This means that more than two thousand workers of the sheet and tin mill department must travel many miles to get their small pay because of the geographical position of the Bethlehem Steel Plant, all these workers would spend 2 hours time for nothing in addition to paying out from twenty to forty cents street car fare according to what part of the city they live in. Every worker is discontented over this grievance. They will curse the company openly and under their breath . . . they will say "*Why didn't the company pay us on the last day of work last week? Why should the workers be forced to undergo such conditions especially since it's a starvation pay they are going to get for the two weeks pay which is only about five to thirty dollars.*

Pay hour starts from 1 P. M. until 3 P. M., the stream of workers will be like a mighty Niagara . . . discontent will reach a high pitch. The Party must harness this revolutionary energy of that Niagara.

A leaflet must be made. The shop nucleus decided that a leaflet should be issued to the workers on Monday pertaining to this grievance.

A Careful Analysis Is Made of the Grievance

A discussion is started on the grievance on the following basis:

1. What is the grievance?
2. What department and workers are affected?
3. How many workers are affected?
4. When were they paid last?
5. When could the workers have been paid?
6. How much time is lost going after the pay?
7. How much money is lost going after the pay?
8. What other times was this injustice done?
9. When did the workers show up and no work was given to them?
10. What is the condition of the workers at home?
11. Can they afford to sacrifice car fare with the present low pay?
12. Why does the company treat the workers this way?
13. What demands must be set forward in the leaflet?
14. What must be done?
15. How can we get immediate action or response on the basis of this grievance?

The first twelve questions involved easy flowing discussion in which every one participated willingly.

Question No. 13 however, brought up the problem whether all other grievances should be mentioned in addition to this pay day grievance. This was discouraged and it was finally agreed that

turned to work but they followed the committee to the superintendent, and waited for a definite answer. The superintendent promised to look into the matter, but he also demanded that in the meantime the workers should return to their work. The workers refused to go back to work until the next day when they will hear a definite answer to their demands. The following day when the thirty workers returned to their department the boss was removed and wages for a new one were to be paid by the company.

This victory caused the workers from that department to look upon our comrade as their group leader. The victory was published in the shop paper in the same week as the main issue. The report of the struggle in the shop paper tried to convince the entire shop of the necessity of a committee in every department in order to bring forward their demands. This shop paper became a real fighting weapon dealing with the economic and political problems of the workers as a whole.

Our shop paper is supported financially by 300 workers; this shows the great sympathy of the workers to the shop paper. Other methods of recruiting members into the Party are: collecting signatures for unemployment insurance, also signatures for Tom Mooney. These signatures are followed up as contacts by visiting their homes by our comrades with the help of the Section.

The *Noon Hour Talk* pamphlets are sold in the factory and in the restaurants, also stickers are pasted on the walls, machines, in lavatories, etc.

A Unit Bureau, consisting of three members representing the different departments is organized. Besides this, a leading comrade of the District meets together with the Unit Bureau to work out plans on the various department situations. We have eliminated the section letters to a certain degree at the unit meeting in order to devote more time for political discussions. Through these discussions we intensify the work in the shop. The section has assigned one street unit in order to concentrate on the Fisher Body to distribute leaflets, shop papers, to collect money, also to help make contacts, and we have weekly shop gate meetings.

The Fisher Body unit has invited workers from the shop to a private house gathering. At that gathering we carried through a trial on the Ford massacre. The organizational results were two new members into the Union and a few dollars raised for the Section.

We are now confronted with a burning problem. This is the division of the plant between citizens and non-citizens. As soon as this condition was announced the unit took immediate action. We issued a leaflet and had a shop gate meeting.

J. B.

A Shop Nucleus Facing An "Acid Test"

A shop nucleus in the steel industry, all will admit, is faced with tremendous tasks and difficulties. The task of organizing the unorganized steel workers will be met with the brutal terror of the steel trust plus the treachery of the American Federation of Labor leadership—the company-controlled *Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Plate Workers Union*. In the above light let us examine the work of a steel mill nucleus in the Youngstown section.

The nucleus of sixteen members is located in a plant of 4,000 workers. The members are mostly located in one department with few others scattered throughout the plant. In the same plant there is a group of the Metal Workers Industrial League of 75 to 80 members. Most of this group are of one nationality. From all appearances this seems almost a utopian situation for both Red trade union and Party work. But many difficulties are before the nucleus—some real, and others just manufactured and "imaginary" difficulties.

1. The first real difficulty and the biggest enemy in the way of organizing the workers for a militant struggle against the starvation drive of the steel trust is the A. F. of L. union. It is openly a 100% company union. The business agent of the union is permitted to roam around the mill day and night and arm in arm with the bosses they approach the workers to join the union. Both the superintendent and the business agent often set the *time limit* for workers to join the A. F. of L. union. Both the bosses and the business agent of the A. F. of L. union are bloodhounds on the trail Communists and radicals.

2. The second difficulty is the size of the town which permits the steel trust to "number" every man. Open work is impossible such as open participation in public meetings, demonstrations, etc. The terror is twofold—blacklist from the steel mill, and jails from the police department.

The next difficulty is an *imaginary* one. Sometimes it's rooted deeply in the minds of our comrades preventing one ounce of effort to do the smallest tasks. It's the idea that the sum total of objective difficulties makes it impossible to do any work at all. These were some of the difficulties facing the nucleus at the beginning of the Party recruitment drive. Under these conditions not only was the recruitment drive introduced but also other work for the nucleus.

The first step taken was to adopt the slogan: *Bolsheviks Must Find a Way to Do Communist Work*. Despite steel trust terror, company union spy system, and language difficulties, work was outlined; comrades were convinced that it was possible to do work; and even some "1905 revolutionists" had to

be threatened with disciplinary action. Within six weeks new signs of life were evident with the following results:

1. Although confronted with language difficulties two *Negro* workers and three of another nationality were recruited from the mill into the nucleus.

2. Due to fear of company spies on the outside of the mill the face was turned inside the plant for the distribution of leaflets. Thus with the help of the Metal League group hundreds of leaflets are distributed within the plant. The leaflets are left at a *certain place* and when workers hear about a demonstration or mass meeting they go there for their leaflet.

3. The revival of the shop bulletin which was issued by the Metal League through the initiative of the Communist fraction.

However, many serious shortcomings exist in the work of the nucleus. Firstly, we have the incorrect idea of "boycotting" the A. F. of L. union, leaving it in the hands of the reactionaries. With 150 members in the union, its betrayal of the workers' interests, and its close connection with the bosses, the task is plain. Not to boycott, but to organize a T.U.U.L. and Communist fraction within to expose the leadership and win the majority for revolutionary trade unionism.

Another shortcoming is the idea that only "trade union questions" should be raised by the Communist nucleus. It's true that this is its major task but it has others. All the campaigns of the Party must find its echo within the mill. Political enlightenment, especially at the present time when our Party is faced with the struggle against war and the elections, must receive great attention. The organization of Communist and T.U.U.L. fractions in the A. F. of L. union, more intensified recruitment by the Metal League and its general activization, and the systematic issuance of shop bulletins are some of the tasks of the nucleus. The united front of the steel trust, A. F. of L. bureaucrats, and the police department must be met with Bolshevik tactics and the work of the nucleus carried out with Communist sincerity. The "acid test" is the winning of the majority of the workers under the influence of the C. P.

FRANK ROGERS—Youngstown.

Millions of Profits for the Bosses—Starvation Wages for the Workers

Note: We reprint below an article from the shop paper, "Sing Sing Rebel," District 2, together with criticism of same by the Agit Prop Department C. C.—Editor.

IN 1887 the Singer Manufacturing Co. was worth \$10,000,000. In 1925 it was worth more than \$120,000,000. In 1930 it was worth more than \$200,000,000. For a period of six years, begin-

ning with 1925 and ending with 1930, the Singer Manufacturing Company made a clear profit of \$141,388,000.

In the year of 1930 when the living standard of the workers in the Singer Manufacturing Company were smashed to the starvation level, Singers made a clear profit of \$19,905,262.

In the nine shops here, and in the plants which the company has in Europe, a total of 28,000 were employed. In the Elizabeth plant, about 7,000 workers were employed in 1930—at present about 3,500 only.

In 1930, the wages of the workers in the Elizabeth plant ranged between \$18 and \$40. At present the wages are between \$9 and \$11. This huge sum of money was made by the workers who make the machines.

If we divide the total of profits for six years by the number of workers (28,000), we will get the amount of profits each worker made by his hard labor for his masters. It comes out that each one made \$5,000. That is, each one of us after all wages and other expenses are taken off, has paid to the bosses \$5,000 out of all we produced.

Well, then—*can* the Singer Company afford to pay a *living* wage?

Criticism by the Agitprop Dept.

What Are the Good and Bad Features in This Story?

The method used here—collecting facts and figures on the increasing profits of the company, comparing it with the decreasing rate in wages of the workers, is an excellent one. This should be followed by all our papers, by all shop nuclei. For it of the given factory the real situation prevailing. The company is one of the best methods to bring out clearly before the workers making millions in profits while the wages of the workers go down to the lowest possible point of subsistence.

This is one of our best means to pave the road for the development of organization and struggle in the plant, to improve the working and living conditions for the workers.

But is this being done? Is this article and the excellent material contained in it being used for this purpose? Nothing of the sort!

The comrades content themselves with presenting excellent material and ending it up with a general "objective," "impartial" question: Can Singer pay decent wages?

Instead of this "impartiality," our paper should have used this material as a basis for formulating concrete demands for the workers in the shop, as a basis to stimulate organization and develop struggles for the demands (the needs of the workers) in the shop. Otherwise, what is the use of giving such excellent material at all?

Experience in the Formation of a Shop Nucleus

Below are some interesting and valuable experiences on the establishment of a shop nucleus in a large metal shop District One (Boston). Last week I went to attend a unit buro meeting in one of the cities near Boston. The main point on the agenda at this meeting was the formation of a shop nucleus in the General Electric plant. This factory employs more than 4,000 workers. In "normal" times the same plant employs more than 8,000 workers. The conditions of the workers there are very bad. Most of them work one or two days a week, a few hours each day. The average is between \$10 and \$15 a week. There is terrific speed-up and rationalization in the shop work. Workers are being laid off right along.

At the unit buro meeting we had ten comrades present. This included the unit buro members, a district representative and four workers from the G. E. plant. Of the four, three were members of the Party and one very close sympathizer, the wife of a Party member. We opened the meeting with a short talk by the district representative on the importance of establishing shop nuclei in large factories, and the methods of carrying on shop nucleus work, with special reference to the particular conditions in the General Electric plant.

After the introductory talk, which pointed to various examples of other shop nuclei, how they function, and how their experiences could be applied to the G. E., the floor was thrown open for discussion to the comrades from the shop. None wanted to speak. After repeated requests by the chairman, the comrades finally began to talk. One after the other they pointed to the obstacles and difficulties, and consequently to the "uselessness" of attempting to do shop work in the plant. Again and again they tried to bring facts to prove that the workers in the shop are satisfied with the conditions, that the workers are clannish, anti-Soviet, that they are staunch patriots and religious fanatics. Other arguments brought forth were that our comrades are foreign born who speak English very poorly, that the workers call them "foreigners" and "Bolsheviks" and would not even listen to them. When we pointed out to our comrades from the shop, that a very large portion of the workers in the plant are Lithuanians, Polish, Russian, Italian, Greeks, Armenians, etc., the comrades came back with a counter-argument that these foreign born workers are reactionary, that they are scared, and besides that, they are satisfied with whatever wages they get. One comrade tried to convince the buro that since the workers get one or two days a week work, "there is no use talking to them about organization," etc.

Only after a long detailed explanation to the comrades that work can be done in that shop, that we can overcome all ob-

stacks, and that we can reach the various foreign born workers through our language press, through the fraternal club, through signature collections, thru personal talk, etc., did we succeed to some extent in convincing our comrades of the possibility and the advantages of working through a shop nucleus in the shop. We further pointed out to the comrades that the American workers can also be drawn in, if we use such methods as a shop paper, through the sale of the *Daily Worker*, through unemployed work, house to house canvassing, etc. Before the meeting adjourned, the one sympathizer present joined the Party, and we formed a shop nucleus with 6 comrades, 4 from the shop and 2 from the street unit.

I would summarize the experience and lessons of this meeting as follows:

1. We need in our Party a system of continuous clarification on methods of shop work, based on the experience of existing shop nuclei.

2. Every effort must be made to clarify our Party organizations on the method of connecting up the work of the organization and agit-prop departments in all of the Party work and political campaigns.

3. The Party must establish a system whereby the units take up for discussion events and conditions taking place in their own territory or in a given factory, where the unit has contacts and is concentrating on. The unit buro, in line with the perspective to establish shop organization in a given factory, shall carry on a conscious campaign of clarification among our members on how the unit as a whole, and each member in particular (regardless of whether he works in a shop, is a member of an organization in the neighborhood, whether one works among the unemployed, Negroes, etc.) can help in building up the shop nucleus. From time to time the unit buro should call in the comrades who work in the shop, or who are connected with work around the shop, to discuss with them their experiences, give them more guidance and suggest and help them in methods of work. We must stress, especially to our old comrades that work in the factory for the building of shop organization, is the basic work of the Party around which all other activities shall be carried on and subordinated to.

4. More use must be made of the experience of other shop nuclei. This can be done through the proper use of the *Party Organizer* by our units. It is not enough to order, say ten *Party Organizers* and sell them to *some of the members*. We must get every Party member to read and study the contents of the *Party Organizer* and *The Communist*. Special discussions in the unit should be arranged. These should link up the local shop problems.

5. A wider campaign must be carried on in the Party press, clarifying our Party members on the significance of shop work, on methods of building shop nuclei, and exchange of experience in shop nuclei.

The above measures must be undertaken and carried out, as they are prerequisites for the successful carrying out of our present quotas in the recruiting drive and the building of a mass Party.

SAM REED, District 1



Experiences in Recruiting and Building New Young Communist League Units Immediately After the Ford Massacre

THE League can only be built most effectively in struggle." This is a familiar old phrase which we have heard time and time again, but now we are experiencing it.

Immediately after the Bloody Monday, the North Detroit Section of the Young Communist League arranged to have a mass protest meeting the coming Thursday in one of the public schools. The northern part of Detroit, being a proletarian section, is composed mostly of Ford, Briggs and Dodge workers. At this protest meeting, we got about 40 to 50 applications, 24 of which were of young workers, some working at the above mentioned factories.

The young workers who signed the application cards the next day came to the place where the dead bodies of our murdered comrades laid, at the same time bringing with them more young workers who signed at the hall. They helped us in recruiting young workers who passed to see the bodies and also stood as guard of honor.

Being known in the neighborhood as a Y. C. L. member and one of the "Reds" from the headquarters, young workers would approach me and speak to me on the Ford massacre—young workers who before would not speak to me—and asked me where and when the funeral would be held, and where they could join the Y. C. L.

I remember one pool room especially where I was known to the boys there because of my activities in the late Briggs Hunger March; they would always say "Hello comrade" or "Hello red" in a very sarcastic manner; but now it was different. They stopped me and talked to me and came to the central pro-

test meeting where many of them joined, and also to the funeral.

After the funeral, the following week, another mass meeting was held and more members were recruited. During this week, we sent letters to all the contacts recruited, and visited as many as we could to come to a new members' meeting to be held the following Saturday. At this meeting, we explained more in detail what the Y. C. L. was, the tasks of the members, held a general discussion and also signed up some more new members. At this meeting, the majority of the applicants were young workers either working or unemployed. The group of young workers were divided into three new units and arrangements were made to meet the following week.

The next Tuesday, Unit No. 14 met. About 12 good young workers came. This group was mostly of young workers, about six of them employed, and the rest unemployed, with one student. We elected an executive committee, held a discussion, gave the members present the task of visiting those members that did not show up and asked them to get their books and pay their initiation fees. The composition of the executive committee of this unit is the following: Unit organizer—an employed Briggs worker; *Young Worker* Agent—unemployed Briggs worker; other two members of the executive—one a part time Ford worker, and the other an unemployed Ford Trade School student. We also stressed the point of recruiting still more new members, their shop-mates, friends, etc.

These young workers when asked why they joined the Y.C.L., answered: "Because the Y.C.L. and the C.P. are the only organizations that come out with a good program for the workers and that really put it into practice." In other words, they saw action.

When asked why they did not join before, they remarked, "all this stuff was too deep and too complicated for me."

These young workers, the majority of them, hung around the pool rooms, and now the main discussion in the pool room is Communism. You can see one of the members tackling another young worker in one corner trying to get him to join the Y. C. L. and the rest of the gang in an argument over some question or discussion. When you go down the street with one of them, if a friend of theirs sees him, he raises his fist and says, "Hello comrade." They also have convinced the proprietor of the pool room that the movement is the only thing, and now he subscribed to the *Daily Worker*, and they are trying to get him to join the I. L. D.

There is one young worker in particular who is doing pretty good work. He brings in on the average of one application a day either for the Y. C. L. or A. W. U.

The Negro problem in this section is also a vital question.

One of the pool room gang leaders is very much prejudiced against Negro workers. When asked if he believed in Negro and white fighting together, he answers—yes; but he said he can't stand to see a Negro worker dance with a white girl. We had a long discussion with him and gave him literature to read and so far we have not been able to convince him or show him where he is wrong. He will not join the League, although he did sign an application, but he said he will come to all mass meetings and marches and joined the A. W. U.

The other pool room gang members are very much different than this pool room. One member even asked me why we had so few Negro workers compared to the white members. After explaining why, he said this will have to be our main task for the beginning to recruit more Negro workers as well as white.

Now that we have these young workers in the Y.C.L., our task is to keep them. They were drawn in through struggle, drawn in because they saw that the Y.C.L. was the leader of the young workers in their struggles; they feel that the Y.C.L. is fighting for their everyday needs and is a part of their everyday life. Therefore it is our task now to activize every single member, hold classes and teach them what the Y.C.L. is, what the duties of a Y.C.L. member are, why the Negro workers are not our enemies as the bosses say but that they are part of the working class and therefore we must organize both Negro and white why we must build youth sections in the A. W. U. and how we must work in the shops and form shop units of the Y. C. L.

The young workers of North Detroit feel the loss of their leading comrades, Joe York and Joe Bussell, and they are doing their utmost in getting all of the young workers in this territory to take the places of our fallen comrades by building not only two or three units, but by having hundreds of young workers join the League, and in that way take their places.

“TONY”—Y.C.L.

Organizational Lessons Learned From Bloody Monday—Mobility

THE march of 5,000 unarmed, unemployed workers (Ford Hunger March) on March 7th, *Bloody Monday*, was brutally attacked with clubs, gas, pistols and machine guns. The leadership of the Party was forced into hiding, due to a wave of terror, and had to act in a semi-legal manner. Problems connected with arrangement of a mass funeral, coupled with an offensive against the murderers of our comrades, revealed various organizational shortcomings. Realizing that the Ford massacre was an expression of the intensification of the crisis,

we must prepare our future demonstrations in a way to take the utmost advantage of the lessons we have learned.

1. Unit Organizers *must* meet (in a private home) as soon after the demonstration as possible. Arrangements for the meeting to be made before the demonstration.
2. Unit organizers *must* have well functioning groups and arrange to meet the group captains together with Buro members the day following the demonstration.
3. Section organizers should establish daily contact with unit organizers. Arrangements to be made for section committee to meet on short notice.
4. Mass organization fractions (language groups, Unemployed Councils, unions, etc.) should as much as possible organize group systems to mobilize sympathizers for special duties such as leaflet distribution, collections, etc.

With the deepening of the crisis and the sharpening of the bosses' offensive against the workers, the revolutionary leadership for the masses demands a well-organized, well-disciplined *Communist Party*.

M. PALMER.

A New Communist Unit in Action

THE Richmond (Cal.) Unit has been in existence for the last three years. It was typical of stagnation, passivity, and opportunism and was kept alive only through the aggressiveness of one shop worker, who continually bombarded the section and district committees insisting that some attention be paid to the highly industrialized shipping and industrial center. But it was not until recently that the unit, with the assistance and guidance of the section committee, made the turn to mass work. The night of February 5th was a critical night for our small unit. Its membership has grown from six to twelve, and six of these new members were to be initiated at this meeting. Before the meeting started we were informed that three of our comrades were arrested. Surprisingly enough for the old members the new ones accepted this arrest in a real Communist way. On the suggestion of the section representative, the question of freeing our comrades came first on the agenda. After considerable discussion the following line of action was proposed and voted upon by all members.

1. Three successive committees demanding the release of our comrades, each larger than the previous one to be sent to the police department.
2. All personal contacts and organizations were instructed to send protest wires demanding immediate release of the defendants.

3. Proposed 2,000 leaflets, mimeographed the same night and distributed under cover.

4. Proposed that 12 protest meetings be held in various industrial towns throughout the whole section.

5. Petition forms to be circulated all over the county and in the city proper demanding the repeal of the Vagrancy and Hand Bill Laws, under which our comrades were arrested.

6. Special form of appeal to all workers in basic industries, (Oil, R. R. Steel and Chemical) and to all unemployed, to pack the court room in the first hearing, demanding the unconditional release of the prisoners and the repeal of the Hand Bill Law.

7. Proposed that joint committees of the I.L.D., Workers Ex-Service League, and the Unemployed Council keep up sending committees to the police department and the city council and the presiding judge to further demand the release of our comrades.

8. That we stage a demonstration of protest in front of the court room in event the case was not dismissed.

9. New comrade proposed that we stay up all night to carry out the whole program of action.

Immediate results: In the first hearing the court room was packed and it was evident that our mass pressure brought concrete results already. The bail on the motion of the I. L. D. representative was reduced from \$1,000 to \$25, and the trial set for a week later. During this week the defense campaign assumed its highest stage by putting into practice each and every one of the above proposals.

Results: an overflowing court room with a real proletarian composition, and a good number of Negro, women and children. Five hundred and fifty workers were present determined to voice their protests, forced the judge and prosecuting attorney to dismiss all cases, after which the workers marched down to the hall where an appeal was made for the *Daily Worker* and membership in the I.L.D.

Organizational results:

1. Increase in C.P. unit from six to 24 members.
2. Forty-two new members for the I.L.D.
3. Thirty-one new members for the Pioneers.
4. Four new members for the Y. C. L.
5. Twelve new members for the F. S. U.
6. Five Unemployed Block Committees (One in Negro section with 20 members.)
7. One shop unit in the Pullman Co. and contacts in the largest oil refinery in the world (Standard Oil) and the Santa Fe shops.

8. Opening of headquarters (Workers Center) to further crystallize our activities.

9. Basis for an extensive election campaign in the coming election for the Board of Education.

Ideological gains:

1. Tremendous influence of the Party in Richmond and all industrial towns in vicinity, such as, increase in charity relief,

b. Increase in attendance at street and indoor meetings.

c. Police release arrested speaker in Pittsburgh (nearby steel town) under threat of repetition of the same type of mass pressure used in Richmond.

Methods used to develop the campaign:

1. 10,000 leaflets distributed, 3 special shop bulletins. 1500 copies.

2. 60 protest wires.

3. Resolution adopted in 20 open air meetings protesting the arrest.

4. 1,500 Daily and Western Workers distributed mainly among shop workers.

5. Between 15 and 20 organizations mobilized to assist in the defense.

6. Twelve street meetings and 3 shop 'gate meetings held, reaching about 5,000 workers.

7. Special shock brigade to canvass all towns (10 in number) in the vicinity.

8. Basis laid for new units in those towns.

W. GELLES, Richmond, Calif.

Review of Three Months Plan of Work of Hancock Section—District No. 9

LAST December we drew up a Plan of Work as a guide for our three months activity pointing out as the main tasks the building of the Party and the National Miners Union. Now it is necessary to review our accomplishments comparing them with our shortcomings, draw the proper lessons, and bear in mind these weaknesses in drawing up the next plan of work.

We began our work with a membership of 188 in 18 units. Two of these units were in large enterprises, one in Houghton, a mine unit, and one in Mt. Iron, in the Ford plant. The rest of our activity was centered in the units in small towns and in farm communities. The section committee set itself the task of reaching 300 members by January 21st. Many comrades were very doubtful whether the perspective could be carried

through. But while we did not reach that number by January 21st, we have now, March 1st, 318 members in the Hancock Section, organized in 30 units of which three are shop and mine units.

Outstanding Weaknesses—Future Main Tasks Building the National Miners Union and Unemployment Work

While it feels good to report accomplishments, it must not blind us from seeing our shortcomings, and there are many. Our outstanding shortcoming is in mining work. While we built a new mine unit of the Party and have drawn in about 20 miners into the Party, we forgot entirely about the National Miners Union. In our plan we stated: "We have the problem of building the N. M. U. into a real mass organization." Can we say that we have remembered this task? No, we forgot that task. We can point out that in one of the largest mines where we recently built a Party unit of nine, we have nothing as far as the N. M. U. is concerned. In the few locals and committees that we do have, no Party fractions have been organized. The result is that they are not functioning. And this is at a time when wage cuts are taking place regularly.

The largest single enterprise in this section is the Ford plant in Mt. Iron. And while we put the task of work inside the plant in our plan hardly any attention was given to it. Today the small unit in that plant meets and buys dues stamps regularly once a month, but does not do any shop work. In the recruiting drive this unit has been the slowest, in fact, not moving at all. It is certain that the section committee will have to pay more attention to Mt. Iron.

Unemployment work has been the step-child all the way through. We have had several good beginnings but the section has allowed these to die. And today while we have a few committees they are doing nothing and hardly any direction is given them. A few weeks ago we were informed that we were able to force through measures for relief to be given through the mass co-operative store even though at first the commissioners refused. We did not look upon it from the point of developing a mass movement around this question. We let it slip by. Unemployment work will of necessity occupy an important place in future activity.

Even Our Best Work—Farm Work—Shows Great Weakness

In agrarian work we made good progress. Numerous farmers' Committees of Action had been established and mass struggles developed around the issue of stopping foreclosures and

for poor farmers relief. But the great weakness lies in the fact that these Committees of Action are not sufficiently connected with the United Farmers League. In many cases there are sentiments of turning to independent political activity (outside the Communist Party).

These weaknesses are mainly due to lack of clarity on this question. Many new and old ideas on how the United Farmers League should function are prevalent everywhere. And now more than at any other time we need a written program and constitution or at least organizational directives on our work amongst the small farmers and for the United Farmers League.

The problem of directing the farmers movement in the proper channels of struggle against the rich farmers and against the state is becoming more difficult due to our lack of fraction work. We hold large fraction meetings before demonstrations. But we don't have functioning fractions in the Committees of Action to lead and direct the every-day activities of struggle of the farmers' committees.

This briefly gives the problems facing our section and should be taken seriously by our entire Party. One of the best ways of overcoming some of the shortcomings is to concentrate for the next few months upon the section center—Hancock—and the copper territory, to build up a more collective leadership in the section center which would be able to provide direction to the entire section on the various phases of work.

K. H.

Election Campaign

The Party and the Elections—Some Mistakes and Lessons

The big increase in the Communist vote in recent municipal elections on the Messaba Range, in St. Paul, Superior, and upper Michigan, and the election of several Communist candidates in northern Minnesota as a result of our leading the struggles of the impoverished masses, shows that the possibilities are great, but it also shows that considering the objective situation the Party is still lagging far behind, and due to a number of shortcomings the progress made by the Party in these elections is far from satisfactory. We encounter, first of all, opportunist passivity in the ranks of the Party toward participation in elections, due to failure to understand that parliamentary action is an important, though not the only, form of political action. Secondly, the failure to understand that every struggle on the economic field is a political struggle, and this failure leads to a mechanical separation of election activity from the development of struggles in the shops and among the unemployed

around immediate demands. Thirdly, the remnants of social-democratic ideology and practice in conducting parliamentary activity results in a blurring of the class lines, in a hesitancy to bring forward the revolutionary program of the Party, "Class against Class," because "the workers are not ready to accept it yet," or "they are not hungry enough," etc. Fourthly, a narrow and sectarian approach to developing the election campaign on a broad united front basis which resulted in a failure to penetrate the unions and other mass organizations, and to penetrate the shops and the working-class neighborhoods. Finally, an under-estimation of the necessity of building the Party during the election campaign, which was reflected in insufficient recruiting for the Party and a lack of developing the initiative of the units in carrying out their tasks.

In addition, we have not yet developed an effective struggle against social-fascism and demagoguery, to expose it in a concrete manner, in breaking down the democratic illusions of the workers, and in puncturing the theory of the "lesser evil" among them. On the Mesaba Range, Minnesota, we conducted an election campaign in Chisholm, but because we did not formulate our immediate demands concretely enough, because we did not carry on an exposure of the "friends of labor" candidates and their false promises, the Communist vote was unsatisfactory and the "friends of labor" fakers were overwhelmingly elected. Profiting by this experience, in the Virginia elections, the Party made great steps forward in concrete formulation of demands exposure of the bosses candidates, with the result that the Party vote increased by 800%, and amounted to 10% of the vote cast in Virginia, Minn.

In the Superior elections, due to insufficient ideological clarification our candidates were so confused on the Party's role and the method of explaining it to the workers, that we found such expressions in some of the speeches, "We know we won't get elected," and, "The Party entered candidates in order to register the number of its supporters." There was also a weak and totally inadequate exposure of the social-fascist ticket of the "Labor Unemployment Committee" and its demagogic outcry that "The Communists entered the field to split the labor vote." Another serious shortcoming was the heavy thesis-like form of our election literature, which failed to speak to the workers in clear and simple language to explain our platform and expose the demagogues.

In St. Paul the election campaign was characterized by under estimation of its importance by the Party membership and the consequent failure to mobilize the whole Party to get behind the campaign. The membership of the Unemployed Council actually conducted a large part of the election activity, and the Party organization trailed behind. There the "left" Farmer-Laborite

Mahoney, one of the leading mayoralty candidates, ran on a platform which was a brazen betrayal of the working class and which completely ignored the most burning issues facing the workers, and conducted a sham fight against the "underworld." The most splendid opportunities presented themselves to arouse masses of workers against the Farmer-Labor betrayals, but due to the passivity of a large part of the older Party membership (the new members were more active), the campaign was not sufficiently broad and did not reach the biggest section of the workers in the shops and neighborhood and in the unions.

In the farming sections many errors were committed. In Bemidji, the comrades failed to file candidates because "we would reveal our weakness." In Orr, the comrades proposed to run a candidate as an individual instead of on the Party platform as "he would have a better chance of getting elected. This tendency was expressed in other places also, a reflection of social-democratic ideology which has not yet been wiped out from the Party. In Sturgeon, there was a hesitancy to boldly bring forward the Party and its platform, evidenced in the failure to even issue a leaflet explaining our platform; the comrades depended entirely on house-to-house canvassing. In Flor-enton, we find the following statement in a Party election leaflet, "The Communist candidates do not run for office because they want a position, or with the idea of bettering your conditions." The leaflet did not explain that the election of Communists will place them in a better position to realize some of the immediate demands. The point that the leaflet tried to bring out was that mere election to office of Communists will not solve the fundamental problems of the workers and farmers under capitalism, that this can only be done through the overthrow of capitalism, but the wording of the leaflet is such as to leave the impression that there is no use in voting for Communist candidates. In Baraga, Michigan, the comrades filed a candidate for Supervisor on a "Workers and Farmers Ticket" without mentioning the Party once in a leaflet. In several farming communities, the comrades tried to turn the United Farmers League into a political party and proposed to run a "U.F.L." Ticket."

For these errors and shortcomings, the District Committee and the Section Committees are also to blame in not starting soon enough to prepare for the municipal elections with a discussion in the ranks of the Party on its tasks in order to develop the necessary ideological clarity and avoid mistakes. There was also a slowness and hesitancy on the part of the Section Committees in putting into effect the decisions of the District Committee to prepare for the elections, which would have prevented some of these errors. Not only ideological but thorough organizational preparations are of the utmost importance, so that elections are not looked upon as "just another campaign,"

but that all the mass activities of the Party are intensified to the highest degree during the election campaign. The excellent response among the workers that the Party met everywhere could have been increased tenfold were it not for these shortcomings, which must be rooted out in the coming elections.

WM. SCHNEIDERMAN.

Literature Distribution

Directives on Literature Distribution in Mobilizing for May Day

IN ALL activities around and within the shops in connection with May Day, literature must play a prominent part. Party members and sympathizers must take our literature right into the shops and sell it there as widely as conditions in the shop will possibly permit. All shop-gate meetings must not only be covered with literature, but the speakers must popularize it from the stand. Literature sale at the gates of concentration factories must be consistently carried out during the entire campaign.

At May Day Conferences the use of literature in mobilizing workers should be on the agenda, and all organizations represented there should be stimulated to get our literature to the workers through the channels of these organizations.

At the demonstrations, mass meetings, and open air meetings, the speakers should be instructed to popularize our concentration pamphlets for May First, and supplies must be ready at hand to see the particular pamphlets thus popularized from the stand.

During the May Day mobilization campaign, and shortly before May First (perhaps the Sunday before May First, an intensive house to house canvas should be made, covering the whole working class sections of the District, not only for mobilizing organizationally for May Day, but to sell out May Day concentration pamphlets.

Our literature should also be sold at all meetings organized by hostile organizations on May First—socialist and other social-fascist organizations.

The line of march of the May Day parade must be flooded with literature and an intensive sale carried on among the onlookers.

With a systematically planned literature distribution in connection with the entire May First campaign, we can really begin a mass distribution of the hundreds of pamphlets we have on hand and which the workers want to read.

On the Sale of Literature At Open Meetings

THE Philadelphia Open Forum of March 20 offers a good example of how the sale of literature *should not be handled*.

The subject at the Forum was *The Position of Communists on War*. Obviously literature should have been available dealing with war and particularly the *resolution of the Sixth Comintern Congress*, which deals with the Communist position on war, should have had a carefully prepared sale.

But such was not the case. Everything was on hand *except this literature directly dealing with the subject*. The thirteen pamphlets available dealing with war and imperialism and the thirty-five pamphlets dealing with the Soviet Union, closely tied up with war, were conspicuous by their absence. Only after the meeting had started, and after the absence of such literature had been noted by the speaker who himself wished to speak on the Sixth Congress Resolution from the platform, did the local comrades succeed in scaring up some war pamphlets.

The failure to have this material at our meetings reflects a *lack of political foresight* in arranging our meetings.

Of equal importance, however, is the manner in which our literature is sold at meetings. At this meeting, for example, a dozen comrades were selling literature before, during and after the meeting; they sold, or tried energetically to sell, everything under the sun (pamphlets, papers, magazines, etc.), on everything except war. *There was absolutely no concentration*. This is wrong! Literature sales should be handled as follows:

1) A well placed literature stand near the entrance to the hall with a capable comrade or two—*real salesmen*—in charge. On this stand *all the literature dealing, in this case, with war, the Soviet Union, etc.*, should be neatly and effectively arranged. Particularly as the workers enter, but also when they leave, their attention should be called to this literature and comradely efforts made to sell every worker *at least one pamphlet*. The selling of a pamphlet is as important and sometimes more important than the speech.

One pamphlet or booklet should be specifically chosen for sale at each meeting. This piece of literature should not merely be announced from the platform. The *main speaker* at the meeting should speak on the *value of this pamphlet* as an organic part of his speech; he, himself, should quote several times from this pamphlet during his speech to *prove* certain points, thus establishing the indispensability of the pamphlet in question. At the conclusion of his speech, the main speaker should state very clearly that this pamphlet, which is necessary for further

understanding of the question, will be sold by comrades who should then be ready to go through the hall. This can be done without detracting in the least from the speech of the *main speaker*. It will show very great results in increasing literature sales, which, especially now during the election campaign, is a burning necessity.

C. A. HATHAWAY.

Agit-Prop Work

For Greater Use of Open Forums

THOUGH we have been using this vehicle of mass propaganda for years, we find in many instances that we do not attract a perceptible number of increasing attendance. The reason for this appears that we fall into a routine and do not appreciate the weapon that a forum is in our hands.

For combatting of the poisonous ideological influence of the bourgeoisie, this has great value. Because of our tendency to underestimate the conscious steps being taken to inflict this ideology on the workers, we do not think of this. We will try to bring this out in short and explanatory examples. How many libraries, schools, etc., are running "lectures," "forums," etc., no a widespread range of subjects with which we do not deal in ours? If we investigate, we will find much more than we are aware of. And there is no question that the workers attend because their interest in some "everyday" or important political question has been attracted.

Also in increasing number they are seeking "cultural" entertainment which is denied them elsewhere by the simple need of an admission price. Though there are many motives which drive them to such affairs, the main point remains, they are workers who can be reached with propaganda.

The fascist ideologist cannot use a single topic that we cannot take out from under him and turn to our account. If they deal with history, then we can draw those same workers and give them an economic and class-struggle interpretation of their same subject. Many workers are drawn to these meetings by the issue of some section of the social budget. They come to hear some faker explain the sudden melting away of the school-book fund, etc. We can use that same item to achieve organizational results in the "everyday" problems of the workers, mentioned by Comrade Smith in the February issue of *The Communist*.

In short, our underestimation, of the regular open forum must be corrected by realizing that it is a very popular bridge to the workers. We must introduce such variety of subjects

that we will draw new workers who will be stimulated into thinking and questioning the bourgeois influence on their daily lives and win them over to us. We must realize that the forum is a primary cultural weapon and when at this time we are so lacking in this form of struggle, we must make greater use of it. We must also cut down the time of our own speakers. We must create the atmosphere that impels workers to take the meeting as "their own."

PAUL MUNTER—Portland, Ore.

Material For a Course on Organizational Questions

IV

The Work of Our Party Committees

(Continued from last issue)

A. Composition and tasks of the Section and District Committees, the Central Committee and the E.C.C.I.

The composition of all Party committees must consist of a minimum of one-half from large factories. The relation of these committees to each other.

B. The work of the various departments—Organization, Agit-Prop, Trade Union, Negro, Language, Colonial.*

The connection between them. Chief attention directed to seeing that the work of all these departments and all Party committees is directed to the factories, particularly the strategic ones, by the formation and active support of our factory nuclei. Special emphasis on collective work and methods of developing the greatest possible initiative from below. In every meeting of every Party committee and every department, the work of one or more nuclei in large factories must be discussed. Assignment of the leading comrades to work in the most important nuclei. Personal rather than circular guidance. Direct control and support of our factory nuclei by the Party committees and the various departments. Calling of special conferences of buros of the shop nuclei and fractions.

C. The work among the unemployed which comes under the work of the Trade Union Department.

How do we form unemployed committees? What is the relation of the unemployed committees to the Party and to the trade unions? Organization on the basis of block committees and around unemployed neighborhood papers as united front organizations, and not as rigid branches. Methods of guidance by the Party and the trade unions of unemployed committees

*Where the T.U.U.L. has a local council, the Party fraction in it comprises the Trade Union Department.

and through these, of the unemployed movement (fractions). Drawing into the leadership of the unemployed movement the greatest number of non-Party workers, particularly Negroes and women. What is the mass work of the unemployed committees? How do we bring about connections between the unemployed and the workers in the large factories? The use of the unemployed movement for political education to strengthen our factory and union work and to mobilize the women for food for the children (women's delegate system).

Reference material:

See references given in December, 1931, *Party Organizer*.

Prague Resolution in December, 1931, issue of *The Communist*.

Unemployment and the Communist Parties, by O. Piatnitsky (pamphlet).

Resolutions of the C. C. C. P. U. S. A.

Instructions of the Organization Department C. C. (Org. Bulletin No. 2)

D. Relation of the Party to the Young Communist League and the Party's support of the League.

Interchange of representatives. Wherever there are local local groups and factory nuclei of the Party, it is their task to form also an organization of the League. Political support of the Y. C. L. in all mass campaigns. To popularize the significance of the League and of the youth problems in general, etc. Question of improving of Party membership by achieving a lower average of membership.

E. Special methods of our mass work among women factory workers.

Women's auxiliaries in the trade unions, organization of delegate conferences for mobilizing and organizing the working women. To see to it that a certain percentage of the Party committees and of the functionary apparatus be made up of women in order to continually orientate the Party concretely on the mobilization of this important section of the workers. Taking into consideration the growing importance of working women in the process of production by capitalist rationalization, etc.

F. Special methods of work among Negroes.

Special political and economic demands; struggle against white chauvinism, particularly in the Party and mass organizations; struggle against jim-crowism, terror and lynching and drawing in of the broadest masses of white workers into this struggle; building the L. S. N. R. and Liberator. (See resolutions of the E. C. C. I.); political education on the question of self-determination; special significance of the revolutionary role of the Negroes in the South.

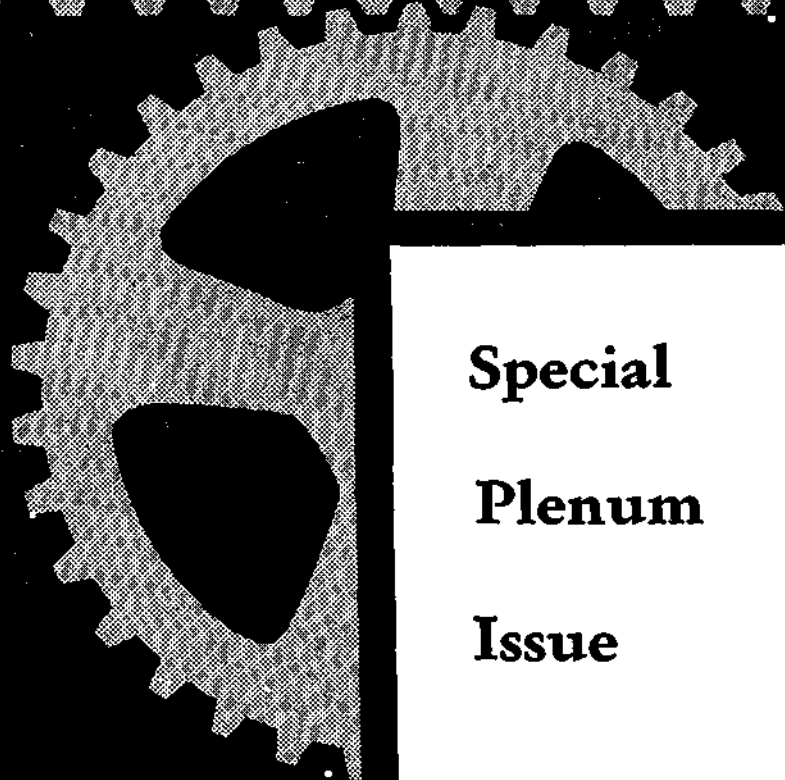
G. Workers Defense.

Reference material:

See Special Instructions of the Org. Department C. C.

(To be concluded)

Party Organizer



**Special
Plenum
Issue**

Vol. V

MAY - JUNE, 1932

No. 5 - 6

Issued by

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. VI

May-June, 1932

Nos. 5-6

Plenum Material

Keynote of the Fourteenth Plenum

THE Party must give most careful attention in all its work to the application of a correct mass policy. This correct mass policy consists in developing the mass struggles of the workers, the working women and the young workers, on the basis of their immediate economic and political needs as they arise from their life and work, and conflicts with the employers, reformist bureaucrats, the state, etc. This means, furthermore, that these struggles must be carried through on the basis of the activities of the masses, and that the tasks of the Communists are precisely to develop and organize this activity and initiative of the masses. This calls for the most concrete application of the united front from below in accordance with the varying degree of influence of the Communists, the extent of the radicalization of the workers, the influence of the social-fascists, etc., thus applying the line of independent policy not mechanically but on the basis of a careful analysis of the concrete conditions of work and of struggle.

"Inseparably linked up with and as a basic prerequisite of our entire mass work, is the persistent struggle against the fascist and social-fascist leaders of the A. F. of L., and against the Socialist Party, and particularly the left social-fascists."

In a word, comrades, this is the heart of the resolution of this Plenum, which at the same time shows that it is impossible to have here a formula which the districts can take back with them with which they would be able to solve problems of factory work, of work in the unions, of the unemployed struggles, of the fight against the bourgeois demagogues, of the fight against the Socialist Party, etc. It shows the necessity for a concrete application to the specific situation. But in another way, we can regard the necessity for the establishment of strong personal bonds with the workers, as also a key to the understanding of the resolution.

In his respect, comrades, I should like to call to your attention some of the writings of the Russian comrades, which apply forcefully to this point of the necessity of the establishment of *strong personal bonds* with the workers. In 1920 the Russian

Communist Party, after it had made the revolution, sent a letter to the Party organizations on the question of the Communist Party and its relations to the non-Party man. And what did this letter state?

"Our problem is to strengthen the ties between the Communists and the non-Party masses at all costs. This is the only way to put life into our Party groups, which at times become passive. Anyone who cannot rally several honest non-Party people around himself is not a Communist. He should come into daily contact with the non-Party people, visit their homes, and then in their daily life supply them with literature, send non-Party workers into the trade-unions, assist the non-Party workers to take responsible posts in the trade unions. The Party must help the non-Party members do it.

"We nursed the non-Party workers, we visited them in their homes and gave them our newspapers, we were not too proud to worry about one individual worker, because it was in this way that we forged a body of militants.

"But what have we got now? We may hear such talk as this in a number of sections of the R. I. L. U. 'If there is a gathering of a thousand workers, I will speak, but if there are only a hundred persons, then it is not worth worrying about.' This will not do. You have to create your body of militants one by one. These units are not enrolled all at once, but later on they will be harnessed for the workers. Therefore, the question of educating the individual workers is highly important. The practice of factory committees, should not be to come forward in the open in a body so that all the members find themselves outside the factory gates at once. This would be a sign of cowardice. This is not merely a question of cowardice—this is a question of the ability to work."

First the mass mobilization of May 1st. Secondly, May 28, which is the National Convention for the election campaign and must be a mobilization against the war. Thirdly we must take in real earnest the slogan of stop the shipment of ammunition to Japan. What does that mean? Of course, such a task cannot be realized without a policy of concentration. But it means, comrades, that the districts in order to realize this task, must send forces, must take in earnest this task, not simply issue it as a slogan because we must agree that if we can accomplish one strike with regard to the shipment of ammunition, this would change the entire situation—the outlook of our entire membership, it would raise their confidence in their ability to conduct practical struggles against the war danger. And likewise, agitationally at the present time, it is necessary for us to raise

the slogan against the production of ammunition, a slogan which will not be immediately realized, but a slogan which we must strive to turn into a slogan of action.

First of all, we must emphasize that the Party must be the leader of the mass organizations. Secondly, that it must be the backbone of the mass organizations. Third, that if the Party does not lead these organizations, does not build up its organized strength inside these organizations, they do not grow. That is the textile experience—the textile union has no vitality. The Party organization has not been built, does not lead, is not connected up with the textile unions. But how, comrades, does the Party organizations, the Party lead in the trade union organizations. It leads through its nuclei and through its fractions. What does that mean? It means that the leadership of the mass organizations can be achieved only on condition that the Party membership in an organized way can convince the workers inside the unions that it is really their leader in the practical work. That means that the Party will be able to lead the mass organizations on condition that it is able to develop struggle of the workers, and give leadership to these struggles—if it is able to prove to the workers the correctness of the tactics of the Party organizations. It means, comrades, that we cannot decree that the Party shall be the leader of the mass organizations. It is not written anywhere that the workers must accept the Party leadership. And furthermore, that we cannot command the workers of the organizations to accept our leadership. The basic question is to link up the Party organizations with the mass organizations, so as to make them the driving force, so that they may be really the leaders of the organizations. This has not yet been changed. But, comrades, this is only one side of the medal—the Party organizations can only be the political guide, which can give the union political guidance through the fractions. It cannot meddle excessively in the practical leadership of these organizations. It cannot lead mechanically these organizations.

—W. W. WEINSTONE.

The JULY issue of
THE COMMUNIST
will be a
SPECIAL ANTI-WAR ISSUE
in preparation for August First
See that your issues are ordered early!

Approaching the Factories as Insiders and Not as Outsiders

THE trouble with our factory work, comrades, is that it is still considered according to the book. It is the mechanical sitting down to examine the peculiar feature of each factory, the special problems of this factory, and to work out how, in this particular factory, mass work can be done to arouse the workers for struggle for their immediate needs and for the general political demands of the working class.

We approach the factory as outsiders, without any particular interest in learning about the inside. We have a certain set formula, a certain conception as to what is inside of a factory. And this set formula-conception is applied to every factory, with the result that it does not fit the reality of any factory—not one single factory. And what is the reason for that? Why cannot we become insiders with regard to factory work? It is not the geographical question of whether one is working inside the particular shop or not. It is the question of the approach to the problems, the question of the sense of values.

I think that there is only one way that we will overcome this most serious weakness in the leadership of our Party, this lack of knowledge about what is factory work, this lack of ability to discuss in our Central Committee plenums concretely the concrete problems of work inside of the factory. In think that there is only one way in which this can be overcome, and that is to give every single member of the Central Committee and every single member of our district committees the special responsibility for developing the work in one particular factory. Each one of us must take one particular factory in which we assume the personal responsibility for developing the work in that factory, and at the end of six months make a written report about that factory. And it is not necessary that we have any connections in that factory. In fact, I think it would be well if a good many of us were specially designated to factories in which we have no connections whatsoever, because that will be the typical problem of our Party.

If you don't agree with that, let us look at the figures of our registration, which show us that in large factories—which is the special problem of our Party—out of our 14,000 members—or rather in the registration of a little less than 9,000 members—we had 94 members in large factories, less than 2%—less than 1% of our members in large factories. Can anyone say, facing these figures, that our problem is to work with the forces that we now have in the factories? Our problem is to penetrate the big factories where we do not exist today.

A word about the youth. All of the problems of the Party are repeated in the youth, with emphasis, and some special youth problems. All of the weaknesses of the Party exist among the youth. And they have some exaggerated expressions of these weaknesses. I am sorry that I cannot discuss in detail the problems in the youth here. I must cut my speech short. But I want to say to the youth, that in my opinion, one of the gravest dangers that the youth face today is a certain tendency to subjectivism. Our young comrades are very serious comrades on the whole—very devoted, courageous fighters, tireless workers, but they are not training themselves to think objectively. They are not sufficiently steeling their leading cadres in the Marxist-Leninist methods. And as a result, the youth are particularly liable to deviations, toward vanguardism and toward all forms of subjectivism. We must make an energetic effort to help the youth to master the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

That means we must not continue this attitude of benevolent neglect that we have toward the youth. We have a very friendly attitude to the youth, yes. We try to keep good personal relations with the comrades who are working among the youth. We prevent the development of any sharp political differences between the Party and the youth, but after you sum it all up there is only one word that can characterize the Party's relation to the youth—and that is *neglect*.

Interjection: Formalism!

Formalism is not sharp enough. I am afraid formalism becomes a formula that answers all questions. I like to get synonyms for it—give lights and shades to the question of formalism, and the particular shade I want to put on our relations with the youth is that of neglect. It might even be an advance if we had a little more formal connection with the youth, if we could overcome this terrible neglect.

This neglect is a feature from top to bottom. I think it is especially serious right now in the districts—especially serious in the districts. It is a problem everywhere, but in the districts I am sure that this shows itself in a very sharp form. The lack of political guidance, the lack of attention to the problems of the youth, lack of combatting of the deviations that certainly show themselves among the youth in most districts, a lack of the education of the youth in Marxism-Leninism on the basis of the daily problems of the youth. That is the only way they can be really educated—by giving the Leninist dealing with the daily problems and helping them to master this practice and theory.

—EARL BROWDER.

The Election Campaign and the Struggle Against Sectarianism

NOW, comrades, among the tasks of the Party at the present time, *what is the position of the election campaign?*

There has been a habit in the Party for every comrade to place each particular campaign as the "central task," or as the "main task" before the Party, with the result that in the districts, in the sections and in the units the comrades never know what our "central task" is, or what relationship one task has to another. This practise followed in the Party has led to a jumping from one campaign or activity to another, one thing is started today and next week it is another. As a result of this method of work the Party is not able to *root itself firmly among the workers in the factories, among the unemployed, etc.*

The election campaign is not the "central task" in this generally accepted sense. The central mass task of the Party is the task of seriously preparing and organizing the immediate *struggles* of the workers against the bourgeois offensive with the particular objective of drawing the workers quickly into the broadest mass struggles against the danger of war and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

Through these activities,—through the organization of workers' struggles in the factories, through the organization of the struggles of the unemployed, through the organization of the struggle for Negro rights, through our activities among the farmers, through carrying on the struggle against the war danger,—the Party must rally its forces for the election campaign.

The election campaign, therefore, is to be conceived of by the Party *not as a substitute* for the other activity, but as a *unifying campaign*, as a campaign which grows, which gathers force to the extent that we carry on the other activities. If the election campaign were carried on in any other way, we would not be successful in rallying the masses of workers and poor farmers.

Sectarian Tendencies Must Be Overcome

The election campaign therefore can only be successful to the extent that the Party is successful in overcoming the sectarian tendencies now prevailing in the Party. At the same time the election campaign can become a very powerful instrument for mobilizing the Party for overcoming these sectarian tendencies and for driving our roots deep among the decisive sections of the workers.

To do this we must realize very clearly in what our sectarian tendencies consist. In the past we have frequently made state-

ments about our isolation from the masses and about the necessity for a "decisive turn". But this decisive turn to mass work has not been made. We have pointed in the past to every successful action as "the beginning of the turn."

All of these activities were indications of energetic work by the Party. They were indications of a determined attempt to organize and lead the struggles of the workers. But these activities did not yet constitute the *essential change* that is necessary in the work of the Party. The resolution presented by the Political Bureau states very clearly that "*the radical turn toward revolutionary mass work among the basic sections of the proletariat which has been frequently demanded by the E.C.C.I., has up until now essentially not been carried through in practice.*"

In still another place the resolution says "the work of the Party fundamentally remains in the same groove." These formulations, which I have stressed, were not in any sense accidental. In each case they were made only after thorough discussion of the Party's mass work.

We must bear in mind that we are now in the third year of the most catastrophic crisis and still we have not been able to greatly strengthen the ranks of the Party; we have not built mass trade unions or unemployed councils; we have not built a mass Negro movement. Every one should be seriously alarmed by this situation and take seriously the work of this Plenum.

For a Real United Front

How are we going to organize the campaign? We have to develop this campaign politically and organizationally on the broadest united front basis, from the beginning of the campaign until the end, from now until November 8th. We have to strive to draw into the campaign new elements that we never reached before. In the past, we have organized united front conferences for May First and united front conferences for everything else. We have called together our same group of fraternal organizations and other closely sympathizing organizations, and this has constituted our united front on all occasions.

In this case we do not want such a united front. We do not want just a formal setting up of a united front election committee for support of the Communist Party. What we want is a real united front that will, in the first place, bring our comrades into the factories, into the A. F. of L. unions, and among the unemployed—a united front that expresses itself first in each comrade getting together and forming a united front with the worker alongside of himself or herself; by winning this worker for the support of the candidates of the Party. And with such contacts as a foundation, we can build up in the fac-

tories, in the A. F. of L. unions, among the unemployed—groups that will be ready to support and fight for the demands of the Communist Party. And through such starting at the bottom, through building up these little groups, we can prepare the basis for united front conferences that will embody not only those organizations who are already with us, but a whole mass of new elements that we never had in our conferences before.

—C. A. HATHAWAY.

NOTE: Comrade Hathaway's report on the Election Campaign appears in full in the May issue of The Communist. In addition every comrade should become thoroughly acquainted with the election platform of the Party and the section in the Plenum resolution which deals with the elections. The June issue of The Communist carries an article by Comrade Bill Dunne analyzing some of the political aspects of the present election struggles. The title of the article is The War Offensive—Tightening the Capitalist Dictatorship in the United States. As additional important reading material we suggest the thesis of the Second Congress of the Communist International entitled The Communist Party and Parliamentarism which appeared in the February, 1932 issue of The Communist, and the Resolution of the Enlarged Presidium of the E. C. C. I. in February, 1930 on The Tasks of the Communist Sections Regarding Municipal Policy which appeared in the March, 1932 issue of The Communist.

Learn to Answer Questions Asked by Shop Workers

COMRADES, while during the Plenum several comrades have emphasized the fact that the Party has not been very successful in rooting itself in the factories, not much has been said of the reasons why the Party fell down on the job. In the five minutes I have, I want to point out some of the reasons, and some of the weaknesses of the Party membership and leadership, and why we do not really get a foothold in the factories.

I first want to say that the work in the factories that is done by the rank and file comrades is generally underestimated by the leading comrades of the Party. I can say from my own experience in the Ford factory that to some of the comrades working there, the work in the shop looks like a big problem which they are usually not able to solve. For instance, look at the average member of our Party and shop nuclei of the Ford factory. What experience, what political training has the average member in our shop units? What has he done

during his membership in the Party up to now? To speak of his every-day activity, he did nothing but be an agent for the *Daily Worker*. There was a time in our district when the activity of the shop unit constituted 90% of being agents for the *Daily Worker*. The comrades did everything else but work or discuss their work in the shops or the problems of the shop.

The shop units up to now have not been anything but financial bodies to bring money to the districts to finance the work in general. They are looked upon by the Party leadership as a source of money, and not as instruments of rooting the Party in the factories. Because they have been looked at in this way by the Party leadership, it has not paid much attention to them.

I want to say that there has been a change in our district in the last months.

How does the job in the factory look to the average member? When I go around and speak to the comrades working in the shop as to what there is to do—they state that when they speak to the workers about the conditions in the shops, they get into all kinds of political discussions with the workers in the shop. We have in the shop also American workers, and while they might not have much experience in the class struggle, they have had some education and know how to argue and put questions. They ask about the activity of our Party, about the Soviet Union, about capitalism and Communism, and many questions which are very hard for our comrades to answer, creating arguments in which our comrades are not always successful.

I found this out in the discussions in our unit. At every meeting the comrades would come around and ask me what to answer to this or that kind of question which was put to them, and when I go around to comrades in other shop units I find the same problems. The comrades do not know how to carry on the work of the Party in the shops, propaganda work, and least of all, how to carry on organizational work. If we want to have any real progress in our shop work we must have a real educational campaign not only in the shop units but also in the street units so that the comrades are able to work in the shops.

These are not the only discussion which our comrades in the shop have on the political front with their fellow workers. There is the religious question. Whenever we discuss with the workers we always meet this obstacle, this weakness of the workers—their religious beliefs and the church they are connected with. When the comrades come into contact with these workers, they do not know how to handle the situation, and therefore are not able to organize them. Many times the comrades discuss with workers who are white chauvinists. These workers put up arguments against the Negroes, which the com-

rades do not know how to meet. Our comrades cannot help these workers overcome this white chauvinism.

Then there is the wife question. There is much trouble on this. When we already thought we had a member in our unit, suddenly the wife shows up, and he says the wife does not allow him to read the *Daily Worker*. The wife does not allow him to join the union or the Party. The comrades must learn in the discussions in the units what to do on this question. The comrades working in the shops must be absolutely clear as to how to handle this problem, and get the worker into the organization despite the wife, or perhaps help him to convince his wife to join the organization. Go to his home, and talk to his wife, and try to get her into the organization too.

These are great problems. They might not look so to one who sits in the Party office, but in the shops the workers face them daily.

I believe one reason for the great turnover in our Party membership is because these workers who come near our movement are not put into the right organizations. To activate the new members in such mass organizations in which they can be most useful is one of our main tasks.

A few words on the problems of the shop unit organizers. When a unit begins to do real work in the shop all kinds of problems in the shop arise. The problem of keeping away from the boss and from the servicemen. The problem of seeking out stool-pigeons. We must know his field of work. The tactic of a unit in a shop must be worked out according to the conditions in the shop. The fact that the unit organizers are not very successful in solving these problems shows that they must be supported by the leading comrades in the districts, otherwise our work will not go ahead.

—MACK.

NOTE: *As an aid toward solving the problems raised by Comrade Mack the following articles and pamphlets are recommended* The Struggle for the Majority of the Working Class and Our Mass Work, by O. Kuusinen in *The Communist* for June, 1932; Shop Politics and Organization, by John Steuben, in *The Communist* for April, 1932, and the pamphlets: Spying on the Workers, The Yellow Dog Contract, and Profits and Wages.

Communists should penetrate into the humblest tavern, should find their way into the unions, social and chance gatherings of the common people and talk with them, not learnedly, not so much after the parliamentary fashion. Lenin, *The Infantile Sickness of Leftism in Communism*. 10 cents.

The Inner Life of the Party and Sectarianism

FIRST, I would like to direct a couple of words towards the inner life of our Party. I think it has been made pretty clear to the Plenum here that our approach to the masses in the industries, the masses of unemployed, the masses of Negro workers and farmers—every group that we are working among—that our approach is a sectarian approach. But it seems to me that there is another phase of this sectarian approach that we must direct some attention to, that is the sectarian approach to those new members who come into our Party. This sectarianism of ours does not stop just at the point where they step inside of the Party nuclei, but on the contrary, it manifests itself inside the Party with these new elements. In fact, this sectarian inner life of the Party is one of the phases of sectarianism in general that we have to combat—this failure to adopt the proper methods of absorbing these raw elements that come into the Party, of treating them almost the moment they step into the Party as full-blown Communists, fully disciplined, capable of carrying out all Party tasks, piling them up with work that many are not yet prepared to carry out in full. I think this is the reason, perhaps, why we have such a big turnover in our Party. When they come into the Party with such enthusiasm and later drift away is exactly due to this sectarian approach.

For example, one of the features of this sectarianism, it appears to me, is the peculiar social composition of our Party. Our Party is primarily a party of foreign-born workers. According to the figures submitted by the Org. Dept. before the recruiting campaign—and I do not think the latter has changed them much—60% of the Party is foreign born. Now, comrades, the foreign-born workers are good fighters, have led the fight of the American working class for many years past, but the foreign-born worker cannot take full control of the fight. The American workers must be drawn into this struggle. All of us who are acquainted with the mass organizations realize that the foreign-born workers suffer under a number of difficulties.

We must realize that the organization of the youth is one of the foundation necessities of our Party and particularly we should understand this clearer now when the weaknesses of our Party are so correctly analyzed as sectarian weaknesses. The youth is the bridge to these masses of American workers and we cannot break this sectarianism in so far, I say, as it has roots in the social composition of our Party, unless we take up seriously the question of organizing the youth.

—W. Z. FOSTER.

The Struggle for the Negro Masses and the Fight Against the Social Demagogos

IN OUR opinion, the Negro question is not only a Negro question, something separate in itself, but part of our whole work. We in Chicago are firmly convinced that without bringing the Negro masses into the trade unions, the unemployed councils, the Party, we cannot speak of carrying on struggles of any importance. The Negro proletariat in Chicago can be found in the stock yards, the steel mills, in transportation. And they, as a rule, are lower paid and meet with all other forms of special persecution and oppression. We made some headway among the Negro masses. We have in the Party, *in Chicago alone, approximately 500 members.* Recently we made some changes and promoted some Negro comrades into the higher posts in the Party. We have two Negro comrades as section organizers. We organized thirteen groups of the L. S. N. R. with over one thousand members, 80% non-Party, 20% whites. This was done recently.

But this is not even a scratch on the surface. On the contrary, we must state here that in our efforts to combat Negro reformism and Negro politicians we received a temporary defeat on the South Side of Chicago. What happened is the following. The terror against us on the South Side was opened in the middle of January. Between three to four hundred workers, Negro and white, were arrested in three days. Our headquarters were smashed. Masses of workers have been terrorized, and we were not able to organize a sufficient number of masses to break through that terror. But that is not everything. That was not the most important thing.

The most important thing is that the social-demagogues and Negro politicians began to use our language to the fullest extent. The word "comrade" is as popular on the South Side as it is here in this Plenum. A Republican and Democratic politician going from house to house collecting signatures on petitions asked Negro workers, "Will you please sign the petition for comrade so and so?"

We did not go to the roots to understand every phase of the situation, every concrete fact, every politician, his background, his relations to the Republican and Democratic parties and other sources. These are little things, but they count very much, when you actually go below among the masses.

Second, comrades. In recent months, there was a definite decline in our district as far as struggle for Negro rights is concerned.

Third, white chauvinism. First of all, before I deal with the present question of white chauvinism, I want to say that the little progress made is a result primarily of our merciless strug-

gles against white chauvinism. We simply decided to burn out white chauvinism from the ranks of the Party. In carrying on the struggle we entered into the struggle for Negro rights. That is why we made progress. But we did not continue this. And white chauvinism appears now in all kinds of forms, concealed forms, much harder to put your finger on.

It is necessary to sharpen the struggle for Negro rights. There is no other way to expose white chauvinism. It cannot be done by just generally speaking about it. It is necessary to mobilize the Negro and white workers for the struggle for Negro rights and there is no other way out. We must understand one thing, which in our District we have begun to understand. And that is that the average Negro worker is accustomed to being treated by the white bourgeoisie in the way he is. He hates this. But he feels that he cannot expect anything else from white bosses. But he expects us, white revolutionists, Communists, to be faithful to every word we have spoken to the Negro workers—and rightfully so.

And, comrades, we have made many mistakes, serious mistakes. We organized a huge mass meeting in the Coliseum and we actually had, for Chicago, a good meeting of about 9,000 workers, but only about one thousand were Negro workers. We began to investigate why this was so—why only one thousand Negro workers came to this meeting. We began to get at the bottom of it and find out. It was a very "little thing" that happened. We printed a leaflet, there was a picture of Mrs. Mooney but no picture of Mrs. Wright on the leaflet. A very "little thing." No one paid any attention to it. Everyone overlooked this—that there was a picture of Mrs. Mooney but no picture of one of the Scottsboro mothers. This was a "little" but a *very important thing*. I can cite many other things—I can give you another instance. A Negro comrade, a non-Party woman, was drawn into the work on the May Day Committee. She was put on some sub-committee. She came to the Chicago office of the I. W. O. where the meeting was to be held because the comrade who heads the committee is the Secretary of the I.W.O. She came there and asked if a meeting was to be held that night and the comrade in the office said, no. She said, "I am sure that there is to be a meeting." The comrade in charge insisted that there was no meeting. She said, "I don't think you want to have me in the office and not that there is to be no meeting here." We white revolutionists must be sensitive to this question. I know once in a discussion in Chicago Comrade Hathaway raised a similar point in a very sharp form. Some comrades thought Comrade Hathaway raised something he should not have raised with such sharpness. But today in our every-day work among the Negro masses the correctness of this is shown. That is something of which we are not

careful enough in our every-day work. Besides, of course, the major problem at the present time there is no struggle for Negro rights with the exception of Scottsboro. So much as far as Chicago is concerned. But step outside of Chicago. Step into the Calumet section. In the recruiting drive they recruited a tremendous number of Negroes—three! In South Chicago where we have the best movement among the steel workers, the leader of that movement is a Negro worker—one of the best Negro workers we have in that Section. In Milwaukee in the election campaign, in one ward the Negro comrade received less votes than a white comrade running for Mayor and in the whole campaign, we recruited seven Negro workers in the city of Milwaukee. In St. Louis where the Negro problems is a much more burning issue than in Chicago, where the Negroes are much more oppressed and the misery and starvation of the Negro masses is much more acute than in the city of Chicago, we have hardly anything as far as the Negro masses are concerned. We are isolated from them. I can go on to other similar instances in less important places. As yet, comrades, we do not treat the Negro question as it should be treated and we treat it too much in a general way without examining every phase of our activity and understanding how to go about it.

—B. K. GEBERT.

NOTE: As additional important reading material the two articles by Harry Haywood in the May 28 and 29 issues of the Daily Worker and the most basic document of the Communist International which appeared in the February, 1931 issue of The Communist are suggested.

Preparation for Strikes — Methods of Concentration

WE believed that the fact that we already did lead the strike of the miners, lead some unemployed struggles, that this was already the beginning of the turn. We were modest, it seems, in a quantitative sense. But it is not a question now of arithmetic. It is a question of whether the quality of our work is already such that we have expected, whether we already have something permanent, whether we have a change, in the sense that we are not isolated from basic sections of the working class. Not until we discontinue working along the old lines, running from one struggle to another, not rooting ourselves in the factories, not becoming part of the masses, not learning how to change the moods of the masses to express it and to lead it, and to establish personal contact with the masses in the factories—

not until then can we speak about a change. Not until then can we speak about the turn, and it is in this sense that we must approach the work of our Plenum.

If we have not learned this from Kentucky, from the miners, from the textile strikes, then something is very bad indeed. In my opinion we have to learn that, and I can say that there may be situations where it is better that we do not call the strike that that we do.

The lesson for us is what? The lesson to us is to prepare for strikes all the time. The resolution of this Plenum on strikes points out that this lack of preparation was one of the main causes for the weaknesses which were later apparent in the failure of the Pennsylvania strike and which contributed to the defeat of the strike after twelve weeks.

Therefore—preparations all the time. And preparations cannot be divorced from the work in the mines, from the work in the factories, without which there can be no preparations; and without fighting for demands, raising demands, testing them out, raising the fighting spirit of the workers, we will not develop real mass struggles.

Therefore, we must speak about the fact that our main task is to organize the resistance of the workers to the offensive both with regard to the unemployed and employed workers. And since we say that the basic task is to build the mass trade unions, the revolutionary unions, we must correspondingly organize our forces and our work.

And in connection with this the whole question of concentration comes up. We say that we concentrate to build the four unions: mining, textile, marine and steel. We say that we concentrate our work in the four main districts of the country—Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Pittsburgh.

And how does it work out in practice? In practice it does not work out; not because it is impossible, but because we do not put enough effort into it. We made a mistake in the question of concentration. You tell Chicago: concentrate. Well, Chicago is a very big place. Or Detroit—Detroit is also a big place, though not as big as Chicago. Or Pittsburgh. We have not concentrated enough on the necessary kind of concentration. We must say, when we say *steel*, not only the district; we must say Youngstown, McKeesport, Monessen, Gary, Baltimore. We must give the name and address so there can be no mistake about it. When we say *textile* and we mention only the four districts, then it is impossible, because those four districts have no textile. Then we must say Lawrence, Kensington, New Bedford, Paterson. When we say *marine*, we cannot just say Pittsburgh. We must say New Orleans, San Francisco, New York. We must give the name and address where we have marine.

In other words, we must become more specific in selecting certain places. And then again to say *Youngstown* is not enough. *Youngstown* has many plants. You must say — *Youngstown Sheet & Tube*, or whatever plant it is. You must say — *Schenectady—Westinghouse*. You must give the name and address.

Only in this way can we now begin to talk about organizational guarantees, that we are going to select certain factories, certain industries—basic industries—certain chief districts where we are going to try to carry through the line of the resolution and solve the question of our isolation from the masses of the American workers.

What else must we do on concentration? We cannot say: *concentrate*—and then just stop. What is the matter with our concentration now? We think of it only in terms of geography. That is not enough. Concentration means what? The whole Party must have a concentration program:

First, as to what are its chief tasks, the chief task of the Party.

Second, what are the main slogans to put before the masses now.

Third, what industries, what sections, what factories.

Fourth, what forces.

Fifth, what finances.

Next, the press, the mass organizations.

We have a worse situation in connection with our work in the factories in connection with our concentration. Comrade Browder is absolutely correct that we have not enough contact. Even the comrades who are engaged, I for example, in direct work, I have not enough contact with factories to really know what are the ways in which you can organize workers now in the factories. And it is very difficult to come to comrades and give them advice when you have to give it to them, on the basis, as Comrade Browder says, from the book. The book helps but the book has no direct living contact with the masses. And that is correct. If we ourselves do not go down below and learn how to organize workers, and we just try to give them advice, well, we see the results; they are very bad results. But there are certain things we do know already about work in the factories. What do we know? We know, for example, that in the factories at the present time you cannot merely go ahead and call meetings and expect that the workers will be organized. Comrade Baker says that there is now already a tendency in Detroit that since we get mass-meeting response therefore we have to abandon the slower method of working from day to day with worker after worker, and department after department. Yet that is the surest way in which we can organize the beginnings of real mass organization inside the factories. On the

question of penetrating the factories. I agree with Comrade Browder that for us we still have the main task of penetrating the factories. But I also wish to state that if in every factory, in which we have contacts, that we had for the last ten years, if we had known how to work, well it would be a different story nowadays. And even yet, we have contact with factories employing—I say factories now employing more than a million workers. What kind of contacts—that is another question. Some of them are poor and weak contacts. We have contacts in such factories as Ford in Detroit, in General Electric in Schenectady, in Westinghouse in Chicago; we have contacts in the International Harvester; we have contacts where there are employed hundreds of thousands of workers. I say, yes, if we want to concentrate, let us try to solve the problem of how to make these groups and Party nuclei work, and if we learn how to make two, three or four work in typical places, we will be able to make the others work and we will be able also to have more success in penetrating the factories. If we can build up for example in the General Electric in Schenectady a real movement, this will have repercussions in similar plants all over the country. Therefore, we must concentrate the work, learn how to carry on the work.

—JACK STACHEL.

NOTE: The June issue of The Communist carries an article by Comrade Stachel analyzing the Kentucky strike and the New York dress strike in the light of the E.C.C.I. Resolution on Strike Struggles in the U. S. A.

Our Work in the Reformist Unions

OUR work in the reformist unions was underestimated in our Party. By underestimation I do not mean in our resolutions, or in the leadership of the Party, but it is underestimated among the membership of our Party. There is a general resistance among the Party comrades who belong to the American Federation of Labor unions or other reformist unions to take part in the life of that organization in the every-day struggles of that union, and in this underestimation we overlook the fact that at present in the United States, the only so-called labor organization that amounts to something before so-called public opinion is the American Federation of Labor with a membership of three million workers. There was a theory in our Party for years that those workers who belong to the A. F. of L. are a bunch of labor aristocrats and fakery and we have nothing to do with them, and this idea is very deeply rooted among the Party members and sympathizers.

I can bring forward an example. When talking at an open air meeting and speaking in the name of the rank and file of

the A. F. of L. union, the comrades and sympathizers started to boo because I said I was a member of the A. F. of L.

On the question of our fight for unemployment insurance. For years we tried to get into the A. F. of L. with the various campaigns of the Party and we were unable to get into them because the doors were closed before us and they did not open to any of our campaigns whether it was the election campaign or any other campaign.

Comrade Hathaway spoke on the coming election campaign and the main issue of this campaign is unemployment insurance, and I say we have made a very good start on the question of unemployment insurance, as you will see further if I give my report of what happened during the two or three months since we started this movement in the A. F. of L. I must say we started the movement very late, and also that the reaction of the various districts to the campaign was very slow, and I still dare to say that the lower ranks of the Party, the units and sections, in New York City and in other districts, do not fully realize the importance of our campaign for unemployment insurance.

The A. F. of L. convention which was held in October of last year went on record against unemployment insurance. What should have been our reaction in the A. F. of L.? To start a campaign immediately against the reactionary leadership in the A. F. of L.? In some of the local unions in various cities independent resolutions were introduced to the locals condemning the action of the A. F. of L., but no organized form until January 27, when we organized the first conference in New York.

—WEINSTOCK.

NOTE: The June issue of The Communist carries a highly important article by Comrade Foster on Some Elementary Phases of the Work in the Reformist Trade Unions, and also an article by Comrade Kuusinen on The Struggle for the Majority of the Working Class and Our Mass Work. These should be read by every comrade in connection with work in the reformist unions.

In the U. S. A., the chief direction of our blow is for the break-up of the positions of American capitalism by means of mobilizing the masses for struggle for the realization of social insurance at the expense of the capitalists and the bourgeois state. Manuilsky, *The Communist Parties and the Crisis of Capitalism*. Workers Library Publishers. 25 cents.

Struggle Against Provocateurs and Spies

THE Central Control Commission fully accepts and endorses the views and directives on the struggle against provocateurs which were published in the February 1st issue of the *Communist International Magazine*.

Although the Party has already given some attention to this problem in the way of uncovering and publicly exposing a number of individual spies and provocateurs, this has been done mostly upon an accidental basis, and hardly anything at all has been done toward systematic investigations and toward involving the masses of the workers and of Party membership in this struggle.

Underestimation of these tasks and serious infractions against the rules of Party secrecy (in the way of careless talkativeness, for example) are quite widespread in our Party.

This must be remedied by all means.

More precautions must be taken in accepting new members, especially those who are recruited through open meetings; special precautions must be observed in all shop nuclei; all cases of simultaneous arrests of a number of leading comrades, or of discharge of members of a shop nucleus must be thoroughly investigated; we must strive not only to expose individual provocateurs, but also to fight against the whole system of provocation and spying, which means that we must involve in this fight all Party members and revolutionary workers by explaining to them the dangers from provocateurs and by increasing their vigilance and caution in this respect.

At the same time, of course, we must fight against all tendencies toward "spy hysteria" and toward lessening of mass activities through fear of spies. Real mass activities and struggles are the best means of combatting and exposing all agents of the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the working class.

As to breaches of fundamental rules of secrecy in revolutionary work, they should be dealt with severely. As the article in the *Communist International* puts it—"an incorrigible chatterbox has no place in a revolutionary Party."

—From the Report of Central Control Commission to C. C. Plenum.

NOTE: *The above-mentioned article The Struggle Against the Provocateur will be reprinted in the July, 1931 issue of The Communist. In this connection also the pamphlet Spying on the Workers is recommended.*

Shop Work and Fight Against Suppression

WHAT are the lessons of the experiences of our Party in connection with the attack of the bourgeoisie made upon it, the attempt to crush and break the Party organization and the declaration that it is illegal? The first lesson, in my opinion, is that in our Party there was a deep-seated "legalism." Since 1929 our Party had continuously spoken about the necessity of preparations for illegality. Our Party had also made some formal preparations before the raids for illegality. But our Party did not prepare either the membership of our Party or the Canadian working class. Our Party did not constantly keep the working class vigilant against any attempt of the bourgeoisie to suppress and break up our Party and deprive the Party of its most important leading cadres.

There is no doubt in my mind but what legalism (other expressions of which I want to go into now) is rooted in the well-known right-wing tendencies—underestimation of the sharpening of the class struggle, underestimation of the war danger; rooted in the fact that our Party as a revolutionary Party has not learned, even though it has engaged in very bitter struggles, that it cannot go into those struggles, cannot lead those struggles, cannot develop as a Bolshevik Party unless it is prepared to meet the very sharpest attacks of the bourgeoisie in this period.

This "legalism" found very wide expression in our Party and found expression in quite unexpected places. It found expression in currents and tendencies in dealing with the basic fundamental principles and policy of our Party which were inevitably raised by the fact that the leadership of our Party was charged under Section 98 of the Criminal Code which declares all organizations unlawful which advocate force and violence in the achievement of any governmental change.

The second most important lesson from these events is the fact that the task, the main task, the main solution for the situation in which the Party found itself after the attack, was not something new but something very old. It was the question of shop work. When our Party leadership was in prison, when our Party meetings were completely prohibited, when all the old forms by which we thought we had contact with the masses, through propaganda meetings, were cut off, our Party in some places, particularly in Ontario, found itself groping for contacts with the masses. We found that never before had the Party fully realized the significance of the old advice of the Comintern that it must root itself in the large factories; that the Party as a whole had never grasped the life and death significance of roots in the shops. And there-

fore the task which had to be placed most sharply, the lesson which had to be placed most sharply, was not some new lesson, but was a very old lesson that has been talked about in our Party now for eight or ten years—and that was the question of shop work, of penetration into the big factories.

The question of the fight against legalism, the question of the preparations for illegality assumes a tremendous significance today, and the question of our Party learning how to work under conditions of illegality assumes a tremendous significance. The experiences of the Canadian Party must serve as a tremendous warning of the danger of underestimation of this question and the danger of a mere formal or technical approach to the question of the preparation for illegality.

—From the Report of the Fraternal Delegate from the C. P. of Canada to the C. C. Plenum.

NOTE: The full report of the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Party is printed in the May issue of The Communist.

To the Study of Party and C. I. Resolutions

IN ORDER to popularize the resolutions of the 14th Plenum, the main resolution and the resolution of the C. I. on lessons of strike struggles in the U.S.A., the resolutions have been published in pamphlet form. They have been published in pamphlet form so that they may be available for continuous and serious study for the Party membership.

Our past experience with publishing various important Comintern and Party resolutions have not brought the expected results. This is an indication of the fact that the Party is not being mobilized for the study of the various important resolutions. This also in a way is one of the reasons why many of our resolutions remain on paper.

We will give a few figures on the circulation of the resolutions which appeared in pamphlet form:

On the Road to Bolshevization—10,000 copies printed; only 5,455 sold. The two letters of the Communist International and the Party contained in this pamphlet are indeed of decisive historical importance, yet such a small number were sold.

Thesis and Resolutions for the 7th Convention—only 3,645 sold.

These figures are given as a lesson in connection with the need of having a full mobilization of the Party in this study of the 14th Plenum resolutions which will appear in pamphlet form.

In connection with the very low sale of important resolutions,

it is also necessary to mention the circulation of the Sixth World Congress thesis on the struggle against imperialist war, which was reprinted in pamphlet form. We printed five thousand and only 1,047 were sold. This very low sale of this Sixth World Congress thesis throws light upon the poor ideological mobilization of the Party for anti-war activities.

The speeches of Comrade Stalin on the American Party, which are of the greatest historical significance. This pamphlet had a sale of only 3,120 copies.

The large number of new Party members, the need of raising the political level of the Party membership makes it absolutely necessary that the Party resolutions, that important articles and speeches which appear in pamphlet form receive the widest circulation.

NOTE: The full contents of the Plenum pamphlet Toward Revolutionary Mass Work is shown on page 56 of this issue of the Party Organizer.

The Plenum Discussion in the Daily Worker

THE *Daily Worker* is carrying a special column to discuss and popularize the Plenum resolutions. In the past, such discussion in the *Daily Worker* were carried on mainly by a few comrades from the top and most of the articles were written in the center. The result was that the very purpose of the column, to get the experiences of the comrades who are active in the lower organizations and who work among the masses, was not carried out. We must this time make a fundamental change in this respect. We therefore urge the comrades to send in every bit of experience in the form of brief articles for the Plenum column.

At various functionaries conferences and other meetings very valuable experiences are being exchanged, but these experiences remain only the property of those who attend the conferences. The Party as a whole does not benefit from them. These experiences therefore should be written up for the *Daily Worker*.

The entire discussion in the *Daily Worker* Plenum column should be carried on from the viewpoint that "the work of the lower Party organizations must be basically changed. Nineteenth of all the work of the lower organizations must be concentrated *directly* on the work among the masses and not as at present in countless inner meetings. The center of gravity must be shifted to the development of the lower organizations, to the sections and units."

The Central Committee Plenum Turns Its Attention to Mass Distribution of Literature

GETTING our literature into the hands of the masses of workers means, in short, mass education and mass agitation.

Therefore the fact that the Plenum of the Party had a special conference on how to bring about the mass distribution of our literature, shows that as far as the turn of the Party towards the masses with regard to literature is concerned, the Plenum took this very seriously and discussed it in a very concrete manner. If the steps discussed at the Plenum are put into effect, then the Plenum resolution will find life as far as the field of literature distribution is concerned.

The problems which were discussed were based on a systematic effort to open up the channels through which our literature can reach the workers *in masses*, overcoming the sectarianism now hampering our literature distribution. Organizational steps are being taken to achieve this mass distribution—to make literature an integral part of every sphere of Party activity, to make our literature not only an agitator, but a mobilizer and an organizer, to make every Party member an active distributor of our literature.

The following concrete problems were discussed:

1. The organization of literature distribution apparatus in the center and its relation with the districts.
2. The District apparatus.
3. The caliber of the District Literature Director.
4. Financial responsibility and methods of achieving credit relations.
5. Direct connections between center and sections.
6. Types of literature and channels for getting these types to the various sections of the working class.

Suggestions were made, opinions expressed, and counter-proposals put forth on all these questions by the nine Dis-Organizers, the two Org. Secretaries, the two Agitprop Directors, the twelve comrades working directly with the Central Committee, the three representatives from the Young Communist League, the seven comrades representing the revolutionary unions, the representatives from the International Labor Defense and the Labor Sports Union, the three comrades from the press, and the comrade from the Ford plant who were present at this conference.

Great stress was laid on getting our literature into the shops, and the contribution made to the conference, particularly by the worker from the Ford Plant, on his own experiences in making successful widespread sales of literature within that important plant, was extremely valuable.

On the basis of these opinions and suggestions, we are now

in a position to go about in earnest, setting up a stable efficient literature distribution apparatus in the districts, sections and units.

The Points Discussed

It was unanimously agreed that literature distribution must become an integral part of all Party activities, and that the Literature Director of the Districts must become an integral part of the Party apparatus. Therefore it was generally accepted that the Literature Director must become a member of the Org. Department, or, where none exists, must work directly under the direction and control of the District Buro. When this is done, we have a guarantee that literature becomes part of every mass activity, becomes part and parcel of every Party campaign. This will, however, be flexibly applied in accordance with the conditions existing in the respective districts. But we must hold to the basic principle that one comrade must be made responsible for this work and that this Literature Director must become part and parcel of the District apparatus with the duty of building up an extensive and efficient distribution apparatus in the units and sections which will reach out into the shops and into the masses of workers.

This requires that a comrade of political and organizational ability must be found who can devote a good part of his time to set this apparatus in motion—a comrade who can also contribute to the general Party work of the District as a full-fledged member of the District Org. Department.

Then what is the function of the Agitprop in the Districts with regard to literature? It is the responsibility of popularizing literature, of helping to determine which literature to weave into a certain campaign or certain demonstration or struggle.

On the question of finances, none had any disagreement that literature funds must absolutely be separate from all other Party funds, and the profits from the sale of literature must be used for the further promotion of literature. As soon as the finances of literature are stabilized, literature distribution itself will extend tremendously and after the machinery runs smoothly, and has a sufficient supply for constant use, then, and then only, shall the profits from literature be used to help support the campaigns of the Party and mass organizations. Comrades recalled how the sales from literature had actually supported apparatus of various kinds in the Party and trade unions, and this can be easily attained again. Profits from literature in the German Party, for instance, constitute a major source of financial income for activity.

The question of credits is tied up closely with stability and financial responsibility. At present the policy of cash in advance was not challenged by anyone present. However, it was

acknowledged that if financial responsibility and stable apparatus could be coupled with short-term credit, the sales of literature could be made more flexible and would therefore greatly increase. It was therefore accepted in principle that the present system would continue for three months. At the end of this period, these districts which have established a stable apparatus, giving regular periodic reports on finances and literature sold, thus convincing the center that the question of literature is handled in an absolutely responsible manner, would receive consideration on the question of short-term credits.

The principle of direct connection with the outlying sections was accepted, for this saves energy and cost of rewrapping and remailing in the district office for the sections. However, a system must be established whereby each District Literature Director will know what his sections are ordering in order to guide this work and keep the necessary district records. Also the district will receive a certain percentage of direct section sales to help support the district literature apparatus.

Although stress was laid particularly on the cheap agitational pamphlets for great mass distribution, it was also pointed out how our propaganda literature could be made to reach the more politically advanced workers, particularly our own Party members. Classes, study groups, discussions, etc., can all popularize and sell our propaganda pamphlets. Books must also reach the workers in this manner. Our periodicals—*The Communist*, *The Inprecorr*, and *The Communist International*—must get real serious attention. The periodicals of our mass organizations will, for the present at least, still be handled only through their own apparatus.

The comrades who were present at the conference have now a very specific duty to perform. Not only must they see to it that the importance of literature distribution becomes better understood in their districts and organizations, but particularly in connection with the election campaign they must explain how we expect to bring about the turn of the Party toward mass distribution of literature as demanded by the Plenum resolution. The coming election campaign can become the vehicle for bringing about this turn with regard to literature.

One of the first concrete steps that has been taken is the introduction of a special literature section in the *Party Organizer*, the first of which appears in this issue. This section will be devoted to methods of mass distribution of literature in line with the discussion on this subject at the Plenum Conference. We urge all comrades to write in their experiences to the Secretariat in successful methods of reaching the masses, so that this section can become a live record of actual experiences, from which all active comrades can learn.

—GERTRUDE HAESSLER.

The Training of New Cadres and the Development of Collective Work

IT IS my conviction that the improvement in the collective work in the Party is not only a matter of methods. Much of friction that develops and exists within the leading bodies of the Party, in the districts and in the lower organizations, develops because of a lack of connection with the lower bodies and with the workers in the shops. Out of this lack of connection grows the necessity of abstract formulation of the problems because concrete forms of the problems do not become known to the Party because of the lack of connection. We therefore must approach it from the standpoint of establishing close connections between the leading sections and cadres and rank and file of the Party between the Party members and the workers.

Now on the question of cadres. This question of cadres, we must solve in connection with the collectivization of the work of the leadership and in connection with the strengthening of mass work in the Party. The problem is quite an old one. It has been discussed for months, and for that matter, for years, and yet practically nothing has been done to solve the problem. We must in this plenum find methods to force the solution of the problem and throw the question for discussion into the units, by re-electing all leading bodies of the Party, from the section committees down to the units. And the new forces from among the factory workers and trade union organizations thus drawn into the leading committees, into the units, section committees, etc., must be schooled not only in full time courses, not only in schools, etc., but primarily in the day to day work, mass work and in struggles against opportunism growing out of mass work. This is the best school for the training of new cadres.

It is clear that the collectivization of the leadership of the Party sections, of the units, as well as the development of cadres, can only be accomplished by the carrying through of a positive self-criticism. It is necessary that we force the leadership of the Party, sections, districts, etc., to take the responsibility before the membership itself for its mass work. We must force them to make periodic reports about mass work before the membership and have discussions there, by carrying through the principle of democratic centralism and discontinuing the bureaucratic separation of leadership, of the leading bodies, of the Party from the rank and file. It is clear that it is this bureaucratic form of relationship that leads to or rather that prevents the development of cadres, that prevents the development of collective work. We must bring this matter up in intensive discussion right following the Plenum.—C. SMITH.

NOTE: On the above question the comrades are also referred to the article by Comrade Smith, The Problem of Cadres in the Party, published in the February, 1932 issue of The Communist.

Down with Passivity — into Action in the Anti-War Struggle

THE last Party Plenum emphasized the role of the world proletariat in the struggle against imperialist war, in the struggle against the Japanese imperialism, against the United States imperialism which, while feverishly preparing for war against its imperialist competitors, is above all, preparing itself for the attack against the Soviet Union.

While steps were taken to show to the masses that the world proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party can become a decisive factor for the postponement of the imperialist attack against the Soviet Union, while we show to the masses that the anti-war struggle means the strengthening of the position of the Soviet Union and of the world proletariat, and the weakening of the position of the imperialists, we are still in an agitational stage of the struggle.

Lack of Factory Work

From the District reports we know that in the last months hundreds and hundreds of anti-war protest meetings were held, indoor and outdoor, involving hundreds of thousands of workers. However, the meetings and demonstrations in front of shops can be counted on our fingers. *Till now, not a single demonstration took place in front of ammunition plants, in front of docks, at the departure of ships for the Far East, loaded with ammunition, not one single concrete move was made to hinder the transport of arms to the Far East.* And the war is going on already for months.

The anti-war campaign practically was not brought among the workers of the factories. No anti-war committees were yet established for the mobilization of the masses inside the plants, for leading them in the anti-war struggle. While workers correspondents from the ammunition plants through the Party press are notifying the Party and the American working class about the speedy work in the ammunition plants, about the transformation of some of the industries to war industries, about shipments of ammunition to the Far East—which shows the alertness of the most advanced workers inside the ammunition plants, among the longshoremen—we are still unable to give these workers direct guidance and organizational forms to the fighting spirit of the masses.

The slogan "Stop the Shipment of Munitions to the Far East" remains simply an agitational slogan along with the slogans for the defense of the Soviet Union, for the defense of Soviet China, etc. *We cannot be satisfied only with repeating correct slogans which will remain expressions of protest when steps*

are not taken for developing a real struggle in line with the slogans.

Shouting Slogans Not Enough

We cannot wait until war on the Soviet Union is actually carried on in order to mobilize the workers for the struggle. China already was attacked, Manchuria was seized, battles are taking place, the Chinese masses are defending their soil with their last breath—and we are simply shouting slogans for the defense of the Chinese masses. But concretely, did we succeed in shaking the world proletariat, in organizing a real struggle against the Japanese invaders, against the imperialists at home? Did we hinder in the United States the transport of even one shipment of ammunition? Should we now be content to merely continue shouting slogans and organizing demonstrations? NO! This alone is not enough. Shouting slogans would mean opportunist passivity.

In the development of the anti-war campaign we must take rapid strides forward. We must develop our agitational campaign to a higher stage, at the same time we must give organizational form to our anti-war struggle. This struggle must already take concrete form. We must lead the proletariat into action for hampering the production of ammunition, for hindering the shipment of arms and ammunition to the Far East. Not only the Party, but the Marine Workers Industrial Union, the Metal Workers Industrial League, the Railroad Workers Industrial League, the left-wing of the parallel organizations in the American Federation of Labor, all mass organizations around the Party, must be in the forefront of the anti-war struggle to mobilize the masses and organize the anti-war struggle on concrete basis which must take the form of protest strikes in the war industries, in the docks, aboard ships.

Detailed Work—Checking up

Their immediate task for all the districts is to immediately locate all ammunition plants in their territory, and select one or two of the major plants for concentration. An investigation must be made in all units, in the revolutionary unions, and mass organizations led by the Party, to find out all the available connection with the workers of the plant which will help us in the concentration, in the widening of our connections. In this manner we shall be able to establish the first groups of anti-war fighters inside and among the workers of a particular factory, the first anti-war committees. The task of the anti-war committees will not only be to know what is going on in the industries, especially in the ammunition plants, in the railroad centers, on the docks, but to discuss with the workers, to help them realize that war is going on, distribute leaflets and anti-

war literature among the workers; to arrange with the revolutionary unions shop gate meetings, anti-war demonstrations in front of the plants, to become the leading body of the anti-war struggle inside the plants.

Special attention must be paid to the chemical war industries, to the ammunition plants, to the reaching of the working women. Demonstrations of unemployed workers shall be arranged in front of the factories (objects of our concentration) to demonstrate the solidarity of the unemployed workers with the struggle of the employed against the bosses' offensive on their standard of living, against the bosses' preparation of a new imperialist war for the attack against the Soviet Union.

One of the aims of the demonstrations, of the anti-war mass meetings, must be also the smashing of the illusions created by the bosses that war will bring back prosperity. *War will give work to few, bullets for millions of workers and farmers, and profits to a handful of capitalists.*

Concentration in Anti-War Struggle

Because we are not working only towards future perspectives, and the war is going on in the Far East, ammunition is produced day and night, arms and ammunition are shipped to the Far East, and immediate concentration in important strategic plants, the establishment of the anti-war committees in the factories, in the trade unions, is of tremendous importance for the widening of the anti-war struggle.

The hindering of the first transport of ammunition, or the hampering of the production of arms and ammunition through protest strikes will give a tremendous example to the whole working class of the United States on how to concretely fight against war. The example of the protest strikes which developed into the great mass strikes in Germany, Austria, England, Italy, in the period of the first intervention war against the Soviet Union showed to us the possibilities of how we can also prevent in the United States the shipment of ammunition, of how we can slow up, stop the wheels of the monstrous machines for the production of war material, of how the American proletariat together with the world proletariat can become a factor for the postponement of war against the Soviet Union.

In Rotterdam the Chinese crew of the Laertes, and in Hamburg the Chinese crew of the Phoenix in the present war, already prevented the transport of ammunition for Japan, giving a tremendous example to the working class of all countries of their class consciousness and on how concretely to fight against war.

All Struggles NOT Anti-War

We cannot be satisfied with the theory that all struggles of the working class that are going on are already a fight against

war. It is not only the economic struggles that we have to develop at this moment against the capitalist offensive on the standard of living of the American working class, and connect them with the anti-war struggle, but at the same time develop the anti-war struggle itself on a concrete basis. *Now is the time that we must fight against all forms of pacifism and passivity, spur the initiative of the masses, in this struggle, the initiative of each individual, each Communist sympathizer, workers who are conscious of the necessity of fighting against war in the shops, in the ammunition plants, in the docks, aboard the ships.*

Combatting Capitalist Cunning

The American bourgeoisie is cunning. While part of it is talking about boycott against Japan, it is doing business with Japan. It is helping Japan directly, not only with the shipping of arms and ammunition, but also through continuous shipments of raw materials—nitrates, cotton, etc. At the same time the United States is oiling its own war machines.

Our task must be clear. The anti-war struggle must be intensified, must be brought among the workers of the industries. Our task is to mobilize millions of workers to organize the anti-war struggle on such a basis that the proletariat will become the force which will break the grip of the imperialist bandits. This will be a concrete struggle against the American and Japanese imperialism, in defense of the Chinese people, in defense of the workers' fatherland.

—F. BROWN.

NOTE: The July issue of The Communist will be a special anti-war issue for August First. In connection with the struggle against imperialist war the pamphlets dealing with the Leninist teachings on war advertised on the back cover of this issue of the Party Organizer should be studied by every Party member.

Systematic Every-Day Work Brings Results in Shop Work

THE shop group of thirteen members of the Metal Workers Industrial League in one shop is the result of three months' hard work.

This group was built through systematic every-day work, by going from one worker to another to get them to meetings. After three workers were gotten together we talked about the shop, the piece-work system, of what kind of work is done in

different departments, etc. And in this way we got everyone talking about the shop and the conditions. Before adjourning we set another meeting and everyone was given a task to bring another worker with them.

At the next meeting, knowing already something about the conditions, we put forth the policy of the M. W. I. L. and several demands for the workers, that we were to bring to them through leaflets. Before ending this meeting we told the workers in a simple way why they should belong to the shop group of the M. W. I. L. and every one signed up. Their next task was to bring more workers and to get more concrete news about other departments so that we could issue a paper.

After issuing the first paper, four more workers were signed up, because the paper was discussed in the shop and our members were there to bring them to our meeting. We had many difficulties to overcome when some of the leading members got pessimistic because of the slow process, due to the stagger system, which brings the workers together only three days a month, etc.

The members inside the shop are responsible for getting this group together man by man. And now after getting four of the leading members on the executive committee of this group we were able to make friends with them and approach them for the Party. Two of the key men joined the Party and the other two promised to join. Thus we have laid a basis for a shop nucleus.

In another shop, the J-H Co., we have a shop nucleus for three years and where we still had five members up till about three months ago, we were able to get four more new members through a "shake-up," yet this unit has gone back into a "coma," because the comrades *isolated themselves from the workers by not building trade union groups.*

In another shop where we had a group of nine members of the M. W. I. L. and out of whom one was a Party member, we were able to build a nucleus of seven inside of two and a half months. But, now what happened to the M. W. I. L. group? At the last meeting five were present and the minds of the leading comrades were full of nucleus "buro" "agitprop," another meeting, etc., etc., which they expressed in the presence of three non-Party members, and forgot all about the metal group.

The section representative was present at this nucleus meeting and took up with the nucleus only the inner Party activity without pointing out to the comrades that their main activity *should be in the shop group.*

—B. B.

To the Study of the Line

Contents of the Plenum Pamphlet

"TOWARD REVOLUTIONARY MASS WORK"

Tasks of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

*Resolution Unanimously Adopted by the 14th
Central Committee Plenum*

Lessons of the Strike Struggles in the U. S. A.

*Resolution of the E. C. C. I. Unanimously Adopted
by the 14th Central Committee Plenum*

Resolution on the Carrying out of the Main Resolution of the 14th Plenum

Directives on the Main Points for Work- ing out a Resolution on the New York District

Review of the General Line and Activ- ities in Unemployment Work

*Resolution of the Central Committee Adopted in
October, 1931*

The Increasing Danger of War Against the U. S. R. and the Tasks of the Communists

Resolution of the 11th Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

of the Fourteenth Plenum!

Contents of the June Issue of **"The Communist"**

THE IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE AND THE FOURTEENTH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MAJORITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OUR MASS WORK

By O. Kuusinen

SOME ELEMENTARY PHASES OF THE WORK IN THE REFORMIST TRADE UNIONS

By William Z. Foster

FASCISM, SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM

By W. Knorin

LESSONS OF TWO RECENT STRIKES

In the Light of the E. C. C. I. Resolution on Lessons of the Strike Struggles in U. S. A.

By Jack Stachel

THE WAR OFFENSIVE — TIGHTENING THE CAPITALIST DICTATORSHIP IN THE U. S.

By Bill Dunne

THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

By Mossaye J. Olgin

MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL PROBLEM
—(Continued)

By Joseph Stalin

LENIN ON LITERATURE



Getting a Contact

THE building of shop organization and shop units of the Party will not be accomplished by any fantastic schemes, by noise-making, or by demonstrative activities. This work demands daily plugging in order to accomplish this end. The getting of a single contact in a large shop must be given the greatest importance. How shall this be done? In our work in the New York District, we have had a good deal of experience, and carried through a good deal of experimentation.

Let us take for example the "X" factory. In this factory are employed Scandinavians, Lithuanians, and other nationalities. Canvass the mass organizations in your territory, and find out if any of the members of these mass organizations are employed in the shop. Through your local organization, visit this worker, speak to him about his daily needs, and his conditions. Find out whether he has any friends in the shop who react in the same way as he does. Utilize any family connections that you may have in order to get contacts in these shops. Take particular notice of what papers these workers read. If they read our Party press, this is an additional means of getting in touch with them. Discuss with them the Party press, and why it is necessary for them to carry out the line that our Party press brings forward.

In holding shop gate meetings, take particular notice of all those workers who are sympathetic to our propaganda, and follow them up after the hours of work, and discuss with them their problems. Many workers refuse to stop in front of the shop to discuss with strangers, because of fear of losing their jobs. In this connection, we must impress upon the workers that our activities are organized in such a manner, as not to endanger them in carrying out their work, but to safeguard their jobs. In some instances, it is best to get in contact with these workers on the basis of forming social organizations or athletic clubs around the shop.

In carrying on this work around a particular shop, we should pick two or three comrades that are especially adapted to this sort of work, and outline their activities for them. The workers in this shop will get to know them, and trust them.

Popular leaflets should be issued. These leaflets shall not be of thesis character, but instead shall deal with one or another

grievance within the shop. They must be short and to the point about questions that the workers feel in their every-day activity in the shop.

These experiences have brought us some very good results in the New York District. As a matter of fact, we can today state that as a result of adopting some of the methods proposed for getting contacts, that we established a number of shop nuclei and shop groups in large plants of basic industry. It is little things such as getting a contact that make it possible for us to carry through the big things.

J. P.

Some Points on "Concentration"

IN THE present recruiting drive of our Party and League shop work has been stressed a great deal. By shop work we mean that those comrades who work in shops or factories must carry on systematic work from the inside for the purpose of building up shop nuclei; also by having our units carry on their propaganda on the outside of this particular shop, through distribution of leaflets and sale of literature, thus linking up these two phases of work for effective recruiting.

When we discuss shop work with the comrades we find one thing prevalent, and that is the following: the majority of the comrades will go out of their way to sell literature, distribute leaflets and speak to the workers in any factory, except in *the one where they are employed*. Some of our comrades work in one place for years—and have not yet succeeded in getting a single contact for our Party or League.

The trouble with these comrades is that they are so intent upon "concentrating" on certain workers in the shop that after months and years they find themselves where they started—with nothing accomplished. It takes these comrades weeks and months to decide which worker they will concentrate upon; how they will concentrate, etc. A good example of how to *really concentrate* in a factory can be seen from the following example which occurred in a shirt factory in Philadelphia:

This factory employs about 150 workers has received a wage cut of almost 50%. The union at that time issued a general leaflet about the rotten conditions in the shirt industry and the wave of wage cuts. This leaflet also reached the workers in this particular factory. As a result of this leaflet one of the workers came up to the union and after talking over the situation in her shop with the organizer, promised to go back to her shop and get more workers to come down. The worker went back to her shop and not knowing anything about "concentration" brought another 7 workers to the union in a period of one

week. At the present time there is a shop committee of about 20 workers after 3 weeks of work by this worker with the help of another class conscious worker in that shop.

In other words this worker did not go back to "concentrate" but to speak to the workers on the question of the 50% wage cut.

I think that the comrades who work in the shops should take a tip from this example and stop "concentrating," but instead, become friendly with the workers, speak to them about the conditions and in such a way acquaint them with our movement which fights against the rotten conditions and wage cuts; give them literature to read; become a leader in reacting against the issues which arise in the shop—and by gaining the confidence of the workers, carry on the recruiting campaign which will bring *results!*

—A. LYNN.

The Building of the Union in Struggle— Our Major Task

THE importance of signing up members in the revolutionary unions, during strike struggle especially, cannot be over-estimated. The bosses of the Bay State Upholstery Co., of Boston, Mass., had always boasted that no organization was powerful enough to organize their factory, the largest of its kind in New England.

On March 4 the bosses tried to put into effect the third wage cut of 10 per cent for the workers. The workers walked out on strike and with the help of members of the Upholsterers' Organizational Committee, drew up 14 demands, including the retraction of the wage cut, recognition of the union, and no discrimination against any worker participating in the walk-out. A broad strike committee with representatives from every department was immediately elected and divided into committees with special functions. One of the committees was assigned the task of enrolling the workers into the T. U. U. L. after they had voted unanimously to join the organization. On the first day forty-three members were signed up through the activity of this committee; on the second day the figure rose to sixty-four members. Every member of the strike committee had joined.

On the fourth day of the strike the bosses had given in to practically every demand of the workers with the exception of the recognition of the union. It was brought out by the workers themselves (for the most part, raw elements) that this could be overcome upon the bosses' willingness to recognize the shop committee which was 100 per cent organized into the union. This the bosses were willing to do. The strike was

settled. The strike committee of 17 workers were elected as the shop committee.

Since the strike ended the shop committee has lined up twenty-three additional workers into the union. The possession of a T. U. U. L. card with the \$1.00 initiation fee paid, plus their victory, has created a real organizational consciousness and tightening up of the union at the same time. A Victory Dance and a City Conference for all furniture workers is already in the process of organization to further popularize the union. Two weeks after the strike the boss discharged 5 workers, two members of the shop committee. The shop committee went into action at once to make a test case of this infraction of the agreement. All of the workers were taken back the next day. All of the workers feel that their union initiation fee was the best \$1.00 they had ever spent. At their first regular membership meeting they voluntarily raised their dues 25 cents per month. The factory is 93 per cent organized at this writing. Lining up of members should receive important organizational consideration during every strike struggle.

After the Start It's Easy

CONCENTRATING on a shop means work — not much — if it is well planned.

Our shop nucleus in a metal plant is the result of the concentration drive which the street unit started four months ago. Our shop unit can look back now to a period of three months of activity, *planned* activity. While the work was insufficient in some respects, many definite results can be recorded:

(1) *Shop Bulletin*: When the shop unit decided to issue a regular monthly bulletin, fears were expressed even in the shop unit that there was no outstanding issue to mobilize the workers around. But the second bulletin already showed a wealth of material and the nucleus had a hard task omitting issues that did not seem promising enough for organizational ends.

Thorough inquiries within the shop after the issuance of each bulletin enabled the nucleus to decide which particular issues were most readily accepted and supported by the workers.

Contents and appearance of the bulletin improve now from month to month.

(2) *Trade Union Work*: While meetings of shop connections were not as successful as they should have been, the bulletin was instrumental in helping the workers to overcome a certain skepticism. Feelers have shown that workers who were isolated two months ago are now decidedly with us.

(3) *Work Among Women*: Since two-thirds of the 1,500 workers are women, due consideration has been given to work among women, with the result that women workers are already taking part in preparations for International Women's Day. This fact properly utilized agitationally amongst the workers will have good results.

We have all reasons to be optimistic.

—SHOP IN INDIANA.

Notes on the Work of Block Committees

WHEN we come so close to the masses of workers that we can hear what an unemployed worker's wife is saying while she cooks the food received from the relief agency and what the worker says while he eats it, we will know on what issues the daily struggles of the unemployed can be organized.

An experience of the Councils in Chicago graphically illustrate this. For some time the relief agencies of Chicago discontinued cash relief. Instead, the unemployed were given "relief baskets." The efforts of the Councils to develop a struggle for cash relief failed to result in mass response.

Then our comrades discovered that there was great dissatisfaction among the unemployed because, *there was insufficient coffee and sugar in these relief baskets.* As a result of taking up this issue, the Councils in Chicago were able to develop a mass movement and struggle which was so bitter and determined, that *the city authorities were forced to grant the demand for cash relief.*

In organization forms, however, Chicago as most cities has not yet put into effect such concreteness. The unemployed movement in this city is still organized on the basis of the Party sections. Because the Party has five sections each designated by an alphabetical letter and within these units that are numbered, the councils were likewise designated as Council "A" etc.

Manifestly, unemployed workers who never heard of the Party could see no reason why they should belong to Council "A" or "B" or to Block Committee "1" or "2" etc. The form of organization suggested here is *Ward Councils*. A worker can understand why if he lives in the 37th Ward, he should belong to the Unemployed Council in that ward. He can understand why he should be an adherent of the block committee named after the street within that ward. Perhaps if the block does not provide sufficient basis for a Committee, we can even organize and designate the Committee as a "Precinct Committee" within the given Ward.

In B—— the Council has adopted the following plan in

acting on cases brought to them by workers in need of relief or threatened with evictions. Instead of immediately sending a committee of the Council to demand relief or replace furniture, the committee immediately is sent to the neighborhood of and together with the worker concerned. The neighbors are informed of the case and asked to come together to discuss *What shall be done about this?* The workers are encouraged to themselves suggest the action to be taken. The representative of the Council injects very subtly certain suggestions. Motions are put to a vote. A committee representing the workers is elected to lead and organize the actions decided on. *This committee becomes the unemployed committee of the given block or neighborhood.* It is then linked up with the nearest Council through elected delegates. Thus the workers are themselves involved in actions and aided in the establishment of their own rank and file united front.

—From a Report of H. BENJAMIN.

How Our Block Committee Works

THE Beck Street Block Committee, although a young organization, has nevertheless showed the effectiveness of a block committee in a workers' neighborhood. It came into existence about two months ago as a result of a struggle against an eviction case that took place in 592 Beck Street. Not only is it fighting for the immediate demands for the unemployed in that particular neighborhood, but it has also succeeded in developing its activities in other phases of the struggle. It is known not only on Beck Street, but on the surrounding blocks as well. Nearly every day workers from the surrounding blocks come before the committee with their grievances and ask the Beck Street Block Committee to lead them in a struggle against evictions, for lower rents, and for immediate relief for the needy cases. Many cases of needy families were taken by the Block Committee to the Home Relief Bureaus and the Bureaus were forced to give these cases some relief.

The Beck Street Block Committee is well known in the Home Relief Bureau and when the officials of the Home Relief Bureau see the committee they know they must give them attention, and accept their demands because they realize the strength of this committee. That is why in the whole neighborhood around Beck Street they respect the leaders of the Block Committee and rally in hundreds whenever a call is made by the Beck Street Block Committee for demonstrations or struggles led by the Unemployed Council. After the first victorious rent strike at 592 Beck Street, which amounted to two and three dollars reductions and also the forcing of the landlord not to

evict any unemployed families, the tenants of 581 and 587 Beck Street, houses owned by the same landlord, followed the same example of house 592 and declared a rent strike. With the help of the house committee of house 592 and the Lower Bronx Unemployed Council, they succeeded in forcing the landlord to accept all their demands, which amounted to: (1) Two and three dollars reduction in rent; (2) No eviction of the unemployed; (3) Recognition of the house committees.

As soon as the Block Committee was formed, it began to realize that it was not enough to just win a rent strike and put the furniture of an evicted family back into the house. They began an educational campaign through leaflets, open air meetings, distribution and sale of literature, and began pointing out to the workers of the neighborhood, the role of the Unemployed Council and the Communist Party in the struggle of the unemployed workers. As a result, four of the best members of the Block Committee have already joined the Communist Party.

The workers of this committee are alert to every issue facing the workers in that neighborhood. About two weeks ago a committee found that in 986 St. John Avenue, an unemployed worker, a father of two children, one nine months, and the other three years old, was sick because of lack of food. The Block Committee immediately mobilized the workers of the neighborhood and went down to the Home Relief Bureau and forced them to call the Lebanon Hospital to take the workers to the hospital. Although the hospital did send an ambulance they demanded that the worker pay fifteen dollars for the ambulance. But since the block committee was on the spot well organized, they went to the Jewish Social Service and forced them to pay for the ambulance. This worker, Mr. Dewah, died of starvation on the second day in the hospital. The Block Committee immediately issued a leaflet to the workers in that neighborhood explaining the reason for this worker's death. They held a demonstration protesting against the murder of this worker by the bosses.

In the demonstrations called by the Unemployed Councils, such as the empty-pot-and-pan demonstration on February 27 in front of Boro Hall, and the Open Air Open Hearing in front of Public School No. 54 on March 4, we found the tenants of the Beck Street neighborhood participating by selling literature, distributing leaflets, etc. Last week a grocery was opened on Beck Street. The owner tried to hire non-union help. As soon as the Block Committee found this out they forced the owner to go down to the Food Workers Industrial Union and get two union men from them.

As a result of this struggle the workers in this neighborhood, through the initiative taken by the Beck Street Block Com-

mittee have already organized a workers' club in their neighborhood, which is called the East Bronx Workers' Club. This club is already functioning as a semi-social and political organization of the workers in that neighborhood and is actively participating in the struggles of the workers in the Bronx.

Although very little work was done as yet in a struggle against the agents of the bosses, the Block-Aiders, nevertheless, when the captain of that block came over to one of the members of the Block Committee and asked him to become a captain for the Block-Aiders, this worker replied that the Block-Aiders will never get into that block as long as he is on the block committee. The Beck Street Block Committee is already making necessary preparations for exposing the Block-Aiders as agents for the bosses.

Nevertheless, there are some serious mistakes which must be pointed out for the benefit of the Block Committee so that they can better carry out their work.

1. The struggle for unemployment insurance has not been correctly linked up in their immediate struggles that they carried on thus far. This narrows down the struggle only to immediate demands and the workers will not see the importance of fighting for the main aim of the unemployed—unemployment insurance.

2. The struggle around the Home Relief Bureaus by the Block Committee was not of a mass character. Although quite a few cases were brought before the Relief Bureau, nevertheless all the needy cases in that neighborhood were not mobilized for a mass struggle around the Relief Bureaus.

3. In the course of their immediate struggles, the Block Committee has not correctly linked up the struggle of the unemployed with the struggle against war. Their leaflets and propaganda in most cases have not mentioned the fact that millions are being spent for war purposes and not one cent for the unemployed.

4. Because of the fact that four of the most active members of the Block Committee have joined the Communist Party, the work, instead of being carried on by the non-Party elements, is being carried out by the members of the Party primarily. The immediate task is to call a meeting of all the workers in the neighborhood and give them a report of the activity already carried out by the Block Committee. New elements should be drawn into the Block Committee. At this meeting the campaign against the Block Aiders should begin. The workers should be enlightened on the nature of the Block Aiders and an immediate campaign should be started, through leaflets, open air meetings, mass meetings, etc.

—JOE BRANDT.



The Shop Papers Closer to Organizational Life

THE mimeographed *Shop Paper Editor* is discontinued. Beginning with this issue of the *Party Organizer* the *Shop Paper Editor* as it originally appeared in the mimeographed form, will be printed in this section of the *Party Organizer*.

The change was made in order to bring the shop papers to the organizational problems of the shop nuclei. There was too much of a separation of responsibility in editing and issuing the shop papers between the District Agit-Prop Department and the District Org. Department.

The same main features that we had in the mimeographed *Shop Paper Editor* will be retained and improved upon in the *Party Organizer*. In addition to the *Shop Paper Editor* section of the *Party Organizer*, we will continue the system of individual reviews of all the shop papers received in the Central office, and we will print only such reviews in the *Party Organizer* as are of general importance to all the shop papers.

We will also from time to time supply the Districts with cartoons for their shop papers as we did in the mimeographed *Shop Paper Editor*.

Comrades should communicate with the *Shop Paper Editor*, care of *Party Organizer*.

Shop Paper Reviews

THE *Stock Yard Worker*, the monthly bulletin issued by the Chicago Stock Yards Unit, in its March issue, does one very good thing—it gives the greatest prominence to the Stock Yard Hunger March, which has been held since then. In doing this it ties up the conditions of the unemployed and employed packing-house workers.

It is our opinion that in an issue which is the last one to come out before the Hunger March to the Stock Yards practically the entire issue should have been devoted to this matter of exposing the conditions of the unemployed stock yards workers, in their homes (which also applies to the employed stock-

yards workers); of exposing some of the fake charity schemes operating in the stock yard section; and the concrete problems of the part time workers in the yards should have been taken up. These are the things that cement the struggles of the employed and the unemployed.

One of the biggest, if not the biggest shortcomings of the *Stock Yard Worker* is that the Packing House Workers Industrial Union, its aims, program, etc., are not brought to the forefront. There is so much space devoted in the March issue to appealing to the workers to join the Communist Party, and so little (practically none) to the Packing House Workers Industrial Union that the only result may be that the workers who read the paper will think that we are telling them that the Communist Party is a trade union organization.

The Negro workers are mentioned, but only in a general way. The special problems and demands for the Negro workers, who are so numerous in the stock yards, must be concretely brought out, by giving specific examples of discrimination in wages and jobs, and explaining to the white and Negro workers how this is a bosses' scheme to split their ranks.

There should be more worker correspondence in the *Stock Yard Worker*, and from different packing houses, not practically just Armour's.

The war situation is handled on the front page, and a good job is done with it, but we think that this can be developed further. The stock yards workers should be told exactly how war will hit the stock yards workers; how packing house workers, in such an important war industry, will be virtually conscripted in war time; how war will not bring them prosperity.

Some news about the Soviet Union, especially that connected with the food and packing industry should be in every issue.

* * *

THE *Decker Worker*, published in a clothing plant in Chicago (which is controlled by the Amalgamated), constantly calls on the workers to form department committees, but does not stress enough the *united front* character of the committees. It should always play up the fact that workers are urged to join the department committees regardless of race, creed, political or union affiliation. There is plenty of space devoted to exposing the Amalgamated misleaders but not enough, in comparison with this, to exposing the conditions in the shop, so that the worker might think that we are concerned with only fighting the officials, and not the bosses (the fight against the Amalgamated officials and the bosses, that is the rotten conditions, should be closely linked up by always pointing out specifically how this and that bad condition right in the shop is due to this or that action or agreement of the Amalgamated officials). The

question of how to fight the Amalgamated officials is not concretely dealt with; the matter of building opposition groups in the Amalgamated is not touched on.

The *Decker Worker* plays up the fight for unemployment insurance and relief, mentioning the part-time workers, and also plays up the fight against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. More news from the shop is needed.

* * *

THE *Gray's Harbor Worker* is issued by the Aberdeen Section of the Communist Party in the state of Washington. It has a fine expose of a charity bunch that feeds the workers on 49 cents a day, an article on the role of the banks, one on "Rugged Individualism"; (each of the latter taking up a full page); a poem called "God in the Sky," etc. — but not one word throughout the paper about the conditions and problems on the job, of the lumber workers. Yet *Gray's Harbor* is one of the main centers of the lumber industry in the country and that is its main industry. This won't do. A little less about God and more about conditions and problems.

Our suggestion is that the *Gray's Harbor Worker* be tied up more closely with the every-day problems of the lumber workers, employed and unemployed, with their every-day life and conditions. And tell the lumber workers in the *Gray's Harbor* section about the National Lumber Workers Industrial Union, what its program is, etc.

* * *

THE General Electric plant in Schenectady, N. Y. has been selected as a plant in which the task of building a model shop committee is to be undertaken. So we will have to watch carefully the shop paper put out by the Communist Party nucleus there. That paper is called *The Live Current*, the April issue of which is at hand.

The *Live Current* does something which it would be well for all shop papers to do. It gives prominent space to the revolutionary union in the industry, which in this case is the Metal Workers Industrial League. The demands of the M.W.I.L. for the workers of the General Electric plant are given, although in our opinion those demands are yet too general when they are not reinforced by immediate day-to-day demands in the shop; the address of the headquarters of the M.W.I.L. is given.

Another valuable thing is a column devoted to the activities of the workers, led by the department committees, in the huge General Electric Works in Henningsdorf, Germany.

An achievement in the work in the General Electric plant was the election by the workers of a worker to go with the May Day delegation to the Soviet Union. The *Live Current* tells all about this, and seizes the opportunity to tell the Gen-

eral Electric workers something (but hardly enough) about the conditions of the Soviet electrical workers as contrasted to the conditions of the General Electric workers.

The *Live Current* explains what the function of the I. L. D. is, in the April issue, which is a good point also. It devotes almost two pages to exposure of the Socialist Party in connection with the up-state Socialist paper, *The Citizen*, and its attacks on the militant workers.

A terrible omission in the April issue is the failure to say a word about May Day, except a tiny ad on the back page about the May Day demonstration.

Outstanding faults of the *Live Current* for April are the lack of worker correspondence from the shop; not enough about unemployment, and, not least of the faults, nothing about the building of department committees. Nothing is said about war, nothing about government unemployment insurance.

Shop Paper Statistics

District	February	March	April
1	1	0	0
2	3	3	4
3	2	1	1
4	1	0	0
5	2	0	0
6	1	3	1
7	1	2	0
8	4	5	1
9	4	5	3
13	3	2	1
17	0	0	0
19	0	2	1
Total	22	23	12

NEW PAPERS

- Ternstedt Workers Bulletin* District No. 7
- Forgings Worker* District No. 8
- Youngstown Worker* District No. 8

The statistics of the past three months show that in the month of April we had a serious drop in the number of shop papers issued. Districts 1, 4, 5 and 7 did not issue any shop papers for the months of April. Districts 4 and 5 did not issue any shop papers for the months of March and April. District 8 had a decline from five shop papers in March to one in the month of April. We would like to hear from the District Committees the reasons for such a sharp drop in the shop papers.

We want to call the attention of Districts 7 and 8 which have published new shop papers, that the main problem confronting them is the continuance of the new shop papers. Irregularity

and laxity in the issuing of shop papers reflects seriously upon the methods of our shop work.

Some Political-Organizational Directives on the Issuance of Shop Papers

1. Every functioning shop nucleus is to issue a shop paper. Shop papers must appear regularly once a month. The organization and agitprop departments should be politically responsible for the regular appearance of shop papers.

2. Shop bulletins may be issued from time to time by street units or sections concentrating on a given shop. They are to be issued in connection with various political campaigns of the Party, at the time of a special campaign within the shop, etc. In contradistinction to shop bulletins, a shop paper must be considered as the regularly appearing organ of the Party *within* a shop, published regularly by a shop nucleus.

3. If in a given shop there is no shop nucleus but a broad functioning grievance committee, a shop bulletin may be issued by one of the above-mentioned economic shop organizations. The Trade Union Unity League union papers and *Labor Unity* are to base themselves more than at the present time on shops.

The Trade Union Unity League should be primarily responsible for the appearance of the above-mentioned shop bulletins.

4. Shop bulletins that have been published regularly by street units or sections have undoubtedly created the basis for the establishment of shop nuclei. Steps therefore should be taken immediately for the establishment of a shop nucleus and the appearance of a shop paper as the organ of the newly-established shop nucleus.

5. The shop nucleus to be drawn in more *actively* into the political-organizational preparation of the shop papers. Each shop paper to have an editor who is a member of the shop nucleus. The buro of the shop nucleus should also act as the editorial board. The shop papers must be discussed collectively by the shop nuclei. More initiative should be given to the shop nuclei in the issuing of the shop papers. At the same time the shop nuclei should receive technical assistance in the publication of their papers.

The Agitprop and Org. Departments are to give greater individual guidance in the political-organizational work of the shop papers. The District Buro must also assume *political* responsibility for the content and regular appearance of the shop papers.

6. The section in the *Party Organizer*, "Shop Paper Editor," must receive more attention in the districts. The method established by the Central Office in reviewing shop papers should be followed up by the Districts.



T *THIS special feature on literature will from now on be a regular feature of the Party Organizer. It will deal not with announcements and reviews of literature, but with methods of achieving mass distribution of literature by the Party and making every member of the Party an active seller of our literature.*

Our chief source of developing new methods of literature sales on a mass scale, will be the concrete experiences of the comrades themselves who are active in the field. Articles by rank and file comrades on experiences they themselves have had, are of far greater value than articles written from the top, as the following articles will show.

This month most of the articles were written by comrades from District 2. We urge all comrades throughout the country to write in their experiences for this new section of the Party Organizer, and really make it a source from which comrades everywhere can get real concrete suggestions for improving their work.

Selling to Shop Workers

A **WELL-PLANNED** and well-executed attempt to sell our literature direct to shop workers was tried out in Section 2, District 2. A special May Day bulletin was issued to the workers in the Premier Shoe Company. In it attractive advertisements were run on three pamphlets, with the announcement that these pamphlets would be on sale on a certain morning at the corner near the shop.

The following is an example of one of the advertisements showing how the comrades linked up conditions in the shop with the pamphlet in question:

We are sure that as soon as this bulletin is distributed the boss will introduce a spy system to find out where we get our information. There is a pamphlet telling about these methods of the bosses:

SPYING ON THE WORKERS

By *Robert W. Dunn* 10 cents

It will be on sale near the factory on Friday morning.

This advertisement was illustrated with a picture of a rat, labelled "boss rat."

The bulletin was distributed Thursday morning. On Friday morning the nearest street unit was selling the three advertised pamphlets as scheduled. The two other pamphlets sold were *History of May Day*, and *The Soviet Union Stands for Peace*.

It is interesting to note that it was *Spying on the Workers* which sold the best. Why? Because the advertisement had linked it up with occurrences inside the shop. The comrades actually did not have enough copies of this pamphlet on hand to supply the demand, and many more could probably have been sold.

This should prove once more that in our approach to the workers in the shops and factories we must concretize our policy to the workers' every-day problems inside.

This was only the first attempt. The comrades are enthusiastically planning weekly sales at the gates from now on, and expect better and better results as the weeks go by and this sale becomes a regular institution.

—C. F.

Then—and Now

The following two items show what the literature situation was in New York City—which is typical of many other places throughout the country—and how it is being whipped into shape by thorough preparation and close attention on the part of the District Party apparatus.—EDITOR.

Literature on April 6th in New York

(Extract from a letter by a comrade selling literature in District 2, received the day after the April 6th anti-war meeting at the Bronx Coliseum.

I JUST came from the Coliseum, where I handled a few books concerning the war danger. I want to illustrate as much as I can how the literature sales are going on.

It is after 7 o'clock. Comrade Davis herself, the District Org. secretary, is waiting for the literature to arrive because the comrade in charge has not shown up. Masses of workers are passing in. This lateness in the arrival of our literature is costing dearly in lost opportunities to sell.

At the entrance are a squad of Red Builders, agents of the F. S. U., holding each about 50 or more copies of *Soviet Russia Today*. Others, agents from the *New Masses*. An army of agents with bundles of *Labor Defender* from various I. L. D. branches come here to get rid of their "burden." A happy lot

of young kids with the *New Pioneer* and stamps are also at the door. Leaflets from various unions, Needle Bazaar "throw-aways" are distributed. This all is happening at the door. The workers are dragged by their clothing, annoyed by most of them, this blocking the passage and the literature table.

At last the books and pamphlets arrived. Comrades from units have been waiting impatiently; they hurry away with so much enthusiasm with their literature secured at the table. They are the only ones who, if encouraged, might do wonderful systematic work. They are not seen at the door but inside. The District must take measures to plan and organize our literature sales better at our big demonstrations.

Literature Distribution on May Day in New York

The Organization Department of the New York District is putting into concrete effect the decision of the Central Committee to put literature sales on a firm organizational basis. This is best shown by the systematic plans made for covering our huge May Day parade and the meeting at night, with literature sales. Up to now comrades selling literature would circulate around the square and then march with the parade, pamphlets in hand, shouting slogans. By the time the worker on the sidewalk would realize what the slogan meant, the comrade with the literature was already out of reach.

Our parade was 30 blocks long, with workers watching along the line of march on two sides. For literature the line of march was divided off into eight sections, each covering four blocks, and each section covered by one of the Party sections in New York. Sixteen comrades for each section—thus furnishing two comrades on each side of the street in every block — thoroughly covered the entire line of march. These comrades had instructions not to leave their posts until the last of the parade had passed. Of course, before the parade started, the comrades sold in the square.

This method of having one comrade pass back and forth with literature within a limited area is much more effective in making sales. The comrade talks with the worker buying the pamphlet, and enables him to get his name and address on a contact card.

The assignment of literature was also done in a systematic way — four or five days prior to the parade the sections were furnished with the concentration pamphlets for May Day. Some sections at first resisted this system, for they wanted the old chaotic system of trying to use this demonstration for getting rid of old out-of-date literature. But when the plan was explained, the comrades became convinced.

The results were very good in spite of the rain. One com-

rade alone sold 196 copies of *The Soviet Union Stands for Peace*. This shows what concentration will do.

At night at the Bronx Coliseum, the same comrades appeared for duty with the unsold literature they had.

In the Coliseum everyone was surprised at the efficient way the literature sales went on. The District Literature Committee had absolutely nothing to do. Every section did good work, except Section One, which fell down completely.

The cooperation of the District Org. Department is the beginning of getting the Party to realize the importance of literature for organizational and educational work, as well as for financial profit. The rank and file of the Party will very quickly realize the necessity of buying literature for themselves, as well as becoming a means of distributing millions of pamphlets — and thus become individual organizers for the Party.

—ROBERT FRANKLIN, Literature Director, Dist. 2.

Agit-Prop Work

Theory becomes the greatest force in the working class movement when it is inseparably linked with revolutionary practice: For it, and it alone, can give the movement confidence, guidance, and understanding of the inner links between events; it alone can enable those engaged in the practical struggle to understand the whence and whither of the working class movement.
(Stalin).

A Letter From a New Member

I AM a Negro worker and it is needless to mention the extra oppression which I have experienced under this capitalist government which developed in me a consciousness that something was wrong. From day to day experiences I also noticed that the laws of this country corresponded to the method by which the productions of labor were unequally distributed. It was very plain to see that those who actually worked for a living had less than those for whom they worked and that race, creed and color was not the cause of it either. I did not know the solution for this but I searched for an organized group that did and found only nationalists, reformists and opportunists whose policies were narrow and sectarian. Finally I became isolated with my "radicalism." Of course I kept fighting the system but we all know we can do nothing without organization.

At the beginning of the second year of the present crisis I became permanently unemployed and of course as soon as I

lost my job I began to starve outright. In order to get relief, workers had to submit to third degree methods by the charity snoopers, swallow a lot of insults and take the blame for the crisis. This was not enough, the bosses presented their "work ticket" plan of forced labor and used their tools—the politicians, city councilmen, etc., to put it over.

At this time I learned about the Unemployed Council. The capitalist press told how the U. C. was fighting the city council, against putting the work ticket plan into effect, also mentioning that a certain "Communist" was leading the assault. From these newspaper articles I concluded that the U. C. and the Communists were fighting for the working class, but beyond this I could form no opinion.

Here I shall point out certain weaknesses of our Party work and methods which have not been entirely overcome today and which I noticed at that time. *The Party was not sufficiently known to the workers through its own mediums, such as distribution of literature, constant recruiting efforts, open forums, concrete speech making and individual efforts of Party members.*

If it had not been for the capitalist press I don't know when I would have heard anything about the Party and if I had not sought out the meeting place, etc., it is hard to tell when anyone would have invited me. The first meeting which I attended at the U. C. I was treated with suspicion. Also I noticed that the actives were workers whom I had seen and talked with every day or so around the city, state employment office. However, I was shortly afterward accepted into the unit and immediately assigned certain tasks. What the Party was or any definite explanation as to the program of how and why certain tasks were to be done was not mentioned to me and if I had not been persistent as well as alert I would have gotten the wrong idea and dropped out.

By constant activity, reading the *Daily Worker*, the *Party Organizer* and some of the various pamphlets I came to a better understanding of the Party and its program.

R. E. J.—Ohio.

In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate Party opposed to other working class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mold the proletarian movement. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. 10 cents.

Political Initiation of New Members

FOR a new member the first few weeks is the most important formative period. The first impressions that the new members get about our Party may be decisive whether he will remain or drop out of the Party. It is, therefore, most essential to help the new members to learn about the role, activities, and structure of our Party.

The participation of the Party in the class struggle, his life conditions as a worker, have brought the new member into the Party. Now that he is in the Party, he must be made conscious of the leading role of the Party, get an elementary political explanation of the class struggle, and get practical concrete guidance how as a member of the Party he is to learn to play an active and leading role amongst the workers. Such an approach will help in retaining them and involve them gradually into the activities of the Party.

Political Role of Unit

The most important point of politically initiating the new members is the unit. It is there where he gets the first impressions of the Party, where he for the first time sees the Party in its daily activities, and where he will be involved in the life and work of the Party. The raising of the political life of the unit, an improved organizational functioning of the unit, is decisive for the retention of new members.

At the same time we must give the new members an elementary political training which would make them feel more at home in the Party, give them a better understanding of the role and activities of the Party. This will make it easier for them and make them more eager to become active in the Party.

Six Weeks' Course for New Members

The following six weeks' training course is proposed: First week, discussion with the new members, "Why they joined the Party and how to improve the recruiting of new members"; second week, the present economic and political situation in the country; third week, the role of the Party in the class struggle; fourth and fifth weeks, the mass campaigns of the Party and mass organizations; sixth week, the organizational structure of the Party.

Methods of Teaching

What should be the method for this course? A most simple presentation of the general basic problem in each course. The lecture and discussion method to be combined. Reading of certain pamphlets, some sections in some pamphlets can be assigned.

Organization of the Course

How should the six weeks' training course be organized? It should not consist of more than 30 members. Every six weeks a new group to be organized. At the same time when the new member attends the course, he should be advised not to attend any other classes. The unit should during this period give the new member only a few tasks. The District Committee should decide on the organizational form—whether it should be organized on a unit, city or section scale. It all depends on the local conditions. Wherever possible one comrade should be assigned to be in charge of the entire course. At the same time, in view of the nature of the topics and the difficulties of obtaining instructors, various comrades may be assigned for the different topics.

New Members' Course and Fundamentals

There is, of course, a difference between the new members' six weeks' training course and the classes in fundamentals.

The classes in fundamentals are for the purpose of giving an elementary propagandistic theoretical training for the Party membership—a training which is to give a broad understanding of the laws of the class struggle, role and strategy of the Party. The six weeks' new members' training course, on the other hand, is only for the purpose of giving a most general understanding of the role and activities of the Party. It is for the purpose of politically initiating the new members, for the purpose of helping the new members to *begin to think and function* politically in the Party.

The six weeks' training course is not a substitute for the classes in fundamentals. As outlined above it is to serve an entirely different purpose.

Course Is Voluntary

This course must be absolutely *voluntary*. Under no circumstances should it be made a condition for joining the Party or becoming active. It should be started at first in a few sections. On the basis of the experiences of some of the sections, then to be gradually extended.

Just as in pointing out the need of involving the new members in activities, we must guard ourselves against the danger of overburdening the new members with too many tasks, so in discussing the need of the political initiation and training of new members we must guard ourselves against scholastic tendencies. With the proper balance on this point the new six weeks' training course can become an important weapon in the training of the new members.

—S. D.

The Training of New Cadres and Our School System for the Summer

THE resolution of the Central Committee Plenum brings out the great need for the training of new cadres as an important means in bringing about the essential change in the methods of mass work of the Party. In order to help in the training of new Party cadres, the Central Committee decided to carry through, during the summer period, an intensive school system for the training of functionaries.

A *Miners School* under the joint auspices of the Workers School and the T.U.U.L. opened on May 9th in Pittsburgh. The school will last for four weeks and will have students from Tennessee, Kentucky, and Anthracite, the Pennsylvania-Ohio coal fields, Illinois, and from the Minnesota District. There will also be steel workers.

The *Central School* for the training of leading district functionaries will begin on or about June 15 and will last six weeks. About 30 students will attend this school. Of the 30 students, at least twelve must be Negro workers.

In addition to the *Central School*, there will be two *regional schools* lasting six weeks, beginning on July 15th:

a) The *Eastern Regional School* will be held in New York. The students for the Eastern Regional School will come from New York, Boston, Connecticut, Philadelphia and the South. Of the thirty students for the Eastern Regional School, at least twelve must be Negroes.

b) The *Midwestern Regional School*, beginning on July 15th, will be held in Cleveland with students from Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Minnesota, Kansas and Buffalo.

In November, after the election campaign, we expect to establish a school on the Coast, in San Francisco, with students from California, Colorado, the Dakotas, Seattle and Washington.

Since the *Central School* which will be established in New York is scheduled to begin on June 1st, we urge the Districts to immediately act upon the communication from the Secretariat and send in their nominations for the school.

In selecting the students for the various schools, we must combat the tendency of only sending such comrades who can be for the moment best spared and not to send those who are the most active and need the training in order to be able to improve and continue their activities.

In line with the Central Committee resolution, the main apparatus of various kinds in the Party and trade unions; and be whether they have *living personal contact with masses of workers*. This must be considered as the *central requirement* in the selection of the students for the various schools.

In order to enable the Districts to meet the financial requirements of the various schools, the Central Committee decided that the main financial responsibility of the Districts for their students to the Central School shall only be the fare and the school fees will be covered by the Central Committee. Insofar as the regional schools are concerned, the Districts will only bear half of the expense in addition to their fare and therefore they will have to make a twenty dollar payment per student. We advise that the Districts shall immediately arrange to raise finances for the Central School and the regional schools so that there will be no obstacle in the sending of students.

Under no circumstances will we be able to change the dates for our various schools. We therefore urge the Districts to immediately act upon the Central Committee communication and send in a report to the central office as to what immediate steps are being taken to realize the school program for the summer as contained in the Central Committee instructions.

New Members' Classes and the New Pamphlet "The Communist Party in Action"

THE greatest majority of our membership is a new membership. The problem of the training of the new membership, the problem of solving the great fluctuation that exists at the present time in the Party must be taken up as one of the serious problems facing the Party.

Some time ago we took up with the districts the question of establishing new members' classes for a period of six weeks. We will not repeat this time the method and need of these classes as that has been taken up time and again. From the reports we have, most of the districts have such classes. However, we do not know how they function and what the experiences of the Districts are in connection with these classes. We would like in this section of the *Party Organizer* to develop a discussion of the new members' classes and generally on the problem of the training of the new members.

The new pamphlet of Comrade Bittelman is especially written for the new members' classes. We suggest that the topics and system that were worked out originally for the new members' classes be retained and that as the basic material for these classes, we take up the pamphlet *The Communist Party in Action*.

Contents of New Members' Pamphlet
**"THE COMMUNIST PARTY
 IN ACTION"**

**CHAPTER I. YOU HAVE JOINED THE REVOLU-
 TIONARY PARTY OF THE AMERICAN PROLE-
 TARIAT**

Fighting Day by Day under Communist Party Leadership
 Developing the Proletarian Counter-Offensive
 The Need for a Revolutionary Way out of the Crisis

**CHAPTER II. YOUR EXPERIENCES WITH BOUR-
 GEOIS DEMOCRACY, THE CAPITALIST PARTIES
 AND THEIR SOCIAL FASCIST AGENTS**

Bourgeois Democracy, Fascism and Social-Fascism
 "Left" Social Fascism and the Renegades from Commu-
 nism

CHAPTER III. INITIATIVE—ACTIVITY—DISCIPLINE

The Organizational Principles of Bolshevism
 The Quality of Communist Work in the Present Period
 Concentration on Shop Work—The Shop Nucleus

CHAPTER IV. BECOME A CONSCIOUS LENINIST

Theory and Practice
 Practical Mass Work and the Study of Leninist Theory

**CHAPTER V. WE ARE MEMBERS OF A WORLD
 PARTY**

**CHAPTER VI. THE CHIEF STRATEGIC AIM OF OUR
 PARTY**

Fighting to Win the Majority of the Working Class
 The Importance of Transmission Belts
 The Struggle Against Social Fascism
 For a Mass Communist Party

CHAPTER VII. THE MAIN LINES OF STRUGGLE

Three Lines of Struggle
 Winning the Masses of Exploited Farmers
 The Anti-War Struggle Must Be Placed in the Center of
 the Party's Activity
 Developing the Daily Struggles of the Workers

**CHAPTER VIII. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST DEVI-
 A-TIONS FROM THE LENINIST LINE**

Bolshevik Intolerance to Opportunism and Opportunist
 Deviations
 The Struggle on Two Fronts

On Coordinating Organization and Agitprop Work

THE slowness with which the Party initiates various campaigns, the lack of continuity and systematic actions and the development and follow-up of the campaigns and daily activities are due, to an extent, to the absence of agitprop work in the preparation, carrying through and follow-up work. The lack of agitprop work is particularly noticeable in times of preparation for strike struggles, during these struggles and following them.

The lack of development of agitprop work in connection with mass work tends to separate agitation and propaganda from organization and to separate organization from propaganda and agitation. The coordination of agitprop and organization activities must be based on the Leninist unification of politics and organization and not, as exists quite often, their mechanical separation.

The growing opportunities and tasks before the Party require a quick response and mobilization of the Party membership for the growing activities on many new fields. *Political sensitiveness and organizational mobility* must therefore go hand-in-hand.

The political mobilization of the Party must be based on clarifying the nature, aims and methods in the daily activities and campaigns of the Party. The units, functionaries' conferences, must become the center for such political mobilization. Elementary theoretical propaganda training gives a broader perspective and deeper understanding for the daily mass activities. Such elementary training makes possible a better political understanding and quicker reaction to the tasks of the Party. The article *The Unit to Become a Political Center for the Mobilization of the Membership for Mass Work* which appears in this issue of the *Party Organizer* deals with this problem in detail.

Mass agitation and mass propaganda are essential to make clear to the masses the *aim* of the campaigns and the struggles that they are to participate in. Our mass agitation will help to develop enthusiasm, understanding and a faith among the masses for the campaigns and struggles that they are to be mobilized for by the Party. The bourgeoisie is releasing a flood of poisonous agitation in connection with the campaigns and struggles led by the Party. The propaganda of the bourgeoisie, its lies about the Party, must be answered and exposed. Mere denunciation will not be sufficient. Our agitation must be simple, factual, and *convincing*.

We must therefore consider agitation and mass propaganda as indispensable weapons in the political mobilization of the masses for struggle.

Organizational Measures and Methods of Coordination

On the basis of the political mobilization of the Party, as well as on the basis of the political mobilization of the masses, the work of the organization and agitprop departments must be coordinated.

The general political line and directives laid down by the Central Polburo and District Bureaus for various phases of mass work and special campaigns, should be *concretized* by the Org. and Agitprop Departments. The Org. and Agitprop Departments then are to work out *jointly* the plans for the carrying out of the political directives laid down by the District Bureaus. An exchange of representatives should be established between the two departments.

The District Bureau to take up regularly various major phases of agitprop work. It must also assume the political responsibility for the functioning of the Agitprop Department.

One of the first conditions for the development of agitprop work is the establishment of functioning agitprop departments. All sections and units are to assign comrades for agitprop work. At the present time in practically all sections located outside the district headquarters, there are no functioning section and unit agitprop directors. The district must immediately take steps for the development of agitprop functionaries in their "out-of-town" sections.

In most of the leading districts, the overwhelming majority of the unit agitprop functionaries assumes special importance. Meetings on a section or city scale should be held with the functionaries to explain and train them in their tasks as agitprop directors. Such conferences, however, must not substitute for personal attention and guidance.

The present continuous change of agitprop directors and agitprop committees should be avoided. It is also necessary to strengthen the agitprop departments by adding to them politically experienced comrades.

Mass Agitation

The masses are today in a more receptive mood to listen to our agitation than ever before. We must therefore learn to *simplify* and at the same time *politically* enrich the *content* and introduce a *variety* of form in our agitation and agitational material.

As a result of the continuously deepening crisis, the faith of the masses in the capitalist is steadily on the wane. The ruling class is increasing its agitation, giving its class explanations of the crisis, creating illusions of a return of prosperity, covering up and distorting the growing misery and murderous exploitation of the starving millions. The bourgeoisie is partic-

ularly directing its agitational fire against the waning faith of the masses in the capitalist system and against their *growing sympathy to the Soviet Union*.

The agitation of the bourgeoisie for imperialist war, particularly against the Soviet Union, is on the increase. Here both its pacifist and jingoist propaganda blend.

As against the capitalist way out of the crisis, our agitation and mass propaganda must show the *revolutionary way out of the crisis*. This must be based on popularizing the lessons of *concrete struggles*, by *exposing* the poverty and misery of the masses, by contrasting the *two world systems—decaying capitalism and the Soviet Union*.

The true nature and cause of this crisis must be popularized among the masses. The arguments and statements of the various capitalist politicians must be exposed.

The political role of the Party as the leader of the revolutionary struggles of the workers must be made clear in our agitation and propaganda for the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The wrong ideas and lying conceptions cultivated by the bourgeoisie regarding our Party must be convincingly exposed. Every phase of our agitation and propaganda must serve to free the masses from the influence of bourgeois ideology and to deepen and extend their waning faith in capitalism.

The *Daily Worker*, agitational and propaganda literature, must be developed as the most basic forms of our agitation and propaganda.

The Unit to Become a Political Center for the Mobilization of the Membership for Mass Work

IMPROVEMENT of the inner life of the units, raising the political level of the units must be based on a political mobilization of the membership for mass work. Political discussions of the tasks of the units and the various general campaigns of the Party must be organized and developed within the unit.

The unit is to become the leader in developing struggles among the workers in the shops and territories in which it functions and must mobilize its membership *politically*. The unit must become more and more the center of the elementary, theoretical training of the Party membership. Political training at the membership meetings must be primarily based on the mass activities of the unit and the general campaigns of the Party. *The unit meetings*, however, cannot be turned into classes or lecture forums.

Organizational Steps and Methods

1. Political discussion in the unit should be developed primarily on the basis of mobilizing the membership for the specific *unit mass activities* and the unit's participation in the general campaigns of the Party. Periodical discussion to be organized in the unit *reviewing* the mass activities of the units as well as of the general campaigns of the Party.

Wrong political tendencies manifested and expressed in the districts in connection with various phases of Party work, especially with shop work, must be taken up in the units. The units and sections also must arrange special discussions dealing with wrong political tendencies expressed in connection with their specific tasks or manifested in the work of some individual comrades.

2. Wherever the system prevails of political discussions based *exclusively* on the outlines prepared by the District Agitprop Departments, it should be discontinued. Also, the method of twice a month political discussions exclusively arranged by the Agitprop Department, should be discontinued.

3. Every campaign of the Party must be taken up politically at the unit. At the conclusion of a campaign it should be reviewed in the unit. The basis for such discussions in the units shall be a prepared political statement by the District Bureau and District Agitprop Department. The general district statements should be briefly supplemented by the section or unit buro applied to their local tasks and problems. The District Bureau should bring into the sections and units its important political discussions which have an immediate bearing on the work of the Party. The District Agitprop and Org. Departments should decide on the general topics for discussion in the sections and units.

4. Section and unit bureaus should decide on political discussions based on their section and unit activities (activities of unemployed branches, shop concentration, work in the mass organizations). These discussions should receive the active assistance and guidance from the District Agitprop and Org. Departments.

5. City-wide or section functionaries' conferences should be developed in preparation for the mobilization of the membership for important campaigns, review of important campaigns, or discussion of some serious political tendencies which reveal themselves in the practical work of the district or section. The discussions at the functionaries' conference to be followed up at unit meetings.

6. Special steps must be taken to improve the political life of those units located outside of the district headquarters.

7. In connection with the recruiting drive, the training of new members assumes particular importance. The 6-week

training course for new members as suggested in the article, *The Political Initiation of New Members* printed in this issue of the *Party Organizer* should be organized without delay.

8. The elementary political theoretical training of the membership is essential for enabling it to grasp and understand the basis for the practical tasks, to develop confidence and enthusiasm in the growing practical activities. This system of classes in fundamentals of Communism must become the basis for the elementary political theoretical training of the membership. Such classes must be at once established on a unit scale in exceptional cases on a section scale. It would not be advisable to hold classes on the same night as the unit meeting, as this will make it impossible to develop political discussions on the unit mass work, nor will it allow the carrying through of the regular classes.

9. Propaganda literature is of the greatest importance in the raising of the political level of the membership and in the political mobilization for mass work. The discussion in the units material. *In the center of our reading material must stand and classes to be linked up with reference to definite reading *The Communist*.*

The Study of Marxism Simplified

NO COMRADE in the Party can doubt the need of theoretical study as an indispensable activity of every conscious worker—least of all the workers from the shops, who have shown the greatest eagerness to study the revolutionary movement, its theoretical foundations, its historical experiences. The difficulty so far has been that for a worker to tackle *Capital* or some of the other basic works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, in his spare time, after a day's grind in the shop, and sandwiched in between his practical activity, was pretty much to expect. It has been done, of course, generally in instances where the worker already had had some theoretical training or experience. This problem has now been solved.

A series of study courses are in the course of preparation by the International Publishers, which simplify the study of Marxism, and give the references or reading. This is the first time in the history of our Party that such effective assistance has been offered to the workers for self-study or for study in groups of the basic principles of scientific Socialism.

Each course has 12 lessons. The first lessons of the first two courses are already available. The course in Political Economy takes up every phase of that subject. The first lesson—

The Theory of Value— is now off the press. It gives a basic analysis of the exploitation of labor by capital.

The course in the *History of the Working Class* has four lessons ready—Lesson I, The Great French Revolution; Lesson II, The Industrial Revolution in England and Chartism; Lesson III, The Revolution of 1848 in France and Germany; Lesson IV, The First International and the Paris Commune.

A study of the historical development of the struggle of the working class is by no means an academic matter. Knowledge of the achievements and failures of the working class in the past, particularly of the high points of the most heroic struggles, such as the Chartist Movement in England, the Paris Commune, which as Marx says, was the first revolution in which the working class was openly recognized as the only class capable of social initiative, and the role of the working class in the bourgeois revolutions in France and Germany — knowledge of the factors at play and the part played by the conscious workers, makes it possible for the working class today to avoid the mistakes, and benefit by the experiences of the struggles at that time.

These courses are thoroughly prepared in each case by specialists of the subject, especially trained to do this work. Each lesson sells for 15 cents.

We earnestly urge all workers to take advantage of these helpful outlines of study. We call upon all unit, section, and district agitprop directors first of all to acquaint themselves with these valuable outlines, and then get all comrades to get them for self-study, either individually or in a group. Thus we can take a great step forward in raising the political level of our comrades, and in developing fresh cadres. Those who have trained themselves through these study courses, will help to fit themselves into the district, regional and national training courses, and also put themselves in a position to do far more effective work in the practical activities of the class struggle.

As far as I am concerned, the honor does not belong to me for either having discovered the existence of classes in present society or of the struggle between the classes. Bourgeois historians before me expounded the historical development of this class war and the bourgeois economists the economical structure of classes. What I did, was to prove the following: (1) That the existence of classes is connected only with certain historical struggles which are characteristic of the development of production; (2) that class war indispensably leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that this dictatorship is only a transition to the destruction of any classes and to society without classes.—*Marx*.

Material for a Course on Organizational Questions

(Concluded)

H. The united front.

Reasons for formation of united front. How is it composed? What are the forms of the united front? Unemployed committees, strike committees, grievance and shop committees, anti-war committees, special committees (defense, relief, for support of our press, or special campaigns). Relationship of the Communist Party and revolutionary unions and other mass organizations to the united front; chief errors in regard to the united front—failure to understand the necessity of utilizing the united front tactic to win over the majority of the working class; failure to distinguish between the reactionary leadership and the rank and file; failure to win away the workers from their influence; failure to draw in the broadest masses into the leadership of the united front; keeping Party and union and revolutionary mass organizations in the background so that they are not recognized as the driving force in the struggle and thus failing to build the union, the mass organizations, or the Party.

Reference material:

Resolution of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, printed in the October, 1931 issue of *The Communist*.

Resolutions of the 3rd, 4th and 5th Congresses of the Communist International.

V

Creation of Party Cadres

A. To demonstrate on the basis of examples, the connection between social composition of our membership and the policy of the Party.

The New York membership consists mostly of workers from small factories, unemployed, and to some extent of middle class elements, and practically no workers from large factories. The opportunist dangers arising therefrom. The example of the Pittsburgh organization, where we have unemployed almost exclusively, and hardly any steel workers. As a result of the last strike, the Pittsburgh organization has gained a large number of miners. Conclusion to be drawn—face turned to the factories, systematic and unremitting recruitment of workers from the large factories in connection with all Party campaigns. To give the numbers of Party members (utilization of Party registration)—the comparison with the possibilities. Importance of

increasing the percentage of Negroes and women in the leading cadres. Recruiting of new members on the basis of struggle.

B. How do we train new cadres?

1. Politicalization of the life of the units. Link up the educational work of the entire Party membership with the current political campaigns of the Party, by preparing the economic struggle, conducting Party discussions on strike strategy on the basis of concrete experiences. During election campaigns Party discussions on our attitude toward the bourgeois state, bourgeois democracy and the process of fascism. During anti-war campaigns discuss the question of imperialist war, the difference between the Red Army and imperialist armaments. Our attitude on war and pacifism. In connection with other campaigns, to discuss the question of labor aristocracy and the effects of capitalist rationalization, and in contrast thereto, the methods of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. To emphasize particularly strongly the role of the social-fascists and of fascism in all inner-Party discussions. In this connection to deal with the social basis of the social fascists and of facism and their intertwining with the capitalist state apparatus.

2. The division of work among all members is important for training new cadres. Be careful not to overburden the members. Organize collective work by having the members of the committee give concrete reports at all Party meetings on the work for which they are personally responsible, and in this way to stimulate the other members to give reports on their own work. Exercise proletarian self-criticism on this basis, and afterwards to assign new tasks. At the close of the meeting, to adopt a short resolution on these new tasks, in order to have a method of control over our work.

3. To draw in as many workers from large factories into the Party committees especially in the various departments, in order to develop them for specific work and to bind them more closely to the Party. To give collective work a central place.

4. Organization of elementary courses. In this connection, link up with practical daily experiences. (For material, see *Inprecor* Nos. 59 and 60. To be reprinted in one of the next issues of *The Communist*.)

5. To organize functionary and general membership meetings from time to time, where good reports should be made on the economic and political situation, in order to give the members and the functionaries a general picture.

6. Formation of solid cadre of functionaries; election of functionaries by the nuclei or elected conferences; check-up on functionaries' conferences through cards; regular semi-yearly election of functionaries after political discussion and report so as to continually draw in new forces and get rid of those who have not stood the test of practical work.

Party Organizer



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Shop Paper Reviews.**

Mass Agitation in Strike Struggles.

What Is Agitation—What Is Propaganda?

Selling Literature Inside the Shops.

Vol. V.

JULY, 1932

No. 7

Issued by

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. V.

July, 1932

No. 7

Make the August First Demonstrations a Battlefield in the Struggle Against Imperialist War

OUR *daily* activities in mobilizing the masses for struggles against imperialist war, in our preparations for *August First*, must be based on the sharpest realization that we *already* are in the midst of an imperialist war against the Chinese people, that any day imperialist war against the Soviet Union may break out, that a new imperialist world war is impending.

A most determined struggle must be carried on against "our own" imperialism and against Japanese imperialism, as the spearhead of world counter-revolution.

In all our anti-war activities we must clearly bear in mind the analysis of the Fourteenth Plenum of our Central Committee, that "the great imperialist powers, especially Japan and the United States, are at present more and more involved in the sharpest conflict for their share in the exploitation and division of China, and concentrating their war forces (navy, air forces, war industry) for an immediate armed struggle in the Pacific. At the same time the feverish efforts of Japan, United States, England and France to come together, arising on the basis of their common hatred of the Soviet Union, their preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union, the movement of the Japanese troops to Northern Manchuria, the feverish activities of the white guards, sharply raise in this situation before the international proletariat above all the greatest danger of common intervention of the imperialist powers against the U.S.S.R., the world proletarian fatherland.

The imperialists, fearing the growing resistance of the masses to capitalist war, are "sneaking" into actual war without official war declarations. We must therefore be alert to react to the slightest manifestation of indirect or direct war preparations. All our activities, our agitation and propaganda should be permeated with the Leninist teaching "that it must be definitely explained how great is the secrecy surrounding the birth of a war—it must be explained over and over again in a thoroughly

concrete manner how the situation was during the last war, and as to the reasons why the situation cannot be otherwise."

The sharpest struggle must be waged against pacifism. No surrender to pacifist illusions and tendencies. Our main fire must be concentrated on social-fascism and through concrete experiences expose the pacifists and social-fascists.

We must particularly carry on a sustained struggle to expose their phrases of friendship to the Soviet Union and their simultaneous attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R.

The refusal to recognize the Soviet Union is part of American imperialism's war policies against the Soviet Union. At the same time we must also expose the pacifist and social fascist maneuvers about the recognition of the Soviet Union.

Especially must we expose the role of the Socialist Party which uses the slogan "Recognition of the Soviet Union" in order to cover up the direct war preparations on the part of American imperialism against the Soviet Union and to cover up the attacks of the Socialist Party on the Soviet Government and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their demand for freedom of political prisoners is for the purpose of giving free play to the counter-revolutionary forces within the Soviet Union and organizing them for carrying out the imperialist intervention policies.

In our struggle against social-fascism we must be guided by the statement of the Fourteenth Plenum which says, "Under the banner of pacifism they (social fascists) are trying to keep the masses from fighting against war, and support the war policy of the Hoover government, League of Nations, disarmament swindle, war debts, Laval visit, etc. The Socialist Party is a bitter enemy of the Soviet Union. It openly supports the counter-revolutionary white guards (Hillquit). Under the guise of sympathy for the Soviet Union, it is attempting to undermine the increasing sympathy of the workers for the Soviet Union by presenting the American bourgeois dictatorship as a real democracy in contrast to the proletarian democracy of the Soviet Union, which it represents as a reign of dictatorship which should be 'democratized,' and in this way they come forward as representatives of those who want the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union."

We must learn to concretely refute and expose the arguments of the bourgeois propagandists that war will bring back prosperity, that war will liquidate unemployment. The myth of high wages, of high standard of living during the last war, must and can be exposed. In connection with this we want to call the attention of the comrades to the various articles and workers correspondence appearing in the *Daily Worker* on this question. Our slogan which gives concentrated expression

against this bourgeois propaganda is "against bread for one and bullets for thousands."

In order to mobilize the Party membership for sustained and heroic struggles against imperialist war, the following two tendencies must be combatted: (1) underestimation of the war danger, the inevitability of imperialist wars; (2) a fatalist left phrase-mongering attitude in our struggle against war, that the working class is no factor in postponing war and turning the imperialist war into a civil war.

Slogans for August First

1. Against imperialist war; for the defense of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union.
2. Stop the shipment of munitions to Japan.
3. Not a cent for war. All war funds for unemployment relief and insurance.
4. Fight against imperialist war and war preparations.
5. Stop the robber war of Japan now being waged against the Chinese people.
6. Make the rich bankers pay the back wages (bonus) to the ex-servicemen.
7. Withdraw the armed forces from Latin America, China, Philippine Islands.
8. Against capitalist terror—part of the war preparations.

Our Tasks in Struggle Against Imperialist War

(Excerpts from Summary of Bill Gebert at District Committee Plenum, May 14-15, 1932)

I DO not think we understand what we mean by the struggle against war. Let us consult the resolution, because I think that some comrades did not place the question correctly. This resolution gives us a line—more than that—practically concretizes how we are going to carry on the struggle against imperialist war:

"The *central task* of the C.P.U.S.A. is to struggle against the new imperialist war and above all to work most devotedly and courageously to mobilize the working class in defense of the Chinese people, and to build an iron wall of defense around the Soviet Union. The struggle against American imperialism, its war preparations and intervention plans must be the center of the everyday work of the Party among

the masses; in the factories, trade unions, in strikes, among the unemployed, Negroes, youth and women. Only by the ability to rally and organize the masses to struggle for their immediate demand and against the war danger, as the most outstanding menace for the working class, can the Party come before the masses, and must come before them as their revolutionary vanguard—the most conscious, most devoted and best organized elements among them.”

When the resolution places *the struggles against war as the central question and task*, it also places before us in the very same breath, so to speak, that *to carry on the struggle against war, it is necessary to organize the struggles of the workers for their immediate demands*. And if we would approach the struggle against war in any other way, we do not understand the meaning of the resolution. This is the basic line in our struggle against war.

. . . There is a specific struggle against war, against American imperialism. Demands like, stop shipment of war material, stop sending of troops to China, are specific struggles against war. And to start this campaign, above all, we must know all the facts. We must know just exactly, comrades, where are the war industries located, and establish personal contact with the workers in these industries. We must know exactly, comrades, from what places the shipment of ammunition will take place. We must not only know in general these things, but have personal contact with the workers in these places, to know the conditions of the workers and how to develop struggles to stop shipments.

We seem to take it for granted that a civil war will break out at the outbreak of a war. But miracles do not happen. It is our task, comrades, the task of every comrade, every Party member, to work to organize struggle against war today, against American imperialism. We must penetrate the armed forces and establish our organization inside. When we speak of war industries and factories, we must also remember the armories, the workers in uniform, and we must carry on work among them.

Work among the ex-soldiers is of tremendous importance, because they will be the nucleus of the army not tomorrow, but today. The Workers Ex-Servicemen's League does not receive sufficient support from us. We will not be able to build the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League on struggle against war merely. We must organize the ex-servicemen on the basis of their demands: bonus, relief, etc. We must tell the workers what they face in war and after war.

There are also other specific phases of struggle against war,

—counteracting the imperialist and pacifist propaganda of the bosses. Mr. Fish made a speech in Chicago and quoted from the resolution of the American Federation of Labor, which declares that with the Soviet Union there can be no peace, and when you take the statement of Admiral Pratt, we have exactly the same statement.

When we speak against war we say “down with the imperialist war — long live the Soviet Union.” These speeches do not mobilize a single worker against the imperialist war — as a matter of fact, sometimes it has the contrary effect. We do not understand how to explain, and our agit-prop work and our whole approach to this question is not proper.

We do not explain the meaning of the war to the workers. Nobody even raised this question at this Plenum. We do not think in the terms of struggle against war. I am somewhat of the impression that we repeat war danger phrases because the *Daily Worker* carries them. One can speak here for an hour, just quoting and stating facts, one after another.

The conscription of industries and putting workers on the same basis as soldiers, making them a part of the entire military machine — did we explain this to the workers? We did not. Why? Because we do not know that such a thing exists and we do not care to know.

In order to carry on a struggle against war it is necessary to explain more in the light of the resolution of the Fourteenth Plenum, in the light of the speech of Comrade Browder. And first of all the question of the war is so intimately linked up with our shop work that it practically represents one unit. We cannot speak of war danger and shop work separately. Therefore, when we speak of concentration around the shops, it means also concentration and struggle against war.

Struggle on Two Fronts to Defeat the Dies Bill

THE organization of mass resistance against the daily increasing deportation raids in the mills and neighborhoods is the key to a successful struggle for the defeat of the anti-labor Dies bill. The temporary united front of local labor and fraternal organizations will withstand the maneuvers of Congress (such as the recent postponement of Senate action under the barrage of protests from 16 states) and will grow even more solid if they will deal with the local deportation atrocities.

From this view the leading slogan in the mobilization of the workers must be: *Stop Deportations; Defeat the Anti-Labor Dies Bill.* Our activities must be organized correspondingly:

1. Organization Action (Defense) Committees of workers

(families) in the mills and neighborhoods where deportation raids are being committed.

The role of these committees should be to mobilize resistance, immediate mass protest and protection against arrests, searches and alleged investigations by federal agents. (Often these raids are practiced under the pretext of looking for booze, gambling joints, etc.) Resist discriminations against foreign-born workers on relief and jobs as practiced by many welfare and company agencies, and expose the role of the stool pigeon.

2. Unions, factory groups, neighborhood unemployed councils and fraternal organizations with influence in their community, must be made the backbone of this activity.

The coordinating organization of the entire struggle must be the I. L. D. and its Foreign Born Protection Committee. Action Committees, unions, etc., must have a strong working relation with the I. L. D. in developing this struggle.

3. Intensify the consolidation of the united front activities. Urge organizations to take immediate and independent steps in their sphere of influence. Have them issue public statements, protests to the Senate, their senators, to the local government (exposing the role of local police in deportation raids) discuss with their membership the anti-labor character of the Dies bill, etc. Challenge *all* political candidates to state their position regarding deportations and the Dies Bill. Utilize all political opposition to the Dies bill (student groups, liberals, A. F. of L., etc.) and make use of all available means of propaganda (press, radio, movies).

4. Prepare for the National (Washington) Conference to be held the last week of September. This conference must be the result of vigorous local activities. In the preparation of local conferences, election of delegates by the signers of the I. L. D. protest lists must be made the most serious objective. Fresh, mobile, active forces will in this way assume responsibility and authority in the united front movement.

P. C.

Out to the Smaller Industrial Towns

THE possibilities of building the Party and Young Communist League in the smaller industrial towns are tremendous. The workers in these towns depend on one or two industries or plants for work. Without organization, the bosses take advantage of this situation generally, and now especially because of the crisis. The workers are unable to move from place to place, for lack of funds. Therefore the workers in the shops have to accept wage cuts, not being organized; the unemployed are the victims of the most miserable charity.

In the smaller towns, the government bureaucracy is well

organized. It is one grant family, with the owners of the big mill ruling over it. The workers, on the other hand, know one another: true they do not know *all* the suckers and stool-pigeons who hold and control the jobs, and squeal on the workers when they show resentment against wage cuts. But there is a *spirit of solidarity* that is not so evident in larger cities where the workers can go to other plants and industries in search of work.

The workers are showing a splendid spirit of struggle. Endicott, owned outright by Endicott & Johnson, only recently witnessed a strike of 6,000 workers.

The manufacturers are following the policy of moving out of the bigger cities to the suburbs and small towns, where labor is plentiful and cheap.

The *war industries* are not concentrated in the big cities. On the contrary, they are scattered over the countryside, where the capitalists hope to obtain cheap, docile, unorganized labor. The war danger, therefore, alone demands that we penetrate the smaller towns, to build up unions, Unemployed Councils and the Party.

In the big cities we have a large percentage of Party and Y. C. L. members who are unemployed. The percentage of them who are engaged in active work unfortunately is not large. They must be *drafted for work* in the smaller towns. A single, live young comrade can build up organization, as experience has shown throughout the Party. This is not a task to be assigned at some future time: it is an *immediate task*, in view of the readiness of the workers to struggle, their willingness to organize, and the war danger.

The Districts must take this up as an *immediate task*. The building of the Party and revolutionary unions in the smaller industrial centers is an imperative task — just as fundamental as building the Party in the District centers. *The forces of the Party must be distributed, material assistance be given to the comrades sent out. But above all, the comrades sent out must be given political guidance.* The problems arising are of the greatest political importance, requiring a clear line. Comrades assigned to work in these towns are not always able to master them and they must be helped.

Finally, the comrades assigned must immediately get familiar with all the details of the situation in their town. Too often, they do not know nor do they make it their business to learn the facts of the situation. This means the selection of proper comrades—not such as will take a vacation, but comrades who recognize their *political responsibility* and be on the job. “Out to the smaller industrial towns” must become a vital slogan and plans must be worked out by the Districts to carry it out without delay.

I. AMTER.

Stop Shipment of War Materials to Japan!
DEMONSTRATE
AGAINST BOSSES' WARS!

Seamen, Longshoremen, Harbor Workers:

The Japanese imperialist government is slaughtering the Chinese people. The whole imperialist world is energetically preparing for war against the Soviet Union. Rockefeller is now organizing the white guards for war against the Soviet Union.

The American bosses are shipping cargoes of war materials to the Far East for war against the Chinese people and the Soviet Union. *These materials will be used for murdering the Chinese workers and peasants and overthrowing the Soviet Government.*

The same American bosses are cutting our wages and speeding us up. They refuse unemployment relief and insurance to the tens of thousands of seamen and longshoremen on the waterfront. Now they are preparing to send us to war.

Ryan and Furuseth of the I.L.A. and I.S.U. are helping the bosses to put across the wage cuts and carrying the war schemes of the shipowners and the government.

We do not want war against the Chinese and Russian workers and peasants. We refuse to shoot down our brothers for the benefit of the bosses.

Seamen, Longshoremen and Harbor Workers:

Remember the Seattle longshoremen, who in 1920 refused to load war materials that were to be used against the Russian workers.

Refuse to handle all war materials to be used in bosses' wars!

Organize and fight against bosses' wars!

Stop the shipment of war munitions to Japan!

Organize dock and ship committees! Strike against wage cuts!

Defend the Chinese people and the Soviet Union!

**MARINE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION,
 140 Broad Street, New York City.**

This is a good example of an anti-war leaflet. Study and compare it with some you have issued and send in your opinions.
 ---EDITORS.

Rooting the Party in the Shops

How Are We Going to Concentrate on Shops?

(From the Discussion at the Chicago District Plenum)

. . . Where did we decide to concentrate? On the packing houses. What does that mean? Food for the army; on the Western Electric — an ammunition plant in case of war; steel industry — war industry; mining — fuel; railroad — transportation of army and ammunition.

How are we going to concentrate? First of all, comrades, we must understand when we speak about concentration — this means to develop struggles of the workers by departments, shops, on the basis of the needs and demands of the workers, *building of the trade unions in the shops, committees of action, etc.* We also shall organize the social life of the workers around the factory — social, cultural and sport life of the workers of that factory. I will take the most typical example — the stockyards. Who live around this great industry? Stockyard workers. You can go from house to house and you will find that nine out of every ten workers work or formerly worked in the stockyards. Around the stockyards there is the social life of the bourgeois organizations and bourgeois political organizations.

On the basis of the conditions in the factories we are to develop a united front movement for struggle, for immediate demands of the workers, against wage cuts, lay-offs, for relief, but this is not sufficient. We must give the workers everything they need. We should not look upon the question that we will give them struggle only, but social life, cultural life, etc. they will get from the bourgeoisie.

Let us say there is a question of a picnic to be arranged. How about a stockyard workers' picnic, and then you have also an opportunity to mingle and speak to these workers.

Around the stockyards organize Pioneer groups, with children of the workers in the stockyards. How about youth, stockyards youth, or the Young Communist League, women, Negroes, Mexicans, mass sale of literature, utilization of the press, Mexican paper, Polish paper, *Daily Worker*, etc.?

When we speak about concentration we do not mean one unit, one individual. *Everything must be entrenched there.* How about the John Reed Club to organize some cultural ac-

tivity of the stockyards workers? How about the Labor Sports Union to win worker sportsmen?

The question of concentration must be considered also from another angle. Why are we pressing so much on the subjective factors — because the *objective conditions in the industries today are such that there is a possibility from small strikes and struggles to develop gigantic mass movements*. The history of our strikes are of this character. The 40,000 miners in Pennsylvania did not strike on one day — one mine struck and it spread. The same is true of Lawrence, etc. When the workers begin to feel they have a chance to fight against the conditions, then they will fight. With the proper approach and understanding of the workers, we can organize struggles on small scales which might spread. But all our struggles must be developed not for the sake of struggles, but *for winning demands of the workers*. While we have this objective, we will not achieve it if we do not revolutionize the workers. Because if we do not we will not consolidate the workers organizationally. And in this situation, we come very close in our struggle against all kinds of reformists, etc. We do not see them today, but once we start struggles, they will be there to mislead the workers. In the stockyards today, we do not see them, but once activities and struggles develop, there will always be Ansbourys types as we have them today in southern Illinois.

How to Organize a Shop Group

HERE is my own experience. I was assigned to concentration in the S— K— mill, where the problem was to get the first contact. It was lunch time. A group of workers stood at the entrance of the building where many other shops are located. I asked them whether the foreman or boss is with them. When I found they were not around, I began to speak about the conditions in the trade and then turned the conversation to the conditions in the shop. The workers spoke up and told of the conditions that prevail in the shop. I gained the confidence of some of the workers right from the start by the fact that I was careful enough not to start a conversation on organization without making certain that the boss or foreman is not around. From the conversation, I noted who the most sympathetic one was, and after working hours, I followed him away from the shop, approached him for direct organization work.

There was resistance on the part of that worker toward our union. He happened to be a right winger. I then turned the

conversation to our political differences, and explained to the worker that no matter what our political differences may be, we must unite so we can fight and win better conditions. The worker agreed on that, and within seven weeks, a shop group was organized. In the beginning the group was very small, it functioned secretly, and was very careful in getting in new members into the group. When, however, it reached a number of one-third of the workers employed in the shop, the shop group was not afraid any more to come out in open fight against a wage cut that took place. The shop committee was recognized by the boss is in constant touch with the union. The shop committees are guided by the union leadership against opportunistic errors and class collaboration policies that the bosses are trying to inject through their shop policies. The workers of that shop who were antagonistic to our movement before the strike are supporting our policies and accept our leadership as a result of the correct application of the united front policy. A similar method of organization must be applied also in company-unionized or in reformist union shops, where we must approach individual workers in the beginning, build up a shop group secretly, until sufficient strength is gained, to develop struggles over the heads of the leaders of the reformist unions.

The Building of the Union

From the strike of the Powell Undergarment Company, we can learn how to coordinate shop work with the mass organizations. The strikers of the Powell Undergarment Company were mostly young and inexperienced girls who were prejudiced against the union. Their parents had bad experience with the leadership of the reformist unions and these youngsters did not have a chance to learn the difference between the A. F. of L. and our revolutionary union.

Within a short period we completely won the confidence of the strikers. The strike was spontaneous, "against discharges and attempt of the concern to change from week-work to piece-work system." When the workers found themselves on the street, they needed support and we offered it to them without asking them for immediate affiliation with the union.

We immediately helped them to obtain a meeting place in a workers club close to the shop. Some of our members were assigned to be with the strikers all the time, helping them to organize the picket line and to chase away the scabs. We called upon the Women's Council and with their aid, we collected some food in the neighborhood, which was given to the strikers free. We arranged an affair, the income of which was used to support some of the strikers.

The strikers were first amazed and later enthused about the support they received from the union. The strike was militant and the ranks of the strikers were solid. Mass demonstrations were arranged in which not only the strikers and the union members participated, but also the workers in the neighborhood.

The strike was settled satisfactorily to the workers. Our union and the Party gained prestige, not only among the strikers, but also among the workers that directly or indirectly knew about the strike.

All the strikers joined the union the very first week after the strike was settled; one joined the League, and the possibilities exist in the very near future to build a League nucleus in the shop of the most militant workers there.

J. RAPAPORT (New York)

Our Party's Task in the Youngstown Steel District

THE Youngstown steel district offers the most excellent opportunity to put into life the main decisions and resolutions of the Fourteenth Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party. Especially must the Party membership establish "solid personal contact."

With the steel mills operating on the stagger hunger system, a series of sweeping wage-cuts in the steel industry, the American Federation of Labor union exposing itself as a company union; mass unemployment and refusal of relief by the employers and city governments — this objective situation offers to our Party the possibility of rallying the workers into a mass campaign against the bosses' hunger and wage-cutting offensive.

But despite the favorable conditions existing we must sharply call the attention of the Party to the fact that today *we are not orientated toward the steel mills, mass work, and the building of the Steel Workers Industrial Union*. This is best shown by the fact that only five out of eighteen units are shop nuclei and these very weak (no nuclei in the pottery industry); that there exists only a few loose groups of the Steel Workers Industrial Union; and that we were totally unable to rally the steel workers into a campaign against the 15 per cent wage-cut.

The main reasons for our shortcomings are the following:

1. Sectarianism:

(a) Lack of personal contact with the steel workers, as evident during our efforts to secure information on the attitude of the non-Party workers on the wage-cut. This brought out how the units (internal life) absorbed the strength, time, and activity of our members with inner work, thus isolating us from the decisive section of the workers in the steel industry.

(b) No functioning fractions in the mass organizations. Therefore, our campaigns and the work of our comrades is orientated toward the problems of their organization only, instead of considering their work as part of the whole work of the Party.

(c) Isolation from the Negro masses leaving them free to the propaganda and influence of the Negro reformists and boss-politicians. With great ideological influence and sympathy amongst the Negro workers we are guilty of "chauvinistic organizational isolation" from the Negro toilers.

(d) No efforts to consolidate organizational results from mass actions and demonstrations. Workers are called to demonstrate, to meetings, to struggle, but very little efforts are made to draw them into our organizations.

2. Bureaucratic methods:

(a) The idea is prevalent that only "good speakers and typists" qualify for leadership not considering workers who have contact and mass influence amongst workers. Sections department heads act too much as "bosses" instead of giving active leadership and personal guidance to the work. The "letter leadership" to out-of-town units still exists.

(b) Unit life is too formal. Collective leadership is lacking and when established in some committees, departments, and units the comrades resent personal responsibility.

(c) Fractions are "one man outfits" as Party decisions are not discussed in the fraction meetings but just railroaded through by the secretaries. As a result of this there is poor response in mass organizations to our campaigns and even petty arguments among the fraction members.

3. Inner orientation:

(a) Party life is evident only in the units. The decisions are not carried into life among the workers and mass organizations.

(b) Serious lack of systematic check-up on decisions and lack of persistent day-to-day work on our campaigns. There exists "jumping-jack" tactics instead of concentrated efforts to carry our Party work.

Our Next Task in Light of Plenum Decisions

Our next task is the *development of struggles among the unemployed and part-time steel workers; struggles in the steel*

industry which will result in the building of the Steel Workers Industrial Union. All of our work must be orientated in this direction. This task must be carried out with active assistance from the district center and guidance from the Central Committee to really concentrate our efforts in building our Party and the Union in the Youngstown Section.

Our work amongst the Negro toilers must not be looked upon as "another task" but with the idea of winning the Negro workers into the struggles of the steel workers and into the Steel Workers Industrial Union. The concentrated attention which we must give to the building of the youth movement must also be guided by turning the face of the Y. C. L. toward the steel industry. Our approach to the mass organizations, whose membership consists of steel workers, must be to win their support organizationally and financially to the task of building the Union. With all phases of our work concentrated on the steel industry we will be able to raise the political level of the Party membership to an understanding of our fundamental task—the building of a mass red trade union and unemployed movement—and the quick application of new decisions arising out of our work among the steel workers.

The development of struggles amongst the unemployed and employed steel workers, the building of the Steel Workers Industrial Union, our Party fighting for equal rights for the Negro workers will establish our political influence and develop a mass election campaign in support of our candidates and program. This is the road to the building of a mass Party "of the steel workers" in this section. Mass influence and organizational strength of our Party and the Union is the most effective weapon in a struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

FRANK ROGERS.

* * *

EDITORIAL NOTE: While Comrade Rogers is making an effort to analyze the situation in Youngstown in light of the Fourteenth Plenum, the proposals on how to overcome the present situation are entirely inadequate. We would like to hear from Youngstown:

1—*What is our plan of concentration?*

2—*How do we carry out the plan?*

3—*What steps have been taken to guarantee the carrying on the plan of concentration? (forces, mobilization of the units, etc.)*

4—*What are the experiences in the carrying out of the plan? ..The Fourteenth Plenum Resolution should serve as a guide in changing out methods of work in order to overcome isolation, with which the article deals. How is it being done?*

Let's hear from Youngstown.

From Reports

Comrade H. from District 9 Writes Us:

THE first step in reorganizing our mining work has been taken. In the city of B—, county seat of G— County, we have organized an unemployed council and are organizing another mass meeting to be held soon on the basis of local relief demands.

So far we have made very few advances in our mining work. This has been due to the fact that most of the time was spent trying to organize the present locals on the basis of mine branches. In this we had several setbacks, because of the small membership and the difficulty of making the comrades understand the new methods of work. In one local we were forced to take a step back and bring the entire membership together before it would even meet in a regular way.

The I. Mine is closing, throwing over 300 workers out of work. In the unit and the mine branch discussions have been held as to what action will be taken. A decision was made that a mass protest meeting will be held on the pay-off day in front of the employment office of the mine. Leaflets will be distributed and the comrades are conducting personal agitation among the miners. Demands will be presented to the company, putting it up to the company to take care of its men, demanding free light, water, rent, and to pay back to the miners the money invested in the club house fund, etc.

The W. Mine is reopening, about 150 miners being given jobs. This mine will not run full time and we believe it will operate only during the summer months.

Another weakness was that although there was a 15 per cent wage-cut last month, we took no action. The comrades in the mines try to tell us that the miners are not grumbling, but it has been the weakness of our section leadership not to get direct information on the situation inside this mine.

Our shop paper did not appear in May. Our reasons for this may be considered excuses. First, we had no finances. Second, and worse, the May issue was left entirely to the section organizer. Though instructions were given to comrades to write articles from the mine, none came. We will get out the shop paper, but it will be late.

On farm work, no mass activity was carried on during the past month, except in I— County. And here we have noticed vacillation and indecision as to the steps to be taken. The township committees are not functioning, although several mass meetings, such as one held last week, show that our Party is

becoming the leader in the farmers' struggles. Good headway is being made among the Germans, who are mainly old Socialists.

—H.

* * * *

Editorial Note: Comrade H. is quite self-critical. He is correct that non-appearance of the shop paper, in view of the conditions described in the report, cannot be justified, no matter what excuses are given. Of course, if the shop paper is to be left to the section organizer — no shop paper will be distributed. It is the task of the unit to have their own editorial board and issue the shop paper on the basis of the news from the mine.

In view of the increased lay-offs, the Party units and mine branches of the union should seriously consider the organization of the unemployed, the developing of struggles for relief, and the election of unemployed committees, which shall lead the unemployed workers.

We will be glad to receive further reports on the development of the work.

Comrade D. from S. Shop Nucleus Writes Us:

WE HAVE contacts in the tin, sheet, bar and open hearth departments. Our unit is divided into two groups due to the fact that the members of the respective groups live some distance from each other. Recently we held a meeting in connection with the lay-off, in which three or four comrades were laid off. We have twenty members in the unit. Some of our activities and struggles have been as follows:

Around the beginning of 1931, one department was talking strike in response to a wage-cut and the introduction of a new speed-up device. A meeting was called of the department but, since we really did not prepare this strike, the company union was successful in getting on the strike committee and demoralizing the ranks of the strikers.

Soon after this, elections took place for representatives to the company union. We issued the slogan *Boycott the Elections*. Some of the workers followed our leadership but the bulk of the workers participated in the elections. These company union representatives work in the usual manner, doing little favors for individual workers. Our action failed in any way to expose these representatives. Had our demands for the election of workers from the bench and the counting of votes by workers themselves been properly explained and popularized, the workers would have supported these demands and we could

have exposed the real role of the company union and its representatives.

We failed also to follow up successful struggles against certain grievances. The workers in the O. Department were successful in defeating a 30 per cent wage-cut. These workers marched down in a body to the superintendent and won their demand. No further meeting of these workers was ever called, nor did we really make a determined effort to popularize this successful struggle, except for an occasional mention of it in our shop bulletin.

Another grievance to which we reacted was the question of pay day. The workers stop work on Friday and return on Tuesday. However, the company compels them to come in on Monday (spending additional 40 cents fare) to get their pay. We issued leaflets calling for the organization of grievance committees and demanding the pay-off to be either Friday or Tuesday. The comrades in the shop reported no reaction among the workers to this demand, but this was mainly due to the fact that we actually did not supply the necessary leadership to the sentiment of the workers.

Two comrades reported the following incidents. One comrade working together with other carpenters has pointed out to the workers time and again the inevitability of a lay-off. One American worker with a family of six, who has his own home, was especially skeptical and claimed that the millionaire owner would never do such a thing. Last week this worker was laid off together with 2,000 other workers, including the bulk of the carpenters. When he received his notice, the worker refused to speak to our comrade.

Another comrade spoke continually to four American workers in the R. Department about the coming wage-cut, before any official notice was published. These four workers jointly owned about 200 shares of stock in the company, which they had bought at the price of \$110 per share—now worth only around \$39. These workers told our comrade: "What do you foreigners know about such things?" However, when the wage-cut came these workers refused to speak to our comrade.

In discussing this matter, our comrades raised the question, why do the workers react this way? We more or less agreed that the explanation is the following. Our comrades who usually read our press, being more class conscious, when learning about coming wage-cuts and lay-offs, do not react the same way as the average worker. Instead of discussing the wage-cut and lay-off from the viewpoint of how they as workers will be affected (by cutting down on necessities of life for themselves and families), simply adopt more or less a wise-guy attitude, and even to some extent a gloating attitude — "Well, we are going to get another wage-cut!" Underlying this attitude is a

feeling among many Party members that "the workers will only fight when they are actually starving and therefore every wage-cut is a blessing for our movement." Naturally such an attitude, even though not expressed in so many words, tends to separate our comrades from the other workers and certainly does not encourage other workers to feel friendly toward our comrades.

In connection with the wage-cut in October our comrades tried to excuse the falling off of activity on the wrong policy, as they claimed, namely, the "strike against wage-cut" slogan. Finally we made the comrades see that while the slogan was absolutely correct, wrong tactics were applied.

At present, with the lay-off, a large number of evictions of workers are expected from company-owned houses. Of course, there is no form of relief whatsoever for workers completely laid off. The struggles along these two fronts can be developed to connect the struggles of those still in the mill, with those laid off.

After the discussion we made decisions as follows:

That the unit buro jointly with the section organizer work out a detailed plan to develop immediate struggles inside the mill against wage-cuts and lay-offs, and against evictions.

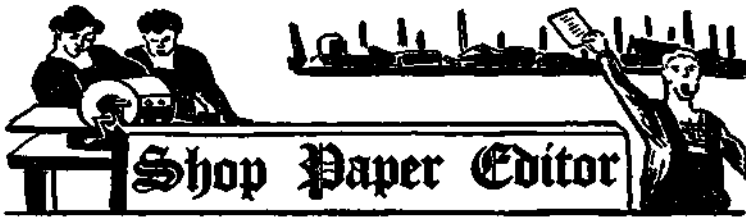
That the section develop the unemployed movement in the company-owned towns, demanding relief for laid-off workers from the company.

That the section coordinate the work of the mill unit with the work of the other units in the city; that every unit is to concentrate on the territories where the steel workers live.

—D.

* * * *

Editorial Note: We do not know the exact number of Party members in the different departments, but from the figures mentioned, especially with your earnest effort to start some work inside the mill, it will be necessary to reorganize the unit on a departmental basis. This will help greatly to orientate the comrades on the problems of the workers in the departments, and the raising of these problems in order to develop struggles. From your report it seems to us, that while the unit made some effort in developing struggles against wage cuts, this was done without taking the necessary steps to build up shop organization, and the Metal Workers Industrial League. This should be corrected. The first task of the Party unit is to revive the union group and strengthen the group, which must be developed as an instrument of struggle for the demands of the workers.



Shop Paper Reviews

THE *Gary Steel Worker*. The April issue is the latest one to have reached us. "Wages will be cut again soon. Demonstrate on May 1!" is the headline running over the first page.

Thus the steel workers in Gary may get the idea that we tell them to fight the wage cut by a May First demonstration only.

The paper does not tell them how to develop a real fight against the wage cut, by means of day to day struggles in the mill.

The major questions of interest to all workers are not taken up — war, the fight for unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and the government, and for unemployment relief; the elections, Scottsboro.

The *Gary Steel Worker* publishes a program of demands, but does not tell who puts forth these demands.

In that program of demands, we are glad to see demands for the part-time workers, such as a half day's pay when the workers are sent home without work.

We are glad to see a demand of no discrimination against the Negro steel workers, but see no special demands for the young workers.

The paper publishes one application blank both for the Communist Party and the "Steel Workers Union" (which has not yet been formed, by the way). This is bad. It may lead the workers to think that the union is part of the Party.

The paper does well in taking up such immediate issues as the demand for the return of insurance money, etc.

Although the Metal Workers Industrial League will hold its first convention soon, to organize a Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, this is not mentioned. The convention must be popularized in issues before the convention which takes place in the middle of August. And it must be made sure that issues of the *Gary Steel Worker* are gotten out before the convention.

And that they mention much about the program of the Metal Workers Industrial League.

The *Gary Steel Worker* is very attractively mimeographed.

* * * *

THE WHISTLE. Published by shop nucleus in Southern Pacific Railroad Shops, Oakland, Calif. In the May issue, *The Whistle*, right on the first page, deals with two immediate issues: lunch time and the efficiency experts.

That is the way we will develop big strike struggles—by taking up the smaller issues, conducting local struggles around these grievances.

There are probably mostly members of the shopcraft unions in these Southern Pacific shops and so we think stress should be laid on forming united front committees rather than on the Railroad Industrial League, although the program of the League should be discussed in the shop paper.

The Whistle handles the subject of the elections the way it should be done, connects it up with the lay-offs, wage cuts, etc. in the shops. It says the American Federation of Labor officials, the Republicans, Democrats and Socialists support these attacks on the workers, but does not tell how, does not prove it so well. By taking such examples as the Hoover stagger plan, the Hoover wage-cut-no-strike agreement with the American Federation of Labor, the fact that leading Democrats like Raskob are magnates of big companies that take the lead in the wage cut drive, this can be done.

The issues of the part-time workers and the unemployed on the railroads and in the railroad shops are not raised.

The question of war should not be left for the last page but is a major issue for a shop paper.

There is not enough shop correspondence in the paper.

By the way, shop papers which reach raw workers should not use abbreviations like T.U.U.L. without explaining what the letters stand for.

What Shop Papers Must Emphasize in Coming Issues—And How They Must Do It

SHOP papers must take the issues of the day and not only feature them prominently but must also link them up with the day to day problems in the shop.

This should not be done artificially, by broad, general statements.

For instance, in the election campaign. Show the workers how each point in the Communist platform fits into the conditions right in the shop.

Issues which must be played up in all coming numbers in the shop papers are:

War. Show how it affects the workers. Many of them think it will bring them prosperity. Remind them how prices of food and all necessities soared in the world war — far above the wage increases some groups (and only a privileged handful by the way) received. Show them how it might mean more money for some, but bullets for tens of millions. Show them how suffering arose out of the last war. In writing up, do not mechanically call on the workers to defend the Soviet Union, but tell them why — what kind of a country the Soviet Union is, etc.

Call for the formation of anti-war committees in the shop.

Elections. Take the matter of wage cuts. Show how Hoover was one of the leaders of the wage-cutting campaign, how Hoover really had a big hand in the wage cuts right in your shop. How such prominent Democrats as Raskob, big General Motors man, took the lead in the wage-cutting campaign. How both parties, as well as the Socialists, when they are in office, club the unemployed workers when they seek relief, and the employed when they strike against starvation.

Show how the Communists, as evidenced by their platform, in their leadership in organizing the struggles of the workers, are the only ones fighting wage cuts. It is always good to expose local politicians, and dig up facts to show their connections with the bosses.

Unemployment. Most of the shop papers ignore the problems and struggles of the unemployed and part-time workers. Without solidarity between the employed and unemployed in the struggles of both, there can be no successful strikes. Special demands must be raised for part-time workers. Do not forget, they are the link between the unemployed and those in the shops. The fight for government unemployment insurance and for immediate relief must be emphasized.

Scottsboro. How the attack on the Negro workers is aimed at creating division of the workers' ranks, to make the attacks of the bosses easier to put through. How lynching is part of the general terrorism of the bosses to drive down the living standards of the workers.

The Dies Bill. How this attack, aimed at deporting all militant foreign-born workers, also hits the native-born workers in trying to prevent struggles of the workers against starvation by trying to scare the foreign-born from taking part in these struggles

If the revolutionary union or league in your industry is holding a convention soon make this known to the workers. One of the main shortcomings of the shop papers is that the revolutionary unions are given very little mention, which goes also for their programs.

If your shop paper is issued in a shop where there are American Federation of Labor members, carry on a consistent campaign of exposure of the American Federation of Labor misleaders in the particular union; show how certain bad conditions in the shop are a result of the fakers' collaboration with the company. Call for the formation of militant opposition groups in the American Federation of Labor union.

In the railroad, steel, general metal industries, and many others there have been recent general wage cuts, hitting all workers in the industry. These must be constantly emphasized. Railroad shop papers must point out that the railroad general wage cut is supposed to expire in December. The American Federation of Labor and Brotherhood officials told the workers that the cut would end then. Call their bluff; the cut, of course, will not be taken back, but probably a second general cut will be made.

In connection with the E.C.C.I. resolution demanding that the Party make a definite turn to the shops, the shop papers should run pieces on what a grievance committee is, how it functions, what a shop committee is, what an unemployed branch is. Shop paper editors should read *Labor Unity* for information on these questions.

SPREAD THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN LITERATURE IN THE SHOPS!

Communist Election Platform	1c
The Fight for Bread, by Earl Browder	1c
Who Are the Friends of the Negro People, by C. A. Hathaway	1c
Foster and Ford for Food and Freedom—Acceptance speeches of candidates	2c
The Soviet Union Stands for Peace, by M. Litvinov	1c
Graft and Gangsters, by Harry Gannes	10c
They Shall Not Die—The Story of Scottsboro in Pictures	2c
War in China, by Ray Stewart	10c
Noon-Hour Talk on the Communist Party, by Harrison George	2c

SEE THAT YOUR UNIT IS SUPPLIED WITH LITERATURE!

Agit-Prop Work

Mass Agitation in Strike Struggles

IN THE Kentucky miners' strike we had an excellent example of the combination in the use of the most ruthless brutal terror and demagogy. Prior to the strike, and particularly during the strike the coal operators flooded the mining area with a variety of leaflets attacking the Party and the Union. All the ancient and modern prejudices against Communism, against strike struggles were utilized in the bosses' agitation. The question of religion, the question of home, the government, Constitution, Russia, etc. However, neither the Party nor the Union issued any leaflets exposing the bosses' demagogy and their agitation, refuting the lies contained in their agitational material.

What was true of the Kentucky strike, was also true of every leading strike which took place in the country. It goes without saying that the press, the movies, the pulpit, are all used as the bosses' agitational weapons during strike struggles.

Let us take the recent strike in New York, the strike in one of the I. Miller shoe shops. Here the company engaged the Constitutional Educational League as its weapon of agitation against the strikers and the leadership of the Trade Union Unity League. Leaflets and other material were issued in four languages. A mimeographed letter was sent to every striking worker. Of course, our enemies, attempting to be good agitators, always spoke of "facts," and even offered a thousand-dollar reward to anyone who would deny their supposed facts. Here is a lesson for us: that if we are to be successful in convincing the workers, we must learn to be in a position to answer all the arguments of our enemies with hundreds of facts, and not to be satisfied with mere agitational statements of denunciation.

In all of our strike struggles we must learn to answer the charge that the strike "is a political demonstration rather than one interested in the general welfare of the worker." (From the I. Miller Shoe agitation material.)

We were not quick enough even in this successful strike, to immediately react to the agitational attacks of the shoe bosses. However, as soon as the strike leadership took up in earnest, through its own leaflets and bulletins, to expose the fakery of the agitation of the Constitutional Educational League, the shoe bosses found the services of these patriotic racketeers useless and dismissed them.

A serious weakness in our agitation and strike struggles is the complete absence of literature, and in the literature section of this issue of the *Party Organizer*, this question is discussed in detail.

One of the main problems in carrying through successfully, strike struggles, is the preparation of the strike. The preparatory work of the strike is not a mere organizational routine. It is a political task and problem. We have to convince the workers of the need and possibility of striking. The preparation of our strike struggles also means immediate struggle against the reformists. It also means to defeat the propoganda of the bosses. Without going into detail on this question, it is obvious that agitation to convince the workers of the necessity to strike, agitation to refute the arguments of the reformists about the difficulties and impossibilities of striking, is essential in our preparation of strike struggles. What is true in the course of preparing a strike assumes special importance during the actual strike struggle.

In this article we merely intend to raise the question of agitation in strike struggles. What we said about agitation and strike struggles also applies to all our mass activities, with *particular emphasis in our anti-war activities.*

It is high time to do away with the conception that agit-prop work means merely internal routine propoganda and the issuance of a leaflet now and then. The main emphasis in our agit-prop work must be placed on the development of mass agitation in the preparation, development and leading of mass struggles.

It is therefore also necessary to again emphasize the need of developing closest unity in our org. and agit-prop work. We wish to call the attention of the comrades to the articles which appeared in the last issue of the *Party Organizer* dealing with this question.

—S. D.

What Is Agitation—What Is Propaganda?

A GREAT deal of our agitation and propoganda material is unsatisfactory because we do not make a distinction between agitation and propoganda. For instance, some leaflets which are to be agitational attempt to give a thorough and complete explanation on certain questions. While those that are supposed to be propoganda leaflets, limit themselves to the statement of one or two facts. The same is true of our literature. Some pamphlets are to be agitational for mass distribution in connection with mass struggles, others are to be propa-

ganda pamphlets. The same holds good insofar as agitational and propaganda speeches are concerned.

In order to be able to develop more clarity on this question, we reprint Comrade Lenin's classic definition of agitation and propaganda.

"In a word he (the propagandist) must present many ideas, so many indeed that they will be understood as a whole by a (comparatively) few persons. An agitator, however . . . will direct all his efforts to present a *single* idea to the masses . . . he will strive to *rouse* discontent and indignation amongst the masses and leave a more complete explanation of this contradiction to the *propagandist*. Consequently the propagandist operates chiefly by means of the printed word, the agitator operates with the living word. The qualities required of an agitator are not the same as those required of a propagandist." (From *What Is to Be Done?* by Lenin.)*

In an introduction to a collection of articles by Comrade Lenin on agitation and propaganda published in the German language, we find the following clear explanation of agitation and propaganda.

"While agitation must concentrate itself in a few leading ideas, which will become a lever to action by the masses, and in this way becomes tirelessly impregnated into the consciousness of the revolutionary proletariat in the daily fight, so propaganda has the task of bringing these slogans of action, these watchwords of tactics, into line with the general strategic plan of the Party, to base them on an exhaustive analysis of the political situation as a whole and the tendencies of development arising therefrom.

"Propaganda has the task of linking up the general conditions of struggle and the particular fighting aims of the proletariat with the principles of Marxism. Agitation follows the aim of concentrating these general directives into special centre-points, to hammer them into slogans of action.

"Lenin says somewhere that the revolutionary propagandist has to think in terms of hundreds, the agitator in terms of tens of thousands; the organizer and leader of the revolution in terms of million masses. What must be common to all three is the 'insight into the nature, conditions and general aims, arising out of the struggle conducted by the proletariat.' "

* May be ordered from Workers Library Publishers. Price 50 cents.

Agit-Prop Briefs

IN CONNECTION with the Plenum discussion, it was suggested that special conferences be arranged with comrades active in shop work, special conferences with comrades active in trade union work, etc. Wherever these conferences were held they proved to be very successful. This method of conferences should be still further developed.

In addition to special conferences as mentioned above, it is necessary to develop the system of city- and section-wide functionaries' conferences taking up certain concrete political problems, as for instance, the struggle against war, trade union work, election campaign, etc.

The raising of the political level of the membership, the development of interest for theoretical study and problems will be greatly improved by concrete discussions of the important political problems facing the Party in its mass work. The system therefore of special conferences and general conferences should be taken up in earnest.

* * *

The Minnesota District is ordering only 30 copies of *The Communist*. This is not even sufficient for the district and section functionaries, let alone for really bringing *The Communist* into the hands of the Party members and the militant workers around the Party. We are taking here the example of Minnesota, a leading district, merely to emphasize what is true of the entire Party. While some districts may have larger orders, they by no means correspond with the needs of raising the political and theoretical level of the Party.

Here is another example: we received the following letter from Cleveland:

"We would like to call your attention about rushing in *The Communist*. We were getting 50 copies, then you came along with (pressure!!) to increase, so we did. We made an increase to 75. Now you come along with another 100 per cent increase and send us 150. We have not sold our extra April and May issues. What shall we do?"

The letter speaks for itself. No comments are necessary.

* * *

More care should be taken in following the contents of our various leaflets. For instance, in a leaflet issued by the Dearborn Unemployed Council, we find the following statements:

"The Unemployed Council has secured permission to hold a meeting on a lot at the above address, and so far as we can see, *no interference will occur.*"
Here we see an expression of legalism. Instead of preparing

the workers for the possibility of meetings that have permits, being interfered with, the other line is taken in the leaflets. Of course, in speaking of the possibilities of our meetings being attacked, we must not do it in a hysterical, panicky manner. But this is not an excuse for allowing such legalistic expressions to creep into various leaflets. While we do not know the concrete conditions in the arrangements of the meeting for which the leaflet was issued, we cannot see, however, the need of announcing "the Civil Liberties Union assisted in the arrangement of this meeting. They will also have a speaker."

* * * *

The issuing of important district agit-prop outlines should be the responsibility of the district leadership and not that merely of the agit-prop director. The outline of the Chicago District on our anti-war campaign had some serious errors which we feel could easily have been avoided had it been discussed collectively before it was published. Criticism of this outline appeared in the *Daily Worker* of June 18.

The same holds true of the Chicago District outline on the Fourteenth Plenum. Here are some excerpts from a letter containing criticisms on the Fourteenth Plenum outline:

"The question of our struggle against social-fascism is inseparably linked up with our struggle against isolation and sectarianism. There is no mention at all on this point in your outline. Comrade Williamson in his speech at your Plenum certainly gave many examples and experiences, emphasizing the importance of the fight against social-fascism in your district.

"On the question of our trade union work. You make no mention at all regarding our work in the reformist unions, while of course you correctly raise the question of building the T.U.U.L. unions and leagues. However, I would like to call your attention to the point in which you refer to the need of building the Railroad Workers Industrial Union. We will certainly not be able to build the Railroad Workers Industrial Union if we continue as we have up until now to neglect and forget our work in the Railroad Brotherhoods.

"On the question of our factory concentration. While you correctly state the problem of organizing all of our outside forces for work in the factories, you leave out the most essential point, our work *inside* the factory, the problem of the united front in the factory, the question of demands, grievances, etc."

* * * *

In the last issue of the *Party Organizer* we had a special statement on the establishment of six-weeks training courses

for new Party members. The information we have on hand shows there is a very weak response in the organization of these very important courses. We call the attention of the comrades to the article in the No. 24 issue of the *Inprecor*, "Party Education Work with New Members of the German Communist Party." The experiences of our brother Party in Germany emphasizes the great necessity of developing the six-weeks training courses for new members in our Party as well.

Nor must we neglect the problem of the general political training of the entire Party through our classes in Fundamentals of Communism in the Workers Schools, etc.

The very basis of our political training must be the enrichment of the inner life of the Party units. Here again we wish to refer the comrades to the statement on this question in the last issue of the *Party Organizer*.

An Example to Be Followed

WHEN the workers of Charlotte, N. C., decided they should read some of the more important works on economics, Communism, etc., and finding that they did not have the money to purchase the more expensive books they sought a way to remedy this. Here is how they did it:

A small group of these comrades got together and organized "The Workers Library Circle." Each and every worker who wants to join can do so by paying an initiation of ten cents. The sum collected by initiation fees, donations, etc., is used to purchase books for the library. Such books as Bimba's *History of the American Working Class*, Stalin's *Leninism*, etc., are being purchased for "The Workers Library Circle." Each member of the library can take any book to read, but must pay five cents for reading the book. This goes to the upkeep of the library.

"The Workers Library Circle" is at present a small group, but it is only started. The workers are very enthusiastic over this method of getting books to read. Sympathizers are giving them donations occasionally and it is only a question of time when they will have a splendid library of Marxist-Leninist literature.

Another method of building the library was to write to various radical writers for contributions. Upton Sinclair, Bishop Brown and others sent donations of books.

"The Workers Library Circle" not only acts to educate these workers who are already members of the Party and the Trade Union Unity League, but draws numerous other workers and sympathizers to its circle. Many workers are thus drawn nearer to the movement.

—W. G. BINKLEY.



Selling Inside the Shops

No general directives can be given on the sale of literature by members of a shop unit inside the shop. Just like every other Party activity in the shops, the tactics and methods must be adapted to the situation inside. It would be a good idea if the particular manner of distributing literature inside the shop would be worked out by the unit together with the Section or District Literature Director. The unit knows the conditions inside, and the Section or District Literature Director has the benefit of experiences in other shops. Between the two a working arrangement can be found.

A unit in the P—shop in the New York District, working closely with the District Literature Director, and carefully discussing various methods at the unit meetings, succeeded in selling inside the shops during the month of May, 320 pamphlets, amounting to \$17.14. It is interesting to note that a very popular form of literature among the non-Party workers there was the Marxist Study Courses.

Can literature be sold inside the shops? This is only another proof that it can be done.

August First and May First

How to Use Literature in Mobilizing for August First—

Avoid the Shortcomings of Our May First Experiences

(This article is based on reports on May First experiences from Districts 2, 3, 8 and 9)

THOSE districts which seriously planned the activities for May First with regard to literature, linking up their preparations integrally with the general organizational preparations of the given district for May Day, showed good results. Not only did they sell the literature, and thus reach the workers, but they got some good organizational experiences which gave their general literature work a good stimulus.

District Directives on August First Include Literature

We can learn from these experiences. The directives of the Central Committee on August First have gone out, calling upon

for new Party members. The information we have on hand shows there is a very weak response in the organization of these very important courses. We call the attention of the comrades to the article in the No. 24 issue of the *Inprecor*, "Party Education Work with New Members of the German Communist Party." The experiences of our brother Party in Germany emphasizes the great necessity of developing the six-weeks training courses for new members in our Party as well.

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tional contacts at the same time. Chicago writes: "As the literature was sold, the workers were urged to support the campaign and to come to the demonstration with their fellow-workers and families. The same line was followed in the mass organizations." These preparatory methods must be emphasized still more for the August First campaign, especially in our efforts to penetrate the shops with organizational forms for struggling against war.

The Demonstration Itself

District 2 sold literature by comrades mingling with the spectators along the line of march. District 2 did this in a very systematic organized manner. (See *Party Organizer*, May-June issue.) In Chicago, while the plans were well laid, they were very poorly carried out. They write: "The serious mistakes were: (a) insufficient number of comrades assigned, majority with no experience on sale of literature, especially on such occasions; (b) lack of necessary discipline in carrying out given directives; (c) comrades in charge of literature sales repeatedly left sidewalks filled with onlookers and joined the marching line; (d) lack of attractive signs to display literature for sale in the parade.

Probably very few August First demonstrations, if any, will be held indoors. Therefore the bad experiences of the May First indoor meetings, as reported by these districts, need not be described in this particular article. Now how can we use these experiences for our August First plans?

Plan Systematically

Use the Central Committee directives carefully in planning the district directives, using every possible opportunity to utilize literature to mobilize the workers—shop gates meetings, sale of literature inside the shops (it can be done—see article on page 29); all election rallies and other outdoor meetings; united front conferences, where mass organizations will give large quantity orders for anti-war literature which was successfully one in Chicago in the Scottsboro campaign; house to house canvassing; all indoor meetings on whatever subject, etc. In those districts where it has never occurred to the Dist. Org. Departments to include literature directives from an organizational and mobilizational viewpoint, the carefully laid plans may not work out so well in practice for the first time, but they will have a tremendous effect in orientating the Party members toward literature as an organizer and mobilizer. In this respect District 8, after enumerating all its shortcomings in the May First campaign, writes:

"The outstanding successes from a Party point of view,

the districts to work out their detailed plans, and literature must play the same mobilizing role that it does in the Central Committee directives, concretized for district conditions. All District Literature Directors, and all District Org. Departments should therefore bring out the role of literature as an organizer and mobilizer in their directives for the district on August First, learning from the experiences we had in planning the May First campaign.

May First Experiences

Four districts responded to the call of the center to report on their May Day experiences—Districts 2, 3, 8, and 9. The experiences of District 2 were described in the Literature Section of the May-June *Party Organizer* in detail. All four of these districts used May Day literature for mobilization before May Day itself—at open air meetings, at united front conferences, at shop gate meetings, shop gate sales, and at all functionaries' meetings during that period. Some of them used literature in house to house canvassing, thus making organizations being daily expressed, are: (a) the serious realization of the practical importance and gains for the Party and the revolutionary movement in general, from the mass distribution of our literature; (b) the serious approach of our Party membership from top to bottom toward furthering a political orientation toward literature distribution, and the rallying of the organizational abilities of the membership for developing an efficient apparatus to penetrate the shops, mines, unions, and mass organizations with our Party press and Party literature; (c) lessons drawn from mistakes and shortcomings; (d) the education of the working masses on the campaigns, the rallying of them under the ideological leadership of our Party, leading directly to organizational gains."

Unit Literature Directors—Wake Up!

AT A combined meeting of three units in District 2, the comrade in charge of literature for the evening, used the following method to sell the pamphlets, etc.: "We have some very good and new pamphlets. All comrades who want some, please come forward." Of course, a few minutes elapsed and no one came up. One of the comrades of the District Literature Committee, who was present, picked up a pamphlet and spoke one minute on its contents. Then he did likewise with another and another pamphlet. The result was gratifying! The nickels and dimes for these pamphlets actually flowed in. Then this com-

rade explained the necessity of spreading the sale and distribution of our literature to the *outside* workers, to act as an *organizer*, explaining how Litvinoff's *Soviet Union Stands for Peace* would be of extreme interest to such workers at present. There were only forty of these pamphlets and eight comrades took five each, but a few others asked that they also be supplied with some.

This proves that it is merely a question of approach which determines the failure or success of our sales and distribution. No comrade in charge of literature should attempt to distribute any without first making a brief statement on each pamphlet as to its contents, or import, etc., otherwise the titles read off to the workers remain just that—titles.

(From the *Literature Builder*, New York, June, 1932.)

Don't Let the Question of Lack of Credits Stop You.

Start from the bottom up. That's how we have to begin the tremendous job of starting real mass literature distribution. No credits and no money — that is considered an insuperable stumbling block—but only by comrades not genuinely interested in getting started.

Get a unit literature fund started. Every comrade in the unit who is employed, should be asked to advance a certain amount for literature. This money is used to buy the literature at a discount. The quarters, half-dollars and dollars that were advanced will be repaid to the comrades in the form of literature at the selling price. The profit remains in the unit—not the general treasury, to be eaten up by expenses connected with other Party activities—but in a separate literature account, to be used solely for further promotion of literature. Gradually a good stock of literature will develop, and a good mass sale to workers outside this unit can be developed.

Get a comrade in charge who is interested in the work of literature distribution, who can mobilize other comrades to be active in this work, and who can keep careful accounts and use the money for more literature.

Workers' Libraries Give Workers an Opportunity to Read

On page 28, in the Agit-Prop section of this number of the *Party Organizer*, comrades will find an account of how our books and pamphlets were made available to unemployed and penniless workers in Charlotte, N. C.

Party Organizer



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mands.

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Our Election Campaign.

Good Methods of Shop Work
Bring Results.

Shop Paper Reviews.

Broadening Our Agitation in
the Election Campaign.

Section Stimulates the Sale of
Literature.

Vol. V

AUGUST, 1932

No. 8

Issued by

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. V.

August, 1932

No. 8

The Election Campaign and the Struggle for the Masses

TWO months have already passed of the six-month period of the campaign. During this time, we must ask, how effectively have we conducted this struggle?

If we are honest with ourselves, we must be profoundly dissatisfied with our work. Starting with the greatest opportunities, with the events of every day giving point to our election platform, not only nationally and internationally, but in every locality as well, with life itself exposing day by day the hollowness and falsity of the promises of the demagogues—still our election struggle has not penetrated fundamentally into the million-masses.

At the National Nominating Convention in Chicago, the campaign was launched in a reasonably satisfactory manner. A thousand delegates, of native working class composition, came from forty-three states to enthusiastically endorse the platform and candidates of the Party. Platform and candidates combine to provide the best instruments possible to have proceeded from Chicago to the rousing of a broad mass movement of struggle for the immediate necessities of life. The masses have shown a magnificent response to the smallest organized efforts to draw them into the struggle. Still the results are unsatisfactory. We must searchingly examine the causes for this, and bring about that change in the whole work of the Party which will enable us really to bring forth those deep working class forces which are at hand to be mobilized under our leadership.

In all the work of the campaign thus far, the greatest weakness has been the failure to reach out among new groups of workers, hitherto untouched, to bring them into the struggle on the basis of a united front for their immediate needs. There are tremendous opportunities for this. The state conventions thus far held, in spite of the small efforts put in, show this fact. What results have been achieved, however, are largely the spontaneous action of workers and their organizations coming to us under the general influence of the Party platform and slogans, and not of systematic work on our part.

That this is true is shown by the neglect in development of

local demands and issues. There is entirely too much reliance upon *only* the national platform demands. In formulating local demands, we have witnessed in case after case merely the restating in a mutilated form the national demands. The Illinois platform which is very good in many respects, suffers from a mere restatement of our national demands. Our national platform is the basic document of the campaign, and a powerful one. Its demands should be used as they were adopted, in every locality; their form should not be changed; but they should be *supplemented* by real local and state demands, which arise out of the special circumstances of each state.

The local demands give the special, concrete basis for sharpening the struggle for the national demands. There is no contradiction whatever between them. And it is precisely these concrete local demands which furnish the very best means of winning the *broadest* strata of workers in each locality to active participation in the Communist election struggle. These issues primarily center around the struggle for relief, against evictions, against wage-cuts, against tax-sales, against police terror and denial of workers' rights, etc. (While we cannot over-emphasize the importance of local demands, we must at the same time guard ourselves against distorting local demands to a mere enumeration of scores of grievances as is the case in the New York platform.)

Upon the basis of local demands, we must build up a broad network of united front committees of struggle which have tasks simultaneously of developing the special fights and of uniting them in the broad election struggle for the interests of the whole working class.

All this requires systematic, organized work, and energetic leadership. It requires the maximum development of initiative of the lower organizations and of individual workers. And above all it requires a comradely, fraternal approach to *all workers*, regardless of what organization they belong to, or if they are entirely unorganized. We must approach the workers to *convince* them, to win their *voluntary* agreement with us and adherence to the united front.

We must sharpen our political struggle against the social-fascist misleaders and demagogues of all stripes. But to sharpen politically, does not mean to use more name-calling, vituperation and shouting, which does not convince the workers, but rather prejudices them against us. And especially it does not mean sharpening against the workers in the reformist organizations, but against the misleaders in order to *separate* the workers from them and win them to our support.

There should be no gathering of workers during the election campaign without the message of the Communist Party being brought to them as clearly as possible. This requires the most systematic, energetic, and politically intelligent agitational work.

Those who do this work must carefully prepare themselves. They must know the issues closest to the hearts of the particular workers to whom they speak. They must raise these issues in such a way as to clearly expose the false promises and betrayals of the misleaders. They must not, by clumsy and unintelligent name-calling, antagonize honest workers to whom the issues are not yet clear. The function of our agitators in penetrating the enemy camps is to *clarify* and *win* the honest workers.

Lessons of the Metal Strike in Terre Haute

THE workers of the Columbian Stamping and Enameling Co. have recently carried through a successful strike and defeated the wage cut announced by the company. It is important for us to learn how to conduct strike struggles effectively.

The type of workers in this plant is the type to be found in any small industrial town: essentially native born and usually dubbed "home guards." The introduction of rationalization of production has almost wholly eliminated the aged workers. The average age of the workers in this factory is about 25. About half of them are girls.

The factory now produces hardware goods. But during the war it produced helmets, mascots and gas masks. The factory is so equipped that it can be turned into producing war material within 3 hours.

Since the intensive provocations upon the Soviet Union on the Eastern front by the Japanese and American imperialism, there has been brought into the plant hundreds of new dies and other equipment, making it possible to go over to production of helmets, etc., at a moment's notice.

Announcing the Wage Cut

Simultaneously with preparation for war production the company hired a new efficiency expert (at \$100.00 per week) who very efficiently cut down the rates of the piece-workers. On top of this the company put through a liberal wage cut of 10% on June 1st. Prior to the cut the average wage of the workers was about \$10.00 a week. Especially low were the rates of the girls in the dipping department. After the wage cut it turned out that the workers earned about 4 cents an hour. The limit had been reached.

Several girls went to the foreman and told him as much. Nine of them were told that they were "fired." The boys in the next department learned of this and out they came. Two de-

partments were down the first day. The following day little persuasion was necessary to bring all other workers out on strike.

The usual barrage of lies, deceptions, and rumors practiced by the bosses through their stool pigeons failed to break the solidarity of the strikers. First, the rumor of the plant shutting down for good unless the workers returned within two days was picked by the rank and file strike committee (elected first day—representing all departments) by exposing this method in broad meetings of strikers, and showing the workers that the company had no intention of shutting down the factory, because of the orders that were jeopardized by the strike,

Over the week-end the bosses' agents were only able to get three to sign up. On Monday a mass picket line was organized and no attempt was made to reopen. Negotiations immediately started. A committee representing all workers was sent in with the following demands:

1. Return of the 10% wage cut; 2) Reinstatement of the nine girls and no discrimination of any striker; 3) Discharge of the efficiency expert; 4) Recognition of the workers' shop committee.

An effort to get the workers to return to work with the promise that the demands would be given "consideration" after their return failed completely. The committee stuck out for the demands, and backed them up with a stronger picket line than the day before.

The timely intervention of the Metal Workers Industrial League organizer in guidance and direction of the strikers and formulation of the demands, had a decisive influence upon the strikers, and was an important factor in winning the demands for the strikers. The company, seeing the solidarity and increased picket line on the fourth day of the strike, called in the strike committee and agreed to all the demands, including recognition of the committee—except return of the 10% wage cut. In addition to this there was an arrangement of rates in the dipping department bringing their wages equal to that of pre-war cut rates.

The partial victory of this strike has raised the spirit of all workers. They are now determined to organize into the Metal Workers Industrial League, as a guarantee that their partial demands will not be stolen from them, and in order to force other concessions from the bosses under the leadership of a permanent class struggle organization.

The task of the Metal Workers Industrial League is to root itself into all departments and establish a shop committee and prepare for better and more victorious struggles.

JOE WEBBER.

The Fight for Unemployment Insurance and Local Demands

We print below an excerpt from the October, 1931, resolution of the Central Committee on Unemployment, printed in full in the pamphlet *Toward Revolutionary Mass Work*.

We urge the comrades to read the article on unemployment by A. Allen, which appears in the August issue of *The Communist*.

* * * * *

THE Party must incessantly compare the wealth of the rich with the poverty of the unemployed: "*In the richest land on earth there is the greatest poverty among the unemployed.*" We must denounce the policy of the American government and the American capitalists by pointing to the *example of the Soviet Union*. We must carry on a widespread campaign against the dismissal of workers and we must overcome the conception of dismissals and unemployment as something to be accepted as a "law of nature."

The demand for unemployment insurance must be put forward not merely as a propaganda slogan, as has been the case until now, especially in the *Fight Against Hunger* program (*Daily Worker*, August 29, 1931), but as one of the *central slogans of action*. The struggle for social insurance, and especially *unemployment insurance at the present time*, has the greatest revolutionary significance and all tendencies to push it into the background should be decisively combatted. In the marches and demonstrations to take place on the opening of Congress, December 7, this demand for unemployment insurance at *full wages* at the expense of the employers and the government and to be administered by the workers should receive the *chief emphasis* as the most effective instrument for exposing the charity proposals of the bourgeoisie and the fake insurance proposals of the reformists and "progressives."

In addition to the *main slogans* enumerated above, it is necessary to raise local demands in the various localities, before the state legislatures, etc. These local demands should be *carefully worked out* to conform to the needs of the unemployed workers in the given locality and should be capable of rallying the masses for struggle. They should be for specific public works in the workers' neighborhoods, for definite appropriations for local relief, for more adequate housing, food, etc., for the unemployed, against cutting off the workers from the local welfare budget (Detroit), against the widespread graft in the administration of relief (Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, etc. Such local demands, however, should in no case be used as a substitute for the main demands enumerated above; on the

contrary, through a *sustained struggle* for these local demands, widely popularizing every victory gained, no matter how small, the workers must be made to see the possibility of winning the broader national demands, especially insurance, by continued mass struggle.

The unmasking of the bourgeoisie and reformists and the systematic exposure of their proposals has been one of the weakest phases of the unemployed work. All tendencies to underestimate the demoralizing influence of their continuous propaganda among the unemployed must be decisively combated.

Experiences of Neighborhood Concentration

ABOUT four months ago, I was assigned by my unit to concentrate on two houses in our territory. These houses adjoin one another, one occupied by about eight white tenants and the other by about eight Negro tenants.

The first few times I visited these workers, I brought them literature which I thought would interest them, talking to them about their daily problems. I soon found that the problems which interested them the most were unemployment relief, and the Scottsboro case. I therefore brought them all literature pertaining to this case, and to the fight for unemployment insurance.

The most important thing I learned from this experience is that in order to gain the confidence of the workers, one must concentrate wholeheartedly, and not indifferently. By that I mean, visiting the workers at least two or three times a week, getting to know them by name and their individual problems, and have them call you by name and feel that you are one of them. I can truthfully say that by this time the workers do not look at me as an outsider but as a friend, and if for some reason or other I find it impossible to see them for a few days, I find that they keep asking one another if they know what happened to me.

When the Election Platform pamphlet came out, I brought same to these workers. The Negro workers, especially, were interested in the fact that a Negro candidate was running for Vice-President, and all were interested in hearing him. Thus, when Ford spoke at the Renaissance Hall in Harlem one night, I asked the workers to come with me. Although only two Negro workers came down to hear Ford, when they went back to their house, all the others were interested in hearing the report. We therefore called a meeting of the workers in that house on

the roof, and there went over the platform and the report of the meeting was given by one of the workers who went down.

Since it was impossible to go over everything that night, we decided to call another meeting on the roof the following week. At this meeting, several workers of the house next door came up, and a very interesting discussion took place, white and Negro workers taking part, on the program of the Communist Party.

We discussed the fact that because of lack of organization the workers have no means of gaining immediate demands. On this point all agreed. One worker stated that one of the most important needs of the workers on that block was a playground for the small children, who now played in the streets, with great danger to their health and safety. I asked whether they would be willing to fight for this demand, and they all were willing. It was then decided to draw up petitions to be signed by all workers on this block for a playground, under the auspices of the ——Ave. Workers Club. A committee was elected to be in charge.

At this time petitions are being signed with the aid of the tenants of these two houses, and we are planning to call a large meeting of all tenants on the block, under the auspices of the club, when the whole block has been canvassed.

The important points which may be learned from the above are as follows:

1. Make friends with the workers so that they have confidence in you and so that you can learn their needs.
2. Don't call a meeting until you feel that the workers understand what the purpose is and what it is all about. Too often meetings are called before the workers are ready. Individual contact with the workers for months is necessary.
3. Don't force anything on them—explain and let them with your guidance choose their own program. Personally, I thought that there were greater necessities for these particular workers than playgrounds, but since it was their idea to petition for a playground, I agreed with them.

SYLVIA TATE—New York.

To the Study of Marxism-Leninism

"Marx discovered all forms of antagonism and exploitation in order to help the working class to abolish them.... The essential in the teachings of Marx is the explanation and clarification of the world-historical role of the proletariat as the creator and builder of a Socialist society." (Lenin)

Read the
MARXIAN STUDY COURSES
announced on page 28

Winning the Negro Masses for Our Election Campaign

IS IT permissible to take bold steps forward in new methods of work? I think so. I think that this is the essence of the organizational directives issued by the 14th Plenum in order to successfully carry out in life the important resolutions and the new tasks facing our Party at the present time. Our Party calls for immediate and drastic changes in methods of work—therefore we must take bold steps. It is necessary even to consider “dangerous” ideas and methods proposed by new comrades in our ranks. Especially must our ears be open to the suggestions of non-Party workers who have a wealth of information for our Party. Such alertness will enable us to formulate a correct mass policy and methods of work.

But is it an easy matter to introduce new methods of work after we have been driving our wagon for years in the same old tracks—going along in “grooves” that makes it unnecessary for us to even steer or think? I want to record here just one incident which took place after the 14th Plenum to show the difficulty in introducing new methods and also the new life that will be evident just as soon as we abandon some of our inherited bad methods of mass work.

We all admit very sincere efforts toward work amongst the Negro workers, but it usually boils down to the point: “They all promised to come but they didn’t.” Space here does not permit us to go into very many cases of splendid preparatory work and good response but *bad organizational results*. May be the Negro workers don’t even trust a white revolutionist upon first acquaintance? This is possible. Let us think it over. We must remember that the Negro race of this country has gone through much at the hands of the white master ruling class. For years after the “great emancipator” Lincoln issued his proclamation of freedom and equality the Negro people have been fed “white lies” by the former slave owners—today’s wage-slave owners. It is this mistrust of everything “white” that must be reckoned with and must be broken down by the most heroic sacrifice and work of our white comrades in defense of equal rights for the Negro workers.

Resistance to New Methods of Work

A proposal was made to the District Bureau that it was necessary to work our special method to win the Negro workers in support of our election program. It was pointed that there was very little interest among the Negro workers to vote in the coming elections. The proposal included a recommendation for a *special Negro conference* to raise the question of equal rights and endorsement of candidates in the coming elections

that would champion the interests of the Negro workers. It was pointed out that such conferences were necessary because of the deep mistrust the Negro workers have for conferences organized and led by whites. It was further pointed out that these conferences should be initiated, organized and led by Negro Communists; and finally that these conferences should have as their foremost task the campaign for solidarity of white and Negro workers against their common enemy—the ruling capitalist class, their political parties and candidates.

But in the eyes of the comrades this was a dangerous bold step. It was unanimously rejected by the Bureau with the sole exception of the leading Negro comrade on the Bureau. Most of the comrades spoke about distorting the Party line. Hints of white chauvinism were circulated. The sincerity of the comrades proposing such ideas was questioned. After much arguments and talk—it was agreed that the proposal would be accepted for trial—but with much scepticism. It sounded good but it was so new!

The recommendations of this proposal and others for special methods and forms of work amongst the Negro toilers have yet to be tested fully. But preliminary work indicates some splendid gains in new personal contacts established with such methods and a keen interest aroused among the Negro workers in the coming elections. It is quite evident that new methods are necessary and these will bring a wealth of lessons to our Party.

For bold steps forward in new methods of work to carry out the directives of the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party!

FRANK ROGERS—Youngstown.

NOTE: We request the Cleveland District Bureau to explain the basis for their disagreement with the proposal of a special Negro conference. As presented by Comrade Rogers in the article, we cannot see serious objections to his proposal for a special Negro conference in our election campaign in Youngstown. However, we would like to hear from the District Bureau.

Read This New Pamphlet

**THE COMMUNIST POSITION ON THE
NEGRO QUESTION**

*Resolutions :: Speeches :: Articles
setting forth the full Communist program
on the Negro question.*

64 pages

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Good Methods of Shop Work Bring Results

THE S. P. shop unit has been in existence for the last three years, made up of the same number of comrades (four working in the shop): two Greek comrades, one Russian and one Slovak comrade. The main characteristics were sectarianism of the worst kind; theories prevailed that no foreign-speaking worker can speak of organization to an American worker; they depended entirely upon the bulletin to bring the workers into the Party and Trade Union Unity League. The bulletin was issued more or less regularly, but there was no attempt toward picking up issues in the shop and developing struggles. The stories were mostly a record of things that happened in the shop without following it up. The result of this situation was stagnation in the unit.

The situation has changed considerably within the last few months. With the assignment of more comrades from the District, a persistent effort was made to get the unit out of its isolation. As a result we met with some success. First of all, the comrades began to understand that Party members who work in shops are not ornaments in the Party, as a good many used to think, but that their duty is to work among the workers in the shops, and not to leave this to outside forces only. Then we began to take up issues in the shop in the bulletin—especially those which aggravated the workers the most, and we were not satisfied only with reporting them, but followed each of them up with leaflets as well.

We started a campaign of exposing the company union, and it had developed into quite a struggle when the officials of the "union" proposed to raise dues from 35c to 75c a month. Here we succeeded in developing a pretty good fight of the workers in the shop against the company outfit. Upon the suggestion of one of our comrades a petition was initiated, which was signed by 317 men. The reason why the rest of the men did not sign was that the petition had to be circulated in a hurry so that the foremen would not catch them, and secondly, the thing was started late in the afternoon. This fight was also carried to the meetings of the company union local, and the workers were really militant. The petition called upon the company to stop the company union officials from raising the dues, threatening to drop out of the "union." By this time, there was no doubt in the minds of the workers as to the role of the company union. And this whole fight was not so much against the few cents, but more a manifestation of their resentment against the outfit for all of its deeds, the ten per cent wage cut, etc. In fact, the workers in the shop discussing the problems, used our arguments.

But here is where we displayed our weakness the most. While

one of our comrades suggested the idea of the petition, yet he and the rest of the comrades in the shop failed to become the leaders of the situation in the shop—the organization of the fight had to be carried on mostly from the outside through our bulletin, leaflets. The results of this fight are the following:

1. The dues were increased to 50c instead of 75c.
2. A very favorable attitude of the workers in the shop towards us. The bulletin is very popular and read by almost all the workers. The reaction towards the contents is very good, although the make-up is not technically as good as it might be.
3. Four new members joined the Union—two Americans and two Spaniards.
4. A number of good contacts to build a T.U.U.L. group in the shop.

We are now working to organize specifically an opposition group within the company union. This is more tangible to the men than "unity" or "grievance" committees.

This report was thoroughly discussed at the District Committee meeting, and the decision was made to add two more comrades to help in the work of the unit; to organize a conference of contacts and members in the S. P. shops throughout District so as to establish some coordination in our work.

—SAN FRANCISCO.

Suggestions for Concentration in Ford Plants

WILL the Ford workers fight? The refusal of the workers in one whole department in the foundry to obey the orders of the bosses prior to March 7th—the Ford Hunger March—and the joining of the workers into the Union and the Party after March 7th, are very positive answers that the workers will fight. There is a basis for developing the struggle further, providing we know how to organize the workers, which we were unable to do sufficiently after the Ford Hunger March. It seems as if the Hunger March was an aim in itself, whereas it should have been a great stimulus for further development of our struggle to a much higher level.

Our present methods of organizational work in the factories are not sufficient and effective enough. We confine ourselves to individual contact of a comparatively small number of Party comrades working inside, and to the distribution of the *Ford Worker*, very few of which are distributed *inside* the shop. This paper is distributed in street cars and at street junctions. The majority of the workers, even sympathizers, are afraid to buy it or take it for nothing in the presence of the other workers. Work is carried out in an unsystematic mechanical way. Not sufficient attention is paid to the shop yet. In spite of many

discussions, decisions, and resolutions, this cannot be called a serious concentration of our Party on one of the strongest pillars of capitalism and one so significant and of such international importance as the Ford factory. As the situation stands today, we cannot speak of any serious work in the Ford shop; we have to show something concrete and tangible to the workers before they will follow us on a mass scale. They must be convinced of the ability of the Party and the revolutionary union to lead them victoriously in the struggle against these terrible conditions. In addition to carrying on every-day work in the Ford shop, a victorious strike in a nearby factory would give a great impetus to the development of struggle in the Ford factory.

We have some Ford units organized on a territorial basis which belong to another section which is not taking up the problems of shop work. In order to coordinate the work of the various units, we should establish a Ford Central Bureau composed of representatives of all Party and League Ford units in order to take up the problems of shop work,—such as reports on the activity of various units, reports on shop conditions, organization of a shop and anti-war committee; to formulate our policy on the basis of collective agreement and to give guidance to work in the Ford factory; to keep a record of the increase and decrease of employment and speed-up, so as to be in a position to know actual facts in the shop; to shift the concentration from one department to another as necessity demands; to know the strength of every unit, to assign the necessary forces in weak units, etc. The section committee can also do this work if it is relieved of work which is not directly connected with shop work.

Concentration on the Ford shop should be on a much larger scale than it is at present. The whole Party in Detroit and in the other surrounding cities should be mobilized for this work. We have about 800 Party members in this territory. On an average, every Party member has at least three or four Ford workers that he knows personally. The Party must assign one day in the month for Ford concentration where all Party members must participate. The Party must issue to sympathizers, Ford workers, a registration card on which they can write their name, address, building and department where they work, whether sympathizer or just contact, the name and the units of the comrades that got these contacts, etc. These should be sent to every unit in the territory with instructions and an explanation of the importance of this work. A copy of this registration blank should be sent to the Ford Central Bureau.

These contacts must be sorted out and divided according to the building and the departments, so that in case of strike, we will know how to get the workers and give them instructions from outside on how to work in the shop. In this way we can at the

beginning establish a network of about 3,000 Ford workers and through them get many other contacts.

A copy with the name and address should remain in the unit that got the contact: and on the day of the Ford concentration, every unit should be supplied with the necessary literature—*The Ford Worker*, etc. Comrades should be sent to visit these contacts, to sell them literature and to get information about the shop conditions.

NOTE: We request the Detroit District Committee to send in their opinion on the points raised in the article. The experiences of our methods of shop work in the Detroit Ford Plants are of importance to the entire Party. We ask the comrades to send in articles dealing with their experiences.

The Work of Trade Union Fractions

WE have just received the resolution on "The Work of Trade Union Fractions," recently adopted by the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. This resolution is of the greatest importance in establishing the line and guidance of the Party in our work in the trade unions. Every comrade should read and study the resolution. It is printed in full in the August issue of *The Communist* and in the *Daily Worker* in the issues for August 1, 2 and 3.

We are reprinting below an excerpt from the resolution:

"The most important (and at the same time the most difficult) thing is to establish the correct relations between the Communist fractions and the trade unions, especially the revolutionary trade unions. It is along these lines that most mistakes and confusion is found in practice. As the revolutionary trade union organizations must be mass organizations, including all sections of the working class irrespective of their political views, etc., the Communists working in these organizations must insure themselves influence and the decisive role by good and capable work, by methods of the most patient and insistent explanations of the Party line, showing by concrete examples what line the Party is carrying on in the struggle for the immediate demands of the workers, and giving personal examples of the most consistent and courageous work for these demands.

"The correct and flexible leadership of the work of the trade union fractions is of specially great importance during economic struggles. During economic struggles the Party as a rule must act from within, putting forward corresponding organizations of the revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary trade union opposition as organizers and leaders of economic struggles."

Some Experiences in Shop Concentration

THE recent convention of the New York District of the Communist Party, U. S. A., definitely and sharply engraved in the minds of the comrades the necessity of rooting the Party amongst the masses by giving them leadership in fighting against the economic and political oppression which they face in their day-to-day life.

However, this convention did not sufficiently explain *how* to coordinate Party work with mass work. Neither did it sufficiently tell us *the elementary steps necessary in order to break down the Chinese wall which stands between us and the decisive sections of the workers in the New York District.* Yet without such an explanation there can be no decisive change in our methods of work and no basic improvement in our work amongst the masses.

The distribution of Party forces is not planned in a manner which makes it possible to coordinate the work of our Party amongst the masses.

I know of two comrades, railroad workers in a strategic yard, who have for years been concentrating on the Singer Sewing Machine plant. Now as unemployed workers they have even more time for this important work *but they never built a group where they themselves had worked for years.*

One unit of Section 2 has been concentrating on a railroad yard for some time, but two Party members who work on this railroad are active in L.S.N.R., League for the Protection of the Foreign Born, unemployed work, etc., and are members of other units in the section.

Thus we have a situation where units spend months and even years trying to make contact from the outside while Party members of strategic plants and industries are busy in other units with other work, just as other active members of the Party. Likewise we have a situation where leading members of the unions belong to units which are totally disconnected from their daily activity while nearby units are groping in the dark, concentrating on a shop or factory of a similar industry to which our union leader belongs.

Our Party as a whole is isolated from the decisive sections of the working class. Therefore to us the question of *how* to utilize the few contacts that we have, and our forces in general, to develop shop activity in the large plants—is of decisive importance.

I remember how a group of comrades just out of the District Training School—hard workers and devoted comrades—concentrated for months on the Otis Elevator shops. They sold *Daily Worker* and distributed a shop bulletin in the name of the Party. The information for the latter was received from a group of workers sympathetic to the Party. But the workers

in Otis were not interested in our Party and looked upon the comrades as a bunch of outsiders trying to utilize them for our own political purposes, trying to tell them from the sidewalk what to do. For the sympathizers we had no organization which they felt could rally and unite the workers for the improvement of conditions in the shops. In other words we offered them no solution to their immediate problems.

If we had coordinated our work (this was done much later but not consistently) with the Metal Workers Industrial League, gotten a metal worker to visit the contacts and sympathizers and on the question of shop organization patiently shown them how to work, if the bulletin had been issued in the name of the shop group, then *the workers would have seen an organization which attempts to solve their problems, then the bulletin would have become a rallying center, and our Party group on the sidewalk would not be a bunch of outsiders but a group of workers helping to build an organization of (not for) the workers.*

I know of a case where a Party member working together with a leading comrade of the section developed a shop group, but the group was often not consulted on the methods of work to find out whether they agreed. Usually such procedure brings no organizational activity from the workers and in this case, when the Party member was fired, the workers lost faith in our ability to lead them and will no longer come to meetings.

H. SHAW—New York.

Less Inner Meetings and More Concrete Work

THE 14th Plenum is of great importance, especially now, at a time when the war danger is more acute than ever. When the imperialist powers through the spearhead, Japan, are preparing war against the Soviet Union; at a time when the crisis is deepening, unemployment is growing every day, wage cuts are taking place daily. It is at this Plenum where the Party stressed the importance of mass work through personal contact.

Can the method—personal contact—be applied? Yes. It can and must be applied if we want to carry on real mass work. But, can personal contact be applied now in the way our Party functions? I say no. Why? We cannot make personal contact with workers simply by going out in front of factories with literature and leaflets and at that time talk to workers in a sense of making real contact with them. In order to talk to workers you must visit their homes and spend a few minutes with each worker and discuss with him the problems that con-

front the workers and try to convince the workers to join our ranks.

Our Party at the present time has a new face. The majority of the members are new in the Party. And the new members are not given enough training to approach the workers correctly. It is therefore left to those members who are long in the Party, and who are most alive. What do we find there?

The active and capable comrades in mass organizations are overburdened with work. That is not with concrete work but with too many meetings. I will cite a few examples to prove whether I am correct. A certain unit is calling in its members to the unit bureau to hear of their activities in the mass organizations. We found out the following: the unit organizer besides being unit organizer belongs also to a union of the A. F. of L. And he has in the unit: organizers' meetings, unit buro, unit meetings; meets with the fraction of the unemployed council, opposition group of his union, union meeting, etc. Practically every single night in the week—meetings, and very little results. A leading comrade in the N.T.W.I.U., a worker in a shop, is the chairman of the union, in the sub-committee of the union, organization committee, concentration committee, fraction secretary and such has to meet with union fraction, Amalgamated fraction, shirtmakers' fraction, millinery fraction. Yes, she is also in the Youth committee.

How to Approach Workers

Can this comrade make friends with her shopmates and visit the workers home? Of course not. The same applies to the comrades in the I.L.D., I.W.O. and so down the line. Not only must we apply personal contact in factories, mass organizations and in territory, but much time must be devoted to train our new members and draw them into the day-to-day work. Here is where I also must cite a few examples the way our new comrades approach the workers.

A new comrades and an old comrade went out to visit workers and approach them to join the Party. "Join the Party," said the new comrade to the worker, "it's a good Party, I also joined it." And the worker answered him: "It doesn't mean that I have to join the Party because you joined it. You'll have to convince me why I should join the Party." And the comrade didn't know what to answer. Or I went out with a Negro comrade to sell Dailies. We both went separately. I watched the comrade how he is trying to sell the Dailies. The comrade kept the *Daily Worker* and asked something the worker and the worker shook his head—no, and the comrade left. So he kept on a few houses, with the same results. I went over to the comrade and with these words he approached the workers: "Would you be interested to buy this paper—the *Daily Worker*?" The worker answered—no. I told the comrade to listen to me talking to the

next worker. We came over to a worker, he was reading the *Daily News* (it happened to be a Negro territory). I started to talk to the worker and compare the *Daily Worker* to *Daily News*, opened up the paper and showed the worker where the *Daily Worker* leads the struggle to free the nine Scottsboro boys, is fighting against lynching, against race discrimination and for the unity of the white and colored workers. By spending a few minutes the worker bought a copy. A worker that stood by also bought one and gave his address to send the *Daily* by the week. This will prove the importance of training the new members. It is up to us to do it, but there are too many meetings.

The trouble is that the activity of comrades is being measured by meetings; the more meetings you have the more active you are. This is true with our leading comrades from top to bottom. After getting through with a general functionaries' meeting, the Org. secretary of our section ran around from comrade to comrade asking whether they had a meeting on Monday, as she had to get comrades for the Party affair committee. She asked me, "Have you got a meeting on Monday?" I answered "yes." She asked another comrade, the same answer. The third comrade answered—no. "That's good," said the section Org. secretary, "here is a meeting for you." She did not ask the comrades what they are doing on Monday, but whether they have meetings. It looked like the comrade had a pocketful of meetings and when she distributed them among the comrades she was satisfied and went away.

So long as this situation will prevail it will be impossible to carry on mass work through personal contact. I believe that the Party must carry on a campaign against these evils. Much attention must be paid in this direction. We must see to it that the comrades in mass organizations should not be piled up with committees on top of committees. *Non-Party members must be drawn into work*, a weakness that we fail to overcome. Not only don't we draw in non-Party members, but even members of the fractions are "getting away with murder" and only a handful of certain individuals are accepting on all the committees and the rest are not doing anything.

Too many inner meetings must be eliminated; if necessary units should meet every other week. I think the Party should carry a slogan in our Party press: *Less inner meetings and more concrete work*.

We must properly coordinate and distribute our work, the new members must be trained, and non-Party workers actively drawn in into work.

C. GELSON—Philadelphia.



Shop Paper Reviews

The Milwaukee Headlight — Milwaukee Railroad Shop—July, 1932.

All of the main issues of vital importance to the workers are taken up in this issue of the *Milwaukee Headlight*. The bonus march is discussed. The shop paper keeps reminding the Milwaukee railroad workers of the 10% wage cut put over a few months ago, and shows up some of the indirect wage cut schemes being put through on the railroads at the present time. The workers are not warned, however, that a new general wage cut on the railroads will be put through when the present wage cut "expires." This must be done so the workers can prepare for action against the next wage cut.

"War and Railroads" shows the direct effect war will have on the railroad workers—it is not too general, as the articles on war usually are in the shop papers.

To call on the railroad workers to demonstrate against war is not enough. Anti-war committees must be organized in the Milwaukee Railroad and other shops. The war article should have been on the front page in this August 1st issue.

The election campaign is also concretely tied up with wage cuts. This article however tends toward name-calling, stating that Hoover, Roosevelt and Thomas are for wage cuts but giving no facts to show this.

There is too little shop correspondence in the *Milwaukee Headlight*. The workers can only feel it is their paper if they write for it. Shop news must be stimulated.

The demands for part-time workers are of first-rate importance on the railroads. This question is ignored in the *Milwaukee Headlight*. Isn't it a fact that most of the railroad workers—especially in the shops—are on part-time? A program of immediate demands must be worked out for the part-time workers and played up in the shop paper.

The demands for the unemployed railroad workers are not mentioned in the shop paper.

Without struggles of the unemployed and part-time workers there can be no effective shop organization.

The Red Billet—Republic Steel, Canton, Ohio—July, 1932.

The *Red Billet*, in this issue, makes the National Convention of the Metal Workers Industrial League the main feature. This is fine. One shortcoming in the handling of the convention is that the tasks in the preparation of the convention are not properly given. The development of local struggles in the mills is not called for. The delegates to the convention should be workers who have come directly out of struggles in the mills.

The shop paper mentions the words "Program of the Metal Workers Industrial League" but does not give that program in connection with the fight on wage cuts, for unemployment relief and unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and government, the M. W. I. L. program for the part-time workers, youth, Negro steel workers, etc.

An issue of a steel paper which comes out just before a convention which is to form a Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, should be printed in many thousands of copies and should contain the program of the M. W. I. L.

War is not played up sufficiently in this issue, which is doubly severe shortcoming in view of the fact that the issue was the last one before August 1st. There is some but not enough shop news written by workers.

The analyses of the platforms of the Republican, Democratic, Socialist and Communist parties make an excellent way of presenting the election campaign to the workers. We suggest that it be followed up by taking personalities of the different capitalist parties and showing their connections with the bosses.

We shake hands with the *Red Billet* for handling the Bonus March. Yet this is done in a superficial way. The bonus marchers are not shown as starving unemployed workers and the employed and unemployed workers in general are not called to support them.

* * * * *

The Spark Plug—Fisher Body, Cleveland.

Here is a case of "from one extreme to the other." Most of the shop papers have fallen down in handling the main general issues—war, elections, etc. But the August issue of the *Spark Plug* consists of an article on war, one on Scottsboro, one on the Bonus March, and that's practically all. Nothing to speak of about the specific conditions in the shops, the grievances of the Fisher Body workers, the program of the Auto Workers Union, the wage cuts in the auto industry, the struggles of the workers in other industries, as the High Point strike, etc.

These every-day questions must make up the life of a shop paper. These are the things the workers feel every minute of their lives.

There is no article on the struggles of the unemployed for relief and unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and the government; nothing about the grievances of the part-

time workers, or in other words the majority of the auto workers.

* * * * *

The Ford Worker—Detroit, Mich.

The *Ford Worker* is a printed paper, and as such we must give it criticism on make-up, that is, attractiveness of appearance. By use of balanced heads, bigger type for heads, a few cuts (sketches or photos) the paper could be immensely improved.

The August issue mentions the Auto Workers Union just once, and then in passing, by tacking on to an article the slogan: "Join the Auto Workers Union," without telling the workers why they should do so, or what the Union stands for, what its program is.

There is very little about specific grievances in the Ford shops, the day-to-day life and demands of the Ford workers, employed, part-time or unemployed. The paper is much too general. It must get down to brass tacks.

The elections are handled barely at all, and very superficially. The Ford workers are not told why they should vote Communist. The capitalist parties are not exposed as enemies of the workers, even with the abundance of facts available in the Detroit section—Murphy's demagoguery while he supports the Ford massacre, the control of Dearborn by Ford, with Ford's relative as Mayor, etc.

Some Shortcomings of the Shop Papers

THE shop papers are beginning to show some improvement in the handling of subjects vital to the workers. Many of the shop papers take the subject of war and try to show its connection with the workers in the particular industry. In handling the elections the tendency is beginning to show of telling the workers specifically how the capitalist parties serve the bosses, and how the Communist platform is based on the needs of the workers. The shop papers reacted to the Bonus March.

A major shortcoming of the shop papers is the lack of shop correspondence. Very little of the shop papers is written by the workers themselves. Due to this the shop papers do not reflect the every-day life, thoughts and grievances of the workers.

The shop papers do not tend to serve as stimulators in the preparing of the partial struggles in the factories based on the daily grievances. They do not popularize sufficiently, in fact most of them do not at all popularize, the organs of struggle in the factories—the grievance committees, department committees. The shop papers must explain to the workers how these

bodies are formed, how they function, and for what purpose.

The shop papers for the most part very seldom mention the T.U.U.L. unions in the particular industries. The program of these unions in the fight against wage cuts, for unemployment relief and insurance, etc., must be brought to the workers.

In the question of the struggle against war, it is not enough to call on the workers to demonstrate against war on certain set dates. The struggle against war must be an every-day struggle right in the factories. Call for the formation of anti-war committees in the factories.

Specific demands for the part-time workers, for the young workers, women workers, Negro workers are seldom printed in the shop papers, thus failing to show whole big sections of the workers that the shop papers are their papers.

The shop papers do not go in enough for exposing local politicians, of charity agencies, of conditions in the neighborhoods in which the workers in the shop live, etc. This would also show the workers that the shop paper is their paper.

There is seldom material exposing the reformist union misleaders. There is almost never news of the strikes and other struggles of the workers in other industries and other sections of the country, or in other countries.

All of our shop papers suffer very much from failure to take up struggles of the unemployed, the fight against the stagger system, etc. This is a most serious shortcoming, which must immediately be corrected.

N. H.

Conditions for Successful Shop Work

The main basis of the work and development of the lower Party organizations is the work in the factory. Up till now the Party has not found the fit methods for carrying on this work. The content of this work is not merely organizational detail routine, but is the whole struggle against the capitalist offensive and against the policy of reformists. The first essential condition for successful work in the factory is daily contact with the mass of workers in it and thorough knowledge of the position of the workers in the factory and of the concrete conditions of struggle. The Communists must firmly grasp all the countless conflicts of a minor and major character arising daily with the employers, foremen and trade union bureaucrats, spies, etc., such as disputes, incidents, demands and grievances of the workers, including the women and youth, discriminating against Negroes and foreign born, with regard to wages, hours of work, working conditions, rationalization measures, infringements of workers' rights, dismissals in case of arrests of workers, etc. (From the 14th Plenum Resolution.)

Agit-Prop Work

NOTE: The comrades are urged to send in questions regarding agit-prop work which will be answered in this section or through mail. We also request the comrades to send in short articles dealing with their experiences in agit-prop work, or the raising of some problems growing out of their experiences which require discussion and answers. By all means, send in your questions and articles.

For Broadening Our Agitation in the Election Campaign

IN an article in the August issue of *The Communist* on some problems of agit-prop work in our election campaign, the question of broadening out our agitation in the elections was discussed. This was done by the method of a concrete examination of the various election leaflets.

Here a few more points will be discussed.

So far our agitation around the elections is mainly confined to a few central leaflets and the tours of Comrades Foster and Ford. It is necessary to broaden out and increase our meetings around the election issues. We must particularly arrange many meetings in the neighborhoods, in places where the unemployed gather and especially around the factories. The 14th Plenum Resolution gives us the line in this connection when it states:

"The Communist Party itself should organize thousands of meetings—great street meetings as heretofore, neighborhood meetings and especially small meetings in the workers' homes where our program shall be explained and the workers drawn into active participation in our election campaign."

Our election campaign also suffers from the fact that we have not attempted, nor do we even have the outlook for organizing "small meetings in the workers' homes," and "workers drawn into active participation in our election campaign."

Our agitation inside the shops to popularize the election issues is the weakest part of our election agitational activities. We do not even seem to develop factory gate meetings, especially called for the purpose of discussing the election platform. The greatest efforts and attempts must be made precisely in developing our agitation inside and around the factories.

The first central demand in our election platform is the demand concerning the unemployed workers. We have very few leaflets on hand addressed to the unemployed workers, leaflets which would indicate that special meetings of the unemployed were called for a special discussion on the election issues. It would be very important to know as to whether the Districts are developing organized distribution of our leaflets and platform where the unemployed gather, at the relief stations, bread lines, at trade-union halls, etc.

While undoubtedly the tour of Comrades Foster and Ford this year has aroused tremendous mass enthusiasm and is far greater in attendance than in our previous presidential election years, the preparations for the meetings are such that they do not indicate special election campaign activities to bring in new strata of workers to hear or program. We are particularly guilty in not having taken special steps to popularize and organize the meetings of Comrade Ford. The meetings of Comrade Ford must be an event. They should be part of our struggle for Negro rights. Special pains and steps must be taken for the organization of Comrade Ford's meetings.

Our local candidates must become fighting figures as is the case in some sections (Chicago). They should visit various working-class organizations to explain and popularize our election platform. Special debates should be arranged challenging our class enemies, etc.

We are not following up the election campaign activities and mass meetings of our enemies. The 14th Plenum resolution specifically pointed out the importance of it:

"Not a mass meeting during the election campaign without Communists. At all mass meeting arranged by bourgeois parties, the Communists should appear, expose the position of the enemies and make clear the position of the Party, distribute our literature; debates should be organized with the enemy candidates in order to expose their demagoguery and to reach the workers under their influence with the demands and program of the Communist Party."

The method mentioned in the Plenum resolution must be the

guide for our campaign against our enemies. In some cases, instead of developing a real mass campaign by following up the activities of our enemies, thus winning away the workers from their influence, the road of least resistance was adopted by developing a leftist twist, namely a handful of comrades attending meetings of our enemies, and with their behavior, creating the impression that they are there merely to break up the meeting. This must be corrected.

S. D.

An Examination of Some August First Leaflets

THE Center has so far received copies of the August 1st leaflets from only a few Districts. We will take up a few points in connection with the leaflets we have on hand. The first impression as to the make up and style of the leaflets shows that they were written in haste, the last minute without due consideration. We raise this point because practically all our leaflets suffer from this evil.

A serious political shortcoming of the few leaflets we have seen so far is that the war issue is submerged completely in the discussion of the local conditions. This, instead of making the local conditions part of the discussion of the war situation and placing the problem of convincing the workers of the need for demonstrating against imperialist war, in the center of the leaflet.

The absence of a concrete struggle against war is reflected in the leaflets. This is most clearly seen in the failure of a number of leaflets to raise the slogan: "Stop the shipment of ammunition to Japan." The Detroit leaflet, the North Philadelphia leaflet do not raise this slogan, nor do they mention it in the text of the leaflet. Others (Chicago) while raising the slogan against the shipment of ammunition to Japan do not discuss it in the text.

The struggle against pacifism is in some leaflets completely left out, and in others merely mentioned in passing. We cannot mobilize the workers for a struggle against imperialist war without a sustained systematic struggle against pacifism and pacifist illusions.

Many of the leaflets do not even mention the bonus march to Washington, for instance: Philadelphia, New Jersey. Some, while speaking of the bonus, fail to mention the fact that there was prior to August 1st, a bonus army encamped in Washington (Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh leaflets and others).

Our demand for unemployment insurance appears in some leaflets in a distorted and opportunist manner. For instance, the North Philadelphia leaflet places it in the following manner: "For the immediate payment of jobless relief," instead of raising the demand for unemployment insurance. The Detroit leaflet, while it raised the slogan for unemployment insurance, does not bring it out fully by stating our demand completely, namely, "for unemployment insurance at the expense of the state and employers."

We have not attempted here to give a thorough examination of the few leaflets we have on hand. This may be done at a later date. The above mentioned criticism emphasizes the need of a more careful writing of our leaflets, particularly having in mind the line of the Party and a correct presentation and placing of the central slogans of the Party.

For Political Clarity in the Writing of Leaflets

A MISTAKE was made by myself when, in calling a meeting recently in Washington, I carelessly wrote the following title on a leaflet:

"Imperialist Japan's Dream of a Pan-Asiatic Empire as a Threat to the Soviet Union and the United States."

This heading is wrong for the following reasons:

1) It suggests advocacy of rotten national chauvinism by making it appear as though the purpose of the title were to arouse a protective interest in American imperialism, as opposed to Japanese imperialism. This meaning was given to the leaflet by paralleling wrongly the Soviet Union, where workers rule, with the United States, where the capitalists rule, starve and beat us. We do not cry about "a threat" to the United States or any other robber power. The threat for us now is the threat of a war against the Soviet Union by Japanese imperialism, backed by American imperialism.

2) The title fails to show that in spite of the growing antagonisms between these two robber powers—they are united against their principal class enemy—the Soviet Union, and the support of American imperialism to Japan's war against the U. S. S. R.

SAM ROOL.

NOTE: The above is an excerpt from a statement sent in by Comrade Sam Rool. The statement indicates that Comrade Rool sees, though not quite fully, the basis for his very serious error. His mistake is not due to mere "carelessness." It is rather due to an insufficient absorbing of the line of the Party, of insufficient study of Leninism. Indeed more thoughtfulness for the line of the Party, more study of Leninism is required for the writing of our leaflets.

A serious and thorough study of the line of the 14th Plenum Resolution is one of the best guarantees against the committing of serious errors as the one committed by Comrade Rool. For the sake of clarification we quote the section of the 14th Plenum resolution dealing with the war situation, which explains the basis of Comrade Rool's mistakes.

"The sharp change in the international situation is the outstanding feature of the present situation. The war for the repartitioning of the world, and in the first place, for the imperialist partitioning of China and the crushing of the Chinese revolution, is already being waged by the imperialists in the Far East... The great imperialist powers,

especially Japan and the United States, are at present more and more involved in the sharpest conflict for their share in the exploitation and division of China and concentrating their war forces (navy, air forces, war industry) for an immediate armed struggle in the Pacific. At the same time the feverish efforts of Japan, United States, England and France to come together, arising on the basis of their common hatred of the Soviet Union, their preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union, the movement of Japanese troops to Northern Manchuria, the feverish activities of the white guards, sharply raise in this situation before the international proletariat ABOVE ALL THE GREATEST DANGER OF COMMON INTERVENTION OF THE IMPERIALIST POWERS AGAINST THE U.S.S.R., THE WORLD PROLETARIAN FATHERLAND."

Agit-Prop Briefs

THE lack of reading of basic resolutions assumes alarming proportions. At a functionaries' class in Harlem at which about 30 comrades were present, only 8 had read the 14th Plenum resolution and only 4 had read the resolution on the Lessons of Strike Struggles in the U. S. A. At a recent Minneapolis District Convention only four or five of those present had read the Central Committee, October, 1931, resolution on unemployment. In an article on Party literature which appeared in the *Daily Worker*, the reasons for the failure of reading basic Party resolutions was discussed more in detail.

The additional facts brought out here point to the alarming situation which exists in connection with the training of the Party for the study of our basic resolutions.

* * * * *

A MOST thorough and extensive discussion must be developed throughout the Party on the lessons of the bonus march. This discussion should be based on the statement of the Central Committee. The lessons of the bonus march are of the greatest importance in stirring up the entire Party to the present situation in the country, the weakness of the Party and the methods of developing a correct mass policy. Special functionaries' conferences with discussions in the units should be organized.

* * * * *

THE Harlem section arranged a Six-Weeks' Functionaries Conference at which the following topics were taken up:

1. The role of the Party, a political discussion on the historical, political importance of the Communist Party.

2. The structure of the Party, shop nuclei, fractions.
 3. The united front and the mass activities of the Party.
 4. The national problem and the struggle for Negro rights.
- We suggest this method for the other districts which of course can also be adapted to the local conditions and needs of the various districts and their sections.

* * * * *

THE 15th Anniversary of the November Revolution must be the occasion of popularizing the achievements of the Soviet Union, the lessons of the proletarian revolution and the mobilization of the masses for the defense of the Soviet Union. Special agitational material will be issued for the celebration of the 15th Anniversary. Special discussions throughout the Party on the lessons of the Bolshevik revolution and their application to our struggles in the United States will be organized throughout the Party.

Shop Gate Meetings as a Help to the Comrades Inside

OUR shop unit in the Caterpillar plant is only about six months old. And while we are getting new contacts on the job (the plant has been working a few days a week and now closed down indefinitely), we found that shop-gate meetings are a great help in approaching workers on their problems.

On March 1st a Party speaker held a meeting at the shop during noon hour. After the meeting the workers discussed a great deal amongst themselves on how to solve the conditions in favor of the workers. During the same time the Workers International Relief was showing a Russian movie to which the workers were invited. And for the next few days the workers in the plant were discussing the lack of unemployment in Russia and the millions of unemployed here. These discussions amongst the workers gave (the Party members) the opportunity to comment and help them along and thereby find out who is who in the shop.

As a result of the shop gate meetings outside and our work inside we have now a functioning group of the Metal Trades Industrial League and have recruited 7 new members to the Party unit (we started the shop unit with 3 members).

UNIT ORGANIZER,
Caterpillar Shop Unit.

Marxian Study Courses

for Individual study and class work

Political Economy

12 lessons. Four lessons now ready. Price 15c each

1. Marxist Theory of Value
2. Capital and Surplus Value
3. Capital and Surplus Value (continued)
4. Wages and Accumulation of Capital

History of the Working Class

12 lessons. Four lessons now ready. Price 15c each

1. The Great French Revolution
2. The Industrial Revolution in England and Chartism
3. The Revolution of 1848 in France and Germany
4. The First International and the Paris Commune

LITTLE LENIN LIBRARY

Indispensable handbooks for every Party member

The Teachings of Karl Marx	15c
The War and the Second International	20c
Socialism and War	15c
What Is to Be Done?	50c
The Paris Commune	20c
The Revolution of 1905	20c
Religion	20c

See that you are supplied with the above booklets through your unit literature director.



Section Stimulates the Sale of Literature

OUR section has, until a few weeks ago, sold about \$120 worth of literature a month. This is roughly about \$1 a week for each unit. Lately, however, due to the persistent agitation of the Party on the importance of literature, a change has taken place for the better. However, this change affected the sale of literature *within* the units only. Practically no literature is being sold by the units in their own territory or concentration points.

The section has recently initiated a campaign to raise the circulation of *The Communist* among the section membership. The result was that we are now selling 175 copies, an increase of 50 copies. The aim is to reach 250 copies per month. We are also disposing of 110 of the *Inprecor* and 250 of the *Party Organizer*.

PAUL ENGLER,
Section 15, District 2.

Making a Good Start Out of Nothing

IT WAS suggested at an unit meeting that some of the few workers working (at low wages) contribute to start a literature fund. Fifty-five cents was contributed and literature purchased. Only ten per cent discount was granted by the Literature Department, yet in a period of less than ten weeks the literature fund grew to more than two dollars, through profits made on literature sales and through a policy of keeping the literature fund strictly apart from all other Party money.

Now the discount granted is 20% and there can be no doubt the literature fund will grow much more rapidly than heretofore, especially in view of the fact that the unit is conducting more election campaign meetings and more unemployment meetings now than before, and is using literature as one of the important means of agitation and mobilization.

It must also be remembered that the bulk of the unit mem-

bership are marine workers and they sell their own literature, especially pertaining to their industry, supplied by the Union, which has no organizational connection with the unit literature fund. The seamen are specially successful in selling literature on board ships in the harbor.

The stimulating force in the sales of literature in this unit was a very loyal and energetic Negro comrade who pushed the work. Though progress has been made, the unit, as a whole, does not regard the work satisfactory and intends to go forward at a much more rapid tempo in the future. A special effort will be made for sales of the lower priced pamphlets, especially the election campaign pamphlets.

HENRY ROBINSON,
District 3—Section 1.

Planning for the Foster and Ford Meetings

A Suggestion from Lawrence, Mass.

The section organizer in Lawrence proposed that we should not merely try to sell individual pamphlets to workers at our campaign meetings but that we should make up 15c or 25c packages of platforms and other election literature. Our literature speakers at these meetings, in urging the sale of these packages, should emphasize the role of every non-Party worker as a literature distributor for the Party as a means of winning the support for the platform of the Party and the candidates.

Chicago checks up:

"We are taking good care to cover Comrade Foster and Ford meetings in District 8. We are communicating with section organizers in Chicago and out of Chicago sections. Where the sections would fail to take care on the literature at certain more important meetings, we are making arrangements to send responsible comrades there directly.

Pittsburgh has a water-tight plan:

On the Foster-Ford tours we have in mind the following: When Foster or Ford arrives here a comrade will be placed together with his, who will attend every meeting where Foster and Ford speak. At those meetings this comrade talks on literature. Our aim is not to sell so much individual pamphlets but rather call upon the workers to buy five pamphlets and distribute or sell them among their friends.

Workers More Anxious to Buy Literature Now than Ever

(Answers to arguments that workers will not buy literature during the crisis)

Boston reports on the Ford Meeting:

We had literature displayed on a table near the entrance. A comrade gave a talk on the most important pamphlets and Foster's book to the audience. We immediately had comrades going through the crowd, quietly selling the literature. Every comrade had a special pamphlet. Two comrades took subscriptions for Foster's book, since our order did not come in time, and we had only two books left. We received ten subscriptions for this book, paid in advance. If we had had the books on hand we would have sold many more, since some of the workers could not give us a permanent address, to which we could send the books. All these things were done in a quiet way so as not to disturb the meeting.

Cleveland reports:

Increase in sales, while not very great, yet we had to convince the agents that we print more literature during a crisis, and that the workers are anxious to read, to find the way out of the crisis, and to see just what is going on in the world. Many used the argument that the workers are all broke, and have not a penny for reading material. They are being convinced otherwise.

Detroit reports on the Foster Meeting:

At the Detroit Foster meeting, 600 sets of four pamphlets were sold—because they were cheap, and because they were well announced. The sale of Foster's book was about forty copies (5000 audience)—because it is dear, and was very poorly announced. The selling speech was bad and inexecutable. "Here is a book by Foster. It's a good book, you ought to have it. Price one buck." This was practically all.

Literature should always be announced and sold from the platform, *before* the collection is taken. I was talking to an unemployed auto worker in a restaurant after the meeting. He saw the Foster book in my hand. And he said, in effect, "Geez, I want that book bad, but I put my last dollar in the collection." Of course, collection and literature are both important, but comparatively, the latter must obviously be placed first.

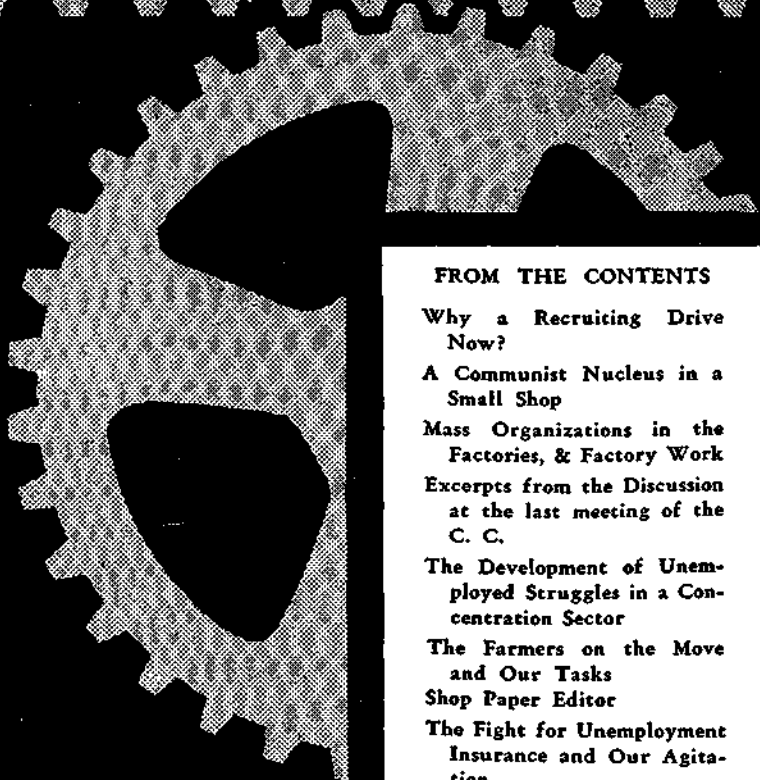
ANTI-WAR LITERATURE ORDERS FROM THE CENTER (FROM JUNE 20 TO JULY 31, 1932)

<i>Literature</i>	<i>Districts</i>																		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	19	
Chapel in Flames	110	20	20	20	20	20	155				10	120	50		1	50			
Tanaka Document	130						85				170	90						25	
War in China	165	12	*10	25	25	25	25	35	35	10	50	50		50				25	
Rev. Struggle vs. Pacifism	100	245					200	50	5				30						
Soviet China	10	86					45			72	25								
Plenum Pamphlet	25	74	10	15	100	20	8	100	*20	75	5	5	5	50	10				
War and 2nd International	20	13				10				6									
Socialism and War	10	21				10	5			6									
Struggle Against Imperialist War	5							3		25									
Veterans, Close Ranks!	*300	244	50	100	200	300	50				5	101	300						
S. U. Stands For Peace	1335	2041	1900	880	750	200	500	364	100	25	1500	150	200	300					

1850 Bonus Pamphlets sold to W. E. S. L.

* Numbers marked with asterisk indicate non-Party organizations.

Party Organizer



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The Development of Unemployed Struggles in a Concentration Sector

The Farmers on the Move and Our Tasks

Shop Paper Editor

The Fight for Unemployment Insurance and Our Agitation

Vol. V

September-October, 1932

Nos. 9-10

Issued by

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. VI

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Why a Recruiting Drive Now?

PARTY recruiting is not a campaign, but a continuous task. But with a correct application of the Fourteenth Plenum line, the election campaign, the local struggles that prepare—and follow—the march to Washington, the rising wage battles, recruiting is a foremost task.

The Org. Department of the Executive Committee of the Communist International criticized correctly the last recruiting drive on the following:

“(a) Instead of carrying on any widespread mass work . . . this plan involved weeks of instructions to the Party organizations about how recruiting work was to be carried on—but not a single article showing the masses the importance of the campaign and the necessity for joining the Party.

“(b) Instead of working out the concrete tasks of recruiting in conjunction with local functionaries . . . there was an assignment of tasks, with figures not in any sense well founded . . . arch bureaucratic instructions (to districts) . . . and equally formal and bureaucratic repetitions by the districts.

“(c) Insufficient emphasis of the importance and necessity to focus recruiting work in the big enterprises, the leading branches of industry, among predominant elements of the working class, through factory nuclei, by daily mass work of all members.”

We may add other weaknesses: we did little recruiting from the Kentucky, the anthracite, needle, shoe and furriers' strikes; few members were won from the trade unions; and no lessons obtained for the whole Party from where there were good results.

Now, before new recruiting tasks, we must understand that—even if we correct the above mistakes and failures—we will not be able to *keep* members we win, if we do not strengthen the lower organizations, if we do not, in most cases, *entirely change* the inner life of the units.

We cannot set any quotas, but for the whole Party, estimating from the view of struggles ahead, we should aim to have 25,000

dues-paying members on January 1. But this means we must recruit 10,000 *and not lose any*.

According to facts stated by the E. C. C. I., "The success of recruiting work in one or another organization, must not be judged on the basis of generally increasing the membership, but on the basis of the number of new members who are workers in the *decisive* branches of industry." We must interpret this as meaning to recruit: (1) from factories and industries on which we are concentrating; (2) most active union members; (3) shops where we have nuclei; (4) opposition groups in the American Federation of Labor; (5) the mass organizations; (6) the reformist organizations; (7) Socialist Party branches; (8) the unemployed movement.

Although we must also stress recruiting at mass meetings during the election campaign, this must not weaken the emphasis on the above-mentioned points. We must get into the Party the best *American elements*, white and Negro, from struggles, and insure that the *majority* of the new members will come from the employed, and not from the unemployed masses.

The districts should work out with the sections and units, the tasks of organizing new shop and mine nuclei, and the general tasks of recruiting must be set only by joint analysis of the local conditions and mutual agreement of the lower and higher bodies. A special plan will be worked out for recruiting Negro workers in Harlem and the South, and Latin American workers in Harlem and the Southwest.

On the basis of exchanging experiences of both past and present recruiting, we will learn *how* to recruit. Leading committees down to and including the unit, must follow every little experience and make it the property of the whole Party through the *Daily Worker* and other Party organs. Comrades from the lower organizations are invited to write up for the *Daily Worker*, their experiences in the last recruiting drive, especially bringing out the defects in unit life and how to overcome them.

We have had in the past two years, innumerable resolutions, speeches and articles about fluctuations of membership, and fine suggestions on how to overcome them. But these things have remained on paper—and fluctuation today is as high as seventy-five per cent. Many of these are old members. In the last registration, we found that only around 3,000 members were in the Party before 1930. There are reasons for this. We had begun to look with contempt on old members as "1905-ers" who were no longer of use. The deportation terror had its effect. Then there was little understanding of how to work inside the factories, and many old members were lost by the giving of instructions bureaucratically, without teaching them how to work illegally.

To illustrate the fact that all our "good resolutions" about stopping fluctuations have been left on paper, we see that we

recruited 19,408 members since August, 1931, when we already had 8,030 dues-payers. Today we have about 14,000 dues-payers. We lost over 13,000.

Without giving reasons already made clear previously, we bring forth two basic problems of how to correct fluctuations: (1) how can we strengthen the leadership in the lower organizations?; (2) what immediate steps are needed to change the life of the lower organizations?

As to the first problem, the higher committees, from the Central Committee to the sections, must help those lower to work out plans, and participate in carrying them out. Conferences with the lower functionaries, not only after decisions are made, but before adopting of tentative plans, must be held. These conferences must not become "institutions," but be called only before actions, campaigns or important political decisions of the higher committees.

Still on the first problem: there should be week-end functionaries' classes established on a district and section scale—separately for organizers, agit-prop, org.-secretaries, etc., with special attention to classes of shop nuclei functionaries. These classes must teach the functionaries their tasks, not in a pedagogic way, but by mutual discussion of experiences.

The initiative of the leading committees of the lower organizations must be promoted in all phases of Party life, and it is the duty of higher committees to carefully and constantly follow the methods of work and the results of *individual* members of leading committees, and these methods and activities should be discussed with members of the organization very openly.

As regards the second problem — the inner life of the units: we must put a stop to general orders and instructions from above. We must discuss with comrades the concrete problems of the factory or territory, and we must stop shifting units from one territory to another.

Further, we must create a situation in all nuclei, wherefrom they will become the real political leaders of the masses in the factory or the territory, and will feel responsible to the masses around them for what they do or do not do.

Still more: we must change the narrow organizational approach to every question by politicalizing discussions—but not by abstract and "high-falutin" phrases. We must cut down points on the agenda to *one or two*; and must cut out the habit of mechanically assigning members to tasks.

On one basic question we must educate our whole Party. That is: what do we expect from a Party member? Up till now, we demanded that each member give all their "spare" time, the time *outside* the factory, to the Party. We have examined and cross-examined them on *that*. But we did not check up so much on their work *inside* the factory, and we helped them in that work still less.

We have had the slogan: "Every evening to Party work." Of course there are problems demanding evenings, attending union meetings, and so on. But what we must now answer is: Has a worker a chance to remain in the Party if he is not ready to give up his present family life? Are we forcing him to leave the Party if he is not ready to give more than one or two nights a week? In short, we must consider whether we gain or lose by making the same demands upon rank and file members that we make upon professional revolutionists. An answer will show that we must develop these members into good Bolsheviks step by step, giving them individual and comradesly consideration of their problems in relation to the work.

Membership committees must be established in each district, section and unit, with the special task of taking care of *every* member — not only new members. An advisable plan is to divide the units into small groups of three to six, having in each group those who live near each other. The heads of these groups shall be members of the membership committee. A head of a group is responsible for visiting group members regularly, to discuss Party problems in their homes, help them select literature, aid them to study this so they understand it. He (or she) should also collect Party dues from his group, visit new applicants, and follow up those who may drop out.

By this system we will build a steady contact between leading committee and *all* members, and it will help to make it unnecessary for members to carry their book to unit meetings to pay dues. It will aid in having an eye on every member's activity, and to bring the best elements into leadership.

The acceptance of new members must be made without bureaucratic formalities. They must be quickly examined by the membership committee and assigned to units and to responsible tasks. At the same time, we must check every new member carefully to safeguard the Party.

By investigation of the membership committee into withdrawals, the Central, District and Section Committees must work out means to win back those who have dropped out. By finding out why they dropped out, we must learn how to hold members in the future and we must make the necessary changes to do this, not expecting the dropped-out members to do all the changing, but being ready to change ourselves.

The units must by all means get all new members into a well-prepared class. A simple pamphlet for new members is already proposed.

But all this will remain on paper unless we connect higher committees directly with the work of the units, develop leadership in each unit and develop the unit bureau not merely as functionaries, but as leaders of the masses around the unit.

Last, but not least, an educational campaign on recruitment must be launched in the *Daily Worker* and all the Party press.

A Communist Nucleus in a Small Shop

HERE we have four Communists working in a shop of about seventy workers, mostly young girls. No nucleus is organized in the shop. Why? What are generally the reasons? Not a single one is against shop nucleus generally, but not a single one approved the idea of a nucleus in *this* shop.

One comrade states: "We are doing Communist work in the shop anyway, without a nucleus."

The other comrade declares: "Two of us are leading functionaries in the union, why take us away from union work?"

The third comrade explains: "This is too small a shop. It doesn't pay to take us out of street units where we are doing 'good work' and organize into a shop nucleus where we will not do more than what we are doing at present."

The fact remains that these comrades have not sufficient time to discuss shop matters. They do not divide the work among themselves and establish individual responsibility for certain activities in the shop. They do not plan carefully how to bring in Party campaigns into the shop. They are not taking up every grievance of the workers in the shop, and develop daily struggles through which they could prove themselves the actual leaders in the shop.

After a short discussion with the comrades, we more or less succeeded in convincing them of the incorrectness of their arguments, and we decided to establish a nucleus.

"A Shop Nucleus Is a Good Thing"

It did not take long and we could hear some of the comrades telling us that "a shop nucleus is a good thing. Not only does a nucleus strengthen the revolutionary union, but it becomes the backbone of the union."

These comrades now do not have too few problems in this shop, but the daily problems keep them all quite busy. Through digging in into the troubles of the workers, our comrades begin to feel more individual responsibility to these workers, as Communists, as leaders, as a part of the vanguard of the working class.

The Nucleus Takes up the Fight

The boss was not asleep. He, too, saw that the atmosphere got hotter in the shop. The activities developed by the nucleus among the girls began to bother him. Not only did the Communists carry on work, but more Party girls became also a part of the leadership in the shop. The boss decided to fire the most active workers. A committee of workers went to the boss

to demand their reinstatement. The boss maneuvered, on the one hand, afraid of the militancy of the workers. On the other hand, the militancy of the workers made him determined to go through with his plan. But the workers of the shop were behind this struggle, with the exception of a few professional scabs. Next morning the boss was surprised to see the workers remaining outside the shop, refusing to go to work. The determination of the workers to fight and defend their leaders forced the bosses to give in. The workers won their demands.

Mobilizing for Party Campaigns

The work of the Communist nucleus has borne fruit. Through individual talks, through Party literature and papers, the workers are beginning to be more class conscious. The struggles led in the shop, at the head of which were the Communists, convinced the workers that Communists are practical people and know how to defend their interests. The presidential elections will take place in November. The Communist Party must have its candidates on the ballot. For this reason, thousands of signatures of citizens are needed to place the Party on the ballot. The workers responded to the call of the Communists in the shop to put their shoulders to the wheel. Twenty girls are coming out to help place their candidates on the ballot.

Y. M.

Mass Organizations in the Factories, and Factory Work

The following is an extract from the Pamphlet "Handbooks for Party Workers, Vol. 4. The Organizational Work of the Communist Party of Germany." (This pamphlet contains the report of Comrade Creutzberg, head of the Org. Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany at the meeting of the Secretariats of the Middle-European countries with the Org. Department of the E.C.C.I. in the Spring of 1931.)

WE HAVE the task of developing a large number of mass organizations in the factory: chiefly the factory groups of the revolutionary trade unions. There are not at the moment exact figures on the factory groups of the revolutionary trade unions, because the organizational development of the revolutionary trade unions is still in a continuous state of flux. Aside from the factory groups of the revolutionary trade unions, we have other factory groups of the other mass organizations: for example, those of the International Workers Aid. The Red Aid is also beginning to create factory groups on a large scale.

By collective affiliation of all the workers of a factory, quite large numbers have already been reached. Then we have the factory defense corps of the League Against Fascism, which are now developing rapidly. Also there are the organizations of revolutionary trusted men, the factory councils, the committees of action and the strike committees. These are the bodies which we must develop in the factories.

We now come to the question of how to organize a factory unit when the old unit has been disrupted by rationalization, lay-offs or some other method of the bosses. Well, we have tried—of course with none too great success as yet—to link up our units with the factory groups of the mass organizations; second, we have tried to find trusted revolutionary men in the various departments and factories; third, where even this was not possible, we have found out, by means of conversations with sympathetic workers, where some worker of this particular factory lives, whom we can win over as a trusted man over a shorter or longer period. We then obtained the address of this worker, and sent our comrades of the street units to visit him, according to a systematic plan, until he declared himself ready to give us at least some material, to distribute our leaflets in the factory, or to do similar work. We have also taken other steps. There are, for example, large factories, having workers from many sections of the city; there we have first of all found out in what sections the workers live. Then we got together the workers from this factory living in some particular section, raised some political question or other in order to get to know the people, asked questions to start a discussion, registered the workers, and in a systematic manner attempted again, through them, to reach the factories. There are, of course, other possibilities. In the present situation, in which the individual organizations must fight, we must carefully look into the composition of the unit. We must no longer put the question of mobilization in a general way, but, just as we have done up to now in the leading committees, try to set each comrade in the unit a definite task. Whenever necessary, certain comrades must come out openly and represent the Party line; the others may stay more or less in the background. Then the employer can never break up an entire unit with his various measures. (Interruption by Comrade Vassiliev: Correct!) We have already tried to combine these methods, I believe that we have made mistakes and have not sufficiently taken into consideration our illegal status. But on the other hand, I believe that it is necessary, for the purposes of mass mobilization, that at decisive moments, certain members of the units should come forward and represent the Party policy.

Experiences of Mass Work

(From the Discussion at the Last Meeting of the Central Committee)

(WEINSTONE)

WE SHOULD emphasize that just because of the rise of the radicalization of the workers, the task of development of the economic struggle, the smallest, the most insignificant struggles become greater than ever before. We view the struggle and we find that there are struggles in various sections, for various slogans, that small demands, comparatively small demands, could rise to tremendous explosions, the demand of back pay of the veterans, demands with respect to the farmers, against the seventeen per cent wage cuts among the Illinois miners, small demands could rise to tremendous movements. Why? Because of the distress, because of the great poverty of the masses. Consequently by seizing hold of the most insignificant demands of the workers, we are able to develop tremendous movements.

The present situation therefore calls upon the Party, the mass organizations, to take up these small economic issues, to attempt to develop the movement, to particularly make them a joint movement of the unemployed and employed, and attempt to draw in the widest strata of the distressed workers. We must emphasize this because in many sections of the Party, this conception does not exist. On the contrary, the idea exists, and this we must stigmatize before the entire party, the idea exists that the worse, the better. That the worse the conditions the workers get, the better for us, and an attitude of passivity develops with respect to this economic situation. For example, in the Philadelphia district, in Baltimore, when the wage cut was put through, what was the attitude of the comrades in the Sparrows Point plant: "I told you so." Not the task of organizing the workers against wage cuts, but: "I told you your situation will get worse, some day you will learn we are correct."

The attitude of "the worse the better," a passivity, sectarianism, DeLeonism, which always existed in the Party with respect to immediate demands, has become the more acute, is sowing confusion in the Party, hampering it from the mass struggles. For that reason, it is necessary to emphasize that because of the rise, of the development of the radicalization, and because of the crisis, it is necessary to seize hold of the smallest demands, because in the present situation it is possible to get the mass movements, to attempt to unify these movements, give political consciousness, political direction to the movement on the basis of the economic struggles, the development of these struggles is the task of the leadership of the Communist Party.

But this is not all, comrades. If we view the strata which has entered into the struggles, we will find that characteristic of the present situation is not only the revival of struggles of the politically developed, revolutionary elements, as the furriers and shoe workers, but the entrance of large masses of new strata who have not gone through political struggles, have no experience of the treachery of the bourgeoisie, and consequently masses who come with many illusions, which, the bureaucrats, and particularly the left variety, are seizing hold of. They come, likewise, with prejudices with regard to the Communist Party, the bourgeois prejudices of one kind or another. This also gives emphasis to the correctness of the statement by Comrade Browder that we have to struggle for these masses, that we have to fight it out particularly with the left demagogues. This also provides a fertile ground for the demagogues of the Musteites, Socialist Party, etc., who are attempting to seize hold of these masses entering into the struggle for the first time.

This is true in the case of the veterans; this is the case of the farmers. Also the case of the railroad workers, of the long-shoremen, the case of these office workers, of city employees, etc. But what conclusions must we draw from that? That he will get the leadership of these masses who can convince them that he really stands for the defense of these interests and is doing everything to concentrate and unite the proletariat in defense of these interests. From that we must draw the conclusion with respect to the united front as the major tactic to be employed in order to get hold of these masses.

And furthermore, from that we must draw the conclusion that the united front is the best tactic in order to expose these demagogic and left maneuvers of the American Federation of Labor leaders, the Musteites, etc., etc.

* * * *

(WILLIAMSON)

IMMEDIATELY upon the lock-out, even before the present developments had taken place, the Party in Illinois had worked out what in my opinion was the correct line of policy, namely calling upon the miners to turn the lock-out into a strike, fighting against any proposals of reducing the wage scale. Second, calling for the election of strike committees in each local union, and coordinating these on a sub-district scale. Thirdly, turning out the officials; fourth, mass picketing; fifth, unity of the employed and unemployed.

We see that as the situation developed, and particularly with the signing of the so-called emergency agreement, an outpouring, outbursting of the pent-up energy of the masses in the mining fields, that the masses of the miners have not been hostile to this policy, but have to a large degree followed this

policy without us in the majority of the fields being unable to have the physical contact necessary to give the proper guidance. It is true we spoke to miners, as far as the policy was concerned, through the medium of leaflets, but only in two sub-districts, Springfield and Belleville, were we able through our forces actually to come in daily contact with the miners. While many of the miners today are even raising the question of keeping the Reds out, some of them saying, "Look at the bonus march, didn't they keep the Reds out?" — nevertheless, the whole outlook, the whole method of struggle, have been along the general lines of our policy. Turning the lock-out into a strike, mass picketing and mass marches, turning out the officialdom, have been taken up with mass enthusiasm. And what is very important for us to understand is that in these two sub-districts where we had Party members in the executive of the local unions as members of the strike committees, that there the miners came out practically one hundred per cent in these two places. Of course, not just because of our few comrades, but this shows the definite contributing factor, where we have our Party members as real leaders of the locals on a local basis.

Ansbury, who has to an extent followed the general policy of Muste, although not organizationally connected with him, has been able through following the typical methods of revolutionary phrases, to seize hold of this movement at the present time. While *we* issued the call for all these definite forms of mass struggle, while *we* even in one local union in which one of our comrades is a leader, brought forward the idea of the mass strike and calling of a rank and file conference, Ansbury immediately on the following day rushed in, printed such a call in the name of himself and a few others — with the result that in one week we had a rank and file conference of six hundred delegates representing every sub-district except two. And he was able on the basis of radical phrases and catering to this sentiment of struggle of the miners, to assume definite leadership there.

We made a failing, in my opinion, at that particular conference and in the mass meeting of 10,000 miners where our comrades spoke. We entered only in the form of denunciation of Ansbury and this certainly was not the proper tactic. We must force Ansbury to expose himself through presenting our definite policy that we are for unity of the miners on the basis of this program of struggle, and that we call upon the miners, the majority of whom are still under the influence of Ansbury, call even upon Ansbury, but having in mind the miners who follow him: we are for unity of miners — do you accept this program of struggle? Are you ready to struggle on the basis of this program? — and in this way either force him to be pushed along by the masses or be exposed at once by refusing. In such a case we do not have much to fear immediately.

Instead of that, while our comrades spoke very correctly, they developed only the attitude of denunciation which Ansbury was able to turn against us: "Here they are talking against me when I am fighting the officialdom against the wage cut."

The Party comrades have too narrow a conception of the building of the revolutionary opposition. They conceive only as a very small hand picked group and not as a broad mass movement which may include even entire local unions if we are able to win them for our policy and to build up and coordinate on a district scale an entire movement comprised of locals, of minorities in locals where we are not able to win influence over all the workers.

* * * *

(HARVEY)

I WANT to bring out one example of Father Cox, a very concrete example. In the last couple of weeks we have developed some methods of rallying the workers. On what basis? The basis that it will bring about a change in our entire movement.

I spoke at a meeting the other night in Homewood to about 1,000 Italian workers. I took up the question of Father Cox in the following manner: First, I told them that two years ago when the city gave out relief they gave \$4.00 for a family and from sixty to ninety cents for every dependent. This has been discontinued for a period of three to four months. Private agencies sprang up. They gave out considerably less than what the city gave relief. The result was that the workers were accepting food from Father Cox and were not making any demands from the city. The city cut down to the extent of ninety cents a day for everybody to the same extent to which Father Cox was giving.

Therefore I asked them whether they should make demands of Father Cox to raise the relief in general. They agreed that they would make the demands. These are the things that will bring them into struggle.

Experiences in Building the National Miners Union

IN BUILDING the National Miners Union in the Iron River sub-district even to where it is today, I think we can very clearly point to experiences which are of most immediate interest in building our revolutionary unions.

The Iron River local was first organized with *three non-English speaking* comrades, who through their immediate friends, built it up to *thirteen members* and for a period of one year we

only got in five more new members, because the local was merely a minute-writing meeting affair of a few terrorized comrades. The first sign of growth was in the Davidson Mine, where two or three comrades got together every day and discussed what problems they would bring before the members at each meeting. The first step was the starting of the *Miners' Voice*, a monthly bulletin which was greatly liked by the employed miners. In it we had articles of a local character, where we attacked some of the methods of the foremen, the speed-up and general grievances. The miners liked it so much that they talked about it in the mine dry-houses, in town, and everywhere.

This seems to have been a good starting point in activizing the members of the local. We were greatly pleased with the results and everyone seemed to get a different outlook. Material such as articles are now easier to get and everybody seems full of pep. We feel that the first issues were what the miners liked. But although we had the miners talking about our union and our bulletin, no new members were coming in. We started to look for the trouble and at one meeting we had every member explain his method of approach, and we found that we were approaching a miner with a won't-you-please-join-the-union attitude, which did not appeal to the miners. Instead of explaining to a miner why he should join, we begged him to join. This is a habit which is very much in evidence yet among the members of our mass organizations in every part of the country and which must be overcome.

At this meeting the members were taught how to explain to a miner the necessity of organizing and what the National Miners Union really is. The result was that two and three new members came in at every meeting. At the next meetings we were getting more confidence in ourselves as organizers and new tactics were introduced, the arranging of Red Sundays—a Sunday when every member without fail had to turn out at ten o'clock for a membership drive.

The local executive laid out certain mining locations and streets at which comrades were to visit miners. Each one had his own place to go. The first Red Sunday resulted in thirteen new members for our union. We now had a membership of forty-two. Then the Women's Auxiliary was formed with five members, which was a great help to our organization, getting new members and so on.

We have found that the meetings of the unions must be where we discuss how to bring forth struggles, etc. The minute we talk about struggles every member will take the floor in discussion. When we have formal discussions, the organizer and chairman talk, and the rank and filers are asleep. This is our experience in the Iron River sub-district and we hope it will help some other comrades.

B. S.

The Development of Unemployed Struggles in a Concentration Section (Fayette County, District 5)

I WISH to give a brief report on the Fayette County Hunger March, and our present plans to continue the struggle for immediate relief.

There were approximately 2,500 workers in the Hunger March. The preparations for the Hunger March were very weak, the entire Hunger March being organized almost exclusively by our forces. In reality it was not a County Hunger March in the full sense of the word. The workers marched only from four concentration points, in main: Masontown, Brownsville, Republic, and Fredericktown. Large numbers of workers in each of these places who came to participate in the March did not go to Uniontown because of lack of transportation. Such basic centers as Connellsville, Scottdale, and others were not even touched. I am sure that the workers in these places knew absolutely nothing about the Hunger March. Yet it was possible to have approximately 2,500 workers participating.

We had a parade through Uniontown and about a two hours' mass meeting in front of the County Court House. There was no police interference. Comrade Ford led the march, made the key speech, and headed the committee of twenty who presented the demands to the county commissioners. The county commissioners have refused to consider the demands, stating that the "law does not permit us to do so." After the committee reported to the marchers the answer of the county commissioners, the workers protested vigorously and demanded some action. Several workers shouted that we should go into the stores and take the relief ourselves. The committee recommended immediate organization to march to Harrisburg.

All of these proposals resulted in quite a confusion. Finally I spoke and made a recommendation that we should organize a county-wide unemployed conference, and that at this conference we shall make a thorough preparation for a real county hunger march to come back to Uniontown and to remain there until we receive our demands. This proposal was carried unanimously and we are now planning for a county conference.

The Hunger March endorsed, at the end, the election platform and the candidates of the Communist Party. The question of the endorsement of the Party platform and the candidates was wrongly presented, in spite of the instructions to the comrades who were to make the motion. A comrade that was to make the motion to endorse the platform and the candidates of the Communist Party formulated the motion that the Hunger March shall endorse the Communist Party. The chairman of the Hunger March, in putting the motion to vote, tried to cor-

rect the formulation and stated that "all those who will vote Communist in the coming elections, raise your hands."

I will not here go into the positive and negative achievements of the Hunger March. It will suffice to say that this Hunger March has all the characteristics of all of our Hunger Marches. However, this Hunger March has at least two very significant achievements. One, a county unemployed committee was elected to carry on the struggle for relief and, two, the workers throughout the county are discussing the attitude of the county commissioners and the necessity to organize for struggle for relief.

As a result of the Hunger March and in view of the objective situation and the sentiment of the masses we are developing the following plan to continue the struggle for relief:

1. On September 23 there will be a mass conference of the unemployed and part time employed to consider the preparations for another Hunger March some time at the end of October. Comrade Foster is scheduled to speak in Uniontown on that day, and he will address the conference. We are planning to bring about 500 delegates to the conference.

2. We are issuing a leaflet exposing the attitude of the county commissioners announcing the conference, and stressing the necessity of struggle for relief.

3. The basis for the preparations for the conference will be the struggle for relief locally. In every town we will organize mass meetings and demonstrations, sending committees to the relief associations, boro councils, justices of the peace, school boards, the company offices, etc., demanding immediate relief. *Our basic demands in these local demonstrations will be: salt, soap, lard, more flour, and such small things, as the only thing the workers receive now is the government flour. The workers themselves are raising these small demands.*

4. We are organizing about twenty comrades to paint sidewalks, bridges, and every other possible place, to advertise the county unemployed conference as well as the demands adopted by the Hunger March, in order to acquaint the workers throughout the county with the unemployed struggles.

5. We will divide the whole county into sections and assign the necessary forces to work in these sections to organize unemployed committees, develop struggles for immediate relief and to elect delegates to the county conference.

6. Our mass meetings and local demonstrations will not be advertised through leaflets. We are planning to make large signs advertising mass meetings and local demonstrations as well as the demands. These signs will feature the starvation and will be carried by groups of workers, women and children.

7. We are planning to issue a petition list in support of our demands and develop a real signature drive in order to present these signatures to the county commissioners either after the

unemployed conference or at the time of the next hunger march.

8. We are planning to organize special children's demonstrations before the school boards for free food, clothing and medical care of the children.

9. The main emphasis in the whole campaign will be laid on the necessity of building an unemployed organization to carry on the struggle.

10. Fayette County will be the concentration point for the entire district. Special forces of the union and the C. P. will be assigned to direct and carry on this work.

11. This struggle for relief will be the basis for the election campaign in the county. We will link up the demands of the unemployed struggle with the election platform of the Communist Party, and in the course of the struggle we will try to convince the workers of the necessity to vote for the platform and the candidates of the C. P.

I did not go into details even dealing with our plans. I have just indicated the main line that we intend to follow to continue the struggle for relief in Fayette County. There will be a sub-district committee meeting of the National Miners Union to map out a concrete plan. The coming Wednesday the Fayette County Unemployed Committee elected at the Hunger March will meet and undertake officially this campaign. It is self-understood that this committee will be the leader and organizer of the movement with the union taking its role.

All the local unions of the National Miners Union will meet as well as the unemployed groups in order to mobilize them for the struggles. While building the unemployed movement we will carry on a recruiting campaign for the N.M.U.

We are planning now to develop a genuine unemployed movement in Fayette County, making it as an example to the entire unemployed movement in the country. Fayette County is one of our concentration points.

—FRANK BORICH.

The Farmers on the Move and Our Tasks

THE continuance of the deep crisis in American agriculture, which is greatly sharpened by the general economic crisis of American capitalist economy, has created very widespread radicalization among the farm masses, as demonstrated by the recent strike movement in the Middle and Northwestern states, and the awakening of impoverished farmers in many parts of the country. However, our work among the farmers in many districts has been very weak. In fact there are districts where we have practically no connections with the farmers at all.

As a matter of fact many districts have had no practical experience in this work, and therefore they find it difficult to know how to begin. These difficulties, however, can be over-

come if the beginning is reduced to the simple practical tasks. Therefore, for the districts and sections which have had no experience in this field of work, the first task is the following:

The comrade or comrades who have been assigned to this work should make visits to the farmers, talk with them, find out their conditions, their grievances, distribute our farm pamphlets to them (these can be ordered from Workers Library Publishers), also order and distribute copies of *Producers News*, Plentywood, Montana, and take subscriptions for this paper.

After this preliminary contact, pick up a few farmers who are ready to do something, form a committee of the most active farmers. In these meetings it is easy to find out what their most burning problems are. Then you can help them formulate their demands and mobilize them into action for struggle. The most burning problems for most of the impoverished farmers are the questions of immediate relief, taxation burden, sheriff sales on taxes or debts, the question of robbery by marketing monopolies, etc.

While in many of our districts these beginnings are yet to be made, there are some districts that have already considerable experience in organizing farmers and leading them into many successful mass struggles. There we must strengthen the United Farmers League, we must extend the organization and draw in new elements of unorganized toiling farmers, and we must also take up the work within reformist and reactionary farm organizations, like in the Grange, Dairymen's League, Taxpayers' Associations, Farmers Union, Farmers Holiday Association, and in all kinds of farm organizations which have toiling farmers in their ranks.

What we want to emphasize is that we must become active in helping to organize farmers, to mobilize them into local activities, struggles, by making personal contacts with them by distributing Party literature (especially farm and election literature) and our Party papers, especially *Producers News*, to the farmers. After elementary preparations, in many places it is possible to call farmers' meetings on a county and regional scale, to organize county demonstrations and hunger marches to the county seat, in order to exercise mass pressure in demand for immediate relief, etc. It is also possible to organize mass demonstrations against sheriff sales (in Upper Michigan mass demonstrations of farmers under the leadership of our Party have prevented sheriff sales in many cases).

Farmers National Relief Conference

In connection with the local activities among the farmers and in preparation for election of delegates to the Farmers National Relief Conference, which is being called by rank and file farm-

ers' organizations, and is to be held in Washington, D. C., at the beginning of December, we suggest that the following line of demands be popularized and mass actions developed around them:

Demands

1. Emergency cash relief for all impoverished farmers without restrictions by the government and banks.
2. Exemption of poor farmers from taxes.
3. No foreclosures or evictions for inability of impoverished farmers to pay debts, interest, rent or taxes.
4. No payment of debts or interest owed to the National Land Bank.
5. Funds held by Reconstruction Finance Corporation, now utilized to help railroads and bankers, shall be distributed as relief for impoverished farmers and unemployed workers.
6. All money appropriated for war preparations must be utilized to relieve impoverished farmers and the unemployed.
7. All federal, state, city and county relief bodies shall purchase their relief supplies directly from farmers.
8. Abolition of gasoline taxes for impoverished farmers.
9. No discrimination against Negro farmers, tenants and share croppers in distribution of relief.
10. Abolition of peonage and forced labor — particularly as directed against the Negroes in the South.
11. Support Unemployment and Social Insurance for the workers at the expense of the state and employers.

In addition to the demands which we have indicated above, there are all kinds of local demands of the toiling farmers that we must support and rally them into mass action for enforcing these demands.

Local Struggles and the Election Campaign

In connection with activating the toiling farmers in these local struggles for their every-day needs, our Party, through its active help in these struggles, must also link these struggles with our Communist election campaign, exposing old capi-

talist parties, politicians and the social fascist parties, like the Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party and Farmer Labor Party. We must bring forth the program of the Communist Party, rallying the toiling farmers to support the program and candidates of our Party. The election literature of the Party will greatly facilitate the rallying of impoverished farm masses to our campaign. It also helps to politicalize the every-day struggles of the farmers.

The United Farmers League Conference

In connection with the Farmers National Relief Conference there will also be held an organizational conference of the United Farmers League, for the purpose of strengthening this organization of militant farmers. The call for this conference will be issued by the United Farmers League national office. The United Farmers League must become, by its program and by its activities for the past few years, the leading force in the Farmers National Relief Conference.

For Further Guidance

On the field of farm work, comrades should follow the articles in the Party press and in *The Communist*. Write directly to the Agrarian Department, Central Committee.

We have sent out a small amount of leaflets dealing with the recent farm strike, to all districts and section, also outside of the strike area proper. These must be distributed. If districts and sections can use more of these leaflets, they can be procured by writing to the Agrarian Department of the Central Committee.

—H.P.UHO.

Detroit Tackles the Farmers

WE have one comrade who makes the nearby farm country occasionally. He leaves pamphlets with the farmers, and returns later on to collect for them, and talk things over. He reports fair success.

Note: For the information of comrades who may not know what farm literature the central office has on hand, we list the following:

The Farmers' Way Out01
Communist Call to the Toiling Farmers03
The American Farmer—by <i>George Anstrom</i> (International pamphlets No. 23)10
The Communist Election Platform01



Shop Paper Reviews

THE DOCK WORKER. There is a very serious shortcoming in the article on the front page of the August issue, calling on the workers to demonstrate August First. In an industry like the marine industry, mere demonstration against war is not sufficient. Dock workers should be called upon to stop shipment of munitions and other war materials which certainly must be taking place in Duluth. This should be stressed in the coming issues.

Another big shortcoming in this issue is the failure to popularize the Marine Workers Industrial Union and its program. It is a good thing to call for the organization of dock grievance committees, but you fail to indicate that these committees should be a united front of workers in the I. L. A., the M. W. I. U., and all unorganized workers. It is not sufficient to expose the I. L. A. officials, but keep hammering away at the I. W. W., which is a great danger in Duluth. There is no mention of the election campaign in this issue, which is a very serious shortcoming that should be corrected in all coming issues.

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THE YOUNG FORD WORKER, issued by the young Ford workers of the Y. C. L.—July issue.

The first issue of this shop paper impressed us as being very close to the needs of the young workers in the Ford plant. One thing noticeably lacking, however, is a sort of concentrated table of demands for young workers, which should be printed regularly in each issue.

A second thing which is lacking is any mention of the Auto Workers Union. From cover to cover there is no word about this union and this should be immediately corrected. Also there is not one word about the election campaign. The election campaign should be handled in all future issues in such a way as to show concretely what the Communist Party program has to offer the young workers as against the hypocrisy of the capitalist program for the young workers.

The article on "Ford Plant Producing for War" was a good way to handle the war question, but there is not enough material on how the young workers should fight war. We are glad

to see that you handled the question of the Bonus March because it is particularly important for young workers to realize the significance of this. We also think that the Trade School Department idea is a good one, and we would like to see this kept up.

There is one other thing that must be taken up in each issue and that is the telling of the workers in the Ford plant of the structure and functions of such organs of struggle as grievance and shop committees.

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THE ILLINOIS STEEL WORKER — Illinois Steel Unit of the C. P., District 8 — July.

The most noticeable thing about the July issue of the *Illinois Steel Worker* is that there is plenty of shop news. This should be continued in each issue.

The application blank printed on page two is very badly worded. It reads as follows: The Communist Party has recognized the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union as a revolutionary union and therefore we appeal to you to join it.

This is not the basis upon which workers are urged to join our unions. They are urged to join them on the basis of the fact that revolutionary unions fight for the every-day demands of the workers.

Throughout the issue the impression is given that the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union was already in existence. Also there was no mention of the fact that out of the Metal Workers Industrial League Convention a Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union would be formed. In calling upon the workers to prepare for this convention no directives as to how to prepare for the convention, such as holding mass meetings, etc. were given.

It was an excellent idea to call upon the workers to read *Labor Unity*, but in many cases the workers do not know what *Labor Unity* is and it would be well to announce some of the contents of *Labor Unity* in the next issue of the *Illinois Steel Worker*.

The Warren Steel Strike and the Shop Papers

IN THEIR defeat of the wage cut the workers of the Trumbull plant of the Republic Steel Company in Warren, Ohio were led to a signal victory by the newly organized Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union.

Blazing the trail for the steel workers, as it did, the victory of the Warren steel workers and the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union must be made popular among all steel and metal workers. The shop papers in these industries must take the lead in making the achievements and lessons of the Warren strike known to the workers in the shops.

The strike was won despite the assurance of the American Federation of Labor fakers that no strike can be successful during a period of crisis. Green's statement to this effect on Labor Day was certainly shown up by the results of the Warren strike. The shop papers must utilize the victory of the Warren steel workers to show the workers that they can win strikes in the present period, that the unemployed will not scab.

The Republic Steel workers struck not only against the bosses but also against the bureaucracy of the Amalgamated Association of Steel, Tin and Iron Workers, the American Federation of Labor fakers who wanted to put through a wage cut in accordance with their notorious "sliding scale" scheme. The role of the Amalgamated Association officials was that of strike-breaking, active cooperation with the bosses and their police agents. This must be blazoned forth and thoroughly exposed in every steel and metal shop paper.

The victory in the Warren strike was made possible by a whole chain of preparations. Yes, there were mistakes made and they had their weakening effect on the strike. But the work in the departments of the Republic mill, the raising of demands based on day to day grievances show the shop papers that these things must always be stressed in the shop papers. In every issue of every shop paper the every-day grievances of the particular shop must be raised. The forms of organization in the mills and their functions must be discussed in the shop papers, using the work in Warren as an example.

For a long time the work of developing fighting oppositions inside the Amalgamated Association locals was practically ignored by the Metal Workers Industrial League. When this work was serious begun in Warren, and the nearby steel town of Niles, results began to happen fast. Most of the best and most sincere elements, native born workers in the Amalgamated there, came over to the revolutionary union. This was one of the factors in the Warren strike. In how many steel and metal shop papers do we ever see anything printed in respect to the building of oppositions in the reactionary unions? Almost none. How often do we see exposes of the reactionary steel and metal union officialdom? Never! This is another lesson for the shop paper from the events in Warren.

In an editorial in the *Daily Worker* of September 6 on the Warren strike, in which some of the shortcomings are pointed out, it is stated that "there was hesitation on the question of the role and attitude toward Negro workers." We seldom see the question of specific demands for the Negro workers raised in the steel and metal industry shop papers. The weakness pointed out in respect to the Negro workers hampered the development of the strike to its fullest possibilities. Now is the time for the shop papers to begin taking up, steadily, the specific demands and problems of the Negro workers, and

to continually agitate for solidarity of white and Negro workers.

Another factor which hampered the strike was the weakness of the unemployed movement in Warren. The shop papers seldom deal with the activities, the problems, the tasks in connection with the unemployed workers. The part-time workers are almost entirely ignored in the shop papers. Their specific problems and demands must be stressed.

The Warren strike showed that wage cuts and speed-up can be fought effectively in the steel and metal plants by rallying the workers around the program and leadership of the revolutionary union through united front action, built up around the day to day conditions and grievances of the workers.

The strike brought to the fore the Steel and Metal Workers-Industrial Union as the fighting leader of the steel workers in their struggle against the attacks of the bosses and the reactionary union misleaders. All these facts must be brought to the workers' attention through the shop papers.

N. H.

Will the Comrades Explain?

WE WOULD like to know the cause for the disappearance of certain shop papers which appeared more or less regularly in the past, but have not been issued for at least four or five months.

Districts 1, 3, 4, and 5 have had no shop papers since June. What has happened to *The Tubular Rivet Worker*, *The Textile Voice*, *The Sparrows Point Worker*, *The Randolph Miner*, *Steel Struggle*, *The Blawnox Steel Worker*, and the *McKeesport Tinplate Worker*?

District 2 appears to have lost half of their shop papers. *The Rex Worker*, *The Uneeda Workers' Voice*, *The Hattie Carnegie Worker*, *Live Current*, and the *Sing-Sing Rebel* have not appeared for the last several months.

District 6: What has happened to the *Malleable Worker*, *The Willard Fighter*, and the *Gum Worker*?

District 7 has lost one shop paper, the *Ternstedt Workers Bulletin*, and gained one, *The Young Ford Worker*.

District 8. There were ten active shop papers in this district six months ago and today there are only five. What has happened to the *Allis-Chalmers Worker*, *The C. and N. W. Worker*, *The Forgings Worker*, the *Youngstown Worker*, the *Decker Worker*, *The Harvester Worker*, and the *Nash Worker*?

District 9. *The Copper Miner*, *The Agnew Ore Digger* and the *Packing House Worker* have not appeared for six months.

District 13 had four shop papers and has lost two of them, the *C. H. Scrapper* and the *S. P. Worker*.

District 19. Another *Packing House Worker* lost.

Shop Paper Statistics

District	March	April	May	June	July	August
1	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	3	6	7	2	3	4
3	1	1	0	1	—	—
4	—	—	—	—	—	—
5	—	—	—	—	—	—
6	3	3	2	2	1	1
7	2	2	1	—	2	1
8	7	7	3	2	3	1
9	4	4	1	3	2	1
13	2	1	3	—	2	1
17	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	2	1	1	—	1	1
<i>Total</i>	24	25	18	10	14	10

New Papers — July — *Young Ford Worker*, District 7; *Railroad Worker*, District 19.

The tremendous decline in shop papers for the past six months — particularly in the last three months, seriously reflects on our shop work. The decline in shop papers is also in a very large measure due to a lack of personal attention on the part of District Organizers to the individual shops where shop papers are published as well as lack of individual attention to the publication of shop papers in the concentration districts. For example, Pittsburgh did not have one single Party shop paper for the past six months, though some union papers made their appearance irregularly.

In other concentration districts, like 6, 7, and 8, there has been a decline since June, and in District 8 there was a drop from seven papers in both March and April to only one in August.

We want to emphasize again that while the drop in shop papers is undoubtedly a reflection of weakening of shop work in a number of districts, the specific reason for the decline is that there is no serious sustained personal attention given by the districts to the regular appearance of the shop papers.

Aid for Shop Papers

In the past the Labor Research Association received many requests, which they always answered promptly, which was quite a help to the groups working on shop papers. The L. R. A. can give you any information regarding company profits, working conditions in a particular company, working hazards, etc. You can write to the Labor Research Association, 799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Agit-Prop Work

The Fight for Unemployment Insurance and Our Agitation

IN THE last issue of the *Party Organizer*, in an examination of some of the August First leaflets, we already stressed the point that more care should be taken in the proper raising and explaining of the main Party slogans.

We wish to add a few more striking examples. The call for the Pennsylvania State Nominating Convention left out completely our first main slogan in the election campaign — unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers. This leaflet does not seem to be, however, one isolated case in the district. The August First leaflet issued in North Philadelphia raises among the main war slogans the demand “for the immediate payment of jobless relief.” Now, what is meant by it? Do the comrades have in mind our central demand for unemployment insurance? If so, why is it not stated or explained in the leaflet? If the demand as stated in the leaflet is meant to be a local demand for some immediate relief it should have then been more specific and concrete.

A leaflet issued in Kentucky raises the demand “Fight for relief at the expense of the operators and their government.” Here an attempt is made to improve upon the main Party slogan instead of raising clearly our demand for unemployment insurance, and also explaining what we mean by it.

Practically all of our leaflets which had raised the demand for unemployment insurance do not explain what we mean by it — how we expect the government to raise the funds to pay unemployment insurance. It is important to discuss our program on unemployment insurance, the ways and means of raising the funds for it in such a manner that we concretely expose some of the local politicians and the Socialist Party who also speak of unemployment insurance. This becomes especially important now since the American Federation of Labor leadership, as a result of the pressure from below and our activities within the local unions, is also beginning to speak in favor of “jobless” insurance.

We should in our leaflets and general agitation, explain to the workers that the billions of dollars which the national government is giving to the bankers in industries (Reconstruction Finance Corporation) to save their profits, should be used as part of the fund for unemployment insurance. As against

the direct sales tax, our demand should be to tax the exploiters to create funds for unemployment insurance.

In each locality we must discuss very much in detail the various proposals for unemployment insurance on the part of the bourgeois demagogues, the social fascists, the American Federation of Labor leaders, and expose their proposals by concrete discussion of our demand for unemployment insurance. Whatever there is "practical" in the demand for unemployment insurance as voiced by our enemies is for the purpose of placing the entire burden for raising relief funds on the shoulders of the toiling masses. As against this, we must in a practical and popular manner explain what we mean by saying that "unemployment insurance should be raised at the *expense* of the state and employers."

Our demand for unemployment insurance must not be raised in such a manner as if we were opposed to local relief. It should be done in such a manner that "the Party should not create the impression that it calls upon the distressed workers to refuse benefits even of entirely inadequate charity relief, but as against the starvation it is necessary to energetically put forward the demand for *unemployment insurance*. To make this counterposing of insurance to charity clear to the workers, the Party must by means of *concrete facts* actually expose the complete insufficiency of charity (using the numerous recent statements of the charity organizations), the rotten food, and the methods of raising funds—threat of discharge if the workers refuse to give." (From the October, 1931 Central Committee Resolution on Unemployment, printed in full in the pamphlet *Toward Revolutionary Mass Work* and in the October, 1931 issue of *The Communist*.)

S. D.

A Revised Edition of the New Members' Pamphlet

The text book for classes of new members, *The Communist Party in Action*, will have a revised edition. In printing the revised edition of the pamphlet we would like to make a number of changes based on the experiences of the new members' training courses. In order to really meet the requirements of such a pamphlet we ask the comrades to send in suggestions on how to improve this special pamphlet for classes for new members.

The opinions sent in by the comrades will be taken very seriously and we hope on the basis of the criticisms and suggestions that will be sent in, the revised edition of the pamphlet will really be an improvement over the first one.

Please send your letter to the Central Committee Agitprop Department, Post Office Box 87, Station D, New York City.

A Workers School in Every District

WHILE political education of the members of the Party and the hundreds and thousands of workers outside of our ranks has been an important problem in our Party for a long time, it has received particular prominence since the Fourteenth Plenum of our Party. The Communist International and our Central Committee have stressed in the various resolutions the importance of raising the political level of our members and the spreading of the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the broad strata of the toiling masses in the United States. The deepening of the crisis and the consequent sharpening of the class struggle creates a greater desire on the part of the working class population, also on the part of the intellectual elements, to know and understand more about the Communist movement. The propaganda work of our Party must be further intensified and broadened. This can be done through the organization and the establishment of Workers Schools.

The Workers School in New York, which is now entering the tenth year of its existence, has, under the guidance and leadership of the Central Committee of our Party, developed into one of the most important Marxian institutions. From a mere handful of forty-six students at the inception of the School in 1923, it has reached a registration of 3,200 students for the year 1931-1932. More than fifty per cent of these were workers and other elements who came in contact with the Communist movement for the first time through the Workers School. The School therefore serves as an instrument of reaching the masses and popularizing the theory of Marxism-Leninism as well as the practical work of our Party. The School also serves as a recruiting ground, since many of the enrolled students sooner or later join the ranks of the Party.

How to Organize a Workers School

The problem of organizing Workers Schools in each District has been raised several times in the National Agitprop Department, but with the exception of Chicago, San Francisco and Detroit, we have not been successful in establishing Workers Schools functioning more or less regularly. Sporadic attempts have been made in Philadelphia, Boston and other districts, but with very little success. There is, however, no strong reason why Workers Schools should not be established in each district on a suitable foundation. It requires but little effort. The problem of forces for the school can also be easily solved. It depends a great deal on how the School is organized.

First, we should start modestly with about two or three classes at most. Of course, in bigger districts, like Chicago and San

Francisco, we can have a number of courses. In smaller districts, where Schools have not as yet been established, we should start with two or three classes: a class in Principles of Communism, one in Trade Union Strategy and Tactics, and perhaps a third one either in History of the American Labor Movement or in the History of Class Struggles. A class in the Organization Principles of the Party should be organized for Party and League members only.

In the beginning the only equipment required is a room with chairs and a blackboard. This room can be used each night for a different class.

No matter how busy our comrades are in the districts with the practical work, they can put aside an hour and a half once a week to teach a class. This will help not only to develop our young comrades but also the outsiders who will register for these courses, and will also help the instructors, since it requires some preparation on the part of the instructor to teach a class, and this helps him to develop his own political knowledge.

The District Committees should assign two or three comrades to plan the work; publicity should be gotten in the local press if possible, or by means of leaflets widely distributed; the date for the beginning of the course is to be announced and blanks prepared for registration. A small tuition must be charged.

In the small towns a fee of \$1.50 to \$2.00 for each course of eight to ten weeks would be sufficient. Later on, when the School grows, both the period of the term and the fee can be extended. The income from the tuition fees will usually be more than enough to cover the expenses, and in many cases may even help towards the maintenance of Party quarters. But of course the main emphasis is not to be on the financial part of the School.

A School thus established would attract many elements who otherwise would not come in contact with us, it would raise the prestige of the Party in the particular locality, and as mentioned before, it would help to raise the political level of the workers inside and outside of the Party.

The Workers School in New York can be and should be utilized by the comrades of other districts for advice, outlines, etc. It is in our opinion a very essential problem at the present time. The Fall is usually a good time to start a school because people return from their vacations, the weather is much cooler, and everybody is anxious to do something and is making plans for various activities for the Fall and Winter. Therefore the District Committees should discuss this problem immediately and begin preparations at once.

—A. MARKOFF.

Preparations for the 15th Anniversary of the October Revolution

WE SUGGEST that in the second week of October, not later, special functionaries' conferences should be arranged, at which a discussion take place on the lessons of the October Revolution and our agitation and propaganda among the masses, utilizing the lessons of the October Revolution and the achievements in the building of Socialism in the U. S. S. R. The discussion at the functionaries' conference should be followed with a discussion in all Party units. It is particularly necessary to arrange such conferences in the small industrial towns located outside of the District headquarters. Our experiences in the past show at best that functionaries' conferences and discussions in the units are held in the leading District cities. This must be changed.

During the months of October and November special forums should be arranged in the sections on the Fifteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution. Working class organizations should be visited to arrange discussions on the Fifteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

The circulation and distribution of literature on the October Revolution and the achievements of the Soviet Union, and on the first and second Five-Year Plans should be considered as one of the most important weapons in the mobilization of the masses in the celebration of the Russian Revolution.

Special attention should be paid in organizing lectures and discussions in the trade unions and mass organizations.

The lessons of the October Revolution and the achievements of the Five-Year Plan can and must be brought to the attention of the unemployed. Propaganda meetings with special leaflets should be held at the gathering place of the unemployed.

Our shop papers should in a concrete manner discuss and take up the Fifteenth Anniversary.

Self-Criticism from Rochester

LITERATURE was taken to all street meetings and most indoor meetings, but sales were small. Little has been done to activize mass organizations and there has been no house-to-house canvassing except that election pamphlets are taken by most of the comrades while collecting election petition signatures.

Unit literature agents form the committee, but do not function. This can be overcome by selecting a few comrades who see the importance of increasing the distribution of literature and who are energetic enough to work consistently at the task, for only by every-day efforts can we hope to accomplish anything.

J. H., Rochester, District 4.

....**"SAVE THE ANIMALS OF THE ZOO"**....
SAYS MAYOR MOORE

**BUT WHAT ABOUT THE STARVING
UNEMPLOYED?**

What is going to be your answer, Workers of Phila?

Today the State Legislature, after meeting for seven weeks, has refused to provide a single cent for relief of the unemployed. Now they

are attempting to tax the employed and unemployed by levying a tax on cigarettes and other things of life.

***Make the City Council provide immediate
Unemployment Relief***

RELIEF is cut off in the city since June 25. Even milk for starving babies is no longer given out. Workers, their wives and children are starving. Suicides increase. Workers are thrown out of their homes. **STILL M A Y O R MOORE, WHO CAN APPEAL TO THE CITIZENS TO SAVE THE ANIMALS OF THE ZOO, DOES NOT LIFT A FINGER TO DO SOMETHING FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.**

The City Council and the

Mayor can be compelled to provide relief only when thousands of unemployed and their families will force them to. Come in thousands and back the delegation of unemployed who will come to the City Council on August 25th, to present the demands for immediate relief. **G I V E YOUR ANSWER IN CLEAR SHARP T E R M S, THAT YOU REFUSE TO STARVE WHILE THERE ARE MILLIONS TO PAY TO THE BANKERS.**

COME TO THE REYBURN PLAZA

(Opposite City Hall)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 25th, 2 P. M.

BACK THE DEMANDS OF THE COMMITTEE:

1. That the City give out immediate relief out of the \$20,000,000 loan until relief is forthcoming from the state or federal government with no discrimination against single persons, Negroes, or young workers.
2. That the shelter be reopened at once for homeless people, and for people forced to live on the dumps.
3. No evictions for non-payment of rent. Vacant homes to be used for unemployed families. These homes to be maintained by the City.
4. Against the levying of any additional tax by the City Council upon places of public amusement and articles of mass consumption.

**Philadelphia Conference for Unemployment Relief
called by Unemployed Councils
230 S. 9th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.**

This is a good example of an unemployment leaflet. Study and compare it with some you have issued and send in your opinions.



Self-Criticism from Detroit

THROUGH the Org. letter and also by special statements which are attached to the Org. letter the entire Party has a much closer contact with our literature apparatus than before. But still there is a dangerous underestimation of the outstanding importance of literature. The members of the Party, with few exceptions, are not yet "literature conscious" to the extent that this consciousness would reflect itself through our sales. Some of the language organizations have bought a little, but here again we can notice that our fractions in these organizations are not on the job in introducing our literature at the meetings of these organizations. For four days I have found a good comrade who takes care of the book shop when I have to do other Party work. Otherwise I think one comrade could handle the book shop and all work connected with it by making a special effort.

There are good possibilities of doubling our literature sales in Detroit and throughout the state, but we can only utilize these possibilities when not only the Party members in the units, but also the entire leadership of the Party gets more seriously on the job, bringing the whole question of literature to the comrades in such a way that comrades will feel how close revolutionary literature is linked up with all other activities the Party is conducting. It is not clear to many comrades how valuable a pamphlet can be in our personal contacts in the shops as well as on the outside, especially in the light of the Fourteenth Plenum decisions. I have been in quite a number of units and in most of the cases found that literature did not play any role in whatever discussion the unit was involved in. Nevertheless, I am trying hard to overcome this bad situation by issuing every week a statement outlining what should be done, giving figures and suggestions.

F. B., Literature Director, District 7.

Overcoming Financial Chaos

Milwaukee, District 18, writes:

As far as financial responsibility of the Literature Department of our District is concerned, we are, as you know, a new District and we are now faced with the problem of reorganization; however, I want to state that we are installing a system of bookkeeping that will insure us of the strictest check-up in regard to both literature and *Daily Worker*. A serious attempt will be made to wipe off all back debts and I am sure that with the cooperation of the District here and the Center, this can and will be accomplished, in as short a period of time as possible.

* * * *

Cleveland, District 6, writes:

Our plan will be to hold a raffle in each section, on a set of Lenin's works, and in this way help to wipe out the old debt. and build a big literature fund, and place a set of Lenin's works in the hands of a worker.

Another plan was worked out in Section 1: a set of Lenin's works was raffled off and each unit that sold 125 tickets (ten cents each), received a set of Lenin's works, the balance being used for the raffled set, and the tickets. In this way we placed five sets of Lenin in the workers' hands.

J. F., Cleveland.

Proper Handling of Literature in the Units

THE method used in speaking on literature should contain the telling, in a few words, of the contents of each pamphlet, as the worker picks it up and turns it face towards the meeting. And if the agitprop will stand up while he speaks, he will be gratified at the added attention that will sub-consciously be paid him. If order is not kept as he speaks, he should demand it, and point out to the comrades that if they ignore literature, they are slipping up on one of their most important duties, since literature plays a vital role in organization work.

B. S., District 2, Section 1.

Salt Lake City Activizes the Units in Literature Distribution for the Election Campaign

THE Salt Lake City section of District 19 has been assigned a certain quota of election campaign literature to be sold before November 8. Our quota has been set at 15,000 national platforms, 2,000 each of other campaign pamphlets, and 50 copies of Comrade Foster's book, *Toward Soviet America*. This means that we must make a serious attempt to develop a real system of literature sales.

Now we propose that each unit of the section be responsible for a certain quota in proportion to their membership. In order to fill our quota we must sell 1,500 platforms each week from now to the election. Each unit should be able to handle at least 100 platforms per week and other campaign literature in proportion.

In order to help the units to have this literature on hand at all times we will extend credit for the first order, with the understanding that the bill must be paid within a week from receiving the pamphlets. And to save time we are sending all units a quantity of campaign literature on credit, to be paid for before the next unit meeting, when more literature should be ordered.

The best way would be for each unit to have a standing order of so many pamphlets each week and assign one comrade to call for them at the Party office and hold him responsible for getting the unit quota each week.

The next step will be to so organize the literature sale in the unit so as to be able to sell the largest possible amount from week to week.

As methods for distribution of the literature we suggest:

House to house sales.

Sales at all meetings and gatherings of workers.

Sales outside all unit concentration points.

Sales in connection with Red Sunday activities.

No meeting of any political group without Communist campaign literature.

Literature

THE Community Educational Club of Van Etten, N. Y., has decided to establish a Workers Library at the Finnish Hall, Van Etten, to be available for the English-speaking workers who frequent this hall at dances and entertainments.

We will therefore in the near future place an order for various pamphlets and other kinds of literature.

Party Organizer



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Steel Unit Before, During
and After the Strike

How We Prepared the Tren-
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Steel Plant Nucleus Check-up
on Plan of Work

To the Study and Application
of the United Front Policy

Unity of Negro and White
Toilers

How We Stopped a Sheriff
Sale

Expand the Cadres of the
Party!

Shop Paper Reviews

Vol. V

November-December, 1932

No. 11-12

Issued by

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U S. A.

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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. V

November-December, 1932

No. 11-12

Build the Party and the Unions in the Factories

"Precisely because little time remains before the revolutionary crisis matures is it necessary without losing a moment to intensify and accelerate our Bolshevik mass work to win over the majority of the working class, to increase the revolutionary activity of the working class. . . . The main link which the Communist Parties must seize upon in solving this problem is the struggle for the every day economic and political interests of the broad masses against the increasing poverty, against oppression, violence and terror."
—Thesis of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

* * * * *

THE 14th Plenum of our Central Committee dealing with factory work formulated very sharply and clearly this problem:

"The main basis of the work and development of the lower Party organizations is the work in the factories. Up till now the Party has not found the fit methods for carrying on this work. The content of this work is not merely organizational detail routine but is the whole struggle against the capitalist offensive and against the policy of the reformists. The first essential condition for successful work in the factory is daily contact with the mass of workers in it and thorough knowledge of the position of the workers in the factory and of the concrete conditions for struggle. The Communists must firmly grasp all the countless conflicts of a minor and major character arising daily with the employers, foremen and trade union bureaucrats, spies, etc., such as disputes, incidents, demands and grievances of the workers including the women and youth, discrimination against Negroes and foreign born, with regard to wages, hours of work, working conditions, rationalization measures, infringements of workers' rights, dismissals in case of arrests of workers, etc. It is the task of the Communists to investigate very carefully the causes of any failures in their efforts to penetrate the factories and to continue the work with renewed energy on the basis of carefully considered measures to overcome the previous shortcomings."

In spite of this and other numerous resolutions the greatest weakness of our Party is the work in the factories. Instead of

investigating the real causes which have so far hampered our work and adopting measures to overcome them, instead of giving concrete assistance to individual comrades in their work in the factories, we have thus far contented ourselves with making general speeches on the passivity of the Party members and their unwillingness to work in the factories. In some districts the "turn" was made by assigning one comrade to take care of all the shop nuclei. With this formal decision the district bureau settled the problem of personal guidance to 20 or 25 shop nuclei.

Systematic Attention to Factory Work

We have to begin at once with the practical organization of work in the factories.

1. The district committee should immediately call a conference of the comrades who are working in the big factories and members of the trade unions which are connected with these factories in order to investigate the situation there and work out a practical program of work. The Central Committee should send out its representative to the conferences in the concentration districts. These plans must take up particularly the method of work inside and around the factory, the questions of preparing and leading economic struggles, of trade union work, and the work of recruiting for the Party and the trade unions. The experiences gained at such conferences should be generalized and utilized for the entire Party.

2. In addition to these conferences the section committees should regularly take up, in a concrete manner, with the comrades in each shop nucleus and with each unit concentrating on an important plant, the work in the factory, the special conditions, the concrete political and economic demands brought up by the workers in these factories, and formulate them.

3. The Party committees must give concrete, day-to-day leadership to the shop nuclei by being in touch steadily with the organizers of the shop nuclei, discussing with them the daily happenings in the factory and help them to prepare the proper actions.

4. A shop nucleus should be organized if two or three comrades are working in the same factory. To strengthen the weak factory nuclei, experienced Party members should be attached to them from a nearby street nucleus. In factories where we have only one Party member, we should take up with this comrade what steps should be taken at once to recruit sympathetic workers for the Party and to form a nucleus with them. In factories where we have no Party members but where there are members of the revolutionary trade unions or other mass organizations (I.L.D., F.S.U., I.W.O., etc.) or readers of the Party press, the most revolutionary workers should be selected and be prepared for entrance into the Party and a nucleus formed.

5. The section committees should set themselves the task of insuring the regular issuing of a workers' newspaper in all factories where we have either a nucleus, individual Party members or a group of revolutionary trade union members. These newspapers must contain concrete material about the factory and must be issued by the workers in the factory or at least with their help.

How to Adopt Conspiratorial Methods of Work

6. Simultaneously with the development of mass work in the factories, measures should be taken to defend the Party members and members of the revolutionary trade unions or revolutionary opposition against terror on the part of the employers and police, through the adoption of conspirative methods of work in the factories, through the necessary teaching of Party members in conspirative methods of work, through the development of a determined struggle against espionage and provocation. The shop nucleus should publish the names and photographs of provocateurs in the shop paper. We have to arouse the hatred of the workers against this spy system of the employers and mobilize them for a movement for the defense of the revolutionary elements, for firing the spies from the shop.

When discussing these problems with the Party members, the Party committees should make it definitely understood "*that conspiracy must by no means cut the nucleus away from the masses of workers in the factory. While taking precautionary methods against being detected by the police and their agents, the Party nuclei in the factories must constantly let the workers know of their existence; they must publish leaflets, factory newspapers, organize meetings, etc. The most important duty of factory nuclei is to make the factory workers realize that the factory nucleus reacts immediately to every event in the factory and country. . . . While taking the necessary precautionary methods so as not to attract to themselves the attention of the police agents, the Party members must not only carry on persistent daily work in order to bring new sections into the Party ranks and into the sphere of Party influence, but they must also whenever the situation demands (for instance excitement among the workers in connection with a mine explosion or immediate strike situation) instruct active members of the nucleus to appear in their true colors before the workers even at the risk of arrest and dismissal.*"

The main basis of the work is in the factory. Build the Party and the unions in the factory.

Not a moment to be lost in intensifying our Bolshevik mass work!

Experiences in Shop Work

The Work of the Warren Trumbull Steel Nucleus Before, During and After the Strike

THE outstanding fact about the Trumbull unit is that it, alone of all Party units in steel, built itself a mass union which led a strike of 1500 steel workers, at least temporarily defeating a wage cut handed down under the agreement of the American Federation of Labor union with the company. The experiences of this unit is, therefore, of tremendous importance to the entire Party.

About five years ago, composed almost entirely of Finnish comrades, the unit organized a Trade Union Educational League group which grew to 25—and then it died. Following the 1929 convention of the Trade Union Unity League, the Metal Workers Industrial League group was built up to about 75-100, where it remained almost stationary for over two years.

From its birth up to the time of the strike, however, the membership of the unit was limited almost entirely to the hot mill, as was also the union, and did not sufficiently see the importance of spreading out into the other departments.

Unit Develops Personal Contact

What were the good points of the unit? (a) Its perseverance; in spite of slow progress and periods of stagnation, it plugged away at the job of building the union. (b) Time and time again it flooded its part of the mill with leaflets, etc. (c) Although made up almost entirely of foreign born workers, it tried to recruit Americans into the union, and through concentrating on *personal contacts it succeeded* in this task, paving the way to mass recruiting and the strike. (d) At least two unit members were recognized as real leaders by the non-Party workers in the union.

The weaknesses of the unit were many. But almost all of these can be attributed to the lack of proper direction from the leading Party committees.

Fails to Forsee Impending Strike

The unit did not see the rapidly approaching strike. Although it met together with a representative from the district the week before the strike, that meeting did not discuss the question of immediate struggle. Its ears were not to the ground. It did not react to the growing demand of the workers for action.

But when we consider the composition of the unit buro, we un-

derstand some of the reasons for this. The unit buro *should be* the political leadership of the unit. We had two Party members who were leaders in the union, but *neither was on the unit buro*. Theirs was "union, not Party work". The most active Communist in the unit only rarely attended unit meetings. Harrassed by the demand from the non-Party workers that they do more work in the union, and the demand from the Party to attend Party meetings and do more Party work, they didn't know just what to do. So the unit buro contained no leading union members.

There was no live connection between the Party and the leading committee of the union. The unit organizer, a splendid comrade, was Finnish fraction secretary, and too busy with this work to do much union work. The unit financial secretary was inactive in the union and had few or no contacts with non-Finnish workers. The third buro member, *had been out of the mill for two years*, had few connections inside the mill, and almost none with American workers. Could this buro give proper leadership? Of course not!

However, it would be wrong to blame only the unit for this. With proper explanation by the district or section committees they would have corrected this.

The Need for Developing Partial Struggles

A second great weakness of the unit's work was a political one—an underestimation of the need to develop partial struggles around the smallest grievances in the mill. For example, an active union member (since the strike he was drawn into the Party) reports that when the company took all chairs out of the mill restaurant and installed high tables which forced the workers to eat standing up, there was great indignation. He and five other non-Party workers even picketed the restaurant for a while. But when he demanded at the union meeting that a fight against this be launched, the Party members joined with the other members in ridiculing him. Obviously our Party comrades did not see that their job, as Communists, was to convince the non-Party workers of the necessity for just such struggles as these, in the course of which workers in the A. F. of L. union and unorganized workers together with the members of the revolutionary union and Party workers could be united under our leadership.

Doubtless, leading comrades from the district committee had made speeches on the need for developing partial struggles. But, they did not sit down with the unit and discuss the conditions in the mill, patiently drawing out the comrades as to every detail of the working conditions, asking questions which would reveal grievances around which a struggle could be developed. Neither did the leading union organizers, who were sent to Warren, help the local comrades on such questions as these—despite a National Executive Board decision, made six weeks before the

strike, instructing them to find out the issues on which partial struggles could be developed and give guidance on how to organize these struggles.

The result of these weaknesses and mistakes was the separation of the unit from the union, its failure to work as a real Bolshevik fraction, and the separation of the union from the masses of the workers through its failure to react sharply to their grievances and their moods. All this resulted in a failure to foresee the impending strike, a failure to establish the united front bodies in preparation for the strike and to properly prepare the strike apparatus: defense and relief committees, picket lines, etc.

In the last minute preparations, leading comrades from the section and district of the Party came to Warren. Perhaps, it was not possible to call a unit meeting. But certainly, a leading fraction meeting could and should have been called. This was not done. *The unit did not meet until after the strike was over. A representative of the section buro has yet to meet with the unit and not until two months after the strike did a representative from the district buro meet with the shop unit.*

Prior to and during the strike, the face of the Party was not brought forward. Nor was any recruiting carried on for the Party. While the unit members can be partly blamed for this, it was the task of the leading committees to work out with the unit methods of properly carrying out these tasks.

Unit Learns from Mistakes

After the strike the mistakes and lessons were discussed at a unit meeting. It was decided to call an open meeting of the unit to discuss the role of the Party with selected active union members. As a result of this open meeting five active members—all Americans—were recruited into the Party. But then the recruitment stopped. Only when Comrade Ford spoke on November 1 were more workers recruited for the Party.

Since the strike the work of the unit has improved, although insufficiently. The "concentration school" helped. The unit buro has been reorganized. An American comrade has been added to the buro, where he is developing splendidly. But the organizer, despite the district buro decision, is still Finnish fraction secretary, and the most active experienced member in the union has been made sub-district secretary of the Finnish Federation, without the knowledge or consent of the unit, section or district committee. As a result, his services are practically lost to the important work of building the Party and union inside the mill. This general weakness of taking out the most active members of the unit for language work should be overcome by utilizing other valuable comrades for this phase of activity.

The shop bulletin, neglected for months preceding the strike, appeared a week before the elections, and a new issue will come

out prior to the Hunger March. The unit, now almost entirely blacklisted, is leading (although still too slowly) in the rebuilding of the union inside the mill. It participates in the work of the soup kitchen for blacklisted workers, maintained through local collections, and it is participating in the building of the unemployed movement where a few small neighborhood struggles are laying the basis for a mass movement. A city buro of the Party has been organized to co-ordinate the work of the existing units and a study circle is starting. Many connections with the mill have been re-established, but the tempo of actual reorganizations must be speeded up. — J. D.

How We Prepared for the Trenton Doll Strike

THE successful conclusion of the strike of 850 workers, eighty-five per cent youth, in the Regal Doll factory in Trenton is of tremendous significance to the entire Party and Y.C.L. Not only did the workers gain an increase in wages, shorter hours, the recognition of their union and the shop committee, but this strike fully confirms the Fourteenth Plenum Resolution of our Party that *"The first essential condition for successful work in the factory is daily contact with the mass of workers in it and thorough knowledge of the position of the workers in the factory and of the concrete conditions for struggle."*

How We Made the First Contacts

When we first started concentration on this factory we had no connections with any of the workers. The Regal Doll factory was known to the Trenton workers as "The Hell Hole". The average hours in the plant ranged anywhere from 60 to 75 a week, with an average weekly wage of \$8 to \$10. Cases of girls receiving \$2 and \$3 a week, and of men working 91 hours a week, were numerous. We began by going around to the poolrooms, to the neighborhoods where these workers live, in front of the factory, particularly during lunch-hour, to get contact with the workers. Finally we succeeded in getting contact with some young fellows in one of the poolrooms. Through these we got information on conditions in the plant and further contacts.

On the basis of this we issued the first shop paper, the *Fighting Doll*. This paper dealt concretely with the conditions in the shop, it picked up the jokes that were cracked by the workers themselves and used them, it exposed one of the foremen by name. When it was distributed there was a favorable response in the shop. In the meantime we began to call meetings of the contacts we had. For a long time we made little headway. This led to some discouragement, even to conceptions that it was impossible to organize the plant. But we stuck to our work, continuing the personal visiting of workers.

Boss Attempts to Smash Demonstration Utilized to Build Organization

It was not, however, until after the International Youth Day demonstration that we broke through the ice. For this demonstration we issued a leaflet to the Regal Doll workers. The bosses feared that at this demonstration we would discuss the preparation of and organization for a strike. They demanded from the police that the demonstration should be smashed, but despite their attempts it was carried through.

On the basis of this action of the bosses', a mass trial was organized in the neighborhood of the factory placing the bosses on trial and exposing the conditions of the workers. Seven hundred workers attended, among whom were many from the factory. The sentiment for struggle was great—and unemployed workers who attended the trial pledged to give every support to the workers when they should decide to take action. This mass trial aroused much talk in the vicinity of the shop and among the workers and helped us in preparing the ground for the coming struggle.

Methods in Building the Shop Organization

We followed up the contacts made at this trial. We visited them personally. In order not to lose time, a car was used to go from one worker's home to another. These workers were asked to bring a few workers together to small meetings. On the basis of this activity we saw the necessity of concentrating on the shop in real earnest for a few weeks, mobilizing every force available in order to actually get definite results.

We spent every night of the week—and particularly Sunday—visiting workers. Finally we decided to call a large meeting of all the workers we had contact with. *In this we adopted conspiratorial methods to protect the workers, and to gain their confidence. We told the workers to be at their homes at a certain hour, wherever possible a group of workers at one place. We went to these homes in cars and drove them to the meeting place. At the central meeting place a League member or a young shop worker was stationed at the door and allowed no one to enter unless escorted by another trusted worker or a League member.* On the basis of this meeting which was well attended, we decided to call separate department meetings, to prepare the workers for struggle, and at the end of the week to call a mass meeting to take a strike vote.

During this time, the shop paper continued to be issued. Some of the workers took them right into the shops and spread them everywhere in many of the departments. The workers read them right at the bench.

We then started the work of the department meetings. Every night another meeting was held and during the week we had met

with 85 workers. However, here we had some difficulty in getting the girls to attend—only 8 or 10 came and we feared that they would be a factor to impede the strike. (However, in the strike itself, the girls were the most militant and fearless.) At these meetings the demands were discussed—and all the demands put forward in the *Fighting Doll* were accepted by the workers.

Defeat Attempts to Split Workers

In the meantime the boss smelled a rat and tried to split up the workers' ranks. *He began to negotiate with the pressers, the key section of the workers, promising them higher wages. We heard about it immediately. We knew that we must get word to these pressers at once—otherwise they might weaken. We devised a scheme. One of the boys was sent up to them with a bag of lunch. He told them to wait with the negotiations and arranged for a meeting immediately after work. The pressers remained solidly with the rest of the workers and turned down the proposals of the boss.*

The Toy and Doll Workers Union in New York, controlled by the Socialists, tried to frustrate our work. They sent down an organizer but he could do nothing. Hearing about our plans for a mass meeting to take a strike vote, they immediately sent instructions to a Socialist who has a printing shop, telling him to print a leaflet calling for a meeting on Sunday, one hour before our meeting, in the same hall, signed, "The Committee". We found out about it, and immediately prepared the ground to prevent that meeting from taking place. Every worker in the shop organization was informed about it. We exposed the Socialists and the A. F. of L. and told them to spread the word to the other workers. At the same time we organized a group of the pressers to prevent the Socialists from distributing the leaflet at the shop. We thus succeeded in frightening them away.

Initiative of Workers

At the Sunday meeting, despite a pouring rain, 150 workers came. A strike vote was taken and a strike committee elected. It was decided to begin picketing in the morning. During the first day mass picketing was carried out four times and we succeeded in pulling out every worker. In the evening 5,000 workers, young and old, supported the strikers in a militant demonstration. A truck with scabs tried to break through the demonstration, and a battle ensued. The workers broke up the sidewalks, smashed the windows of the factory, smashed the cars, beat up the scabs, broke through the police ranks and forced the bosses to lock the doors of the factory. During the battle the bosses and the police called upon the fire department for aid. The workers learned about it and immediately rang the fire alarms at different sec-

tions, thus defeating this last desperate attempt of the bosses to break the strike.

Negotiations began with the second day of the strike. But throughout the negotiations the strikers themselves fought the maneuvers of the bosses to divide the ranks, and they won a tremendous victory. Increases of 15, 20 and 25 per cent were won for the workers as well as a reduction in hours in some cases from 75 to 50, the establishment of the \$7 and \$8 minimum which increased the wages of some girls 100 to 200 per cent, and the recognition of the union. The shop is now a closed union shop—and the workers through their shop committee, take up the daily grievances as they arise.

— A Y.C.L'er.

NOTE: It is significant to point out here also that the Regal Doll workers have decided to go out on an one hour strike when the Hunger Marchers pass through Trenton; not only to greet them, but to pledge their solidarity in the struggle for unemployment insurance.

Concentration Brings Results

ABOUT three years ago 2,500 workers were employed in this wire factory, last year 1,000, and at present about 400. The conditions in the shop are very unsatisfactory. The buildings are old, the roofs are leaking, there are no safety devices. Three years ago the open furnace produced 50 tons of metal in 18 to 24 hours, employing four workmen and two gashouse men. At present they are producing 200 tons of metal in 24 hours with one gashouse man and two furnace men. In the wire department three years ago 75 men drew 100 tons of wire in 24 hours and the men averaged \$10 per day. Today, 22 men produce 250 tons of metal in ten hours with an average wage of \$6.50. The men working by the hour have received two cuts—10 per cent and 15 per cent. There are all indications that a new cut will be put into effect shortly.

We Take the First Steps

We began systematic work in this plant about two and a half months ago. At that time two Party members were working in the shop. A meeting was held with these comrades and a unit was established. Immediately a survey was made of the language mass organizations in the territory. We found three more workers that could be drawn into the Party. We assigned the comrades to bring these contacts to the next meeting. Two of these workers were brought into the Party at the following meeting. This made four workers and myself to begin the work.

At the first meeting we had a thorough discussion on the work of a Party shop unit, placing emphasis on the organization of

the workers in the plant on the basis of the concrete grievances. At the same time the call for the Convention of the Steel & Metal Workers Industrial Union was received. We took this up and decided to send two delegates from the shop.

We Send Delegates to the Union Convention

On this basis, we compiled a list of contacts for the building of the union. In the visiting of these contacts, a serious mistake was committed, which we have since corrected. I undertook to visit all the contacts. This prevented the members of the unit from carrying on active work. Furthermore, when the contacts were visited by me, many of the workers refused to have anything to do with me. We immediately called a meeting of the unit to correct this mistake. At first the comrades in the unit refused to visit any of the contacts. But finally, after a careful discussion, they saw the necessity of participating in this work. When a comrade from the shop went out with me, we received a better response. And at the meeting to elect the delegates to the Metal Trades Convention, 11 workers, two of whom were Negroes, attended.

We immediately got down to the work of collecting funds in the shop to send off the delegation. Many of the workers contributed quarters and dimes for the delegation. However, here, too, we made a mistake. *We did not utilize these workers who contributed towards the expense of the delegation as permanent contacts for the building of the union.*

On the return of the delegation a unit meeting was called to discuss the building of the union and to arrange a meeting to hear the report of the delegates. By this time we had seven members of the shop in the unit—one of the delegates on the way to the convention joined the Party and two additional members were brought in by the comrades.

At the meeting to hear the report 14 workers were present. After listening to the report they joined the union. We elected a committee of three of whom one is a Party member. But the basic shortcoming was that all with the exception of one, were working in the same department.

How We Applied the United Front Tactic

We discussed how to bring in workers from the other departments. In this discussion was revealed our entire sectarian approach in the building of the union. When we discussed the various contacts in other departments, our comrades immediately raised such issues—these belong to a church, others to social fascist organizations, etc., and we can have nothing to do with them. But the comrades were soon convinced of the incorrectness of this position. One of our best Negro comrades who

joined the union due to the fact that we have constantly pointed out that our union is going to be built on the basis of organizing all workers who are willing to struggle against grievances and for better conditions in the shop, feared at first that if he joins the union he would be prevented from going to church or voting for the Republican Party for which he has voted for many years. The correctness of the Party line in this connection is proven in this same instance. This Negro worker now states that the Communist Party is the only Party that fights for the workers and he will vote Communist.

As yet the committee elected by the union group did not meet, with the result that the union did not take up the specific grievances it faces in the shop. Many comrades were of the opinion that no grievances could be raised now since the shop is expected to close down soon, and because the workers do not work regularly making it hard to get in touch with them. But when we raised the question of leaky roofs, lifting 280 pounds of wire without a crane, the comrades agreed that these would be good issues to begin to rally the workers for struggle.

Flexibility In Solving Problems

One of the main complications in our work was how to get the Negroes and the whites—who live about six or seven miles apart—to meet together. We have taken it up at the unit meeting and we practically had no solution for the problem. At the last meeting we had a thorough discussion with the Negro and white comrades and decided that the Negroes (and if there are any whites in the territory) should meet in the territory where they live and also the white comrades meet in their territory. At each meeting, however, in the Negro territory a white comrade from the shop committee should report and vice versa. This plan is just beginning to be applied.

As to the perspectives in our work. It is clear from the response of the workers, Negroes and whites, that grievances can be brought forth and there are many of them. It is only a question at this time of convincing our comrades of the necessity of raising these issues. We must also immediately begin to pay attention to the Americans who now constitute 30 per cent of the shop. Here, too, the comrades are very hesitant. They have no faith in the American workers in the shop. They claim that it is useless to take up any problems with them, since they can't be trusted, etc. At every unit and union meeting this question has been discussed and little by little we are breaking down this prejudice. In this respect the Negro workers were of great help. They saw the need of getting the native elements much faster than our few Party members who are foreign born.

— M. R.

Steel Plant Nucleus Check-up on Plan of Work

THE following plan of work was first adopted September 25th at the Section Committee together with members of the shop nucleus. The check-up took place on October 23rd.

Plan Adopted and Action Taken

Central Committee to send representative once a month.

Not accomplished.

Unit organizer to be called to district buro meetings.

Fulfilled.

Section organizer to attend nucleus meeting.

Is being done.

Section Secretariat to meet with steel workers every month.

Not accomplished.

Street unit in steel area to be reorganized and activized on the basis of unemployed work among steel workers. Secretariat to act on this in one week's time.

Not completely fulfilled but proper steps taken in the right direction to accomplish this.

Y. C. L. section committee to be responsible for organization of Y.C.L. unit to work together with the Party.

Have unit of 8 members, many contacts very promising.

Basketball team to be organized in this territory.

Meeting was held, plans made.

Special Y.C.L. section committee to take up question of factory.

Meeting to be held on November 5.

Secretariat to get leading comrades of various nationalities to carry on work among their respective nationalities.

Not fulfilled. No plan of work yet made on this point.

Unit organizer to live in steel workers' neighborhood.

Not yet fulfilled.

Unit in this territory and two additional street units to concentrate especially on the Negro steel workers.

Unit buros of respective units haven't made any steps in this direction.

Shock brigades or Red Sunday groups from the Party to carry on drive in steel mill workers' neighborhoods.

This has not yet been carried out.

A tightening up on the method of work to be adopted in the nucleus. Each member to concentrate on one or two workers in the mill and give full details of his progress for the current week.

At two unit meetings this was done. First meetings revealed this was not carried out with the exception of one new comrade. Second meeting, considerable improvement.

Union groups to be reorganized on department basis.

Was carried out with good results.

Section to work out special tasks for steel nucleus in relation to Party campaigns.

Was not fulfilled as yet.

Secretariat to make weekly check-up on this plan.

Was not fulfilled.

Section committee meeting to be held on October 23 to check up on on this plan.

Was fulfilled.

NOTE: While this plan and the check-up has many excellent points, it has an outstanding weakness. There is no perspective for struggle, it is primarily of an inner character, makes no provision for mass agitation (shop leaflets, shop papers, literature, meetings, etc.)

The section committee must be criticized for not carrying out or delaying some of the decisions made. An individual comrade of the section committee should be made responsible for this work.

A Department Group Discusses Its Problems

RECENTLY a department group was established in this steel mill. The group consists of some union members, a few Party members and a few workers who are completely unorganized. All the workers understand that to further develop and build up the group in the department, their approach to the workers must be strictly on the question of the conditions in the mill.

On this basis the first meeting was called where the following agenda was thoroughly dealt with:

1. Discuss all contacts (old and prospective) and activities.
2. Grievances in the department.
3. National Hunger March.

We had a very lively discussion on the first point. Many workers, especially the native elements, related experiences on how they make friends in the shop. Other workers turned over lists of connections in the mill. A committee of three was elected to check over all contacts, old and new, and to get in touch with these workers and try to win them back for the organization in the shop.

Workers Have Many Grievances

It is particularly necessary to bring to light all the grievances in the department so that the members of the group can utilize them as a means of agitation and establishing contacts with workers. In the discussion these grievances were brought out:

1. Since the last wage cut, the bosses are instituting a most vicious speed-up—demanding extra tonnage, working cold iron, double work on heaters, etc.

2. The pair heaters are in for a bad deal. They have to keep the dampers closed and the furnace is always filled with smoke. Working in dark furnaces, they must become fishermen to fish out the pack in the furnace.

3. They used to have a water trough for their tongs, but now must work with "dry tongs". *This means that the tongs are always hot.* Result—burned fingers and hands.

4. The workers expect some dirt to be pulled off after the election. They expect a wage-cut and also a lay-off of about 300 men on the mill.

5. The question of lockers looms up again. Changing clothes in the place of the old lockers will mean colds, pneumonia and other ailments for the workers. The need is great for a big locker and wash room as well as a rest room in the tin mill.

6. Very often a fellow has to work all night with a bad pair of tongs or borrowed tongs, which handicaps the work.

7. Men and children sifting out burned coal for salvaging pieces of coke.

8. Single boys (name of workers performing a certain operation) make \$1.50 for an 8 hour turn. They are working level hand, which means two men are working one operation and they have to divide their day's pay or tonnage.

After the discussion on the grievances it was decided that no leaflet shall be issued for the present on any of these specific grievances. These should be utilized now as a means of approach to win individual workers for the department group. Our task is to make our members conscious of the fact that a worker is ready to join a group that deals concretely with the questions of the mill while for the present this same worker may not yet be willing to become a signed up dues paying member of our union.

A Steel Delegation for the Hunger March

Simultaneously with the winning of the steel workers in the mill for the department groups, and for our union, it is necessary also to fight for the demands of the unemployed workers and organize them. This is an important task which will tremendously increase the influence of our union. The workers at the department group meeting immediately saw the need for unity between the employed and unemployed workers. Steps were taken to call a special meeting of actives of unemployed from the various language organizations, union groups, and other unemployed workers to take up the problem of immediate relief in this particular steel section.

During the coming week everyone will bring in names and addresses of all unemployed contacts—and these contacts will be visited. In this way we will prepare for the National Hunger March, hoping to have the steel mill workers taking a big part in the line-up for Washington.

—C. B.

To the Study and Application of the United Front Policy

SOON we will find ourselves in the midst of the fourth and worst winter of the crisis. The workers pressed down by the growing offensive of the bosses are rising to struggle. In the face of the present situation which "is pregnant with unexpected outbreaks and sharp turns of events" (Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.), why is it that our Party is still "isolated from the decisive sections of the American proletariat"? Why is it that struggles take place without our leadership? How come that the social fascists not only lead struggles to behead them, but outmaneuver us and lead the workers to defeats? (Lawrence, So. Illinois, Seattle unemployed, etc.) Most important of all, we, the Party, must assume full responsibility for the fact that in the face of the growing radicalization of the masses, in the face of the crushing burden of offensive and terror on the part of the ruling class, there are not more and sharper battles. We must with the greatest Bolshevik earnestness ask ourselves, why the social fascists in many cases succeed with the aid of their demagoguery to hinder the development of struggles, to create among the workers suspicion and skepticism of our leadership?

The Fourteenth Plenum resolution of our C. C. which was drafted with the aid of the Communist International, gives us a clear answer to the above questions. The Fourteenth Plenum resolution shows the way of overcoming the present situation of the Party. The Fourteenth Plenum resolution must not become a forgotten resolution. Only to the extent that we apply and carry out the line of the Fourteenth Plenum resolution will the Party succeed in establishing itself among the masses. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Plenum resolutions of our Central Committee must be studied in connection with the thesis of the Twelfth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International* held recently.

What is the chief obstacle "which stands in the way of carrying out a correct mass policy and in the further development of the Party"? is the implied question of the Fourteenth Plenum resolution. And the resolution clearly answers: "The strong *sectarian tendencies* in the entire work of the Party, as well as in the mass organizations—tendencies which are based on deep-rooted formalism." If we examine our shop work, unemployed struggles, any mass action planned and developed, the basic cause for our failure to develop mass work is our sectarianism, our

* See the pamphlet, *Capitalist Stabilization Has Ended: Thesis and Resolutions of the Twelfth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International*. Workers Library Publishers, 10 cents.

failure to "establish, extend and strengthen *permanent and intimate contacts* with the *majority* of the workers, wherever workers may be found". (Thesis of the Twelfth Plenum of the E. C. C. I.)

What is the bridge with which we will reach the workers? How can we close the gap between ourselves and the suffering, struggling masses? Through what policy can we overcome and deal body blows to the curse of sectarianism? This can be effected through the mass policy of the *united front from below*. In a nutshell, what do we mean by the united front from below?

It means to set in motion *non-Communist* workers, who are under the influence of social-fascist and bourgeois ideology, to fight for the improvement of their conditions. Therefore, our first approach and consideration is not whether the worker is a Communist or not, but the need for an understanding of his grievances and conditions, and on this basis jointly with him, formulate the demands for joint struggle. Only on such a basis will we win the confidence of the workers. Only then will they consider us as *their natural leaders*, and not as people who command and attempt impose their will upon them.

If we take our experiences in organizing various groups in the shops, what do we find? The tendency is to consider workers who still attend church, or are members of bourgeois parties, as immune to organization. We can cite many such examples. In Buffalo for instance, a Negro worker in a steel mill was willing to join the shop group in the plant, stating that he agrees with the demands formulated and the purpose of the organization, but that he is still anxious to attend his church and retain membership in the Republican Party. However, he agreed to join the shop group when he was convinced that his membership in the organization does not depend upon his leaving the church and his party but on fighting only with the other non-Communist and Communist workers for the demands formulated on the basis of the existing grievances and conditions in the shop.

Fear and distrust exist either openly expressed or in hidden forms, that every non-Communist worker is "so backward that you cannot depend on his initiative, elect him to committees, etc." Such expressions were heard more than once at various meetings when the question of developing work in a particular shop was taken up. The test of Communist leadership in a shop depends precisely on the ability, through the proper united front tactic, to draw into active work and leadership such "backward workers".

Our experiences in unemployed work particularly emphasize the need for breaking away from the sectarian habits of confining our unemployed activities to small groups, not consulting the workers in formulating demands, failure to build block committees, failure to draw the unemployed workers in sufficient

numbers into active leadership, etc. As a result of our sectarian methods, the social fascists and some bourgeois demagogues, have succeeded in establishing unemployed organizations for the purpose of undermining the growing influence of the Unemployed Councils and in face of growing cuts in relief and growth of unemployment, to divert into peaceful channels the rising resentment and struggles of the unemployed.

Especially in our fight against the social fascists, must the united front be applied. The experiences of the Chicago comrades in the struggle against the social fascists must be studied by the entire Party. The experiences of the Chicago district in this case also bring forward the fight against sectarianism and the right danger as the main danger. We will not deal with these experiences in the article as they have been taken up in detail in the article of Comrade Gebert in the *Daily Worker* of November 17th, in the article of Comrade Williamson in the December issue of *The Communist* and in the editorial which appears also in the December issue of *The Communist*.

In our fight against the social fascists we must take special pains to remember that: "*Only by strict differentiation between social-democratic leaders and workers will the Communists be able, by means of the united front from below, to break down the wall which often separates them from the social-democratic workers.*" (Thesis of the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.) In New York for instance, the Socialist Party organized a number of unemployed branches. In some cases, the attitude was taken that these are social-fascist organizations comprised of social-fascist workers, and therefore we must develop frontal attacks on these organizations and come to a head-on-collision with the workers who were called social fascists. Instead of applying the proper united front tactic, as was done in Chicago, by raising demands, etc., there was a failure to "*differentiate between social-democratic leaders and the workers.*"

The closest and most detailed study must be given the Fourteenth Plenum resolution of our C. C. and the Twelfth Plenum thesis of the E.C.C.I. These are invaluable aids for acquiring the correct understanding of the united front policy. Every action of the Party should be developed on the basis of the united front policy. Every experience in mass work should be taken up in the light of the two above-mentioned resolutions.

Our sectarianism with its manifold habits and practices can best be cured in struggles. Let no one argue that because of the sectarian habits, because of the weaknesses existing in the Party, we must shrink and "be careful" about undertaking important mass actions. Such an attitude is the typical expression of sectarianism.

No surrender to sectarianism! Into mass battles!

— S. D.

Unity of Negro and White Toilers

THE biggest thing since the Civil War", was the remark of one white worker and the echo of many more about the demonstration on November 7 for winter relief in Birmingham. It was the greatest single action of the working class of this industrial center of the South, and the statement serves to reflect the spirit of workers we reached for the first time. The fact that out of the 5,000 workers present there were more than 1,500 whites makes the demonstration an historic step in the growth of the iron unity between Negro and white which will be a decisive factor in the revolutionary movement in the South, and especially in the Black Belt.

After the successful election rally of October 9, the district buro planned four weeks of intensive preparatory work for November 7 as a continuation of the fight for free speech, for the right to the streets, for immediate relief. The concrete steps in the preparation were as follows:

1. The work of the block committees was increased. New block committees were built, and the old ones strengthened. Local struggles were developed against the Red Cross, demands for relief, etc. In a few cases results were gotten in the form of food, clothing, turning on of water, stopping of evictions.

2. On the basis of this increased activity the demands were formulated. The two major demands were: (a) \$3 in cash and \$5 in groceries each week for every unemployed family; (b) the right to vote without payment of poll tax, property or other qualifications, with no discrimination against the Negroes. These were the demands of the workers themselves and they were ready to fight for them.

3. A meeting of all block committee captains and actives in unemployed work was called for October 29. A city Unemployed Council was elected. This meeting was a success in that it achieved the first real differentiation between the Unemployed Council and the Party.

4. A united front conference was held on November 6. There were over 100 workers present, of whom many were delegates from churches and other organizations. This was an important step. The workers voted in support of the demands and pledged the support of their organizations and friends for the program of the Unemployed Council, and especially for the demonstration the following day.

5. There were 35,000 leaflets issued in all. The work in the neighborhoods made it possible to issue most of the leaflets on a *neighborhood scale*, presenting the concrete problems of the unemployed of that locality. The workers could clearly understand these local leaflets, and the city-wide leaflets served to supplement them, and to bring the workers into the streets.

6. The Communist Party had meanwhile continued with the

election campaign, and the I.L.D. with the campaign for the right to vote and for free speech. Leaflets were issued for these campaigns, linked up closely with the struggle for winter relief.

The results of this preparation we already know; the largest single outpouring of Negro and white workers, united for struggle, ever seen in this city. The lessons may be briefly put as follows:

1. Penetration of the neighborhoods, activities in the blocks, knowledge of the burning daily needs of the masses, demands on these needs—these are the things which will rally the masses for struggle.

2. The development of the initiative of the masses into the planning of these actions, and the broadening of the base of the leadership of these actions by bringing the widest masses into motion on the basis of the untied front will ensure the support of the masses in these struggles.

3. The unity of Negro and white can be forged not by economic struggle alone, but by the political struggle as well. This is shown by the splendid response of the workers to the demand for the right to vote.

4. The Party did not bow to spontaneity. The Party carefully prepared this struggle, concentrated its best forces at the key points, giving conscious, determined leadership to the struggle.

In the face of open police terror and the threat of the Ku Klux Klan, the carrying through of this struggle was of tremendous significance. At the same time, however, certain shortcomings were evident:

1. Underestimation of the willingness of the masses to struggle and their response to our program. The demonstration was called for 3:30 but the workers began to assemble at 1 o'clock, giving the police two hours to partially separate the Negroes and whites and to arrest the speakers, without sufficient resistance from the masses. The leadership did not foresee this situation and was not prepared for it.

2. Failure to give sufficient attention to the building of the Party and the Unemployed Council during the period of preparation and around the demonstration in general. The activity should have brought many new cadres into our organization.

3. The failure to connect the part-time factory workers with this struggle.

We are now faced with many tasks arising from this struggle. These are:

1. To intensify the work of building and activating the block committees on the basis of the daily needs of the unemployed.

2. To elect our delegates for the National Hunger March on the basis of the widest possible united front, and to draw the broadest masses into the preparation of the Hunger March, getting food, funds, transportation, etc.

3. In connection with this activity to prepare a greeting for the Hunger Marchers on November 28 in the form of a demonstration at the Old Court House, the same place as the November 7 demonstration.

4. Continuation of the free speech struggle by holding the demonstration at the same place, by demanding the right to use the streets, and by openly mobilizing workers in support of the National Hunger March, as well as for the right to meet and assemble.

5. To systematically recruit members all during this struggle for the Party and for the building of the Unemployed Councils.

—S. B.

In Struggle Workers Recognize Their Leaders

THE People's Council in Whatcom County represents another form of rising radicalization of the workers and also the turning of the small shopkeeper and home owner towards the revolutionary movement. The People's Council was planned and organized by a non-Party worker who attempted to set up an organization modeled after the Soviets, applied to local conditions. He received his greatest assistance from an expelled member of the Party. This expelled member of the Party was used as the face of the new organization and it grew from its inception.

From the outset the name "People's Council" appealed to the workers and farmers here, more so than the Unemployed Council. The hostility of the expelled member to the Party deepened the suspicion among the Party members that the People's Council was an organization in the hands of the capitalist class. A policy of isolation ensued. With the rapid development of this organization to 3,000 members, it was decided that this policy of ignoring the organization was incorrect. The comrades joined the organization and began to carry on work in the various councils.

As a result of systematic work, the August First demonstration was endorsed by the organization. Because the leaders directly participated in the demonstration, some reactionary elements waged a struggle against the leaders and called a special meeting to expel them from the organization. But the membership defeated these attempts, and the leadership was upheld by the majority of the organization.

The People's Council occupies a unique position here inasmuch as it is a mass organization of struggle. It has entered into the election campaign on an independent ticket, running workers on the basis of a revolutionary program chiefly embracing the demands of the unemployed. The platform includes all the points

of the program of struggle contained in the new draft manual of the Unemployed Councils.

The leadership in the People's Council now welcomes the work of the Party within the organization. This is a case, where a mass organization, on a very broad basis, has been formed independent of the Party direction, but which recognizes, however, that the ideas originally came from the Party, applied by non-Party workers. It has involved almost all of the militant workers and farmers in this county. Much of the success of this organization is due to the foundation laid down by the propaganda work of the Party for the past few years. Its approach is based on the daily needs and struggles of the workers and it uses both the program of the Unemployed Councils and that of the United Farmers League.

In the face of this, it is necessary to point out that there still remains a huge amount of reformist ideology within the ranks of the People's Council, which will require tireless, well directed efforts to overcome. Some of the tendencies which must be eradicated are: chauvinism, opportunism of all shades, the fatal error of "exceptionalism", etc. This was reflected in the election campaign in the attitude of some of the members to fall into the error of voting for the "lesser evil".

All this means that the Party must work with more energy and determination than before. In this work it must carry on a wide campaign of education and training utilizing the best Party literature available.

—V. H.

How We Stopped a Sheriff Sale at Monhaga, Minn.

ONE of the most pressing needs of the poor farmers is immediate relief from the payment of interest and principal on mortgages and taxes. This relief they don't get, and therefore sheriff sales have been taking place everywhere. The farmers are embittered against these forced sales. It is our duty to show them the way to deal with them. Our slogan of "No sheriff sales and no foreclosures" will not be put into action by the authorities until the farmers begin to actually resist such sales and stop them. The experience we had in stopping one sheriff sale may help other parts of the country.

We heard about the coming sale. We started talking about this to all our neighbors. I personally talked to many people and found out who could be depended on. Many pledged that they would show up at the farm where the sale would take place. News of this kind travels fast in the country; every one was urged to bring some more friends with him.

The result was that on the day of the sale a large crowd came, the majority, most likely, to see what was going to happen.

There are very few cash buyers in such a poverty stricken country as this.

When the sheriff appeared and started reading his papers, I got up and started to talk to the farmers. I told them the actual facts, pointing out that this farmer was having his living taken away from him, how that would increase the burden on the rest of the farmers in the county, and how hard this farmer worked to get together his property—the same as the rest of the farmers present. I pointed out that the farmer asked an extension on the mortgage until he could sell his turkeys, but was refused. The total mortgage was \$220.60 for which the mortgage holder was out to take away 12 cows, 2 horses, and all the farm machinery.

After pointing this out—facts and not hot-air—I asked the crowd whether we should allow the sale to go through, and took a vote on it. Almost everybody present voted to stop the sale. We announced the decision to the banker and sheriff. The banker and sheriff talked it over and announced that the sale would be postponed for two weeks. I immediately asked the crowd whether they are willing to accept this postponement and whether they would come around again. Their answer was militant, yelling that they will have no sale. The mortgage holder, sheriff and a few more went into the farmer's home and drew up a new paper extending the mortgage for a full year. The sheriff did not even get his usual sales fee.

We then continued the meeting and elected a permanent Township Committee of Action of seven farmers. At this committee meeting we decided to extend this beginning into other townships. Now we have four such committees in four townships. At all meetings we endorsed the Farmers' National Relief Conference and are sending delegates to Washington. Most of the active members on these committees are new elements who have never been close to our movement. Our task now is to broaden out and find more work for our Committees.

A few words of advice. We must get the real facts about each sale: how much is the mortgage, when due, how much back interest, is the farmer trying to pay it, what is his offer, how large is the family, what do the neighbors think about them and the case? This is very important in order to plan our action. Also we must find out who is holding the mortgage: is it a local bank, the Rural Credits Buro, Federal Land Bank, an insurance company, or just an individual. All this must be told to the farmers so they may know. And each case may require different action. An individual mortgage holder may agree to postpone for a certain time and we agree; a company may insist to go through and we have to organize actual resistance.

And above all we must follow up each such struggle by organization.

—JIM FLOWER.

Successful United Action Created Among the Farmers

BY utilizing the favorable situation and spontaneous awakening among the exploited ruined farmers, our Party has been instrumental in helping and leading these farmers in numerous local struggles—marketing strikes and many successful struggles against the eviction and sheriff sales, also in the fight against tax burdens and in the struggle for immediate relief.

As a result of our participation in these struggles the activity of our Party among the farmers has broadened out tremendously. It is not only through the United Farmers League in two or three northwestern states that we have influence among the toiling farmers as was the case formerly, but during the course of the last few months, at the initiative of our Party, we have already organized many Farmers' Action Committees, a temporary united front of farmers throughout the New England, East Atlantic and Middle Western states, around the big industrial districts.

At the same time we have extended our influence for the first time, into the reformist organizations, like the Farmers Holiday Association, and Farmers' Union local and state organizations. In the course of the recent struggles the United Farmers League has been able to extend its influence and broaden its organization among the wide masses of toiling farmers.

Our Party has supported and helped the farmers in broadening the various local struggles and local demands into the national united front action in the form of the Farmers' National Relief Conference, which is to be held in Washington on December 7th-10th. This conference will in a great measure consolidate the fighting movement of the awakened farm masses by uniting them into the common struggle for the national demands of the toiling farmers.

While our Party fully supports the elementary demands of the Farmers' National Relief Conference on the question of a moratorium on debts, rents, taxes, mortgages, on the question of stopping foreclosures and evictions, on the question of better prices for farm products, and for the immediate relief for all poor farmers by the government, we must urge farmers to sharpen their demand on moratorium towards the cancellation of mortgages and taxes, and to popularize the cancellation of the attitude of capitalist parties towards the agrarian demands and to show up the strike-breaking activities of the leaders of rich farmers' organizations (Milo Reno and others).

It is also the task of the Party to bring about close solidarity between the working class and the movement of exploited farmers. This can be done by urging trade unions and unemployed

workers to give their support to the farmers' struggle for better prices and against sheriff sales, and mobilizing workers to give actual assistance in these struggles. A joint hunger march of poor farmers and unemployed should also be organized. On the basis of these joint struggles, it is possible to create a united movement of poor and middle farmers, together with the workers, against the alliance of bankers, corporations and rich farmers, directing this movement also against the government as the tool of the banks, trust and the railroad companies, and thus politicalizing the movement.

It must be understood that if we are able to create an understanding among the farmers towards the workers' movement, they will greatly help the workers' struggles, giving their support during strikes and helping unemployed with food, etc., as they have already done on many occasions.

After the Washington Conference it is our task to extend our activities to every possible farming locality. Through the election campaign many contacts were made with farmers whose responses to the Party program was very good. Our Party organizations must not lose these contacts but on the contrary, send special groups of comrades from every nearby Party unit to develop systematic work among the farmers. Many unemployed Party comrades can be advantageously utilized in this work. They must be made acquainted with agrarian work and sent to the farming communities. This requires very little money because farmers are only too glad to support our comrades, as experience shows.

One of the many weaknesses in our agrarian work is that very few comrades in our district or section committees have any knowledge of how to work among the farmers. This is understandable in relation to the past, because this field was new to our Party. But now there is no excuse for not understanding the work. The Central Committee, in the form of special documents and in the form of articles in our Party press, has given clear guidance on agrarian work. By reading and discussing the contents of these instructions, a fairly good idea can be acquired as to how to start work among the farmers. And experience will teach more. Short courses to prepare our agrarian organizers can also be organized in the districts.

Our agrarian work has already become so broad that it is impossible to guide it from the Party center alone. The Center will continue to help the districts but the district and section committees must assume responsibility for giving directions to the Party units and fractions, assign comrades in various localities to do this work, and provide them with the necessary knowledge on the work among the farmers.

We must now not only greatly extend the United Farmers League, but must organize Farmers' Action Committees all over,

and around the local struggles, and begin to work on a much larger scale, inside the reformist farm organizations.

And side by side with the organization of mass movements among the exploited farmers must go the building of the Party in the countryside by recruiting agricultural workers, share croppers and poor farmers into the Party.

— H. PURO.

What Is the United Front?

THE situation in America, together with the left maneuvers and increased activities of the reformists in leading economic struggles, imperatively demands that we place in the center of our the task of carrying through a correct united front policy. The basic methods to expose the left maneuvers of the reformists must be to propose openly to the masses in the local reformist organizations immediate concrete actions for carrying through in practice their promises and propose a united front basis for these concrete actions.

"The formation of the united front is, therefore, not the setting up of a new mass organization with its own individual membership. The basic organizational form is the committee of action elected from below by all the workers engaged in a particular struggle, either from their existing organizations where these support the struggle, or from militant groups within these organizations, and from unorganized workers. All these organizational forms of the united front must be suited to the special concrete conditions of each individual struggle and locality. Any attempt to force the united front within the strait-jacket of pre-conceived 'perfect' plans is certain to defeat its purpose. The essential feature of the united front is that it unites hitherto separated groups of workers for a joint struggle which would otherwise be more difficult or impossible. Within such united front activities, the efforts of the Communist Party must not under any circumstances be that of trying to secure a mechanical monopoly of leadership, but on strengthening and developing the honest, militant, non-Party leading workers and the development of the broadest possible non-Party leading cadres. The failure to carry through in practice these basic concepts of the united front tactic is the basic cause for the scandalously inadequate development of broad mass united front movements around the Communist Party in the present election campaign and the multitude of weaknesses and failures in the various separate struggles in which the Party has participated."

—Resolution of the Fifteenth Plenum of the Central Committee.

Expand the Cadres of the Party!

"Revolutionary epochs are to the social democrats the same as war time to the army. We must expand the cadres of our army, from peace contingents, the reserve forces must be mobilized, the men on furlough must be called to the colors, new auxiliary corps, detachments and services must be set up. One must not forget that in war time it is inevitable and necessary to replenish one's ranks by raw recruits, frequently replace officers by rank and file soldiers, accelerate and simplify the promotion of soldiers to officers' rank." (Lenin.)*

THE Twelfth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International discussing the problems of our Party emphasized that one of the most important tasks confronting us is the development of new forces, especially for the lower organizations (districts, sections, nuclei, and locals of the revolutionary unions). This is not a new task. Already the Fifth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. stated:

"One of the foremost tasks of every Communist Party should consist in selecting very carefully the leading cadres among the more advanced workers distinguished by their energy, capability, knowledge and devotion to the Party . . . these workers must be systematically helped to become real organizers of the masses, Party and trade union leaders. . . . Working class leaders should be treated with patience and care and encouraged to work for their own improvement, given opportunities to prove their worth by the allocation of more important and increasingly responsible work."

Our Party has many basic weaknesses in connection with the training and developing of cadres. Particularly today are these weaknesses appearing in a sharp and pronounced form. The rapidly developing mass movement requires not only greater initiative, decisiveness and effectiveness from our leading cadres from top to bottom, but also an extensive broadening of the leadership to include ever wider sections of comrades who have close contact with the masses. We will deal here only with a few of the most important weaknesses:

Criminal Negligence of Party Forces

1. During the struggles in the last year or year and a half (Pennsylvania miners' strike, textile strikes, veterans' march,

** When Lenin wrote this the Bolsheviks were members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. In using the term "social democrats", he meant members of the only revolutionary working class Party at that time. Today of course, this means the Communists.*

Warren steel strike, unemployed struggles) splendid elements came forward. We did not succeed, however, to draw them sufficiently into leadership and further develop them by careful and systematic attention and guidance. As a result many of these very good forces were lost.

2. The selection of students for the various training schools was carried through in a very haphazard way. Instead of carefully choosing those Party members who were participating in mass struggles, who were active in the nuclei, working in big factories or in the revolutionary unions, we sent to school in many instances those comrades whom we could "spare" most readily. We did not have in mind the character of the work they will do when the course is ended. We completely forgot that our main problem today is to get new cadres for the most important sections of our front—concentration factories, concentration unions, Unemployed Councils. Instead, the selection of students was influenced in many cases by the erroneous conception that the aim of the school is to train only functionaries for the district and section. We viewed an organizer, Party worker, professional revolutionist as a comrade who is taken out of the factory and works full time in a Party or trade union office. This misconception permeated our Party committees from the top to the bottom. Because of this false conception we took a comrade who came from a factory or town where he knew the situation, was already known to the workers, had gained their confidence and was looked upon as their leader, and we assigned him as full-time functionary to another city, in a strange environment, new people, new problems with which he was not familiar.

A Correct Cadre Policy

What is the Leninist conception of an organizer? *"The Communist organizer, Party worker, must not be similar to a social-democratic 'responsible' functionary and official. The Communist organizer must lead and work among the masses in the factory, in the shop, in the mine."* (Fifth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.) And, we could add, work among the unemployed.

We should have the policy of selecting our cadres for further development from the factories, from the mines, from the revolutionary unions, from the Unemployed Councils and send them back to the same place where the theoretical training they get can crystallize into immediate practical application. Only in exceptional cases, should we assign a comrade to a different place, and even then we should keep in mind his or her past experience. We must develop miners as organizers among the miners, textile workers for the textile industry, and so on. This should not be construed to mean, however, that a good Bolshevik cannot organize any kind of workers. But, we must have a cadre policy. This is the only way to enable our Party to keep in close touch

with the broadest sections of the non-Party masses.

3. In the last two years, hundreds of Party members went through the various national, regional, district and section training schools, but only a small number are today in the leading cadres. Some of these comrades have even left the Party. This is due to a failure to systematically follow up these comrades after they have been assigned. After a comrade is sent out to work, where he faces many difficulties, the district considers its job finished and does not give close personal supervision and aid to the comrade in his new undertaking. In addition to the political problems, he faces financial difficulties. Again, no help from the higher committees. Result—a complete demoralization and breakdown, physically, and in many cases, politically. Many old forces were lost because of this criminal neglect by the higher committees.

Systematic selection of the best militant elements from the factories, mines, from the struggles of the employed and unemployed; proper training; correct policy in the assignment of work; systematic follow-up and constant help and guidance of these forces will forge the necessary strong Party cadres.

The school is only one of the means of developing new forces. The leading committees of the districts, sections, units, and the fractions in the mass organizations should steadily watch, in the course of practical work, the new elements who distinguish themselves by their militancy, energy, ability, knowledge and devotion to the Party, and pay special attention to them (individual help, encouraging self-study, and help in the selection of literature, conferences, etc.)

4. In addition to the training of new forces we face the problem of further developing our old cadres. These cadres are overburdened with tasks, are busy day and night and have no time to read and study. The leading committees must find ways and means to solve this question. Study circles should be established for the various categories of Party workers. We must supply them with literature. And what is more important, systematize and organize the work so as to enable these comrades to spend a certain amount of each day for self-study as a part of their Party task.

5. In connection with the shifting of forces we find another serious shortcoming. In many cases comrades are shifted to other work when they have fallen down on one job. This is correct in many cases. A change of scenery, or a change in the assignment, will improve the character of the work of the comrade. But in most cases the solution is the removal of the comrade and sending him back to a factory.

Know the Party Forces

6. The thorough knowledge of our cadres is an important prerequisite for the proper distribution and utilization of our forces. We must know each individual comrade in all leading committees

of the Party and mass organizations. We must know their strong and weak points, what work they are best fitted for. This is essential, Lenin pointed out, to enable the Party leadership "not only to advise, as this has hitherto been done, but really conduct the orchestra, one must know exactly who is playing first or second fiddle and where; what instrument he was taught, where and how; where and why he plays out of tune (when the music begins to be trying to the ear); and what changes should be made in the orchestra so as to remedy the dissonance." Each Party committee shall examine all its forces, not only their abilities but their background, their connections with the masses, etc., and work out a systematic policy for the use of the comrades.

The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. states: "The end of relative capitalist stabilization has come. . . . What is taking place at the present moment is the *transition* to a new round of big clashes between classes and between states, a new round of wars and revolutions." In this situation, our Party needs forces more than ever. These forces are here, springing up and coming forward in the struggle. Our task is to develop them. Simultaneously we must eradicate the constant cries of our comrades in the units, sections and districts that we have no forces. Such comrades should read and study the following words of Lenin, "*The organizer who in such situation complains about the lack of forces does not see the forest for the trees; he admits that the happenings make him blind . . . it is better if such an organizer goes on pension and makes place for the young forces whose energy very often will make up for their lack of experience.*"

—J. P.

For a Proper Utilization of Party Forces

AMONG the many organizational shortcomings that have held back the Pittsburgh District—and that are now being corrected—was the wrong organizational conception of how to build the Party apparatus, especially on a section scale. During the time of the big miners' strike, the Party membership rose to some 1,200 members and tens of mine nuclei were built. In order to be able to guide them, new sections were established.

Was the line of organizing new sections correct? Certainly. On account of the big territory of the district, the difficulties of communication and the past experiences, it was obviously impossible for the District Committee to reach all the lower units of the Party and guide them in the development of local struggle. This was not a mistake.

The mistake was in importing too many full-time functionaries. Here we can give a concrete example which will be a valuable experience to all our districts:

In the small section of Library, not far from the center of the district, where a few mine nuclei of the Party and a few locals of the National Miners Union were built, for a long period we had the following full-time functionaries: a section organizer of the Party, a section organizer of the Young Communist League, a sub-district organizer of the National Miners Union, an organizer of the unemployed movement, an organizer of the women's auxiliary, a Negro work director and perhaps some others—practically six or seven full-time functionaries for a movement embracing a few hundred workers in the Party, unions and auxiliaries.

Was it possible for the few organized forces to maintain such a staff of functionaries? Especially, if we take into consideration that the majority of the organized workers after the strike were blacklisted, starving miners; that hundreds of miners were thrown out of the company towns and forced to build barracks and tents in the outskirts—of course it was impossible. The result was that when the so-called full-time functionaries were quartered with big families of starving and demoralized workers, friction arose between these leading comrades.

The presence of such a large staff of functionaries did not develop the initiative of the nuclei, the initiative of the rank and file, the initiative of the locals of the N.M.U. On the contrary, it choked this initiative insofar as the Party members and the members of the N.M.U. expected everything to be done by this staff of functionaries. Naturally under these conditions no local leadership could be developed.

Functionaries were shifted from one section to another as stop-gaps. The result was that these functionaries were demoralized and no local struggles were developed in spite of the splendid opportunities.

It is true that in order to develop new cadres, schools were established by the district. But if today we look for the workers that attended these schools, we will need a searchlight to find them. Most of them disappeared. Why? For the reason that the district leadership treated these new forces as if they were already professional revolutionists. They were shipped from one place to another without taking into consideration their personal economic and family situation. They were shifted around, instead of sending them back to work in their own localities. Sent back to their own towns and cities, where they are known to the workers, they could have been developed into genuine local leaders.

One of the organizational problems before the Pittsburgh district at this moment is the cutting down of the staff of so-called full-time functionaries, to see that these comrades go back to their original localities and at the same time reorganize the sections in such a manner that full-time section organizers are not needed. In this way it will be possible to develop local initiative

and local leadership. In this way it will be possible to develop the initiative of the section committees which must be strengthened politically and organizationally through continuous guidance from the district center, not through circular letters but through personal contact. The org. secretary and members of the buro must become real instructors, who remain in each section for one or two weeks at a time and work closely with the section committee.

F. BROWN.

Stalin on Party Cadres

"It is necessary to strengthen the struggle for forging truly revolutionary Party cadres and for selecting truly revolutionary leaders in the Party, people capable of marching to battle and leading the proletariat with them, people who will not be daunted by any storm, and will not be panic-stricken, but will defy the storm. But in order to fulfill these tasks it is necessary, without losing a single moment, for time does not wait, to take up the purging of the Communist Parties of the right and conciliationist elements. . . . And this cleansing must be done, not at the ordinary tempo but at an accelerated tempo, for, I repeat, time does not wait and we cannot allow the events to catch us unawares." (*Stalin in the American Commission, 1932.*)

Some Questions For Your Unit

THINK over the following questions—and then discuss them at your next unit meeting:

1. Did your unit participate in any struggle recently—shop strikes, rent strike, relief struggle, etc.?
2. How many new members did your unit recruit during these struggles? If none, why?
3. Did your unit collect signatures and agitate among the workers in its territory during the election campaign?
4. How many members did the unit recruit during this campaign? If none, why?
5. Are you a member of a mass organization (union, I.W.O., I.L.D., Unemployed Council, Language organization, etc.)? How many members did you recruit from the organization for the Party? If none, why?
6. Are you working in a shop? How many members did you recruit from the shop? If none, why?
7. What is the turnover in your unit—how many recruited, how many lost?
8. Why did your unit lose these members?
9. What steps did the unit take to again reach these workers?
10. What steps did your unit take to keep the new members?

Self-Criticism Without Correction

The Practice of Bolshevik Self-Criticism: How the American Communist Party Carries Out Self-Criticism and Controls Fulfillment of Decisions. By S. Tsirul.*

THE failure of our Party to make appreciable gains in organizing the American working class, despite the extensive use of self-criticism, has been baffling many a Party member for a long time.

In various resolutions of the Central Committee Plenums, etc., we set down that we were sectarian, formalistic and bureaucratic in our methods of work, that we must turn our face to the factories, that we must penetrate the shops, that we must develop cadres from among the wide masses, that we must apply the tactic of the united front from below, that our work must center around the struggle for the immediate, burning demands of the masses, that we must do our work on the basis of solid personal contact, etc., etc., etc.

Many of us have often wondered why after merciless exposure of our shortcomings, we do not advance, but go on making the same mistakes as before. This pamphlet, *The Practice of Bolshevik Self-Criticism*, explains this to us. The whole thing can be summed up in this one sentence from page 5:

" . . . while the method of self-criticism has been fully adopted by the Communist Party of the U.S.A., it has not yet given thought to the serious organization of control of execution of decisions. Therein lies the weakness of the Party."

In revealing the "discrepancy between extensive self-criticism and the complete absence of any control of the fulfillment of decisions," Comrade Tsirul takes up three questions of organizational work, the field in which the discrepancy referred to looms largest. These, are first, the condition and work of the Party units and the work of the Party in the factories generally; second, the growth of the Party and the fluctuation of its membership; and third, the work of the Party apparatus and the struggle against bureaucracy.

While the pamphlet criticizes the higher Party committees and the work of the Party as a whole, it is necessary for the lower functionaries and the whole Party membership, if we are to benefit from the pamphlet, to carefully study it on the basis of the work of their own particular sections and units.

For instance, let us take my own unit. The section committee, following out the line of the Fourteenth Plenum Resolution,

*Price 2 cents. Published by Workers Library Publishers. P. O. Box 148, Sta. D, N.Y.C.

made the decision that the main work of the section shall be shop work. My unit is a street unit, and it decided to take up unemployed work. After a few months of "doing unemployed work" in a certain neighborhood, the work was pronounced a failure. The unit decides to look about for another "suitable" place to begin unemployed work.

Does the unit make any move to carry out the decision of the section in regard to factory work? No, despite the fact that in the immediate territory of the unit there is a large gas works, despite the fact that in our section a huge railroad yard and countless metal factories are located.

This is but one instance of failure to carry out the resolution of the Central Committee and the decision of the section committee. It can be multiplied many times, not only for this unit, but for almost every unit in the Party.

What can we do to put a stop to this failure to correct shortcomings which are SPOKEN about in resolutions and decisions?

First, when a decision is made there must be a thorough discussion by the unit members thrashing out the shortcomings criticized in the decision and clearly outlining the tasks set forth. Without a real understanding on the part of the rank and file Party members, it is useless to expect that any decision can be carried out.

Second, the responsibility for checking the fulfillment of decisions must rest with the section committees and unit bureaus.

Third, the section committee and unit bureau should keep a record of each decision made, and should refer to it at regular periods, say every two weeks. The time will vary for different decisions, according to the nature of the work the decision takes up. Regular reports should be made on whether or not the decision is being carried out and if it is, to what degree and at what tempo. The section committee and unit bureau should suggest methods for increasing the tempo with which the decision is being fulfilled and shortcomings in the work eliminated.

The Practice of Bolshevik Self-Criticism is a priceless pamphlet. It is a measuring-rod by which we can gauge the results of our work not only today and tomorrow and next week, but next year and indeed for as long as our Party will be in existence. It is a manual to be referred to constantly. If studied carefully by the Party members in groups or in unit meetings—and applied concretely to the work of the lower Party committees and units,—it can well become one of our most powerful instruments for guiding, correcting, and checking up on our work. With this pamphlet we can begin to control the execution of decisions, and thus carry self-criticism to its logical conclusion: the correction of shortcomings and the fulfillment of decisions.

— A. L.

New Membership Books

MOST of the Party membership books will expire at the end of 1932. The exchange of the old books for new ones will give us a good opportunity—

1. to mobilize the whole membership;
2. to bring back those members who for one reason or another dropped out of the Party in the last period;
3. to account for all members, and in this way have a clear picture of our membership;
4. to establish a system which will enable the Party to eliminate the continuous registration and re-registration of the membership.

We carried through a very extensive Party registration a year ago. We succeeded in reaching about 75 per cent of our membership. But here we stopped. Instead, the correct step would have been to continue registering each new recruit of the Party to enable us to know at all times the status of the membership in any district, section or unit.

After the registration in 1931, thousands of new workers joined the Party, changing considerably the composition of the Party. During the same period, thousands of members dropped out. Since we did not keep an up-to-date registration, we cannot know today the exact status of our Party membership, and we have no record of why Party members left the Party, who they are, whether they belong to any of the fraternal or mass organizations, and in which way they are still connected with the revolutionary movement.

Since January 1930, when the new dues system and book was introduced, we issued more than 50,000 membership books. Today, the average dues payment is 14,000. What has happened to the 36,000 workers for whom books were issued? We know, of course, that a large number of these never received their books, but the majority did. Do we have a record of these members? Perhaps in one or two districts such records have been kept, but even here they have not been used—and in practically all districts no such records can be found. An up-to-date registration, if properly used, will help the Party to establish continuity in its work.

For these reasons the Central Committee decided to exchange all the membership books at the end of this year, and at the same time to register the entire membership. We have five weeks to carry out this important task. The district, section and unit buros should immediately put on the agenda this question and work out the necessary steps.

The following points should be considered by the leading Party committees:

1. Every member of the unit should be notified through letter

or personally through the group captains that membership books must be exchanged at the end of 1932.

2. Visit *all* members who did not attend unit meetings for a long period and whom we consider as "dropped out".

3. The dues must be paid up to the end of 1932 before the new membership book is issued.

4. The new book will cost five cents.

5. The unit buro is to fill out one registration card for each member—and turn all cards over to the Section Committee, at the same time keeping a record of the information on these cards.

6. These cards will give all the necessary information for the issuance of the new books, and it is essential that each point is carefully filled out.

7. The old books must be collected by the unit organizer, the last week in December, and delivered through the section to the District where they will be destroyed. *No new membership book should be issued unless the district receives the registration card and old book.*

8. The district should copy all registration cards while the new books are filled out, arrange them by units and sections and keep them in a safe place. If a comrade is transferred to another unit, section, or district, the date of transfer should be marked on his card. If a new member is taken in, the membership book is issued only if a registration card is attached to the application card. *The principle is that the district buro must have at all times a complete record of all its members and all those who go through the Party (transfer, dropping out, in jail, death, etc.) in order to have a continuous check-up on the membership.*

9. An absolutely reliable member of the Party shall be made responsible for keeping these records up to date. The district org. secretary should check this work at least once a month.

10. Each member must sign his name on the membership book when it is given to him.

11. The new membership books will be issued in the districts and only in exceptional cases in the sections.

12. The district committee should compile all the facts from the registration cards and send in monthly reports to the center. (A form for this will be sent to the districts).

13. The units should place on the agenda and prepare a discussion the last week in December or the first week in January on the problems of keeping old members and the recruiting of new members. The material will be sent out from the center for these discussions.

The drive for registration, payment of dues, and renewing the books, should be started immediately. With the proper preparation and organizational measures, we will be able, not only to mobilize the membership for intensified activity, but to win back many old members who have dropped out of the Party.

Agit-Prop Work

How Individual and Group Agitation Is to Be Conducted

NOTE: The following is an abridged form of the article "Bolshevik Agitation Among the Masses" by L. Perchik, issued in the Soviet Union. It should be utilized not only by Party agitators, but carefully studied by every Party member.

* * * *

WHAT must be the mode of work of an individual and a group agitator? On what issues must light be thrown by a basic agitator, and in what manner? Must he give preference to factory and local issues, or should he turn his attention mainly to questions concerned with the general policy of the Party? And what is to be the mode of his agitation?

Agitation among industrial workers and workers in general must be based on local material, and current affairs must be its starting point. But it would certainly be a serious political mistake on the part of an agitator to confine himself to this local material and these questions of the day. A Bolshevik agitator commences with practical up-to-date questions, in order to build upon these the political lesson for the masses. From all that is practical, concrete, individual, matter of fact and up-to-date, the agitator must raise the masses to general political and class conclusions, tasks, slogans of the proletariat and of its Party.

Among the practical issues which the agitator must select as his starting point, there are also such as might cause temporary discontent in some backward groups of workers. In such cases young Party members become sometimes discouraged, just when firm Bolshevik agitation is most necessary. This shows that Communists of this kind are not sufficiently tempered in Party work, and also that they do not know how to link current questions with the general life of the Party in a manner to make the correctness of our policy accessible and intelligible to every rank and file workman. And it is precisely in this that the art of Bolshevik agitation consists. *To attain to such art in agitation, every individual and group agitator, as well as agitators in general, must approach agitation conscientiously, they must lend an attentive ear to the moods of the masses and to the least vacillations and changes in these moods, they must always be well up in everything connected with the political situation, they must be familiar with the standpoint of the Party with regard to important political question, and must acquire the art of Bolshevik agitation by experience.*

"The art of every propagandist and every agitator," said Lenin in the article "On Slogans", "consists in influencing the audience, in making for it a certain truth as convincing, intelligible and as easy of assimilation as possible."

The agitator must bring his work into harmony with the character and the political and cultural level of the given groups of workers, and the individual agitator—with the character and level of the given industrial or other workers.

First of all the agitator must be well acquainted with his audience. If this is not the case, the agitator is unable to achieve his aim. To show ability in leadership, one must know first of all whom one intends to lead. The agitator must firmly bear in mind that he is not just agitating into space addressing some abstract masses, but is trying to convince human beings who have definite peculiarities which make them differ from other people of the given class. This definite group, in the framework of its class, has its definite needs and requirements which arise out of the peculiarities of its industrial, political, cultural and social position.

If the agitator has to do with a more advanced worker with certain experience and knowledge, as well as interest for political questions, the given question must be explained on broader lines, with a larger number of facts, examples and figures, with more insistence on the general class policy of the Party, and on the historical perspectives of that policy in the given question. If the worker is backward and not well developed politically, he must not be overburdened with a great amount of figures and examples. In his case one must take facts familiar to him, and in the agitation among these workers maximum attention must be paid to correctly linking up of everything that is familiar, individual and up-to-date with convincing proof of the correctness of the policy of the Party in the given domain.

But while adapting himself to the lowest standard of the most backward worker, the agitator must on no account resort to extreme simplification, and thereby, vulgarization of the question.

Another enemy of our agitation is conceit and a too high opinion of one's knowledge and well-informedness. There is a type of agitator who imagines that it is better to evade the question altogether or answer it with commonplaces, so as to bemuse the bewildered questioner, instead of honestly confessing that the given problem is not quite clear to himself.

There is no harm in not knowing everything. Say that you will answer the question another time, and begin immediately to study it. On no account pretend to be a person of universal knowledge; it is not fit for a Bolshevik agitator.

To ensure the success of an informal talk, one must carefully prepare for it and carefully select the points to be raised. Even

the best agitators and speakers, with great political training and experience in agitation, never speak without proper preparation and plan.

Every agitational speech or informal talk, and consequently also the plan of the speech, must contain three main parts: the introduction, the argumentation and the conclusion. The introductory part of the speech has to bring clearly before the audience the question to be dealt with and must arouse interest in it; it explains why a correct interpretation of the given question is absolutely necessary in the given period for the given audience. The argumentative part of the speech is the main part. On it most of the attention must be concentrated. This part of the speech has to explain, prove, develop and give reasons for the standpoint of the Party in the given question, and must make the audience arrive at conclusions which coincide with the slogans of the Party. The concluding part of the speech consists in inferences from it, appeals and slogans of the Party. This part already mobilizes the masses for action, and therefore it must be, on the one hand, entirely justified by the whole preceding part of the speech, and, on the other hand, a very terse and effective expression of the main inferences of the speech.

The whole agitation must be imbued, on one hand, with Bolshevik principle and purposefulness, and on the other, there must be connection with the masses, consideration of their needs, demands and interests.

The language used in agitation must be very simple and accessible to the masses.

Hints for Organizing Forums

ONE of the most important means of reaching the workers with Communist education is the open forum. It is important because with a little effort many workers can be counted upon to come regularly. A well planned series of lectures, the questions asked by the workers, the discussions and the summarizing and clearing up of points raised serve as a school for educating and winning the workers.

Forums should be organized in workers' neighborhoods in every city and town possible and not merely in the chief city of the district. Forums serve also as a means of recruiting members. If the following general ideas are carried out, with some modification here or there, forums should be successful.

Planning

Forums should be planned in every detail at least one month in advance. Speakers, topics, chairmen, program, ushers, literature, advertising, etc., should be organized and ready one month ahead of time. The forum program should be arranged for an

PARTY ORGANIZER

entire month or six weeks. When the program is arranged, every means must be used to popularize the program among the masses. Special concentration should be made on shops, railroad terminals, docks, etc.

A bright colored throw-away card the size of a postcard is a handy size upon which to print the forum advertisement, the time, the place, etc. On such a card the entire four or six lectures, including dates, speakers and subjects can be printed. At the bottom of the card it is well to state: Admission, Questions, Discussion, and a few words asking the workers to come and bring their friends.

The Hall

We must get the best hall available at the least expense, but located within convenient reach of the workers. We must make every effort to keep the hall as clean, bright, airy and inviting as possible.

Admission

The admission price should be as low as possible, but not lower than 10 cents. Unemployed should be admitted free. In some places, it is well to have free admission, but a collection should be made before the question period. The comrades should use their judgment in each case. Instead of being a financial burden, as some fear, the forums can and should be a source of income, if properly organized, either on the basis of sale of tickets or a well organized collection.

Lectures

The topics should be on live, current problems and should be discussed analytically and critically on the basis of Communist theory, concretely interwoven with local questions.

Speakers

Local speakers should be used, since it is not possible to have nationally known speakers at all times. Local comrades who are assigned to speak on a topic should take the assignment seriously. The comrade should gather material pertaining to the topic assigned to him, should study and familiarize himself with the Communist theory, and the angle from which our enemies view the questions in order better to analyze and draw comparisons and conclusions supported by Communist theory and practice, as well as various facts of current or historical data.

Time

Forums should open at 8 P. M. on regular weekly nights, usually Sunday nights. Forums should never open later than 8:15, and should never last longer than 10:30 P. M. Two and a half hours is all the time necessary for a forum meeting. Time should be divided as follows: chairman, 5 to 10 minutes; speaker, three-quarters to one hour, but never longer than one and one-quarter hours; ten to fifteen minutes for questions and an-

nouncements; one half-hour for discussion from floor (three minutes each person)—and remainder of time for speaker to answer questions raised which are written down by one asking question, or by the speaker who also concludes the evening with a summing up on the topic, questions and discussion.

Literature

If the sale of literature is well organized, the value of the lectures are enhanced by study on the part of the workers.

There should always be an attractive display of literature. A large table with a variety of literature should occupy a strategic place just inside the entrance with a live-wire comrade in charge, who can aid, suggest, and sell literature. Before the meeting is opened by the chairman, literature sellers should cover the aisles with several different pieces of literature, including the Daily Worker and periodicals. But as soon as the chairman opens the meeting, all selling must stop.

The chairman should be brief and to the point. He should make no more than one or two announcements at the opening of the forum. All other announcements should be reserved for the period before questions are asked.

Literature Drive

A literature drive or selling campaign should be a regular and thoroughly planned part of every forum. This is best done as part of the chairman's introduction of the subject. Special pamphlets, books, or periodicals, either singly or in combination at reduced prices, should be on hand in quantities sufficient to cover the requirements. This literature must be on the topic or related to the subject under discussion.

Recruiting

Recruiting should be carefully planned and very skillfully carried out. Drives should be made only on certain occasions, in order not to make it boresome to those who come. Systematic recruiting should be carried out by various means—indirectly through reference by the chairman, speaker, or by special literature—but drives should be made only occasionally if recruiting is to be effective.

— SIDNEY BLOOMFIELD.



Shop Paper Reviews

Illinois Steel Worker, October, 1932, Illinois Steel Unit of the C. P., District 8.

One of the best features of the *Illinois Steel Worker* is the concrete manner in which the conditions and issues of the various departments are dealt with as well as the demands flowing from them. This section deals with such small grievances of the workers as working before official starting time, not getting paid for extra time put in, the need for drinking fountains, etc. The concrete demands formulated on the basis of these department grievances are excellent. However, the comrades fail to formulate the demand around a very important issue in the factory, namely, the struggle against the indirect cutting of wages through the introduction of the six hour day. This issue is raised in the item on Department 14. In this case we must demand the same pay the workers received when working eight hours.

While correctly placing emphasis on the building of the united front organs of struggle—the grievance committees—the paper practically does not deal with the building of the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union.

The articles on the 15th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution and those on the Election Campaign are not linked up with the actual conditions of the steel workers in the plant and fail to contrast these conditions with those gained by the steel workers of the Soviet Union. For instance the construction of the steel giants, the increase in the wages, no unemployment among steel workers in the Soviet Union, etc., should have been touched upon in relation to the conditions of the workers in the plant. It is only on such a basis that we can bring home clearly to the steel workers the achievements of the workers in the Soviet Union.

In the article on the National Hunger March not a word is stated on how the struggles of the unemployed workers in Chicago have defeated the attempts of the employers and the government to cut down relief. Furthermore, it should have dealt more intimately with the unemployed steel workers' need for relief, and how the employed steel workers must support not only

the National Hunger March but also the *daily struggles* for unemployment relief and insurance.

What about the Warren steel strike? Have the lessons of this strike been brought forward to the workers employed here.

* * * *

Harvester Worker, November, 1932—International Harvester Unit of the C. P., District 8.

All the districts can learn a great deal from the method used by the *Harvester Worker* to show the degree to which the conditions of the workers have been forced down during the crisis and the bourgeois offensive. Practically every article on shop conditions brings forth the relations of the present wages of the workers to those in 1929 or 1930; the intensification of the speed-up in relation to the past and how it affects the wages of the workers, etc. This is a convincing approach to the workers.

This same line is also followed in the article on the Soviet Union which compares definite conditions in the factory with similar conditions in the Soviet Union.

However, the paper fails to follow up this excellent exposure of conditions with a thorough explanation of just how the workers should organize in the plant. We must guard against the habit of merely repeating "build department committees"—"build shop committees". We should explain, in relation to the issues that arise, just how we must organize, just how such attacks can be defeated, utilizing experiences from other sections of the country.

* * * *

The Crane Worker, October, 1932—Crane Unit of the C. P., District 8.

The Crane Worker has taken up a struggle against the stool-pigeons, concretely exposing them by name. In our task to isolate the stool pigeons and discredit them before the workers, it is necessary to arouse the indignation of the workers, to create hatred for these rats. On the basis of this, organize this sentiment of the workers to develop a struggle not only to isolate the stool pigeons from the rest of the workers but to oust them from the shop. This latter task the *Crane Worker* does not bring sharply forward.

The article on the Hunger March to the City Hall, while dealing in an effective manner with the conditions of the workers and their need for relief, does not sufficiently deal with the relations of the Crane workers to the struggle for unemployment insurance, the insecurity of their jobs, the struggle against part-time work. It is not enough to merely bring forward our general demands in speaking to a definite section of workers, but to formulate demands around issues that directly affect them.

The manner in which social insurance in the Soviet Union is contrasted with the compensation for the Crane workers

maimed at the factory, is good and such material should be printed in every issue of the shop paper, taking specific issues as they arise and comparing them to similar issues in the Soviet Union.

* * * *

The Armour Worker, November, 1932—Armour Unit of the C. P., District 8.

While *The Armour Worker* carries a good deal of shop news in the form of correspondence from the workers, it fails to tell the workers how to combat their bad conditions. Taking up issues arising in the shop, the paper must tell the workers how to fight against these conditions, what forms of organization they should set up, how to take the first steps in building such organizations, etc. For instance the shop paper deals with a problem which embraces all the workers in the plant—the share-the-work system. It formulates the demand, but says nothing on how the workers should fight for this demand and defeat the program of the bosses.

Similarly, the united front organs of struggle, the building of the grievance committees and department committees, are not raised in this light. Particularly, because this is the second issue of the paper it is essential that these questions be dealt with thoroughly, at the same time bringing out the relation of the Party to these united front organs of struggle and to the revolutionary unions. Furthermore, although the A. F. of L. plays some role in the stockyards, not a single word on the A. F. of L. convention was written to prepare the workers for the decisions and actions at the present A. F. of L. Convention.

* * * *

Stewart-Warner Worker—District 8.

We have on hand two issues of the *Stewart-Warner Worker*—September and November. If this is the character of shop papers issued in this factory, then we cannot expect to gain the confidence of the Stewart-Warner workers for our Party and for the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union. While in appearance these issues are attractive, in content, not a single word can be found in both issues on the conditions in the plant.

Something should be done about this by the Chicago District Committee.



New York Quadruples Literature Distribution

ONE thing the Communist Party did not inherit from the Socialist Party at the time of the split was the consciousness of the necessity of the spreading of literature to enlighten the workers as to exactly the position of the Party. The resistance of the average Party member to work on the distribution of literature, whether as an individual among his comrades or as a worker in the shop, or even in his unit territory is very great and is only beginning to be overcome. Literature has been considered in the Party as a sort of Jimmy Higgins work and something to be pushed on one individual comrade in a unit and let it go at that.

In the month of March, 18,792 pieces of literature were sold in the district. Since April there has been a conscious effort by the Party leadership, realizing the importance of literature as an organizer, to agitate the membership as a whole as to not only the necessity, but the importance of how well literature can draw workers into our ranks. We can lay the increase in the number of pieces of literature sold since April partly to the aroused consciousness and understanding among the Party members to its value.

For the months of May, June, July, August and September we averaged close to 45,000 pieces of literature sold per month while in the month of October the sales jumped to over 98,000 pieces. During the period of the election campaign there were 325,530 pieces of literature sold in the New York District of which 233,753 were election campaign pamphlets.

The significance of this distribution is not so much that we distributed almost a quarter of a million of election campaign pamphlets, but that for approximately every two of the penny pamphlets distributed there was one theoretical pamphlet also sold. In other words, with the increase of mass popular literature, came a corresponding increase in the so-called heavy, theoretical literature, showing that in order to distribute our propaganda and theoretical literature among the workers, we must do it also in co-ordination with mass popular agitational cheap pamphlets.

Because of the organizational work put in by the District Org. Department and also because of the force of the campaign, there was built in the district an apparatus for wide distribution of literature. Individual Party members in the units are somehow becoming accustomed to the idea of selling pamphlets to the workers. At the present time we have this conscious apparatus which we must continue to feed with popular literature. The consciousness carried over from the election campaign can be easily seen in the very quick distribution of the *Why We March* pamphlet in connection with the National Hunger March.

We still have very many major difficulties in the way of the proper growth of literature distribution in New York, among which are the following: 1) With the exception of Sections 2 and 5, there are no Section Literature Committees functioning. 2) In all sections there is no proper allignment of the Section Literature Department with the Section Org. and Agitprop Departments, thus causing a barrier between the Literature Department and the individual members, and unless this barrier, which is very stubborn in its resistance to being broken down, is eliminated, there will always be a check in the smooth flowing of literature from the district to the sections, to the unit membership and to the workers on the outside of the Party

There is also a tendency in the sections shown by the attitude of the organizers in Sections 7, 8, 4 and 6, to give to the section literature director other work which makes it impossible to carry out both the work assigned to them and the section literature work, making both suffer. Another difficulty which stops the proper flow of literature is the improper approach of some of the sections to the question of linking up the literature with the campaigns as they occur. This, of course, can only be overcome with the help of the agitprop directors from the district down to the sections and into the units.

Another shortcoming in the District Literature Department is the fact that there is so much detail work to be done because of the improvement in the District Literature Department, that it is impossible for the District Literature Director to efficiently handle everything himself. This leads to the very many small errors and is also the cause of having very much work left undone, much of which is organizational and stops the growth of the District Literature Department and will have to be rectified in some manner or another.

Summing up conditions of the District Literature Department, we can truthfully say that the District Org. Department has given good co-operation in the building of the district literature apparatus and that great headway has been made in comparison to what the conditions were before May 1; but in comparison to the field that the Party has in this line, we have barely made a scratch on the surface, and we cannot sit back and say that we

have done a good job, but this should be the beginning of real organizational work throughout the sections and the units for a monthly total of no less than 100,000 pieces of literature for the next year or so.

Before October 1 there was a slackening on the part of the sections on the question of literature distribution in the campaign. Many of the comrades becoming weak and figuring that "Oh, well, it is only a few weeks, we will only get stuck with literature, so we ought to go easy", instead of making a more determined drive to finish up the campaign with an increased tempo. The District Literature Department itself instituted a contest from October 1 to November 9, the conditions being that those sections selling and paying for the most literature per member were to receive a set of Lenin's works. The results of this contest were many. First there was over 98,000 pieces of literature distributed in that period. Many units were drawn into unit work on the basis of this competition that heretofore had not done anything. Some of the sections that had been just lingering along, came to life. But this contest showed that in those sections in Brooklyn where the section committee had little, if anything, to do with the Section Literature Committee, that a very, very poor showing was made. Those Sections as 1, 5 and 15, in which the Section Committee really took this work seriously, a three and four fold gain was made.

Because of the closeness of the contest between Sections 5 and 15 and because of the good organizational work that was done, it was found to be advisable to give both sections a set of Lenin's works.

ROBERT FRANKLIN,
District Literature Director, Dist. 2.

Practical Suggestions

All handbills, circulars, and dodgers advertising our meetings of any sort, should carry a line or two giving the address where literature may be obtained.

* * * *

Also all literature sold must be rubber-stamped with the same address so workers may know where to get more of it.

* * * *

We agreed that our comrades should make persistent demands in all public library branches in our neighborhoods, and that when reading a book, they leave same conspicuously on the tables for other workers to see.

* * * *

Sections: Are you seeing to it that all American Federation of Labor and other meeting halls in your section are covered?

That one or two units are assigned to a particular hall, to be responsible for it, regularly?

* * * *

And by way of *check-up* in the unit—how about this suggestion: Once a month get an individual report, as to just how much, what kind of literature and how he sells and distributes it and where. This would take only some ten minute's time from the unit meeting, but would make up for the ten minutes by creating and stimulating the interest in literature, since thus the comrades could learn of new methods which they themselves can use to further their own sales and distribution.

* * * *

Units: Are you asking every comrade working in a shop what can be done there for the distribution and sale of our literature? Are you giving this shop worker our campaign and propaganda literature to sell there? Are you insisting that our comrades in mass organizations bring our literature to their various branches? Are you trying to get unemployed comrades to sell literature? Do you plan the sales for the street meetings? Have you set yourself a certain goal? These items are not new and not difficult to carry out. All it needs is a little *planned work*.

Our Unemployed Comrades

OUR records show that over forty per cent of our Party members are unemployed. This means that they cannot provide themselves with the theoretical guidance our literature can give them, because of lack of money. Why should this be so? This is an extremely important point and units should give it careful thought. One unit in Section 1, District 2 uses the Literature Fund profits and, wherever feasible, a collection from the unit meeting, to pay for and give these unemployed comrades the latest literature. Another unit, and this should be done by each unit of the District, has a circulating library. This not only gives the unemployed comrades a chance to read all the literature, but will develop in all comrades the desire to read and study. This, of course, with the necessary little push on the part of the Agitprop. Again we repeat — just because a comrade is unemployed is no reason why he should not be able to read literature and it is a unit responsibility to make it possible for him to do so.

R. F.

Capitalist Stabilization Has Ended

Thesis and Resolutions of the Twelfth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

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