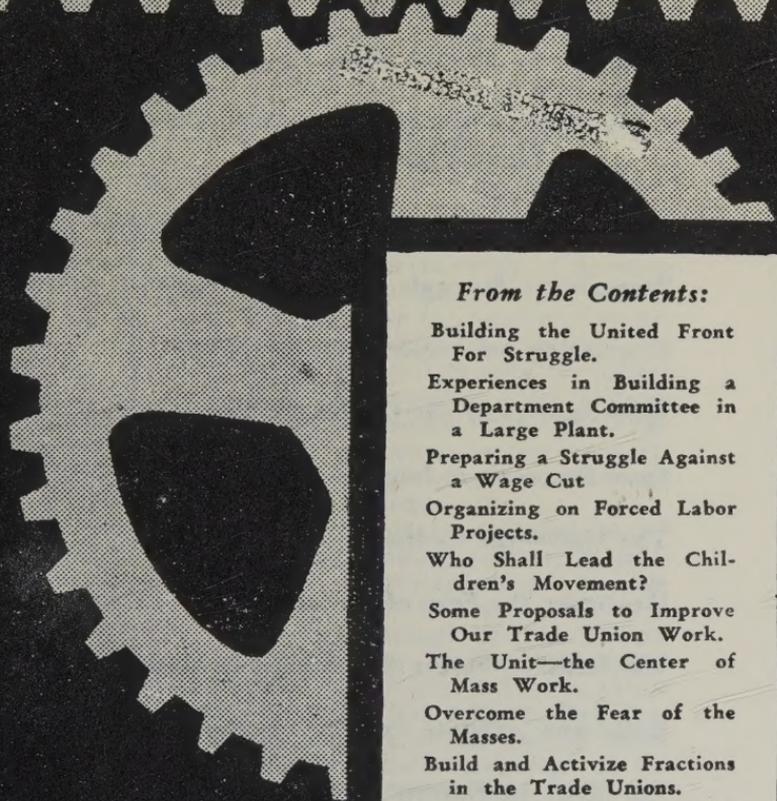


Party Organizer



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Vol. VI.

March-April, 1933

No. 3-4

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PARTY ORGANIZER

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Building the United Front for Struggle

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International firmly believes that the social democratic and non-party workers regardless of what attitude the social democratic leaders adopt in setting up the united front, will overcome all obstacles and, together with the Communists, set up the united front not in words but in deeds."

THE Twelfth Plenum Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and the Fourteenth and Sixteenth Plenum Resolutions of our Central Committee place in the center of the activity, the necessity of speeding up the intensity of the work of the Party to win the decisive sections of the American working class for revolutionary action. In all the directives of the Party it has been continuously pointed out that the Party cannot successfully rally the masses for struggle unless we react to every problem which agitates the workers. The key to setting the masses in motion is the correct application of the united front tactic—uniting the workers, regardless of their political or religious beliefs, in a struggle around their most immediate demands.

The Manifesto of the Communist International and the call of our Central Committee for united action against the capitalist offensive furnishes us with a powerful weapon to mobilize the masses for struggle to resist the capitalist attack. We must apply it in the immediate struggle for the freedom of Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro boys, for the fight against wage cuts, for unemployed relief and federal insurance, in the fight against fascism and the growing war danger. May Day, furnishes the possibility for the widest application of the united front for struggle. Through the correct application of the united front tactic, we can break through our narrow circle and rally thousands of workers from the factories, neighborhoods, labor organizations in struggle. At the same time this weapon will enable the Party to convince the workers, members of the Socialist Party, American Federation of Labor and other reformist organizations on the basis of concrete facts and the experiences of the struggle the role played by the Socialist Party and A. F. of L. leaderships.

The Districts, sections, shop and street nuclei, the fractions in the revolutionary and reformist trade unions, in the mass organizations must go forward and boldly apply the united

front policy to each concrete situation. They must weigh each experience, draw the lessons of the struggle, analyze the many problems which arise, work towards overcoming all difficulties, and combating any distortions of the application of the united front.

* * *

What are some of the problems we face? After the Central Committee's call we printed in the *Daily Worker* a number of letters written by members of the Socialist Party were received. The main point in these letters was how can anyone think that the Central Committee is sincere on the united front when already in the call the "violate" the C. I. instructions, according to which "the E. C. C. I. considers it possible to recommend to the Communist Parties during the time of common fight against capital and fascism, to refrain from making attacks on social-democratic organizations." It is necessary to make clear to every Party member that a united front with other organizations is not a non-aggression pact. The Communist Party will never stop exposing those who have betrayed the interests of the working class, before, during, or after the agreement is reached for a united front.

If, and when, the representatives of the Communist Party agree on a common fight, on a concrete program of action against the bourgeoisie with the representatives of the Socialist Party, A. F. of L., Conference for Progressive Labor Action, or with any one of them, the Party will refrain from making attacks against them during the time of the common fight. This we agree to do in order to make it impossible for those who refuse to fight for the interests of the masses to hide behind the excuse of being attacked. But the most ruthless fight will be conducted against all those who violate the conditions of the agreement.

We should at all times make public before the masses the proposals we make as well as those of our opponents. In reaching an agreement the Communist Party representatives must and will fight for a "concrete program of action," otherwise "any agreement will be directed against the interests of the workers." The united front is not a non-aggression pact between the Communists and the Socialists. It is a proposal for united action against the attacks of the capitalists.

In the course of efforts to reach an agreement we will have meetings with the representatives of the various organizations, on a national, district, city or neighborhood scale. These meetings cannot be secret dealings. Every step, proposal must be brought to the attention of all workers. Every step that is being discussed in these conferences should be made known to the widest strata of the workers.

* * *

We enter into a united front for a common struggle against

certain grievances or for certain demands on a minimum program of action. But the C. P. cannot and will not give up its program in fighting capitalism. The Party must bring forward this full program to the masses. The Communists must prove to the masses that because the C. P. stands for the overthrow of bourgeois dictatorship, it is the only Party working for the revolutionary unity of the workers. In its everyday struggle and in the performance of its historical mission the Party works to unite the workers, for without establishing such unity on the basis of class struggle, the working class will be unable to defeat its class enemies. Speeches, leaflets, pamphlets must state the Communist program in every action. The united front cannot be viewed as a new organization in which the Communist Party will be dissolved, in which the independent role of the Party is submerged.

The Districts, sections, units, revolutionary unions, mass organizations should immediately initiate calls for conferences of the executives of labor organizations in their given territory to achieve the unity of the workers in the May Day demonstration. This does not mean that if a Socialist Party branch or A. F. of L. local or a city committee of these organizations invites us for a united action for struggle on a burning issue concerning the workers in the territory or in the shop, that we should not go into this united front because we were not the ones who initiated it. We have an example in a city where a Socialist Branch invited us to unite all the forces for the May Day demonstration. The Party leadership hesitated to accept the invitation and decided to ignore it and "initiate" the united front. This mistake was checked in time. We have to keep in mind that the Communists have nothing to fear. We should enter into any united front with workers if the aim is to fight for the interests of the workers against capitalism.

* * * *

We have to emphasize all the time that the unorganized masses must be approached and won by us exactly through our united front tactic. Nobody will deny that a successful united front action of the organized workers in a given city will have tremendous influence on the unorganized workers. They will be drawn into the struggle. But at the same time everything should be done to unite the unorganized workers with the organized. In our preparation for May Day, for the Tom Mooney Congress, in our fight against fascism, against war, we have to penetrate the factories where as yet the workers do not belong to any organizations; penetrate in the neighborhood where the unemployed are outside of any unemployed organizations. We have to build up committees in the factories, in the neighborhoods. These committees will be united front bodies embracing all the workers in these places, including organized workers.

The Party committees in the districts, sections, cities, shops, neighborhoods will approach the respective committees of the Socialist Party, A. F. of L., C.P.L.A., and unemployed organizations. At the same time, however, while working out proposals for united action in these conferences the call should be printed and distributed among the members of these organizations and to the workers generally, informing them what steps have been taken by our Party and asking them to support the united front actions. It is not obligatory to build a united front around all the demands laid down by the Central Committee call. It is possible that in a shop, in a certain territory or city to build up a wide united front on one or two issues concerning the workers. With the utmost energy the Party everywhere should immediately begin to develop the united actions of the workers proving to them that:

“The Communists have proved through their long years of struggle that they stand and will stand, not in words but in deeds, in the front ranks of the fight for the united front in class actions against the bourgeoisie.”

—J. P.

Experiences In Building of a Department Committee in a Large Plant.

THE Packing House Workers Industrial Union, which is already established in one of the small plants, elected a committee to concentrate on one large plant where about 1200 workers are employed. Many of the workers in this plant knew about the Packing House Workers Industrial Union. The sentiment for our union was created by the action taken by the union in the small plant, when they carried through a stoppage for a few hours because the company laid off one man.

The Committee had made many previous attempts to get together a group of workers from the large plant, but on account of the terror the workers were afraid to get together. The conditions in the plant were steadily growing worse, wages were cut left and right. The burning issue in the large plant was the breaking of the 40-hour week guarantee.

We Take the First Steps

At the regular meeting of the Packing House Workers Industrial Union we took up the question of organizing the large plant primarily around the issue of the 40-hour week guarantee. A few workers volunteered to bring workers from the large plant to the next meeting of the Union. To this meeting we succeeded in getting one worker from the large plant. Here we discussed the problems in the plant with this one worker and he agreed to get some more workers from his department to a meeting. He promised to bring about 8 workers

from his department, but to our surprise he brought down 15 workers, half of his department.

We had a good discussion about the conditions in the plant and the workers decided to meet again. A committee of 5 was elected to issue a leaflet on the basis of their grievances. They also decided to write up some slogans on the basis of the grievances on the walls of the plant. Most of them were young workers and they all volunteered to write on the walls in all departments possible.

Next day there was a turmoil in the plant. The workers after reading these slogans all began to talk about the union and their grievances. It went so far that the assistant Superintendent of the plant had to go around himself to wash the walls. This inspired the workers to further action. Through their own initiative and suggestion they got sheets of sticker paper and made more slogans that were harder to get off the walls. The committee that was elected to draw up a leaflet met and made up a good leaflet. It was short but dealt with three grievances: 1. *Stop the breaking of the 40-hour guarantee;* 2. *Stop all wage cuts;* 3. *For a return of the 15 minute rest period.*

We Make Progress

At the next meeting of the workers from the large plant we had 97% of the workers from the first department and some workers from other departments. All the workers joined the Union and they elected a department Committee of 5 to which they added 4 workers from 2 other departments. This Committee was instructed to draw up demands and bring recommendations for the next meeting.

We took up the question of getting a group of workers from another plant which is the largest in the section with the most active workers from this plant. In this plant there are close to 2000 workers employed.

A few interesting experiences that we had is that the young workers are the most active and willing to do organizational work as well as to sacrifice their time to visit workers, etc. It was the young fellows that helped to organize the first department committee in the large plant. Another important lesson is that when we get workers together, we must establish friendly relations with the most militant workers. It is necessary to visit them in their homes, discuss the problems with them, give them proper advice in every day work.

After the first meeting, we visited some of the workers in their homes, asking how they liked the meeting, whether all of them were satisfied with the meeting, whether they think that everyone there was O. K. so nothing would happen to their jobs. Through this personal and friendly relation we were able to establish confidence among the most influential work-

ers in the department. *We must show the workers that we are just as interested in improving their conditions as they are.*

A significant experience is that in this plant a number of workers that had dropped out of the A. F. of L. on account of the A. F. of L. betrayal of the 1921 strike, joined up with our union.

The workers wanted to know how we are going to prevent the unemployed workers from taking their jobs in case of a strike. We explained to them that our union is organizing the unemployed as well as the employed and pointed out the necessity of carrying on struggles for the interests of both. We explained to them that we are already carrying on work among the unemployed in this particular city where most of the packing house workers live. The workers were well satisfied with our program.

N. H.

Report on Wage-Cut Defeated by Miners at Ironton

THE miners of the Ironton Mine were notified that a meeting called by the Superintendent of the mine would take place in the dry house on the following evening.

National Miners Union members immediately got busy. A meeting of the Bessemer local of the N. M. U. was called at once to lay plans as to what the Union should do. The Union realized that this meeting was called by the company only for the purpose of cutting down the miners' standard of living, the same as was done in other mines owned by the same company.

The Union members decided that a leaflet should be issued the following morning when the miners go to work, to warn them of what would take place and what they should do. It was also decided that non-union members must be visited and the situation explained to them.

At once, three comrades began the work of putting out a leaflet, both in English and Italian since many of the miners are Italians and cannot understand English.

Other comrades visited non-union members and discussed with them the situation and pointed out that a wage-cut would take place the same as in Crystal Falls. The miners at once realized that they were facing a wage-cut. Everybody began to agitate and prepare for the wage-cut. The rumor was passed from miner to miner. Everybody knew it.

But, what were the miners to do? How could they stop this cut? Next morning the leaflet was distributed. We did not get to the mine in time to reach all the miners. Leaflets were however placed in the washrooms and the lockers. But even

these few leaflets were the beginning, and the news spread fast. The leaflet explained what would take place: that the miners would be compelled to work on the twenty day a month basis at the rate of \$2.00 a day and also explaining that whether the miners worked eight or twenty days a month, it would take an equal number of days to fill the stockpiles, and the mines would then stop running. The wage of \$3.50 a day and 8 days a month was already a starvation wage to the miners. The leaflet called upon the miners to *vote against the wage cut*, to organize *anti-wage cut committees*.

The Union members agitated all day in the mine and told the miners to vote against the wage-cut. Very little work was done that day in the mine. Every miner was boiling mad. All the miners regardless of their religious or political beliefs were as one man ready to vote against the coming wage-cut. Only a few company suckers were trying to do work amongst the miners to vote for this new scheme of the company, but they failed to gain any influence.

On the evening of the 7th when the day shift had come up and the night shift was ready to go down, miners were grouped together discussing in loud voices the conditions they were facing. Leaflets were seen all over. Miners were reading them. The miners were very tense and angry.

The superintendent came in at this moment and began to talk to the miners laying the proposition before them in exactly the way the National Miners' Union had explained in the leaflet. Those miners still doubting the N. M. U. leaflet and its explanation were convinced there and then that the N. M. U. knew what would take place and had warned the miners correctly.

The Superintendent asked for the opinion of the miners. The miners hesitated. One of the N. M. U. members, a District Board member, and also a former miner of the Ironton Mine, immediately after a slight hesitation of the rank and file, answered to the Superintendent's proposal with a "No, we don't want a wage-cut." This at once gave the miners a start. Other N. M. U. members began protesting and also the rank and file. Comrade M. began to speak and pointed out how the same thing happened in Crystal Falls and the promises that the company made and did not carry out, but instead fooled the workers into taking this wage-cut.

The Superintendent called Comrade M. from the crowd to come forward and back up his statement. Comrade M. without hesitation walked in front of the Superintendent, rose upon a bench and began to speak to the miners, exposing the mining official's statements. He pointed out that the proposal for a "bonus" was only a method to speed up the workers, thereby filling the stockpiles so much sooner and the laying of the

miners. The "bonus" was to be given after a certain tonnage of ore was dug. The tonnage was so large that the miners immediately saw that the company was trying to blind the wage-cut with this "bonus" proposition.

A miner began to speak and pointed out how 12 days of the 20 days that the miners worked would only rate at 90 cents a day which would mean more starvation and misery. This miner called for a vote. All those against the wage-cut to signify by saying "I." The dry house echoed with the miners voices "I."

Comrade M. called on the miners to go home and to come to the meeting at the Swede-Finn Hall that night to lay plans to combat any attempts of the bosses to put through this wage-cut.

The miners began to leave and Comrade M. stayed till the last. Comrade M. stayed to see that the Superintendent did not get a chance to speak to any of the remaining miners.

Leading comrades had a meeting that night to prepare for the meeting of the miners. About 30 rank and file miners turned up at the meeting, the first time that miners were gotten to the hall. Comrade M. spoke pointing out what we had succeeded that day and how through organized mass pressure we were able to vote the wage-cut down. The National Miners Union was brought forward as the organization that was leading the miners, also pointing out to the miners how the N. M. U. in its leaflet had correctly stated what would take place at the company meeting.

The miners were willing to discuss and willing to accept the leadership of the N. M. U. They themselves clearly pointed out that if it had not been for Comrade M. they might have failed to combat this wage-cut.

The comrades stressed the importance of organizing united front committees to fight against further attempts of the company to put through this cut. After a thorough discussion a United Front Committee of 8 was elected to begin work and lay plans for future activity and winning the miners in united action against the company cut and to fight for relief from the city, county and company.

Plans were laid to put out a series of leaflets in four different languages to explain to the miners that the company will attempt to use different methods to push through the wage-cut, and calling upon the miners to organize in a united struggle. Also house meetings to be held in every location, forming united front groups of miners, explaining the fact that we must organize against the bosses' attempts to put through the wage-cut. Plans to be laid next week for mass meetings to enlarge the United Front Committee, so that we will have miners from every shift on this committee.

We can say, that in the short notice that we had of the wage-cut, the very little agitation and propoganda that we have carried on among the miners before the proposed wage-cuts, that we reacted very quickly to the issue. We immediately began to agitate and spread at least a little propoganda and explained to the miners what this meant to them. We were able to organize a united front of part of the miners, with prospects of getting more miners in an organized struggle against the company.

We were able to get 30 miners of different nationalities to a meeting and discuss the problems facing them.

But, we also have shortcomings. They will be seen, especially when the struggle develops further, unless we overcome them immediately.

1. We did not spread as much propoganda, that is, leaflets, as we should have due to difficulties.

2. We must admit that at the meeting in the dry-house, we should have called for a vote at once. Our N. M. U. members by doing this, would have further convinced the miners that the N. M. U. is the leader of the miners and the leader in the miners' struggles.

M. M.

Preparing A Struggle Against A Wage Cut

THE workers of Alfred Bleyer Co., manufacturers of paper plates and bags, located in Brooklyn, N. Y., had taken steps in preparation to fight against a possible wage cut, long before the intentions of a cut were announced.

The workers of the Bleyer shop belong to the International Pulp Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Conditions in the Bleyer shop are better than in any other shop of its kind. These conditions, had been obtained through strike struggles, led at first by a group of militants, later by the Communists. They have a 45½ hour week; \$20 weekly minimum wage for girls and \$25 weekly for men, etc. The shop agreement calls for May First as an official holiday, for which the workers get paid.

In spite of a strong desire to do so, the bosses have been unable to force through a cut of the weekly wage rate during the entire period of the crisis. The shop nucleus knew, however, that the bosses had made a few dollars less in profits in the last year. They also knew that the bosses wanted to maintain profits at the expense of the workers. They, therefore, foresaw that a wage-cut was coming even though as yet the bosses had not hinted such action. They expected the cut when the agreement expired.

After a thorough discussion the nucleus decided that a campaign should be started to explain to the workers, first, that a cut in wage rates was coming and the need to fight against it; and second, that a tax to fight the cut should be levied on every worker and that this tax be paid in weekly instalments.

This campaign was carried on for six weeks. In addition to discussion in the nucleus, the question was discussed in the Young Communist League nucleus; in the Trade Union Unity League group; in the Shop Committee; in the International Labor Defense and Workers' International Relief; in the Shop Forum (held weekly inside the shop); in personal conversations between the leading workers with the rest; and, finally, it was taken up in the Union local, where the proposals were unanimously accepted. As a result of this campaign the nucleus even succeeded in winning over to its program of preparation and tax a group of workers ("the opposition") who thought the bosses were nice fellows, etc.

A few weeks after the vote for a tax was taken, Mr. John P. Burke, president of the International Pulp Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, with which the Bleyer shop local is affiliated, walked into the shop. He informed the Shop Committee that the bosses told him they couldn't afford the existing scale and wanted the workers to take a cut. Mr. Burke said nothing for or against the bosses' proposals. He left it up to the local!

Mr. Burke came to the shop *after* a conference with the bosses, held *outside of the shop*, without representation from the Shop Committee. To make sure that a representative of the local should *not* be present at the conference, a letter about the conference was sent to the secretary so that he received it *the day after the conference was held*.

The Communist nucleus immediately reacted to this new danger of behind-the-scene negotiations by Burke. Special meetings were called where it was decided to speed up the payment of the tax and to meet a cut with a strike, if necessary. The workers were shown that Burke's actions proved that neither he nor the supporters of his policy could be relied upon to lead the fight against the threatened wage cut. That, it was therefore necessary, to build up the strongest possible united front of all opposed to the wage cut right in the shop. This need for the broadest united front was explained daily. This was done concretely in connection with the regular complaints made by the employers in the shop in which "opposition" workers were involved and by fighting for their rights. The complete winning over of the "opposition" is now the major task which the revolutionary leadership faces and which it has set itself. The winning of these workers will mean a solid front of the workers against the bosses' threatened cut.

Burke's "report" was discussed by every organization and

every committee in the shop. Everywhere the results were unanimously against Burke. Already the strike sentiment is becoming very strong.

At the moment of writing we find the workers of the Bleyer shop with higher wages than elsewhere in the trade. We find that they have not yet received a wage cut in the last 3-4 years of the crisis. Further, we find the revolutionary leadership in the shop preparing them for the effective defeat of the proposed wage cut.

What is the situation elsewhere in the International Union? Lack of revolutionary opposition has enabled the International officials, with Burke at the head, to put over cuts of 20%-30% and more in all of the other locals. About a month before the agreement with the Bleyer bosses will expire, an International Union convention will be held. This convention will find the Bleyer shop local calling for a rank and file united front against wage cuts and for mutual support of the strike struggles which may be waged against the cuts, for militant mass picketing, etc., the program of the revolutionary trade union movement.

The Bleyer shop has by actual example shown that their policies (the policies of the revolutionary trade union movement) maintain the standards of the workers. The A. F. of L. bureaucrats have shown by example that they are enemies of the workers. By revealing these facts to the workers the Communists will succeed in winning support for their policies. The Communists in the Bleyer shop are pointing the way by actual example not only to the workers in the Bleyer shop but to the workers and Communists in other shops. That is true Communist leadership!

DAVE GORDON.

Recruiting Is a Daily Task

“...the Bolshevization of the Party includes first of all the rooting of the Party deep into the great masses of the proletariat in the workshops, mills, mines and factories of the basic industries of the country . . .”—Resolution of Sixteenth Central Committee Plenum.

What has your district, section, unit, done since the publication of the resolution to accomplish this task? Have you recruited any new members in the basic industries of your territory? How have you done it?—Let's hear about it in the next number of the PARTY ORGANIZER!

Organizing On Forced Labor Projects

MANY comrades have written articles on the various forms of organization of the unemployed on the neighborhood, block and ward scale, but nothing has been written in our periodicals about forms of organization among the unemployed workers on the forced labor projects that are being established throughout the entire country.

While we generally speak of the necessity of organizing for struggle against forced labor, we are at a loss as to the exact form of the organization on these projects and what relation this organization would have to the unemployed movement in a given territory. In this article I wish to discuss the function of a model organization of the above type as it is practiced in Providence, R. I.

The unemployed situation in Providence is typical of any other large city in the United States. While the State statistics show some 35,000 unemployed in this city only some 6,000 are receiving relief from the Department of Public Aid. Those who receive aid must put in a certain amount of work on so-called Relief Projects. There are some 12 such major projects, each employing from 100 to 300 men at a time. There are also numerous small projects employing from 10 to 50 men.

About two months ago a group of workers from one of these Relief Projects, which the workers named "Hungry Hill," took the initiative in organizing an unemployed club. They conferred with a couple of members of the Executive Board of the National Textile Workers Union, formed their organizing committee and began organizing right on their project. At the first meeting, they decided to name their club the "Right to Live Club" and to make it a city-wide and later state-wide organization. The Right to Live Club grew like wild fire all over the city, so that today it is the largest organization of its kind in New England. There are over 1,000 members in the city of Providence proper, with about 500 more in the outlying districts. The Club takes in any unemployed worker who needs relief, laying no barriers as to religion, race or political beliefs. The club as such carries on activities for cash relief and other issues on a city scale. It functions with regular weekly meetings and regular meetings of the Executive Board. It also attempts to establish functioning organizations on the job, with particular activity on the project itself; this activity to be independent of the regular activity of the club, and to center around issues arising on the job.

Let's examine the function of the members of the Right to Live Club on the project, they call "Hungry Hill." This is the project where the club originated and where the organization functions best at the present time. The project is a large

park, and the men make paths, build stone walls and stairs, dig up stumps, bury large boulders, etc. The men pride themselves on being 100% organized on this particular project; and the organization is similar to a union organization in an organized shop. Some 300 men work here divided into working gangs of from 25 to 40 with a straw boss over each gang, and a head boss over the whole project.

The workers use these gang divisions for their own organization. Each gang elects a captain who is in charge of collecting the dues from his gang. He is in charge of taking up any grievance of his gang, etc. The captain of all gangs on this job form a "Job Committee," similar to a Shop Committee. This job committee meets daily on the job to check up on any grievances on the part of the men. If a grievance arises in a certain gang the captain tries to settle it with the straw boss of his gang, if this grievance happens to be a small one. If no satisfaction ensues, he reports to the Job Committee which acts for the entire body of men. For instance, the men report to work on a certain morning and it is very cold. The men do not want to work in freezing weather. The Job Committee gets together and decides to walk off the job that day. They take up the issue of being paid for that day with the project boss, or if he refuses to take the responsibility for the men not working, they take it up with the Director of Public Aid and force these officials to agree.

The Department of Public Aid followed a policy in the past of forcing the men to make up days they don't work, but through the militancy of the workers on all projects under the leadership of the Right to Live Club, this practice was stopped. Now the Department of Public Aid has issued a formal statement that no days will have to be made up.

Numerous other concessions have been won through this strike action on the jobs and the Right to Live Club is gaining in popularity and importance among the unemployed workers of Providence. It would be well for comrades active in unemployed work in other cities to study the function and forms of this organization and apply it similarly elsewhere.

A. B.

Who Shall Lead the Children's Movement?

THE recent Polburo resolution on children's work served to mark a change in the general approach and response of the leading Party bodies to the question of building a mass children's movement. One of the first steps taken in District Two in the direction of carrying out the resolution was a discussion held with the section organizers and fraction secretaries. The discussion raised two basic questions which are generally unclear in the Party as a whole. These must be understood before any steps can be taken in developing the work correctly.

1. The first question is: Who shall lead the children's movement? The resolution answers that work among the children is not as was considered in the past, the work and property solely of the Young Communist League. It is an important task every Party unit, and the Party is to lead the children's movement by making work among the children an important task of every mass organization. Especially must the Party understand that the struggle for the demands of the children is essentially a task of the adult workers and parents, and not as it has been, a task of the children alone. This means that every Party member and unit, and the Unemployed Councils, Unions, etc., as well as the other organizations, are the leaders and the initiators of struggles for the demands of the children, in the neighborhoods and in the schools. Then and only then can a serious campaign be waged in behalf of the children; and not as in the past, half-hearted propaganda approaches to the question made solely by the Pioneer movement (Child Hunger Delegations, Lawson and Forrestville schools, Chicago, lower Harlem-Gonzales, etc.).

2. The second question which was raised that of the role and purpose of our Pioneer movement. The Polburo resolution points out very definitely that "the workers children's troops ... must then be made into instruments and centers of *proletarian class education* among their members.... It will be the part of this education as well as an object of it to involve the children more and more into the struggles of the parent organizations."

Generally throughout the Party there is a very abstract and general approach to the question of struggle of the children, "child struggles," etc. The Polburo resolution gives a very definite answer to all of these vague approaches to the question. The major task of our children's movement becomes therefore, a very clear one—that of organizing a mass movement of children in which we will undertake to give them a proletarian class education and train them to develop into class conscious youth on the side of the working class. This education cannot and must not be an academic education, but based essentially on its connection with the life of the child

and his participation in struggles for his and his parents' demands. This necessitates the developing systematically of a trained group of leaders capable of seeing to it that these tasks are carried out.

It is, therefore, a task of each Party unit and fraction to check up regularly and systematically on the type of comrade who is leading the children in his neighborhood or organization. In this way the work will be continually strengthened.

If these basic problems are understood, then the Party as a whole will really be taking the first steps requisite for building a mass movement of children, and through doing this widening out of its own influence.

Some Proposals to Improve Our Trade Union Work

We are reprinting here an article by Comrade F. F. from California raising the problem of how the Party can do trade union and factory work, and an article answering these questions raised by Comrade F. These articles deal with a burning problem of our Party. We call upon all district, section and unit functionaries to send in articles based on their experiences in the units, concerning this problem.

* * * *

FOR the last three years the Party seriously raised the question of trade union work. Such slogans as "Every Party member a trade union member", "Every Party member must give 80 per cent of his time for trade union work", etc., were heard everywhere. Yet the reports at plenums—section, district and national—show that the big stumbling block in our work is our failure to make headway in trade union and factory work. Now then, where does the weakness in our trade union work lie? Why don't our trade union fractions function?

My several years of experience in the Party, especially in District 13 has led me to the conclusion that the main fault with the Party's trade union work does not lie in the methods or approach but in the basically wrong structure of the Party units.

Our present territorial units are ideologically and organizationally divorced from any practical trade union work. The units exist in territories comprising scores of blocks and thousands of people. With the small membership they are like a drop in the bucket. The regular Party work which consists of visiting contacts, help build the unemployed councils, open air meetings, affairs, etc., and special campaigns—elections, *Daily Worker*, *Western Worker*, Scottsboro, Mooney, hunger marches, etc., cannot artificially be linked up with the trade union work.

While it is hard but possible and necessary to build block committees and territorial unemployed councils, it is impossible to organize unions on such a basis. Yet the whole Party's (District 13) orientation, with very few exceptions, is toward the neighborhood. The result is, when a worker joins the Party and is assigned to a unit the member is immediately faced with a vast territory, which could absorb hundreds of activities, with problems (street meetings, leaflet distribution, visiting for subs, affairs, etc.) which are exclusively territorial and have no direct, immediate, connection with the building of a specific revolutionary trade union.

Now not to go into any lengthy analysis of the composition of our membership and the units unsystematic and improperly organized distribution of work amongst the membership I want to make the following proposals:

1) That the territorial units be reorganized, to distribute the work on a percentage basis, not according to the individual member (that each member is to give 80 per cent of his time to trade union work) but according to the unit membership as a whole. For example let us say 55 per cent of the unit membership is to do trade union and factory work, 25 percent unemployed neighborhood work, 20 per cent fraternal and other work. (Of course, I am just suggesting a rough figure.)

2) But a mere mechanical reorganization of the unit is not enough. Comrades will raise the question if only 25 per cent of the unit membership is to carry on Party work in the neighborhoods what will the rest of the membership do? How will they carry on the Party work and the special campaigns? The answer to this is, that all Party work, general and special campaigns must in an organized and planful manner be carried over to the various fields of activities the members were assigned to. In other words, the members assigned to trade unions (A. F. of L. and T.U.U.L.) and factory work, must carry out the Party's campaigns there, and so must those assigned to fraternal and other work. It means that when a member is assigned to a trade union or factory he or she should not be sent in the unit territory to visit contacts or get *Western Worker* or *Daily Worker* subs, etc., but do this in the organizations they were assigned to, in the trade and industry they work. Even leaflet distribution and signature drives should be carried out on this basis where possible, without endangering the job or the holding of membership in the particular organization—the fractions to correlate both Party and specific organization work of its members.

In my opinion, if we reorganize the units on the basis of the above proposals we will be able to overcome the stumbling block in our trade union and factory work. However, comrades must not think that this will work like miracles—over night. It will be necessary to conduct a persistent ideological campaign for

a long time and where necessary take disciplinary action and we will be able to convince the membership of the importance of attending fraction meetings and to build the revolutionary unions.

F. F.

The Unit—the Center of Mass Work

COMRADE F. F. from California raises the question of the building of the trade unions and rooting the Party in the factories. The question of directing the Party to work in the factories, in the revolutionary and reformist trade unions, developing the struggles of the workers around their day-to-day grievances in the shops is a burning problem for our Party. Comrade F.'s desire to find a solution to this problem compelled him to write this article. But will the solution offered by Comrade F. help the situation? Is the question of rooting our Party in the factories, organizing the workers in the factories, building our trade unions merely an organization question of assignment of Party comrades to various phases of work? Or, *is it a problem of changing basically the work of the units from inner work to work among the masses?*

Of course, it is correct, that if our Party were based on shop nuclei, the task of winning the workers for struggle, for the organization in the shop around the immediate demands and grievances would be easier. The shop nucleus working directly in the shop, sensitive to the problems of the workers, knowing their day to day needs and interests, responds to the issues in the factory and can give direct and immediate leadership to the grievances of the workers and win them for struggle.

But we must face concrete facts. Our Party today is not based on the shop. While a large number of Party members work in factories, the Party has still no foothold in these workshops and is removed almost completely from the decisive industries. These members still belong to the street nuclei and carry on their work in the territories. *Our task is to create the basis through the activity of these street units reacting to the problems in these shops, in the factories of concentration and in the territory to root our Party in the factory and strengthen our revolutionary unions.*

Nine-Tenths of All Work Among Masses

The Fourteenth Plenum of our Central Committee states: *"The work of the lower Party organizations must be basically changed. Nine tenths of all the work of the lower organizations must be concentrated directly on the work among the masses. . . ."* Can the street unit accomplish this by reorganizing the unit and assigning so many and so many for trade union work, so many and so many for unemployed activity, etc. Will this

mechanical division between Party work as such and trade union work or factory work bring the necessary change in our Party. The street nucleus is the Party in the territory, it is faced with the various questions of mass work. How shall the street unit proceed with its work?

The Work of a Street Unit

A street unit works in a territory. It cannot proceed to organize all the workers in the entire territory at once. On the basis of its knowledge of the conditions in the territory, it picks out one, two or a few blocks. In these blocks, there may be a factory—or no factory. In the unit there are comrades employed in factories. The unit concentrating on a territory where there are no factories, proceeds on the basis of organizing the workers in the territory around the issues arising there—unemployment, evictions, housing, rent, etc. The unit deals with these problems, discusses the issues, decides what has to be done with the view of winning the workers to struggle around specific burning issues in the territory and begins its work. *It is precisely by reacting to the most elementary issues of the workers in the territory, developing the struggles on the basis of these issues, that we can win members for the trade unions, establish an unemployed council and aid in the establishment of shop grievance committees.*

By building an unemployed council in the territory we get contacts with workers who know others employed in factories. We recruit direct from the unemployed council for our revolutionary unions. Here are also workers who may belong to A. F. of L. locals, we draw them into the opposition groups. Thus all phases of mass work are interlinked even in territories where there are no factories.

At the same time, the unit should deal with the problems of the comrades employed in factories—deal with every issue and help these comrades directly to establish a shop nucleus and shop organization in the factory of employment. Thus if in a unit of 20, five comrades are employed in shops, the unit should discuss regularly how these comrades can carry on their activity to root the Party in the factory. The unit leadership especially shall give personal guidance and aid to these comrades.

In territories where our units are working and there are factories—the unit must deal with the problems of the workers in the factory chosen for concentration and the problems of the workers in the territory. Its aim is to develop organization in the shop and in this way establish the leadership of the Party. And here, by building a grievance committee in a shop, we can through these workers get contacts for the building of an unemployed council, win adherents to the trade unions, get con-

tacts with A. F. of L. workers, recruit workers direct from the shop for the Party and establish a shop unit.

Thus, if instead of viewing each phase of Party work as a separate task, we would consider every phase as an integral part of the whole work of the Party, we will soon find that *once the unit begins to deal with the concrete needs of the workers, it will strengthen all fronts of the Party's work.* And this is the chief problem that faces our Party—to transform the work of our Party to work among the masses.

Organizing the Activity of the Members

The problem arises how to organize the work of the Party unit to enable it to get the most effective results in the territory, in the shop of concentration and the shops in which our comrades are employed. In determining the work of our Party members, there exists a wrong conception of what comprises Party work in our units. This conception maintains that comrades who work in the territories are "good Communists"—those who work in the mass organizations and devote little time to the work in the territory are "bad Communists."

Comrades in mass organizations *are doing important Party work* and should be responsible for their work to the unit. While the fractions in these organizations guide and direct the work of our comrades, the comrades at the same time should report regularly to the Party unit on their activity. The unit should know what the comrade is doing to bring the Party campaigns into the organization, how he is drawing new workers into the trade unions, whether he has recruited unemployed workers from his organization for the unemployed council, whether he is getting *Daily Worker* subs, recruiting members for the Party, etc., and whether he participates regularly in the fractions. In this way the individual activities of the comrades in the trade unions and other mass organizations are discussed in the unit and the unit helps directly in strengthening and improving the mass activities of our comrades. This in turn will create a better understanding in the Party units, that these comrades are involved in Party work and overcome much of the demoralization and fluctuation resulting from this erroneous conception.

Who then shall do the work in the territory? In this connection flexibility should be used by the unit. A comrade who has influence in his mass organization, who is active, cannot be mechanically instructed that he is to leave this field and devote his time to the work in the territory. Comrades who are busy in mass organizations can devote some time to the work in the territory, *but primarily comrades who are not active in these organizations and comrades who belong to no organizations at all carry on the day-to-day work in the territory.* But the activity in the territory should not be limited only to a few Party comrades. *They should immediately build around themselves a*

cadre of non-Party actives who can assist in this work, who can help to visit contacts, help to call meetings of workers together, help to establish an unemployed council, help the work in the factory, help sell the Daily Worker, etc. In this manner the activity in the territory chosen to start the work can be organized effectively and the unit give direct leadership to the issues of the workers.

Thus it is not a mechanical division of tasks—on a percentage basis. This particularly cannot be applied to the trade unions, since all members of our Party, if eligible for a trade union, should and must become active in the existing revolutionary or reformist trade unions.

The essential point is that the *unit discusses and deals with all the problems of mass work.* And only by the street unit dealing with the problems it meets in the direct sphere of its activity—the territory—by controlling the activities of the comrades in the mass organizations, by giving guidance and direct aid to individual comrades employed in the shops, can the unit be transformed from a routine body dealing with petty problems into a live political body—the leader of a specific section of the working class. It is only in this manner that the initiative of the unit and the individual members will be developed. It is only in this manner that the Party will establish “permanent and intimate contacts” with the masses of workers and strengthen its roots in the shops.

B. G.

Write Your Experiences for the Party Organizer

COMRADES IN THE DISTRICTS, SECTIONS AND UNITS!

We again appeal to you to write up your experiences for the PARTY ORGANIZER. The experiences of the various lower Party organizations, in shop work, work among the unemployed, united front actions, etc., must be utilized to improve the work of the entire Party. This must now be done to a much greater extent than in the past, in view of the greater tasks facing our Party at the present time, and also in view of the coming Party Convention.

The districts, sections and units must consider the task of bringing their experiences before the entire Party as part of their work. The leading organs of the districts and sections, and unit buros should take the responsibility in carrying out this work.

Send your experiences to the PARTY ORGANIZER.

ORG. COMMISSION, C. C.

Overcome the Fear of the Masses.

IN Conneaut, Ohio, there was a person J. who had been agitating for Communism for a full year previous to the presidential election. Comrade J. did not know if there were any Party members in the town. Comrade J. was given collection lists to aid the *Daily Worker*. J. sold five copies of the *Daily Worker* twice a week. Being eager to study Communism Comrade J. began to inquire about a Workers School. He finally discovered such a school through personal inquiry at the District Office in Cleveland. He registered, paid his own tuition, and then went back to Conneaut. During the presidential campaign Comrade J. with other non-party comrades was active in agitational work and also in distributing pamphlets. The results were that in the fourth ward precinct the Communist candidates received 25 votes. All these facts were fully known to the Party comrades in Conneaut. As a matter of fact there were even Party members living in the precinct where J. canvassed for votes. Yet in spite of this at no time did Comrade J. receive an invitation to join the Party.

However, Comrade J. did succeed in getting into the Party, but not through any fault of the Conneaut Comrades. When the National Hunger March was being prepared, a comrade from the section was sent to help carry through the preparatory work. While in Conneaut he came in contact with Comrade J. and filed out an application for him. Shortly after the section organizer came there and he was accepted.

Recently through Comrade J's efforts the unit agreed to accept two new members. The old members however proposed that the new members should be put in a separate group with one or two of the older comrades teaching them Communism. Further, that these new recruits should not attend any of the unit meetings for about three or four weeks. Fortunately in this particular instance the plan was not carried out. Comrade J. was instrumental in getting besides these two members, another one; also he was indirectly responsible in getting a fourth recruit. All these new members are native born.

In conclusion I wish to make an appeal to all Party members. When you see and know of a good worker do not hesitate to ask him to join the Party. Also it is not a good policy to accept new recruits and then to keep them from a unit meeting for a given time. These are sectarian tendencies and we as Party members must overcome them.

K.

The Deadly Routine Which Must be Overcome

Our influence among workers has increased tenfold within the last few years, but the membership of our Party has remained practically stationary. Why do the workers come and leave our ranks? What is wrong with us?

Here is the life of my unit—District 2, Section 6, Street Nucleus 6. The unit meeting took place on December 21, 1932. The order of business; Unit Buro Report, "Daily Worker; Dues; Literature; Assignments; Discussion. Out of 27 members only 7 are present. The organizer reports for the Buro: One member of the Buro moved to New York, the Buro recommends another comrade. The financial secretary is sick, the Buro recommends so and so. The Buro decided to donate \$3 for the Workers' Center. The first beginnings in building the block committee have been made. A meeting was held with eight workers present, good sentiment, elected a good and responsible worker as the chairman of the committee. The workers at this meeting came only from one house canvassed by the unit organizer. The other five comrades assigned to canvass other houses, did not follow-up their contacts and did not come and bring the workers to this meeting, etc.

Did we take up this block activity with the greatest seriousness? Did we devote the whole evening to a discussion on the building of the block committee? Not at all. The other comrades gave their excuses for doing very little, and that was all.

What did we take up? Here it is: two posts are to be filled. None of the designated comrades would accept. We argue. We discuss. We get excited, and, some of us, disgusted. No results. We leave the question for another meeting.

We make a motion that we donate only two dollars for the Workers Center since we have no money. We discuss and carry the motion. Some one remembers that we must send greetings to the Daily Worker. Motion that we donate from the unit. But there is no money. So we discuss what to do. Finally, a bright idea comes to our heads and we decide to pass around the blank and collect from the comrades. Some of them have no money. They feel uneasy.

The point on the literature. The agitprop was sick and didn't bring the Communist and Party Organizer. But she has all kinds of 1 and 2-cent pamphlets. She tries to sell these. The financial secretary complains that the agit-prop either does not understand or does not want to give her the account every Tuesday. The agit-prop speaks; the secretary speaks; everybody speaks; no one to listen. Arguments, explanations, persuasions fly back and forth. Order is finally restored. The agit-prop must submit the account every Tuesday.

The organizer has a bundle of tickets. One set of tickets—the *Daily Worker* affair. These tickets to be sold at 5 cents, and the owner of the ticket will be admitted to the affair for additional 40 cents. The tickets are divided, some take five, some three and two. Then our good organizer pulls another batch of tickets—the section affair. The tickets sell for 25 cents each and must be sold. Some comrades protest and object. Two sets of tickets for one meeting is too much. More arguments. But the tickets win and we again divide them up.

A letter from the district is read instructing the units to make all attempts to get back into the Party those workers who have been in the Party and dropped out for one reason or another.

At last, the last point on the order of business—the discussion. The discussion to be held is on the results of the election campaign. But it is too late. It's no use. Everybody is tired and wants to go home. A comrade takes the floor and informs the comrades that before we adjourn there is a special edition of the *Daily Worker* on the Alabama situation which must be sold tomorrow. All comrades are instructed to go out. One hundred and fifty copies to be distributed by our unit. Some comrades fail to understand how we can mobilize the unit over night. The organizer remarks: we must carry out the decision first, and discuss it later. We divide up the *Daily*—some take five, others 10, still others 20. The meeting is adjourned and we rush home.

While going home I considered this meeting. What did we accomplish? Did I like the meeting? Did I get any inspiration and enthusiasm at the meeting? What would the new members think about the meeting? Could a new member remain in the Party after several such meetings?

I leave it to the comrades to answer these questions. And meetings like these have been going on since I remember. No political life, no real discussion, no mass work. This particular meeting had at least one redeeming feature: the report of the organizer that we have started something on the block. But most meetings of our units begin and end with the wrangling over the technical, petty, ticket or financial matters.

There should be an operation—a very painful operation made upon our units.

J. A.

Build and Activize Fractions in the Trade Unions

WHILE numerous directives of the Comintern have called to the attention of our Party the importance of the systematic functioning of our trade union fractions it has not yet been taken seriously in many districts, resulting sometimes in serious opportunist mistakes and in other instances in almost liquidation of our revolutionary unions.

In the Comintern resolution on the work of the trade union fractions it is stated:

"This most important sector of the mass work of the Communist Parties still continues to be the weakest one, and this weakness of the work of the C. P. in the trade unions is now one of the main hindrances for their further development."

I will only deal with two examples. First our fraction in the Needle Trades Union in Boston. Here we conducted a victorious strike of some 400 sheep-skin and leather goods workers. *But during the strike and two months after the strike the fraction failed to meet and map out any concrete policy and not a single member was recruited into the Party.* The union policy was directed by one comrade and the result was that due to our failure to really carry on systematic work among these workers for the Party policy, *the union even failed to acquaint the workers with the program of the Communist Party and its candidates during the presidential election.* What is still worse, certain backward workers threatened to tear down the election posters for Foster and Ford and our leadership was for a time capitulating to this pressure instead of fighting for the line of the Party.

Instead of throwing the union and its membership wholeheartedly in the hunger march preparations, instead of convincing the membership of the need of struggle for relief and unemployment insurance, our union leadership not only failed in this but was actually in opposition to carrying on any struggle and was satisfied that "division of work" would solve the problem for the needle trades workers. *Thus during the entire period of the crisis the Boston Needle Trades Union failed completely to carry on any unemployment work whatever.*

Why was this possible? Only because our fraction did not function and did not carry on a struggle for the line of the Party in the union. Whenever meetings were held of the fraction the entire time was taken up discussing petty issues but the *District Bureau of the Party failed to give the necessary guidance to the political development of the fraction.* While the leading comrades in charge of the union must be called sharply to account for their failure to carry out the line of the Party and their opportunist line, it is necessary to state that the Organization Department of the District Committee (and this is true

in most districts) only checked up on the functioning of the units but forget to check up on the regular functioning of the trade union fractions. It would be in order to ask every district organizer and org. secretary in the respective districts, how many fraction meetings of the trade unions they participated in and helped to give political guidance guarding against opportunism which will develop in mass organizations unless firm Bolshevik guidance is assured.

In Lawrence the fractions failed to function in the textile union with the result, that all union policies were left in the hands of the organizer and no collective work was possible. This resulted in almost complete liquidation of the union as leader of economic struggles. In Paterson, N. J., the fraction in the textile union, while functioning weakly, made decisions in a mechanical manner and failed to understand the proper relationship between Communists and non-Party workers. Our comrades in the union meetings attempted to monopolize the floor on all questions and even on small insignificant issues insisted on speaking. It is necessary to understand that the Communists carry on a struggle on principal Party policies. But it is incorrect to decide mechanically on all problems of the union before the meetings of the union. The role of the fraction must be to carry into life the Party line through the trade unions—not in a mechanical manner but by understanding the importance of certain actions of the Party (hunger march, election campaign, etc.) linking up these issues with the every day grievances in the shops and the unemployed and convince the non-Party workers of the importance of such actions. Unless we do this we will not be able to mobilize these workers for our campaigns.

It is also of utmost importance, that the higher committees of the Party (district bureaus, section committees, etc.) discuss problems of the union, together with the representatives of the respective fractions, and work out concrete proposals for the fraction. This is particularly important in connection with national or district campaigns, so that the best possible results can be obtained and every member of the Party be mobilized for certain tasks within the union. That such decisions shall not be worked out by our Party section and district leadership without consulting with the comrades involved in the trade unions and mechanically shoved down their throats (as some times has been done) but all possible steps must be taken to convince these comrades of the correctness of the policy. This is necessary *so that the Communists will be able to act as an intelligent and collective body with firm discipline that can become the real leader of the masses organized in the trade unions and looked up to as such by the non-Party workers.*

ANDREW OVERGAARD.

Agit-Prop Work

“A Week In Detroit.”

THE Detroit district approached the commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the death of Karl Marx with a bang. They set aside the week of March 19 as a concentration week for the purpose of carrying through a series of classes and lectures in the theory of Marxism-Leninism. At the request of the district the Central Committee of our Party assigned me to this work. This week of concentration on the education in Marxian theory proved in my opinion, that although a week is a short time, the results obtained are of inestimable value. With little effort on the part of other districts such weeks could be carried through from time to time and help to strengthen our Party cadres.

The entire program consisted of a Marx Memorial Meeting on Sunday, March 19, five classes in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism every morning from eleven to one, and five public lectures on topics of Marxism-Leninism in the evenings. The latter were open to the public at large, while the classes were only for Party and League members, comrades chosen by each section.

The comrades in Detroit figured on twenty five to thirty students for the class, but the attendance was more than double. The average attendance was 62,—the maximum 69. The average political level of the comrades was not very high. Nevertheless, there was a good sprinkling of well developed comrades but who needed clarification on many problems. Due to the shortage of time, half or more than half of the time of the class had to be consumed in lecturing, a method which is not employed in courses of a longer duration. The questions and discussions which followed dealt very often with topics not directly pertaining to the subject of the class, but here we had to be flexible. Our aim was not to restrict them in the questions but rather give them an opportunity to ask any question which bothered them and thus get the information they wanted. The same line was pursued during the lectures at night.

The topics for the classes were:

- 1) The historical background of scientific Socialism, beginning with the end of the Eighteenth Century.
- 2) Dialectic materialism as the revolutionary philosophy of the working class.
- 3) The economic teachings of Marx and Engels.
- 4) The class struggle of today in the light of Marxism-Leninism.

At the first glance this program appears too ambitious,

but it was carried through with great success. This was due primarily to the fact that we simplified the subject-matter, by using the everyday language of the worker at the same time not over-simplified, because over-simplification very often leads to vulgarization and does not elevate the members. Our aim should be to make our explanations very simple at the same time teaching the comrades to understand certain terminology, certain scientific words and expressions. This can be done with the most difficult scientific subject. It was especially gratifying to see comrades who were considered raw material, come over and say: "Comrade Markoff, you made the subject so clear and simple that we understood everything and we have learned a lot."

The reason I state this in the article is to point out to our teachers, lecturers and speakers the importance of using a language simple enough for every worker to understand.

Literature used in connection with the classes consisted mainly of the *Communist Manifesto*, *Wage Labor and Capital*, the *State and Revolution*, the *Resolution of the Twelfth Plenum of the E. C. C. I.* and other similar pamphlets.

Many members of the classes discovered for the first time that there is much more to the *Communist Manifesto* than they thought there was. This is because they never really studied the document; they just "read" it.

These four lectures, though successful, mean very little if the work started should end abruptly. The District Agitprop Commission decided therefore, to continue with the educational work for six more weeks, once a week with the same studnets. It is also the aim to choose more advanced comrades and organize them into a special group for the purpose of training them as leaders for study groups, instructors for new members classes etc. In Detroit it is essential that such program be carried on with all seriousness. The Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party and the Proletarian Party are active in disseminating their distortions and misinterpretations of Marxism. Our comrades without a Marxian training are unable to combat those false theories. The composition of the class was, as far as I could judge in the short time, good.

The four public lectures were as follows:

1) The Paris Commune and the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state.

2) Marxian theory of crises.

3) Leninism as the further development of Marxism.

4) Social democracy, fascism and the struggle for Socialism.

The comrades attending the morning classes also attended the evening lectures thus getting additional information through the lectures. The attendance at the evening lectures was on an average of 200 to 250. A much larger attendance

could have been secured with the proper advertising. The comrades admitted that very little had been done and, whatever was done, was carried through three or four days prior to the beginning of the series. The greatest shortcoming however, in my opinion was the failure on the part of the comrades in Detroit to secure the attendance of a large number of the auto workers who participated in the recent strikes. Very few of those, if any, were present at the lectures. Greater effort should also have been made to bring Negro workers to the lectures. There were Negro men and women present, but not in sufficient numbers.

* * *

The lack of a central forum is a great shortcoming on the part of the Detroit district. The comrades stated that since the city authorities refused the Party the use of the High School building there was no central forum. There certainly are other halls besides the High School. Better a smaller place than none at all. While section forums are both necessary and desirable, the central forum must be established. The Workers Educational Association can help in hiring a hall and run the forums under its auspices. The John Reed Club and other organizations can cooperate. A Workers School similar to the one in New York, Chicago, Boston and other places must be established in Detroit. The Workers Educational Association discussed and has now worked out plans for such a school. The task now is to carry out these very excellent plans.

In an other issue of the *Party Organizer* we shall deal with this question more in detail.

The space will not permit to go into the discussion of other phases of agit-prop work in Detroit, this will have to be done at some future date. Generally speaking there are infinite possibilities in the district for the Party to become a real mass Party, the leader of the present struggles of the workers, farmers and the urban petty-bourgeoisie. It seems to me that the Party machinery needs lubrication, somehow the motion is too slow, the machine is clogged in many places. New forces must be developed and this must be done quickly. The elements are there, the masses are crying for leadership; the Party must take cognizance of this situation at once. We cannot permit ourselves the luxury of proceeding at a snail's pace. The tempo must be increased and the problems tackled in a real Bolshevik manner. Let us develop the Bolshevik style of work. Comrade Stalin characterizes this style of work as: a) revolutionary zeal, inspired by the Russian spirit; and b) businesslike practicability, inspired by American spirit. The combination of the two, says Comrade Stalin is essential to develop our style in work.

A. MARKOFF.

How District Two Stabilized Literature Distribution

UP to August 1, 1932, when the Org. Department of District 2 decided to really establish a Literature Department, the sections of this District were getting their literature directly from the publishers. The district gave practically no attention to this problem, giving little guidance to the sections and units on the sale of the literature, to help in developing further methods in the literature distribution.

In establishing the Literature Department, it was found, (1) that there was a lack of political understanding as to the role literature plays in our work; (2) that there were no literature committees functioning in the sections; (3) that practically no literature funds existed in the units; (4) there was no sale to mass organizations; and (5) there were no organizational attempts to sell at mass meetings, open-air meetings, etc.

A step in the direction of tackling the first problem, was made through articles in the *Daily*, explaining the value of literature. The section bureaus and committees were visited, and the unit agit-props were called to meetings, at which this problem was discussed. The literature directors of each section were called together. A plan and program of work was mapped out providing for the establishment of literature committees in each section, that each unit have a literature fund so as to be able to buy the literature for cash, and the issuance of a monthly bulletin explaining various ways and means of not only selling literature at unit meetings, but also at street meetings, mass meetings, house to house, etc. This bulletin also took up the question of the problem of raising money for literature funds, local experiences, and the use of literature to bring workers into the revolutionary movement.

Also, there was instituted a constant check-up on what each section was doing, how many pieces of theoretical and propaganda literature, and how many pieces of agitational literature were being sold, the amount in dollars, all of which was published every month and used as a sort of competitive chart among the various sections. In the case of a specific drive, for instance in the drive for election literature, prizes were awarded to the section selling the highest number of pieces in proportion to the membership of the section.

The main insistence of the District Literature Department was that the units sell outside their own unit meetings, using the cheaper pamphlets. The result of this was, that during the election campaign, over one quarter of a million election pamphlets were sold. Since the election campaign over 100,000

propaganda pamphlets were sold to those who had already read our more popular pamphlets.

Mass organizations were visited constantly and today we find a large number of individual branches and clubs with well-functioning literature departments, serving as a tremendous outlet for literature that had not been tapped before.

Every large meeting in the District is carefully planned and arrangements made not only as to the types of literature to be distributed, but also as to the efficient handling and distributing of it. Parades are also carefully organized in the same fashion.

As a further means of satisfying the demand for literature among the workers, the District, through the profits of sales, has financed the opening of section bookstores in Section 4 (Spanish Workers Center), and in Sections 5, 8, 9 and 12; that is, these places carry not only pamphlets but a full stock of theoretical books and proletarian novels.

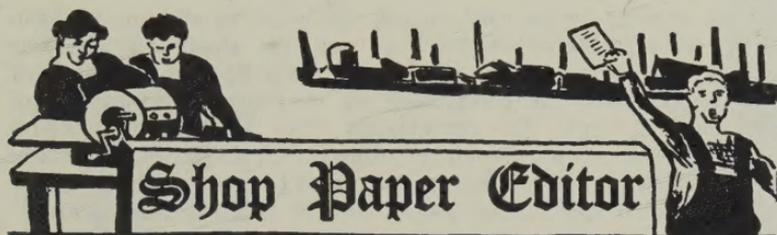
Because of the organization of an apparatus for the distribution of pamphlets, it is very easy to gauge the number of pamphlets of a given character that can be sold, and also the planning of an additional wider distribution is facilitated. For instance, it was possible to put out approximately 10,000 copies of the *Communist Manifesto* through this apparatus, and much easier to place the same amount of the History of May Day in a shorter period of time, and as issue after issue comes up, the extent of distribution will be greatly widened.

The sale of literature in the New York District has practically tripled both in the number of pieces and in dollars. The sale of the *Imprecor* has risen from approximately 500 a month to about 1500 to 1600 monthly. The sale of *The Communist* has risen from 700 to 1700. The *Party Organizer* has risen from 700 to 1200. While there has been improvement in the District Literature Department, there is no question that this is just scratching on the surface and that with the continual following up of the plan of work with a constant checking and re-checking of the sections and units, we can go much further in this tremendous field of organizational work for the movement than up to now.

One last thing we wish to point out, that it is quite possible to sell books through the sections and the units, and quite a good many of the Marxist-Leninist books ranging in price from \$1.00 to \$2.50, have been distributed, this serving as a means of further educating our Party membership.

Another last point is that there must be a constant checking and re-checking on all the decisions made in the Literature Department. Very little progress can be made unless this is done. Also, plans must always be made ahead of time so as to never allow a stagnant moment, for once things become settled, then a move is made backward instead of forward.

R. F.



HARVESTER WORKER, *March*, 1933. International Harvester Company, Chicago District.

A very attractively gotten out issue of the *Harvester Worker* is on hand. The issue contains some excellent features, particularly the article from a group of Soviet tractor workers, an item on the production of tractors for war, a number of articles by worker correspondents, and an article on Karl Marx.

The article from a Soviet Tractor Shop outlines the life of the workers in the tractor machinery plant, Krasny Aksai. The note calling upon the workers to write to the Krasny Aksai is good, but there should have been a short article explaining why it is possible for the Soviet workers to make these advances and counterpose their conditions with the conditions of the Harvester workers.

The article on the Detroit strike, while bringing forward that the automobile workers succeeded in defeating a 20 per cent wage-cut under the leadership of the Auto Workers Union, does not draw the necessary lessons for the workers in the plant. It is not sufficient to merely report that the workers in Detroit succeeded in winning their demands. It is necessary to point out the lessons from this struggle for the Harvester workers and how they, too, can defeat the cuts taking place by organization and struggle. From this standpoint the paper confuses the various forms of organization to be established in the shop. We find, for instance, a call to organize in the departments, a call to build the Sheet Metal Trade Union (?) and the joining of the T.U.U.L.

It is necessary to differentiate in the articles between the union and the united front action committees to be established in the departments. Furthermore, the T.U.U.L. does not recruit individual members. We should explain the role of the T.U.U.L. as the revolutionary trade union center.

An outstanding shortcoming of the paper is the fact that while it is issued by the nucleus of the Party, there is not a mention of the Party in the entire paper. In essence the paper although issued by the Party, has become a trade union organ. While the Party shop paper should deal with the immediate problems of the workers, show the workers how to fight against their conditions, at the same time it must contain an explana-

tion of broader issues confronting the workers and on the basis of the experiences of the workers, convince them that the program of the Party is the only correct program for the workers. This necessitates the connecting up of every immediate issue with our struggle for proletarian rule as the only means through which to permanently improve the material conditions of the workers. Such systematic propaganda articles would differentiate a Party shop paper from a trade union organ.

The Twelfth Plenum of the Communist International emphasized the necessity of improving and intensifying the propaganda of the Party on the "principles of Communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet State." This as yet is not a factor in the shop paper. The article on Karl Marx could have been utilized as a means of bringing forward some of the programmatic questions, but the article does not explain any of the basic revolutionary teachings of Marx.

What about an article in the paper on the Roosevelt anti-working class program? There is not a mention of this in the paper.

J. & L. WORKER, *March*, 1933. J. & L. Steel Company, District Five.

The third issue of the *J. & L. Worker* is at hand, issued by the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union. It contains articles on the necessity of fighting the coming wage-cut, for the increase in unemployment relief for the part-time workers, and a whole series of letters from worker-correspondents as well as an article drawing the lessons from the Detroit strike for the steel workers. The *J. & L. Worker* is the first paper received that contains an article on the "new deal" of the Roosevelt government. This is good and should be followed up in the coming issues by taking up concretely the various phases of the Roosevelt program.

A weakness of the shop paper is that while it contains a number of letters exposing the conditions in the various departments of the factory, these articles are still too general and are not used to arouse action on the part of the workers. It is not sufficient to tell the workers to organize a delegation to go to the company. It is necessary to show the workers how such a delegation can be organized and how it was organized in other plants. The partial struggles in the shop and in other plants should be reflected in the paper.

While placing in the forefront the building of the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, the paper should stress the necessity of building the united front action committees in the departments. This is not done in this issue. The union should come forward through the shop paper with a call to the workers in the factory to establish the unity of the workers as the only means of combatting the coming wage-cuts, the cuts in relief, etc.