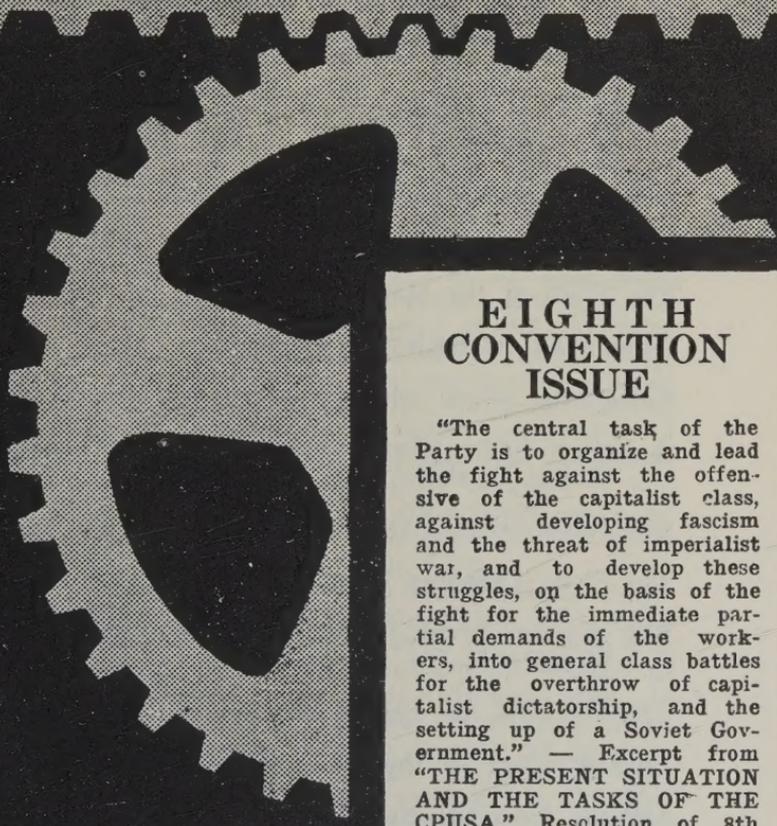


# Party Organizer



## EIGHTH CONVENTION ISSUE

"The central task of the Party is to organize and lead the fight against the offensive of the capitalist class, against developing fascism and the threat of imperialist war, and to develop these struggles, on the basis of the fight for the immediate partial demands of the workers, into general class battles for the overthrow of capitalist dictatorship, and the setting up of a Soviet Government." — Excerpt from "THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE CPUSA," Resolution of 8th National Convention CPUSA.

---

Vol. VII.

MAY—JUNE, 1934

No. 5—6

---

*Issued by*

**CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY U. S. A.**

---

---

# CONTENTS

●

Organizational Work Decides Everything .....	1
Facts and Material on Organizational Status, Problems, and Organizational Tasks of the Party	5
> The Work of the Steel Unit in the Main Mill of Concentration .....	19
The Steel and Metal Workers Union in New York	22
Y. C. L. Concentration in a Cleveland Mill .....	24
The Work of the Marine Union .....	26
Communist Activities in Baltimore .....	30
Communist Work Among the Illinois Miners .....	34
A Young Negro Communist Becomes the Leader of White Workers .....	36
The Revolutionary Unions in the New York District	39
The Share Croppers Union Grows and Fights .....	44
The United Front Policy Wins Militant Socialist Workers to the Party .....	49
The Work of the Textile Unions .....	52
Concentration in the Chicago Stockyards.....	55
Lessons from the Needle Trades .....	57
Organize the Farm Women .....	59
The League of Struggle for Negro Rights in Harlem	60
Eighth Convention Decided Upon Recruitment Campaign .....	63

---

---

# PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. VII.

May-June, 1934

No. 5-6

## Organizational Work Decides Everything

By EARL BROWDER

(Closing Remarks at the Eighth Convention of the C.P.U.S.A.)

OUR PARTY has grown materially in membership and politically in its grasp of politics and theory in the period since the Seventh Convention. We have become more a real leader of struggles. We have led successful strikes, unemployed movements, farmers, activities, movements of middle class elements. Through our activities since the Seventh Convention, four years ago, we have extended our basic capital of revolutionary experience and theory. But we made many mistakes, and many mistakes we made twice and three times, because of lack of sufficient understanding of the class relations in the country and the meaning of each particular struggle and situation. The only remedy for that is more systematic approach to the problem of mastery on a larger scale by a growing body of our cadres of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party is largely new. The Credentials Committee report read to you showed 66 delegates to this Convention joined the Party since the Open Letter, since our Extraordinary Party Conference. A majority of our Party members are less than two years in the Party.

There is no miracle whereby workers become Marxist-Leninists by taking out a card in our Party. They will become Bolsheviks only to the extent that the Party organization sees to it that every Party member is interested in the study of this question as an essential part of the daily mass work. If every member is made to understand that the study of theory is not something which merely has to do with the improvement of his intellectual level, but is the forging of the weapons of struggle which have to be used every day in the fight, then we can not only train our membership but by training them we keep them in the Party and solve the problem of fluctuation and multiply manifold the force of the Party among the masses.

Bolshevism is a science and to master it we must study it. Study is a necessity of our Party life. We have excellent cadres that have come to us out of the struggles that we organized and led, have been developed by these struggles. In

all the ordinary questions of life these are far more practical and efficient than our 'old guard,' but they still lack something. They haven't been equipped with that something beyond their own experience, with the tremendous treasury of the experiences of the entire world working class movement. That is what we must give them. When we give them that, we will have the force which will make the revolution in America and not before.

A main immediate and practical task before us is the question of the Daily Worker and its mass circulation. Every district and section of our Party must set itself the task of giving the Daily Worker a mass circulation, a task that can be carried out during the year 1934 which by the end of the year will give us a minimum circulation, to be a little conservative, of 75,000. This means to a little more than double the present circulation of the Daily Worker. Can that be done? I'm sure it can. I'm sure every district committee will agree that it can be done. If we put this question seriously throughout the Party it will be done. It must be done if we are in earnest about any of our tasks. Without that, the rest of all that we say and write becomes so much chattering.

Similarly with building our Party membership. Is it too much to say that we should have 50,000 members by the end of 1934? If you think it is too much we will compromise and say 40,000. But at least 40,000 memers.

These tasks, Daily Worker, membership, these are not tasks which will take us away from the mass work of the Party. These will not interfere with our preparations for making May Day the greatest day of struggle that has ever been seen in America. In fact I don't see how we will make May Day a success unless we use the Daily Worker, especially the May Day special edition. I think that May Day will be something of a failure for us if we don't recruit many new members out of it. Similarly, with the preparations for Anti-War Day on August 1.

Just a few words on the strong sides and the weak sides of our Convention which expresses the whole life of the Party. The Convention shows that the Party has grown. That is fine. Everybody feels good about that. But what about our fluctuation, and what about the hundreds of thousands ready for us whom we have not reached, and are not yet seriously trying to reach? The Convention does not show enough determination to remedy this weakness. If the figures of our growth cause any feeling of self-satisfaction, then it would be better to keep quiet about them.

The Convention shows the Party is leading struggles everywhere. Good! That is the strong side of our Party, it is a fighting Party, it is in daily struggles. But the Convention also shows very important places where the workers are fight-

ing, where strike movements are rising, where all the forces of capitalism are brought to bear to prevent these struggles—and we are not there, or there so weakly that our influence is not yet a decisive factor in helping the working class to break through. That is the weak side of our Party in this Convention. Why haven't we been able to go forward at the head of these 200,000 auto workers who are burning with the desire to fight? Here we are weak. We haven't solved this problem yet. What is true of auto is true of many other key points. Our Convention shows, as one of its strong sides, the improving composition of our Party as a result of concentration, of leadership of struggles, of going into the factories, of beginning work in the A. F. of L., of building the militant trade unions, of winning Negroes, etc., but it also shows that we have only begun serious work in this respect. In many localities we have not yet a single important factory that we can call our stronghold. When we speak of our Party being the leader of these struggles, through our improving cadres, at the same time we must say our Convention discussion is still too much merely reporting on these struggles, not drawing the lessons of these struggles—the good lessons and the bad ones. We do not enough draw the conclusions, the directives that must be formulated from these experiences—the directives for ourselves as to how we must work better, and the directives for the masses as to how they must fight more effectively to win these struggles. The Party has a correct line of struggle against all varieties of social-fascism. That is good! We can be glad of that. But the discussions in this Convention have not enough shown that we are carrying on a stubborn unrelenting struggle every day among the masses against the concrete manifestations of this enemy ideology, in the midst of these mass struggles that we are leading. We could carry this analysis of our strong and weak points through a long list. And we must do this. We must have a perpetual and continually renewing self-examination of our work, a searching out of every weak point and finding the way to remedy it.

It is not sufficient to have a correct Party line. On this point I can't do better than to read what Comrade Stalin said at the recent Seventeenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. These words of Comrade Stalin must become a directive for our daily work. They are meant for us just as much as they are meant for the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union. Comrade Stalin said:

**"Some people think that it is sufficient to draw up a correct Party line, proclaim it from the housetops, enunciate it in the form of general thesis and resolutions and carry them unanimously in order to make victory come of itself, automatically, so to speak. This, of course, is wrong. Those who think like that are greatly mistaken. Only incorrigible**

bureaucrats and office rats can think that. As a matter of fact these successes and victories were obtained, not automatically, but as a result of a fierce struggle to carry out the Party line. Victory never comes by itself, it has to be dragged by the hand. Good resolutions and declarations in favor of the general line of the Party are only a beginning, they merely express the desire to win, but it is not victory. After the correct line has been given, after a correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on the manner in which the work is organized, on the organization of the struggle for the application of the line of the Party, on the proper selection of workers, on supervising the fulfillment of the decisions of the leading organs. Without this the correct line of the Party and the correct solutions are in danger of being severely damaged. More than that, after the correct political line has been given, the organizational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, i.e., its success or failure."

Comrades, this must be the keynote of our Convention also. This must be the leading thought in all our work throughout the Party, throughout the mass organizations. We have the beginnings of this spirit in our Party. As an example I may mention that yesterday I received a little resolution that came from that shop nucleus I talked about in my report. This resolution declares the nucleus has met and discussed the fact that the National Convention of the Party is examining the work of this nucleus. The nucleus declares that this creates in them a feeling of great responsibility, and as a result they have come together and worked out control tasks for the next three months, to increase the number of Party members in the shop by so many, increase the circulation of the Daily Worker by so many, and so on and so on. This is an application of the line of Comrade Stalin's speech that I just read to you. (Applause.)

Comrades, I think I have said enough. The work of our Convention has revealed to all of us that we have a Party stronger than we ever knew. We have a Party that already has forces capable of doing tremendous things in the United States. If we haven't done these things already, it is not the fault of these forces we have; it is only because we are still so badly organized, and because we who lead the Party are still not the kind of leaders that we must be. This Convention has revealed such forces which we must properly use to seriously carry out among the masses more practical everyday work, collectively organized, collectively criticized, collectively checked up on, tightening our organization, cementing its unity, fighting against and eliminating every deviation, raising the theoretical level of the Party, always and everywhere in the forefront of the rising struggle of the masses. If we do this,

if we make use of these tremendous opportunities revealed to us here in this Convention, comrades, then we can be sure that in a short time we will be a mass Party in the United States; we will be leading serious class battles in this country; we will be challenging the power of American imperialism; we will be seriously preparing the American workers for their revolutionary tasks. (Prolonged applause.)

---

## Facts and Material on Organizational Status, Problems, and Organizational Tasks of the Party

PREPARED FOR 8TH NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
APRIL 2-8, 1934.

By National Org. Dept.

**T**HE examination of the present organizational status of the Party and the review of our organizational work and experiences since the 7th Convention must be judged by the degree to which we have been able to root the Party in the basic industries, to recruit the workers from large concentration plants and to what degree the lower Party organizations have displayed initiative and ability to organize and lead mass struggles of the decisive sections of the American proletariat, principally in the shops.

The present report will show the main organizational gains: improved methods of work as well as the major organizational defects in our structure and day-to-day work.

The organizational problems of our Party deal with the organization of all our available forces for the execution of the line of the Party as outlined in the Open Letter and the main resolution of the 8th Convention. The past four years since the 7th Convention clearly prove that one of our greatest weaknesses lies in the organization of our work, disposition of our forces, development of new cadres and the consolidation of our mounting influence. Consequently, the organizational problems demand our major attention and become a decisive factor in the further growth of the Party.

Comrade Stalin, in reporting to the 17th Congress of the C.P.S.U., clearly characterized the role of organization in carrying out the line of the Party in the following words:

“Good resolutions and declarations in favor of the general line of the Party are only a beginning, they merely express the desire to win, but it is not victory. After the correct line has been given, after a correct

solution of the problem has been found, success depends on the manner in which the work is organized, on the organization of the struggle for application of the line of the Party, in the proper selection of workers, on supervising the fulfillment of the decisions of the leading organs. Without this the correct line of the Party and the correct solutions are in danger of being severely damaged. More than that, after the correct political line has been given, the organizational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, i.e., its success or failure."

#### **Main Organizational Advances.**

The increased improvement in the mass work of the Party since the 7th Convention has reflected itself in substantial organizational growth and inner improvement in the ranks of the Party. The following chart illustrates the rise in dues payment since the 7th Convention:

1930	7,500
1931	9,257
1932	14,475
1933	19,165
1934 (April)	23,467

This increase in dues payments, which roughly represents 90% of the registered Party membership, took place during the four hardest years of the crisis, a period in which millions of workers were engaged in militant struggles against the attacks of the bourgeoisie, large sections of which were under our leadership; a period which contained all the objective conditions for the transformation of our Party into a mass Communist Party. During this period in which we tripled our membership we witnessed a fluctuation of about 65%.

#### **Dues Payments**

The 7th Convention introduced the weekly dues payments. The last four years have fully confirmed the soundness of this measure resulting in raising the percentage of those paying dues from 75% to 90%.

#### **Penetration of New Territories**

The above figures should be understood in the light of the fact that a large proportion of the gains were made as a result of penetration of new territories. Since the 7th Convention, five new districts and more than 100 new sections have been established.

#### **New Shop Nuclei**

The detailed analysis of the present membership will be dealt with later on. The above gains, however, indicate a growth in shop nuclei from:

1930 — 64 Shop Nuclei, with 571 members  
to

1934 — 338 Shop Nuclei, with 2,355 members

The foregoing facts and figures roughly show the quantitative growth of the Party since the 7th Convention. In addition, there has been a considerable improvement in quality. Especially since the Extraordinary Party Conference of July 1933, more serious attention and activity of the Party has been directed to the factories and to basic industry, resulting in the growth of a number of shop nuclei, shop papers, strike struggles and union activity in many industries. These first steps towards serious work and attention to concentration raise many new organizational problems hitherto unsolved because in the past, the Party has paid scant and only general attention to shop nuclei and factory work.

\* \* \* \* \*

The period since the 7th Convention has shown a great increase in the authority, ability, and the initiative of the District Committees and Section Committees of the Party. In most of the Districts a more stable and experienced local leadership has been developed, capable of handling the main problems confronting the Party.

The methods of leadership and guidance to the lower Party organizations are being improved. The leading committees are systematically trying to replace the old form of universal circular leadership with personal guidance, frequent conferences, and special directives based on knowledge of the local situation. The Central Committee and District Committee leaders spend more time in the field and thereby give greater and more practical assistance to the lower organizations. The shifting of forces from place to place has been considerably reduced giving the leading comrades a better opportunity to grasp the situation and follow up the developments and activities in their territories. There has also been some improvement in the work of the fractions in mass organizations.

The Central Committee has paid greater attention to org problems, combatting a whole series of incorrect approaches to and conceptions of the organizational problems. The most serious of these tendencies were the bureaucratic efforts to solve the org. problems through schematic regulation of inner Party structure along universal and inflexible lines, rules and regulations, and the tendencies to separate the org problems from mass work on grounds that a perfect inner apparatus had to be established before successful mass activities could be organized. These incorrect conceptions became the source of a whole series of bureaucratic practices aimed to regulate every step and activity of the lower organizations through weekly org letters and circulars. This acted as a bar-

rier to the development of local initiative and healthy inner life of the Party organization. To this end the Central Committee has called special conferences, sent out org instructors, raised the org problems in the main political reports, established the "Party Life" column in the Daily Worker, stabilized the regular publication of "The Party Organizer" and increased its circulation.

The above improvements have not yet been fully incorporated into the life and structure of the entire Party. They, nevertheless, show a definite trend.

### Main Organizational Defects in Shop Work

The improvements in the organizational work of the Party are not reflected to the same extent in shop work, stability of shop nuclei and the general Party activities in the large plants of basic industries. This constitutes our basic organizational weakness and arises directly from the equally grave political weakness which still persists in the Party. The Open Letter states:

"Because in the Party, and particularly among the leading cadres, there is deep-going lack of political understanding of the necessity for strengthening our basis among the decisive sections of the American workers. From this follows the fact that the leadership of the Party has not adhered to a fixed course for overcoming the main weaknesses of the Party, allows itself to be driven by events, and does not work out carefully with the comrades of the lower organizations ways and means for the carrying through of resolutions checking up on their execution. The result is that we talk about factory and trade union work in countless resolutions, without carrying this work out."

That this grave weakness has not yet been fully overcome is illustrated by a whole series of facts.

The growth of shop nuclei has been slower than the general growth of the Party until the improvement of the last 8 months following the Open Letter.

At the time of the Extraordinary Party Conference, the shop nuclei membership comprised 4% of the total membership. While an improvement has taken place since (at present over 9%) there are as yet no serious indications that the new shop nuclei will remain and develop into live dynamic factors in the large plants where they have been established. This is further illustrated by the fact that no serious growth of membership has been registered in the Concentration Nuclei and that the general increase in nuclei membership is the result of organization of new shop nuclei and not the result of work of the previously existing nuclei.

Of the 338 shop nuclei, only 47 issue shop papers, many of which have a very small circulation; some are very poor

papers and many come out irregularly. Most of our shop nuclei are isolated and restrict their activity to weekly unit meetings and issuance of shop papers.

Our shop nuclei, on the whole, have not become sensitive to issues in the shops and moods of the workers because they have not learned to overcome the obstacles of semi-legal and illegal work and to work effectively even under the conditions of terror in the shops.

The shop nuclei receive but scant attention from the main functionaries who plan and organize the bulk of their work to suit the needs and activities of street nuclei which still comprise over 80% of the number of units.

Lack of political attention to the shop nuclei creates a narrow routine conception of shop work which lacks the perspective of utilizing the semi-legal groups as the spearhead of a movement that can break through the company terror into open mass work and mass recruiting for unions and the Party and the preparation of the workers for the proletarian revolution.

The tendencies against issuing of Party shop papers, the tendencies to transform Party shop papers into union papers and the tendencies to hide the face and program of the Party in the shops arises from the failure of our shop nuclei to understand their revolutionary role and purpose, and from their failure to grow and develop serious work.

Our shop units do not conduct a sustained and systematic exposure of A. F. of L. union bureaucrats and with some recent exceptions, have not learned how to develop united front actions in the plants where independent and reformist unions exist side by side with the red unions.

The Analysis Chart of Shop Nuclei for 1934 gives a number of interesting figures:

Of the 338 Shop Nuclei,  
154 are in basic industries.

Of the total Shop Nuclei membership of 2,355,  
1,323 are in the basic industry shop nuclei,  
which shows an average size of 8.6 per shop  
nucleus in basic industries.

There are a total of 350,769 workers in the plants in which we have our shop nuclei. Of these, about 36,000 are organized in trade unions and divided as follows:

9,579 in Revolutionary Unions  
5,427 in Independent Unions  
21,823 in Reformist Unions

The statistics however, leave out much vital information. For instance, we do not clearly see how long the nucleus is established and its history which would indicate the rise of its influence on the basis of its work. This is especially important when we recall the fact that the Pittsburgh Dis-

trict reported 125 mine nuclei in 1931, all of which disappeared within a few months.

The review of the history of many hundreds of other shop nuclei would reveal similar examples of instability and fluctuation.

The statistics further leave out our role in the unions. They do not reveal the activity of the nuclei in the factories, and the degree of influence of the units in their shops and the growth of this influence.

The statistics also reveal the comparisons of 1933, the time of the Open Letter and the improvement since the Open Letter up to February 1934. The figures show clearly that the most important improvement has taken place since the Open Letter.

The shop nuclei have been tripled in the last 8 months since the Open Letter from 111 to 338. However, in the basic industries, they have been little more than doubled, having grown from 68 to 154, and the membership in these nuclei has grown in a little better proportion, from 459 to 1,323. The same period since the Open Letter shows a rise of only 11 new shop papers.

There are only a few shop nuclei among the 338 that have really become a force in the shops. With one or two exceptions (Sparrows Point Steel, Majestic Metal) these are in the light industries. The shop nuclei that have shown how to influence, lead and organize the workers in their respective factories have been those that received serious day-to-day assistance from Party leaders and Party Committees. This gives the key to the immediate organizational steps necessary for the stabilization and growth of our shop units into real live and dynamic factors in the shops.

### Concentration

The little improvement in the main District concentration plants is another illustration of the fact that the essence and the decisiveness of factory work is not fully appreciated by our leading forces, and that serious attention is not yet given to the concentration plants. The fact that we have shop nuclei in large concentration plants which do not issue Party shop papers, that do not speak to the workers in these shops, is one symptom of this serious neglect of this main work of our Party.

Leading comrades who are assigned to concentration work must carry out these concentration tasks unconditionally, first and foremost, without any exception. These comrades must at all times resist the pressure of all other tasks until the main—the concentration—task is fulfilled.

The concentration shop nucleus must be made the living example of how the Party organization works and grows in the factory. The Shop Nucleus and its shop paper shall

serve as a guide to all shop units in the district. This can only be done by the personal efforts of the best leaders of the Party and by the conscious collective efforts of the Party Committee.

While the main work and the initiative for all activity in and around the shop shall rest with the shop nuclei, under the immediate guidance of the leading comrades, it is of decisive importance that the best forces of the unions shall also be directed to the union shop groups, union shop locals and opposition groups in other unions inside the plant.

This is especially important in the huge steel plants like the T.C.I.—Jones & Laughlin, Republic Steel, the main auto plants, Ford, General Motors, etc., as well as in the largest key mines and railroad shops. It is precisely in these huge plants that the company union are the strongest, the spy system is most extensive, the workers possess the least organizational background and the general problems of shop organization and shop activity are the most difficult at the beginning. This requires that our best Party workers be assigned to develop the individual members of the shop unit and direct the educational work of the unit. It requires that our best organizers and most experienced Party leaders assist the shop nucleus in the solution of the difficult problems of work and organization in the shop—(editing the shop paper, meeting with groups of sympathizers, meetings with workers of various language groups, arranging forums, lectures, mass meetings, demonstrations and struggles on living conditions, sale of the Daily Worker, distribution of literature, raising of finances, as well as social and cultural activities in the neighborhoods where the workers live). It is necessary that the best forces from the fractions in the mass organizations like the Unemployment Councils, ILD, LSNR, IWO, language organizations, etc., are also assigned to the territories around the main concentration factories. The entire Party and the revolutionary movement should be made politically conscious of the reasons and purposes of our concentration in the given key plants. The fact that our main concentration plants are actually the most decisive production units in the given cities and industries and play a decisive role in the economic life of the community should make this relatively easy. It is necessary that the link between the owners of these plants and the political administration of the government bodies is clearly established and that the role of these plants in war preparations and war production be explained.

Only through a thorough concentration of all sections of our movement (Party, union, mass organizations) upon the most important concentration points will we be able to fulfill the task put before us by the Open Letter and the 8th Convention.

### Growth of the Party

At the time of the 7th Convention of our Party, and throughout 1930, the dues-paying membership averaged 7,545—this despite the fact that during the same period the recruitment into the Party netted 6,000 new members. At the end of the year, the Central Committee characterized the situation in the following way:

“In spite of the successful recruiting drive of the last year and the steady, although very slow recruiting of new members during the period since then, the numerical strength of the Party remains about the same.”

Let us examine the facts since the 7th Convention and see whether we succeeded in changing the situation. Chart B shows the actual average dues-paying membership of the whole Party and also the number of members our Party would have now, if we would have retained all those who applied for membership during this period.

Since 1930 we recruited 49,050 members. Together with the membership of 7,545 in 1930, this makes a total of 56,595 (March 1934). However, the actual dues-paying membership in the first quarter of 1934 averaged somewhat over 24,000—a gain of about only 16,500 in the last three years. For the same period 33,000 members dropped out of the Party.

No doubt, this figure is somewhat exaggerated. In the past (particularly in 1930 and 1931), those who signed application cards were considered new recruits, irrespective whether they were or were not assigned to a unit. Later on, the number of new recruits was gauged by the number of initiation stamps sold. But also this gauge is not fully correct, because hundreds of workers who have paid their initiation fees have never received their membership books and never actually became members of the Party. How large these two categories are, is difficult to ascertain.

For example, the New York District in 1933 issued more than 500 Party books after receiving initiation fees. The books, however, never reached the applicants. If we bear in mind that the New York District is one of the best in assigning members, where the unit bureaus function much better than in most districts, we can imagine what proportion we lost in this category of recruits all over the Party.

Another interesting example from the Philadelphia District: Here is a letter from a worker who applied for membership and paid his initiation fee:

“Dear Comrades:

“Almost a year ago, at the May Day Demonstration in 1933, in Baltimore, I decided to join the Communist Party. I didn't even have the fifteen cents to pay my registration fee, but two other comrades gave me the money, so I paid the fee and sent in my application card. May Day is almost

here again, comrades, and still I have no Party membership book. At first I thought that it was taking time for the book to come through from the District. But after waiting some time, I began going to some of the leading comrades about it, but even when I got quite excited about not getting my book, the Organizational Secretary and the Sec. Organizer just put me off or told me not to yell, that it wasn't their fault. Some time ago, I sent in a new application, and still, although the Section is supposed to have been reorganized, still the book has never come."

Finally, on March 4, 1934, this comrade received his book—a reward for his persistency. But this is a very exceptional case. Most of the workers wait until they begin to suspect that the Party does not want them, and then simply give up. How many thousands of these "new members" are among the 33,000 who were "lost" to the Party?

The following table is an approximate analysis of the fluctuation in our Party:

In the period of	No. recruited	Increased dues av. in ½ year follow- ing this period	Fluctuation
1931—July-Dec.	7,301	3,679	50%
1932—Jan.-June	11,498	1,539	77%
1932—July-Dec.	7,322	2,339	68%
1933—Jan.-June	8,065	2,351	71%
1933—July-Dec.	9,240	4,371	53%

In this period we recruited 43,426 members and increased the number of dues-paying members by only 15,197. The fluctuation for the whole period being about 65%. In the last 6 months of 1933 there has been a steady decrease in fluctuation, reaching the comparatively low figure of 53%. The tendency in 1934 shows a more decisive improvement. However, the fluctuation is still great, and we must use all our energy to completely wipe it out. To accomplish this we must make a fundamental change in the activities and life of our units. The directives of the 14th Plenum Resolution that "nine-tenths of all our work of the lower organizations must be concentrated directly on the work among the masses and not as at present, in countless inner meetings" still holds good for many units today. To fulfill these tasks the Party units must be basically transformed from narrow inner circles into live, political bodies, alert and sensitive to the needs of the workers, discussing their grievances and how the units can initiate, develop and lead the struggles of the workers around these grievances.

"...the Party must carry on a systematic struggle against the bureaucratic isolation of the apparatus from the Party masses, against the suppression of inner Party democracy, for the development of political life in the lower organizations, particularly in the

factory nuclei, for the development of thorough-going self-criticism, for the development of the initiative in our lower organizations for the improvement of its functioning cadres. Every Party member, and especially every Party functionary, must be a real organizer of mass struggles in his particular sphere of work." (Open Letter).

This paragraph in the Open Letter still remains our guide for changing the inner life of the units. Mass activity, functioning unit bureaus, guided personally by the higher committees, highly developed initiative of the lower organizations, improved political life, activation of every Party member, without overburdening anybody, the mobilization and activation of the widest circle of sympathizers around the units, in the shops, in the neighborhoods, around the fractions in the unions and other mass organizations, will not only help us to overcome the fluctuation but will also immeasurably improve and raise the recruiting capacity of the Party.

### Recruiting

A study of Chart C will show that mass recruiting into the Party took place chiefly as a result of special recruiting drives, and not as a daily, systematic activity in the course of carrying on mass work. Divorcing the recruiting of new members from the daily mass work of our Party in the shops and neighborhoods, is in a large measure responsible for the tremendous fluctuation.

One or two examples will illustrate our approach to recruiting. In February and March 1932, the period of a special recruiting drive, over 2,600 new members per month came into the Party. While in the following months (no special drive) the number of recruits dropped almost 50%. Of the members recruited in the special drive in 1932 we retained only 28.5%. In the latter part of 1933, and beginning of 1934, there has been a considerable improvement in the methods of recruiting. More recruiting took place as a direct result of the mass work of the Party. Result—more systematic and steady recruitment and the retaining of 55% of the new members.

Let us compare the composition of the new members recruited in the drive of 1930 with that of 1933-34. In 1930, out of 6,167 new members recruited in 4 months, 4,219 were analyzed and in 1933-34, out of 7,825 new members recruited in four months, 7,215 were analyzed.

Below is the comparison:

	1930	Per Cent	1934	Per Cent
Steel, Metal	331	7.8%	596	8.3%
Marine	87	2.0	183	2.5
Textile	95	2.2	95	1.3

Mining	314	4.1	437	6.0
Railroad	14	.3	110	1.5
Auto	750	10.6	190	2.6
Proletarians	3,846	90.5	6,651	92.1
Women	162	3.8	1,234	17.1
Women in Industry			553	7.6
Negro	934	22.0	944	13.0
Native			3,769	52.2
A. F. of L.			821	11.3
Revolutionary Unions			1,172	16.2
Average Age	36 years			
Employed			2,778	38.4

The comparison indicates a few basic weaknesses; first of all, the proportionately small number of Negroes recruited this year. In 1930, Districts 2, 6, 7, 8 recruited over 630 Negroes. In the recent drive (1933-34) these same districts recruited less than 400 Negroes. Out of the total recruits in the 1930 drive in the Cleveland District, 38% were Negroes. In 1934, the percentage dropped to 17%. The number of Negroes recruited into the Party for 1930 in Detroit exceeds the entire total of new members in the same District in the recent drive. Another weak point is the small number of auto workers recruited. For example, in 1930, Detroit recruited 750 auto workers in four months. But in four months of the recent drive, Detroit recruited only 113 auto workers.

The mass actions of the period under examination (1931-34) such as strike waves, unemployed struggles, Hunger March, Presidential election campaign, etc., insufficiently increased the recruitment into the Party. For example, at the beginning of 1932 we recruited more members per month than in the heat of the Presidential election activities of the same year.

The reasons for the inadequate recruiting are indicated in the Draft Resolution of the Central Committee to the Convention. Some of the chief reasons are: hiding the face of the Party, not bringing the Party sufficiently forward in the shops, neighborhoods, and in the mass organizations, not bringing out clearly the revolutionary role of the Party as the leader of the toiling masses, the role of the Party in unions, strikes, unemployed struggles, insufficient explanation of the Party's program for the overthrow of the capitalist system as the final solution to the economic and political problems of the working class and all toiling masses.

### Party Structure

The organizational status and problems concerning the shop nuclei have been dealt with in the previous sections of this document. Here we will limit our observations to other

organizational problems than shop nuclei. Since the 7th Convention the number of Districts has increased from 16 to 20. Great empires like District 10 with Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah,—more than one-third of the whole United States, and twice as large as France, Germany, England and Italy combined—was divided into three districts, and the fourth one was organized recently. The old District 10 was divided into Districts 10, 19, 20 and 21, with still too much territory in all of these districts. District 8 was split into Districts 8 and 18, and now we organized a third District from this territory—District 21. District 2 gave up the New Jersey territory which became District 14.

Even at present we find that all of our important districts and sections still cover enormous territories exceeding in area some of the large European countries. Important sections, such as mining sections in Utah and New Mexico are 700 to 800 miles from the District Center. A similar situation exists with respect to important industrial centers and nuclei, inasmuch as they are separated by great distances from section headquarters. Sections today number more than 200—more than twice as many as in 1930. But the sections are still too large. There are units springing up in many places but because they cannot get connections with any Party committee they disappear. In New York City, we have sections with 700 to 800 members. We have one section in New York with 39 shop and building nuclei, and 15 street nuclei—altogether 54 units, to which the section must give leadership and guidance.

This organizational structure of our Party with huge territories containing very important industrial centers, and with manifold problems, makes it very difficult, if not impossible, to give personal leadership to the organization in these centers.

It is quite evident that it is impossible to let these sections and units function without receiving personal guidance and attention from higher Party committees. In this connection, we must also consider a lot of very important problems—the possibility of semi-legal or illegal situations. It would not be possible under such circumstances to work on the basis of sending circular letters to lower organizations. The need for personal guidance and continuous personal contact with the lower organizations will be much greater. All of these considerations lead us to one inevitable conclusion, i.e., that we must split up the present huge territories in the districts and sections.

In considering the question of splitting the districts and sections, certain basic conditions must be taken into account:

1. Proper industrial basis for the New Party organizations;

2. The possibility of maintaining with the least difficulty personal contact with the lower organizations;
3. To parallel the electoral districts, as far as possible, with state borders for districts, and Congressional Election Districts for the sections;
4. Strength of Party organizations (number of units, number of members, mass organizations, influence of Party, Daily Worker circulation, etc.);
5. Available forces for leadership, etc.

Such reorganization of districts and sections will unquestionably lead to the development of many new leading forces, will create the conditions for more self-initiative, will enable the leading committees to give more personal leadership and to keep in more close contact with the lower organizations in the shops and territories, will make it more possible for the leading committees to react to political problems, to exercise a closer check-up on the carrying out of decisions, will transform the Party organization into a more flexible instrument that will be able to adapt itself to semi-legal and illegal situations.

\* \* \* \* \*

The number of cities with Party organizations is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as many as in 1930 (an increase from 200 to about 500). But we have to bear in mind that the Daily Worker reaches about 1,400 cities every day and about 1,700 every Saturday. We have 1,000 cities in the United States where the Daily Worker, our agitator and organizer, reaches workers every day; but because of the weak section committees and huge territories, we were not able to reach these towns, to build the Party.

\* \* \* \* \*

There are not facts at hand about the YCL organizations in 1930. This is the first time the Party districts reported to the Center on this problem. But only the most youth-conscious districts sent in their reports. Out of the 20 districts and three independent sections only 14 reported on YCL Street Units, and 9 on YCL Shop Nuclei. But even these reports are very incomplete. According to these reports, we have about 33 YCL Shop Units with 177 members and about 350 Street Units with 3,500 members. If we consider the fact that the Party has units in 338 factories, and that there are only 33 YCL Shop Units, then we must realize that there is something basically wrong in our approach to the problems of the young workers in the factories and

the Party has failed to recognize the importance of building the YCL.

\* \* \* \* \*

The number of street nuclei increased four times since the 7th Convention, from 407 to more than 1,600. The quality of street units improved only slightly. There were improvements especially after the Extraordinary Party Conference. We have some well functioning street units in the Party. For example, one street unit in New York succeeded in building up a Workers' Club in its territory with 80 active members, LSNR branch of 30 white and Negro workers, built up a carrier route for the Daily Worker, they are selling \$10 worth of literature a week, and took steps to organize the working class children in its neighborhood. The unit is surrounded by scores of active non-Party workers, who participate in every campaign of the Party, helping to distribute leaflets of the Party, etc. This unit is an example of how the Party can become the leader of the workers in the neighborhood. There is no doubt that there are many such units throughout the Party.

The basic organization of the Party is the unit in the factory, and among the toiling population in the streets or towns. These organizations are in constant touch with the masses. The decisions, resolutions, theses of the Party and the Comintern will not be carried out if the units do not understand them, if the membership of the Party, the unit members, are not mobilized to carry them out. The central and most decisive organizational task today is the transformation of the units into real political organizations, looked upon by the masses as the leader of their struggles.

In the Communist Party, the Central Committee is an authoritative leading body, with great power entrusted to it by the Convention. The same is true of the District Committees in their respective territories. But that does not mean that the Section Committees and the units should at all times wait for directives from the higher committees. The Section Committees and the units must utilize every favorable moment to strengthen the influence of the Party organizationally and politically in the localities, in the factories. Knowing the general position of the Party and the Comintern on the chief question of Party work, the Section Committees and units must, on their own initiative, introduce changes into the existing forms and methods of work on every occasion when circumstances demand, without waiting for special directives from the Center or District.

\* \* \* \* \*

Note:—The second section of this report will be published in the July issue.

# Speeches of Delegates in the Discussion at the Eighth Convention

## The Work of the Steel Unit in the Main Mill of Concentration

By JACK JOHNSTONE

May 34

I WANT to deal with the question of steel, especially on the main mill of concentration. And I take this question of steel, because every weakness that we have in our District, finds expression around steel, especially in the mill of concentration, and I take it, comrades, because it is my point of concentration, because I am a member of that shop unit and feel personally responsible in giving personal attention and political guidance.

The main weakness, of course, flows from the fact that we hid the face of the Party, and not fighting for the line of the Party among the non-Party workers. This is the main weakness. The second weakness is the confusion as to what is concentration, which generally results in a desertion by the Party of concentration.

In the mill, for example, Jones and Laughlin, which runs on both sides of the Allegheny River for nearly 7 or 8 miles thru the centre of Pittsburgh, is a company union, the atmosphere of which we have not been able to break down as yet. In this unit we have 19 members, 9 Negroes and 10 white comrades. It is not an easy job to get a small unit in such a large plant into action. When a D. O. goes down to a shop unit, then he finds all of the difficulties, all of the problems. It is all very well to sit back and say you must organize the shop. But when you sit down in the unit and see you have 19 members, in the mill scattered in all departments along the 7 or 8 miles of river territory, then it is quite a different problem of organization, to be able to gather this unit together in order to be able to get it to function as a unit. It is such situations that bring home to the leadership itself the working out of the correct methods of how to understand the problems in the shop in order to give proper political guidance to the general work of the district.

### What Is Concentration?

We have taken these methods up, but we have not been able as yet to orientate our entire Party of Pittsburgh to-

wards their main task in steel, especially the concentration mill, the Jones and Laughlin mill. Here in Pittsburg, for example it is steel. There are other industries but steel dominates. It is a steel city and here our main task is in steel. And when we talk about mobilizing our entire membership, to win the steel workers and concentrate on the steel mills, we mean a mobilization of every unit, every unit buro, section committee, every fraction and mass organization in Pittsburg for penetrating Steel. This method of concentration around J&L we have analyzed, who are working in the mill. We have Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, South Slav, Russian and other nationalities to a lesser degree. And here our language organizations can play a very definite role. And we are organizing our language fractions to recruit steel workers into the language clubs, mobilizing the non-Party members in these clubs to help to concentrate, to build these clubs around the J&L mill, to map out their campaign, so that the plan of building the Party and SMWIU, of organizing the mill will be put in the Polish press, the language press of all characters, and through this joint campaign surround this mill with open campaigns outside among the language workers, while we are planning our work inside, by mobilizing the unit inside for inside mill work around the immediate demands. Take the Unemployed Councils. They must turn their attention to this work. While their main task is to build their organization, they should build especially the unemployed organization around the territory of the mill. We have begun to do this, and they bring results. We took up the question with the South Slav fraction and they set the task of building the South Slav club at the Jones and Laughlin plant. As a result we can see just a beginning. Where we had 2 subscribers for the "Radnik" inside, within two or three weeks it was increased to 35 readers and 3 new members were recruited into the Party by the fraction. With the Unemployed Council, they too have penetrated not only just around the mill, but there are sections miles away from there where there are J&L workers living as for instance, in Mount Oliver, four or five miles away from the mill, in building the CWA union of which we have 5 or 6 branches. We took up with the fraction that in the building of this Mount Oliver Section, the section in which the main strategic force of the mill lives, the American white workers, they must make contact with them; get them into the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, and recruit into the Party. On the Hill, where most of the Negroes live, we took up the question with the Section Committee and Unemployed Branches, that in carrying on the struggle against evictions and discrimination of the Negro workers, turning our organization towards finding steel workers living in that

territory; penetrating Negro groups. And it was through this that we got 9 Negroes into the Party working in the mill and to build the SMWIU. We have to surround this mill with fighting organizations, if we are going to make the factory the real force of struggle; that they all turn their face toward the factory, no matter what other main task there might be. In this direction we are trying to organize this mill.

What is the difficulty of the shop unit? Our shop unit disintegrated for a while. Then we found out that they were all working on split shifts, that one worked from 11 to 7, and another from such and such a time, and the unit bureau said we meet on Tuesday night at 8 o'clock. Well, this is not always possible. Sometimes it is possible to meet Sunday morning at 7 o'clock in the morning. Then again to take our comrades and see where they work, and we found in our unit we had six comrades working in one Department, the open hearth, a very important department. And in another very important department, the Bessmer we had seven comrades working. Two of the most important departments of the steel mill, and we began to develop the building of the shop nuclei inside these departments.

And with the work carried on from the outside, through the steel fraction, bring before the union the necessity of an everyday open campaign outside of the mill, so the workers will hear about our union, will see our union organization in action and in this way really begin a working class offensive against the mill owners, and turn it from a point of terroristic contact and fear for the workers to one of independent and open organization for the workers. In the development of this work, every worker in Jones and Laughlin Mill was brought to their bosses and questioned, what they knew about the Communist Party, what did he know about the Soviet Union, did he know that the Soviet Union shattered religion, etc., etc., this is the first time our comrades in the unit got away from only issuing a union shop bulletin and issued a Party bulletin, taking up every question the workers were asked and answering them from a Communist point of view. The result of this was what? That never before was there such open discussion about the Communist Party inside the mill. Since then, in the Western Electric, where we have a comrade who spoke here, (he was too modest to mention it) he himself sold 125 "Why Communism" inside the factory itself. The result of these methods of work is that they are now conducting an open election inside the factory for the election of a workers delegate to go to the Soviet Union for May Day. If we only learn what is meant by fighting for the line of the Party. Fighting for the line of the Party doesn't mean that we suddenly come out and say here is the

Communist Party, follow the line of the Soviet Union and have a revolution. We have to bring forward our Party into the leadership of the struggles of the workers in and outside the mill for the immediate needs of the workers, and in that process show the limitations of these struggles and what is necessary for the workers to do in order to overthrow capitalism. This is one of our greatest dangers and grossest expression of right opportunism, hiding the face of the Party, when you find reasons for not bringing forward the Party. And we have had all kinds of excuses put forward, that it is not the "psychological moment", etc., etc. Every excuse for not bringing forward the Party must be immediately fought against and defeated.

In conclusion, our District Convention had laid down a plan of work. It was a real good convention. We had about 50% new elements from the shop and a new tone was set, a new language was spoken, a language which our Party is beginning to understand, and as it understands, we will be able to go forward and carry out the tasks laid down for winning of the majority of the workers for the revolution.

---

## The Steel and Metal Workers Union in New York

*By* LUSTIG

**A**T the time of the Extraordinary Party Conference, the union of our district had 600 members. Today, I am in a position to report that we have organized 5 locals comprising 2,200 workers.

More important than this numerical growth of our organization is the fact that since the Extraordinary Party Conference, the orientation of our Union shifted from the light to the heavy section of the industry.

The first step was to print 25,000 folders acquainting the workers in the heavy metal industry with our union. Following up this folder, we have printed a number of others dealing concretely with the NRA codes, with the A. F. of L., bringing forward concrete proposals for which the workers are to organize into our union to achieve these demands. In our work among the heavy metal workers, we have bucked up against company unions. For example, in the Morgenthaler Linotype Company where more than a thousand workers are employed, we found a company union in existence for the last 15 years. The workers of this factory had a strike struggle in 1919 led by the International Association of Machinists. This strike was sold out. After the strike the company union was formed. The workers during the past 15 years have learned through their own experiences that the

company union is an organization serving the interests of the employers and not that of the workers. As a result of our activity amongst these workers, a number of workers joined our union, but since the spy system is very highly developed inside the plant, we have followed the policy of keeping contact with each and every individual worker who joined our organization, thereby safe-guarding the job of every worker who joined our organization. With this method, we are successful in lining up into our organization, 75 workers from the shop with the possibility of spreading our union. With the quicker tempo which every large number of workers has we will soon be in a position to hold department meetings for we will be strong enough to safe-guard the jobs of the workers even in case of firing. The situation now in this shop is that within a short time we will be ready for actual struggle for higher wages and for union recognition. It is very interesting to note that when the company elections took place we called upon the workers in the department where we have the biggest strength to boycott the elections with the result that only two out of seventy-five workers showed up. The company became frightened and called for re-elections and this time even the two workers stayed away from the polls.

In another shop called the Washburn Wire Company, employing 1,200 workers, two of these workers approached our union for organization. We wanted to follow a similar line as that of the Morgenthaler, but these workers said that the shop is ready for organization and want protection and since we could not convince these workers of the necessity of going cautiously about organizing, we accepted their line, called open meetings with the result that within three weeks we lined up for our union seventy-five workers of the shop. Then the employers woke up and fired 15 workers of our union. Since the NRA, of course didn't do anything in replacing these men on the job, the workers decided to strike. We were successful in bringing out 50% of the first shift as a result of which the company agreed to negotiate with the union and the workers committee. As a result of the negotiations, the company agreed to re-instate the fifteen fired workers, to guarantee protection to all the workers who joined the SMWIU and to carry on an election as to what union the workers wanted to belong to. The election, which took place one week after the strike was settled, resulted in 200 votes for the SMWIU which means that during a short time we were successful in lining up for our union 200 workers out of the 1,200 and thereby encouraging our organization in this very important steel mill and making it possible for us to continue to capture the majority of the workers and lead them into struggle under our leadership. These two examples show

that you cannot organize the workers according to a grouping but you have to adapt yourself from time to time according to the existing organization and the mood of the workers.

In closing, I want to touch upon only two points: first that the fluctuation in our union is negligible. This is due to the fact that in every local and every big shop we have a Party organization, that is instrumental in maintaining the conditions that have been gained as a result of strikes and thereby we are in a position to retain the workers in our organization.

The other point I want to emphasize is the danger that still exists amongst the leading comrades and that is the main danger in our Party throughout the country which expresses itself in trying to hide the face of the Party amongst those workers who are outside of our union as yet. Without any delay the Party Section with the cooperation of the leading fraction of the union must issue leaflets in the name of the Party to all these workers in the shops where our union is concentrating, bringing forward the program of the Party and showing to the workers that our Party is a leader. By doing this we are making it impossible for the bosses to make a red scare at the time of struggle and only by doing this can we outmanoeuver the employers, lay the basis for successful struggles. Only by this method will our Party become in the course of the struggles a real Bolshevik mass Party.

---

## Y.C.L. Concentration in a Cleveland Mill

*By A STEEL WORKER*

I want to give a picture of the steel mill that the YCL district has picked out for its concentration. At the present time the steel mill employs, both of them which are closely connected, some 5,000 steel workers, having 3 subsidiaries in the city of Cleveland. This mill is the most important mill in the whole city of Cleveland. Also a nucleus of the Party, a small one, has been functioning, but has not been carrying on activity.

Now, around this steel mill for the last 3 years, the Communist Party and Young Communist League have been carrying on general agitation, but no organizational work. It is a known fact that in this steel mill over 100 sympathizers of the Communist Party work. But the Party has not taken steps necessary to consolidate this influence that it has and build organizationally, and spread out. And because it did not take these necessary steps, it was possible for the A.A. to come in there and organize a sweeping campaign

for a period of about 6 months. At the present time it has some 2,000 members in the mill.

Last summer, when the strike waves took place, the Young Communist League and Party together began some work there. Our comrades in the department signed up some 35 workers—in one department openly. But this was not followed up, and as a result when the sausage strike broke out the Steel and Metal Workers Union went to organize the sausage workers and completely left the Otis steel.

I want to bring out some mistakes. When we first started work we tried to call all of our comrades to meetings. Because of the shifts we failed to get them to meetings. Later on we corrected this and began to talk to individual comrades on how to carry out activity in their departments, and on this basis we were able to activate our comrades to do some work in the AFL and in their departments. And in this way the unit in the Otis Steel was gradually becoming the leader of large movements of workers, not only in departments, but began to build an opposition movement in the AFL. We issued a leaflet in the name of the committee—the rank and file workers. And this leaflet dealt concretely with the problems of the mill and it was received by the workers very well. Whereas 300 workers used to attend meetings of the A.A., as a result of this leaflet, 1,200 workers came to the meeting and wanted to know if this leaflet was correct. The leaders of the AFL were so frightened that they stayed away with the excuse of a sore toe. And in this meeting, our comrades pressed the question of action, voted for 50% blanket increase in the mill and immediate recognition. Because we did not foresee that this would take place, we were not able to take full advantage of the absence of the misleaders.

I want to tell about a few accidents in the department. A young fellow, who was to join the Young Communist League, a few weeks ago got his hand cut off. Our League and Party members, working together, in the mill immediately elected a committee and demanded safety devices and won it after a fight.

One of the most burning demands in the steel mill, of the young workers, is no work on Sunday, and some even stay away without permission. Our comrades elected a large delegation and the workers backed the delegates. They wanted Easter Sunday and 2 days before off. After a fight this demand was granted and now the workers in this department feel organized—not under the AA, but by rank and file leaders.

At the last meeting of the A.A., 3 of our Party members were elected to go to the A.A. district conference in Monroe,

Michigan. This gives the comrades an idea of the influence of our comrades. At this meeting our comrades called for action. They were quietly let down, out of the meeting by the AFL official. When the workers found this out, a large body went down and beat up the official and brought our comrades back to the meeting.

The most important weakness and shortcoming we have in our work, I think, is that the Young Communist League and Party have not carried on sufficient agitation on the concrete demands of the workers in the mill and have not met the red scare correctly, because we already see that the red scare is being used, not only around the mill but in the A.A. meeting. The officials read the leaflets that we issue, in the meetings—which is good, and they try to say it is wrong. Our comrades ask them to prove that it is wrong. And then the officials shut up.

At the present time we have enough comrades in the mill in the League to establish a League nucleus, but because of the way the different shifts work, our comrades meet from the different shifts together with the Party workers. In a short time we will have 4 nuclei in the steel mill.

---

## The Work of the Marine Union

*By* ROY HUDSON

**F**ASCISM, war and revolutionary uprisings are on the order of the day. All of us accept these statements contained in the analysis of the ECCI and in Comrade Browder's report as undisputed facts. But when our comrades do their every day work they say: "These things are coming on us maybe,—but not now." Comrades, **these facts are on us today; tomorrow they will be even closer upon us.**

Recently, we know every force in Cuba was mobilized to crush the revolutionary movement of the Cuban masses. In attempting to destroy the revolutionary organizations they aimed their main blow against the Cuban dock workers union and to dramatize their determination to smash this, the first blow was struck when an American ship left the Cuban port loaded with scab cargo.

The Cuban workers had more than a right to expect support from us. Their struggle was primarily against our own bosses here. What support did they get from us? It is true that on this ship in Havana members of our union succeeded in mobilizing the seamen to refuse to unload the cargo. In New York we made feeble attempts to stop the unloading. The situation found us—the Communist Party, particularly in New York—organizationally weak, and slow

politically in reacting to the situation, in realizing our responsibility and tasks. But here, right on the order of the day, was a revolutionary situation where the masses were in motion, where we had concrete immediate tasks to support the Cuban workers who were moving forward toward the seizure of power, and struggling primarily against American imperialism.

Our comrades in the trade unions and in the Party itself were not up to this situation. We were not prepared to act in a truly Bolshevik manner. We cannot be satisfied with some of the improvements in our work, in our small successes among the basic workers of the American working class.

### **Mass and National Struggle Led by Union**

This is true of what we have accomplished in the marine industry. We can say that in the period since the Extraordinary Conference there have been a number of struggles of seamen and longshoremen led by our Party—a mass campaign carried on against the NRA. We have seen the organized growth of the MWIU. Bringing the marine workers into the Party has improved. There has been a beginning of a more serious approach on the part of the Party committees to the question of work in this basic industry. I would like to touch upon a few of the lessons to be drawn as a result of some of our experiences.

First, a number of strikes have taken place aboard ship. These struggles are beginning to take on a mass and national character. For instance, the strike of 14 coal ports in Boston is an example. We have been able to initiate these struggles, extend them to other ports, broaden them out from individual ship strikes to larger mass struggles because we have carried on the policy of concentration. Our main energy was concentrated upon one company and 45 ship strikes were developed out of this concentration. As a result these struggles have become a lever which we are now using to set the masses into action and winning the mass of the workers.

### **Government Forced to Grant Workers Control of Relief**

In the field of unemployment in our union—the main impetus to the growth of struggles was the fact that our union participated in struggles of the unemployed. Some outstanding victories have been won, especially in Baltimore. What are the main results? Through the proper approach of our marine union to the question we forced real concessions in the form of relief from the government. More than this. In Baltimore we see this: that with our organized power, even at this time, we succeeded in forcing the

government to concede the right of the workers to control all the relief through their elected committees.

The next question is, is it possible at this time for us to build the revolutionary unions here in the United States? I say yes, comrades. This experience we have had among the seamen especially proves it. In this war industry the bosses recognize and fear us and have given full support to the officials of the ISU who have carried on a mass campaign in connection with the NRA. Despite this, we have prevented them from re-establishing themselves with any kind of mass base in our industry. We have placed ourselves at the head of every struggle of seamen that has taken place. The ISU and Independent Unions have not been able to push us aside. On the contrary, it is our union, the revolutionary union alone which can register growth amongst the seamen on the basis of the struggle against the NRA. This does not mean that we have exposed or isolated the fakers. On the contrary, they are still the main danger, but we have some successes. We have the initiative and our perspective here among the seamen must be to prevent the establishment of the ISU or independent unions, to win the masses of seamen from the revolutionary union.

I think it is important to point out that we were able to conduct a successful struggle against the reformists because we are a national union and we have carried on a uniform fight in the principal ports of the U. S. Another lesson that we must drill into the consciousness of all coastland districts is that a strike in the marine industry cannot be confined to one port. We must mobilize all the forces in various ports. The weakness of the Boston Coal Boat strike was precisely because the Party was not conscious of this. We were not able to coordinate our work effectively in Norfolk by bringing the coal trimmers into action.

#### **Opposition Work in Reformist Unions**

Not only have we made some headway in building our union as a revolutionary union. There have been some successes in developing an opposition movement. At the code hearings in Washington our union presented a statement defending the right of these workers, 12,000 of them, to organize into the ILA, protesting against a ruling of the NRA, and demanding the recognition of the union that the masses had gone into, the ILA. The officials who were present did not take any stand upon these matters. When the workers learned of our stand in fighting for their rights, for the right of their organization to be recognized, what was the result. The result was that we won their confidence, that the opposition movement which we had built up over a period of time received a tremendous impetus.

At one of the meetings, where they read the minutes, a proposal was made by a rank and file worker that they should give the 200 dollars which they were going to give to some shyster lawyer, to the red union, because we fought in their interest. As a result of adopting this correct position toward those workers inside the reformist union, our opposition movement developed. We forced the calling of a rank and file convention. At this convention our whole program, including refusal to load ships flying the Nazi flag was adopted.

There has been during this period some mobilization of the Party apparatus of the mass organizations for support of winning the workers in the basic industries. I can cite some examples in this respect. Members of the Needle Trades attended our convention and they voluntarily decided as a part of the revolutionary working class they would assume some responsibility towards help extending the influence of the revolutionary movement where we were weakest. They pledged \$25 a month to the Marine Workers Voice and kept this pledge. It is my opinion that we have many lessons to learn from the needle trades, and I say this is one example many other sections of the revolutionary movement could follow to good example. For instance, New Orleans which is a forgotten outpost of the revolutionary movement. We could make headway much faster if some sections who are stronger would realize the importance of this work and undertake to support it.

These are the signs showing the possibilities we have. They are fruits of an attempt to apply the Open Letter. But we have just scratched the surface.

What things hold us up? We don't go ahead fast enough.

Let us take the west coast. It is true we have established ourselves at the head of the fishermen and loggers, an agricultural union. These are tremendously important. But marine out there is still the basic task. What is happening there? While we captured the agricultural workers 1200 longshoremen joined the ILA. It does not help to say we are beginning to do opposition work there. If there had been a real orientation, if the Party had mobilized its forces and given more guidance to marine, we would be more in the leadership, we would have organizational control of the longshoremen, who at one time refused to load munition against the Soviet Union.

In New York there is a peculiar problem. We cannot criticize New York as elsewhere because here there has been a more serious attempt to solve some of the problems, to work out a plan of action and mobilize the Party forces. Let us just look at some of the things done in New York

recently since the Party Conference. These are things we have been talking about for years. Some of the proposals just being put into effect, they were made so long ago and nothing done about them, that I forgot them all. It took so long to get around to them. Such hesitation, such slowness, and even unwillingness to completely utilize all of our resources for realizing our concentration task. What New York needs now more than anything else is maybe an Open Letter on Bolshevik tempo.

### **"We Have the Forces, We Can Go Forward"**

Comrades, I say that this Convention proves one thing: that the Party is beginning to have an understanding of the Open Letter, has begun to learn how to apply it, is beginning to have results, and the result for one thing is, that we now have such a Convention that has never taken place before in the history of the Party. This Convention shows us that the task can be done, that we are learning how. But we have been slow. Out of this Convention must come the determination, grown out of the fact that it is possible for us to realize the tasks we set ourselves, that we are going to accomplish these things at the rate of 100% faster than in the past period.

We have the policy, we have the experience, we have the forces. These forces are to be seen at this Convention. I say, with this experience behind the line of the Party presented to the Convention by Comrade Browder, with Comrade Browder leading us, I say we can go forward to win the masses of workers of America, to go forward toward a Soviet America.

---

## **Communist Activities in Baltimore**

*By P.*

**W**HEN we discuss Baltimore, it is not just a matter of discussing some small section. Baltimore is one of the main war centers in the country. In this city we have a steel mill which employs 12,000 people; out of these about 2,000 are young workers and close to 3,000 are Negro workers.

This industry is very busy in the production of war materials in the form of special barbed-wire, plate for battle ships and scrap iron, and I think it is the only plant in the country which is located on the waterfront for the transfer of war materials from the factory in ships for foreign countries.

Also in the city of Baltimore we have a large aviation

plant. Here the company at the present time is making 48 high powered bombing planes, the most high powered planes ever built yet, which will have a speed of 250 miles per hour.

Also we have several chemical plants in Baltimore which at the present time are producing poison gases. Besides this we have the water-front. Especially in Baltimore, it is very busy in the shipping of scrap iron to Japan. I have found one specific case, a certain steamship company that sends empty ships to New Orleans. There they take out war materials and charge them for another company. This ship goes to the west coast and there it is chartered to another company, a new crew is hired and from there the war materials are taken direct to Japan. I want to show that one of our main fights is a fight against war in Baltimore.

Our activity in the steel mill in the last few months has been, in the main, action against the company union. We came out boldly for the boycott of the company election and when the election came up the workers boycotted the election in most bodies. This came first, through the struggles developed inside the mill, and second, through general agitation outside. Here too the union began the issue of a weekly union paper, and here we boldly exposed the AA company union and the NRA.

Before this, certain struggles were carried out in the mill. In one department a wage cut was to take effect. One comrade who worked in this department got all the workers who were affected by the cut, to elect a committee which was to go to the boss as soon as the cut was announced. When the company heard about it nothing more was said about the cut. Through our action on such issues, the workers saw our program was correct, and through our agitation against the NRA and AA, supported us in the fight for boycott of the election; and when the election came up over 70 percent boycotted the company election. Our main fight at the present time is for an increase in wages and establishment of shop committees and this has taken form, a part of which is being carried out. In the fight against the company union our comrades in the YCL and the young workers in the union were most active in these struggles. In one department we had a young worker who joined the YCL. He told the workers there to boycott the company union. When he came before the ballot boxes, all the workers looked at him; and because he refused the ballot everyone refused to vote. This young worker was called into the company office, and the boss said, "if you don't cut out your agitation, you will be fired." He said, "if you fire me, instead of 8 hours of work for you, I will spend 24 hours organizing the workers," and he is still

there. In another mill they were using the older workers against the young workers. On a particular job, if the young workers did not put out as much work as the older, the boss said, "You're going to be fired." We discussed this in our unit, decided to get the fellows to balance the amount of production. So the fellows agreed to it and they do not have competition on this thing. This shows when the YCL unit and the Party start discussing the problems in the mill, certain things can be done, and not only organizers from the outside can carry out certain actions. **In the mill, cooperation between the Party and the League has not been a difficult question.**

Comrades, I emphasize the young workers are the most militant in the fight, especially in the steel mills, and when the youth join the union, our comrades see they are pushed forward, they are drawn into leadership, and when a campaign is organized the youth are drawn in, and today young workers are making headway and building the union. This should be a lesson to other districts. We are getting fresh material and through these real American elements we will be able to build a revolutionary movement.

In the unit one comrade gave me 15 names. He wanted to build a youth club. He just recently joined, and this was on his own initiative. This shows when we recruit American elements in our organization we can discuss things in our units, and they go out and carry it out. This shows, comrades will carry it through if we teach them how.

Another important thing: A short time ago was held the Congress Against War and Fascism. One Party member and one YCL member were in our delegation and the rest were outsiders. One member from the union went to this Congress. Next day he went inside the mill and he told the fellows he was going to the New York Congress, and the 15 fellows said, "We want to send someone too." So he told them to elect a delegate and they did, and they had a delegate at the Congress. This shows, when we carry this campaign inside the mill we can actually recruit basic workers to take part in these important conferences. In the water-front of Baltimore we have at the present time a unit of over 22 young workers. Of these, 11 or more are from ships, and at the present time we have one YCL ship nucleus. This was carried thru primarily because of comrades active on the waterfront and it was thru the cooperation of the Party that we were able to build the Young Communist League on the waterfront, and today we can record results on the waterfront of Baltimore. In the majority of the actions on the waterfront, where ships were on strike, our comrades were the leaders of these strikes. We have a particular case where four YCL members were on one

ship and thru the action of these YCL members this ship went on strike. This came about thru the activity of the YCL on board this ship, and also the actions on the ships near the steel mill where the YCL sent a comrade down to this section. This comrade has been able to bring out several ships on strike. And these strikes have had a tremendous effect on the steel workers in building the industrial union and is gaining more sympathy and prestige for the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union.

Most of the comrades discuss their work and picture it like everything is hotsy tots. But I think that when comrades discuss things they don't criticize enough. We have plenty of failings, more failings than good things, and we fail to look at this side. In the past, in the YCL work especially, comrades did work here and there and the section committee wondered what they were doing. As for the Party, they paid practically little attention to the work carried on in this place and in Sparrow Point itself, which has been a national concentration point for a number of years.

In Baltimore we have the beginning of an anti-war movement. Our League against War and Fascism there has been more or less the policy that we get together a few students etc., and set up a committee, but the only thing that was carried thru was the question of mass meetings, and we expect to fight war and fascism. In Baltimore we tried to set an example. We have set up a war committee with steel workers, and a few students and this committee will carry out some action. We have set ourselves the following task at the present time: We have a YCL nucleus of 6, and we have set ourselves the task of having a nucleus of 15 by June, by the YCL national convention, to issue a monthly shop paper and with leading comrades to be responsible to work with comrades working in the mills, to discuss the problems in the mills and carry out action in this mill. We hope to catch up and try to surpass the Party in membership on the waterfront in Baltimore, and I am sure that with the young comrades we have there, we will give the Party real competition. To organize 3 shop nuclei on the waterfront, to organize 5 anti-war committees abroad ship, to carry thru a petition campaign against war and fascism on all ships coming thru Baltimore. Last week we organized the first anti-war committee on board a ship in Baltimore. We are holding a youth conference against War and Fascism in Baltimore on April 29th, and the purpose of this conference is for the preparation of National Youth Day, which we hope will be held in Baltimore and before the National Convention of the YCL we will be able to carry thru one certain action. In our resolutions in the past, we have always heard this question, that in order to fight war

effectively we must penetrate the basic industries and arouse the masses of workers on the ships against shipping munitions. Let's put this into practice at least once, and we in Baltimore pledged ourselves by the National Convention of the YCL to develop action around one ship against the shipping of amunitions. We have put into action every comrade on the waterfront and in the steel mills, and this is the best guarantee that when we come to the National Convention of the YCL we can report some real anti-war action in Baltimore, and this will be the step in establishing the beginning of a real youth movement in Baltimore which will be an example to the other sections in the United States.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### COMMENT BY COMRADE HUDSON:

I want to finish Comrade P.'s point because one of the points he missed was one example for the entire Party. On this anti-war committee he spoke about, there were 29 youth and practically the whole crew of the ship signed a petition for the struggle against war, and after they signed it, they said, "What do we do next?" and honestly, we were nearly at a loss to know what they were to do next, but we proposed that on May 1st out at sea, they should call a meeting on the ship against fascism and war. The entire Party this May Day must bring out into the streets hundreds of thousands of workers as a protest against Fascism and War.

---

## Communist Work Among Illinois Miners

*By F.*

**T**HE history of the Illinois coal miners has been a history of betrayals especially in the last five years. The first betrayal was since we were organized—Lewis—we all know that. But when the reorganized movement came along with Walker, Owett, etc. the miners felt they were going to get a real union. But they found out how Walker, Owett and the others took cases to the court against Lewis and in this way sold out the miners.

Then another outfit came along—the Edmondson-Allard outfit. They were leading the miners back into the Lewis machine. Now we are in the P.M.A., it should be the Progressive Fakers of America but the miners don't call it that. District 8 analyzed the P.M.A. very correctly when they brought out the bureaucracy of the leadership of Percy Keck. They said, "Through demagogy and a sham batte against the Lewis machine the P.M.A. burocracy is trying to

extend and exercise its influence among the miners. Actually, it is carrying out the same line as the A.F. of L. and the Lewis machine. It is supporting the NRA, working hand in glove with the sheriffs to suppress miners' meetings and hunger marches (Macoupin County), and is using the same gangster tactics as the U.M.W.A. Together with the A.F. of L. they are conducting vicious anti-Soviet propaganda and aiding developing fascism by its anti-Semitic campaign."

"The Musteitites, the left social fascists, actively helped to establish in the P.M.A. the present reactionary leadership and turned over the fighting Women's Auxiliaries to the Percy machine."

Allard, the socialist Frazier—these are the men who built up Clod Percy. He wasn't known throughout the state and these are the men that built him up. They thought they could push him wherever the hell they wanted to. Percy got in and these guys got out. Allard is saying still that he's all right. Allard is trying to have a paper, had it built up to where he had it printed, but today the Communist Party thru exposing Allard made it impossible for him to get it out and he is now running a mimeographed sheet. This was done after we understood that our fight against social fascists is the main political task.

There was no Communist Party when the P.M.A. was organized. Party members did not work, played no important role. They were isolated from the miners and the miners pushed them away, with the result that the miners were misled by the radical phrases of Musteitites and renegades. The Communist Party was always playing the tail end in Southern Illinois. They were letting the Socialist Party take the leadership. This tail playing has been changed. That last local election we participated in we drew up a program and we said to the Socialist Party we are going to run these men. The Socialist Party only run a man for vice president and had to accept our slate because we put up a correct program and put our forces into lead. We ran a man for president and we are going to continue this.

We have a movement in Illinois trying to unify the ranks of the P.M.A. and the U.M.W.A. We know if we keep on the P.M.A. leadership they will bring us back into the U.M.W.A. If we try to build up the P.M.A. we are building up another group of labor fakers. We are trying to isolate both leaderships and have a real union in Illinois. So far the work in the U.M.W.A. has been very weak and we will try to have more U.M.W.A. miners in the unity conference as well as bring more U.M.W.A. miners into the Party. I think this can be done in the Danville District. We have a good basis in Illinois for building up real action through the Denquoine boys, three of whom are facing sentences of 99 years, 60

years and 40 years. The P.M.A. has had no program to get them out. The Communist Party is going to build up mass action and try to get these boys out. In Gillespie we followed for a long time the Socialist Party policy of talking and doing nothing. This has been changed. The Communist Party members are in action now and do put up fights in the local unions.

We have a shop paper in this mine which is known as the "Ground Hog." There are weaknesses in it but we are trying to make it a real Communist mine paper and our last issue was a better one.

We propose in the coal mining section to build mass action on a concrete basis, on issues that affect the miners. We already have two strikes on there, we have one in Pana which is still on and we have another one on in the Belville Sub-District. Now in the Nigger Halla mine they had some bad conditions down there. They kept fining their men as high as seventeen, eighteen fines a day, so a comrade down there, who is in the position of president in that local union called the miners together and told them: "Boys, this company wants clean coal. The men are paying too much in fines. We got to do something to force the company to stop the fines. Now we are going to fix it." So he told them to go down the mine and instead of loading fourteen, fifteen cars a day, they should only load four cars. They went down and loaded four cars a day and before long the company saw they were losing plenty of money. After a 2 day strike on the job the company was forced to agree to stop all fines, so in this way the miners won this demand, and it was a big victory for that field.

#### **A Challenge to the Miners of Pennsylvania**

Now in conculsion, I wish to issue a challenge to the soft coal miners of Pennsylvania. The miners of Illinois are going to challenge the Pennsylvania soft coal region for membership and for the building of the Daily Worker.

I hope through this challenge that we have a real movement in both fields.

## **A Young Negro Communist Becomes the Leader of White Workers**

*By O., Detroit*

**C**OMRADE Manuilsky wrote that the main trouble with the Y.C.L. was sectarianism. That trying to get a League member to work among the masses was like getting a Pope to work in a united atheist society.

The Party in Detroit, after the Open Letter, realized the

necessity of work among the masses and turned to the decisive section of the working class. These were the shops, Negroes, trade unions, both revolutionary and reformist. Many gains came out of this. It is also sufficient to say that we had certain experiences that gave life to the Party and Y.C.L. The Y.C.L., following in line with the Party, decided as its first major step to place the leaders of the units, sections and district in those sections where the workers congregated. There were startling results. We shall go into some of them.

It is especially brought out that the Negro communists must become leaders of the Negro workers. Let us take the experiences of some Negro Communists. We shall take one for an example. Going to work in a shop, he found only three Negro workers in the department—the rest were all white. A union of the A. F. of L. was to be formed in a few days. The Negro comrade asked himself the question—shall I go against the A.F. of L. union or shall I be for it? He first raised the formation of our own union. The sentiment of the workers was not so much for it. But he also made application for the A. F. of L. when all the others signed up. The Negro comrade asked himself how can I become a leader among the white workers who have prejudices, where there was no white Communist to take leadership. He remembered that the strength of a Communist was how he worked with individual workers.

At lunch time he discussed with the young workers. And this discussion was such that it raised the Negro Communist into leadership of the white workers. The question came up on Germany. Some workers stated that we don't care about Germany. He said but we must care about it. They must understand us and we must understand them. One white worker who was particularly chauvinistic asked what do you know about Germany? He said he knows that they are workers and we are workers and that is all we have to know. He did not antagonize the workers against him.

Then came the formation of the union. To the surprise of the A. F. of L. the white workers placed forward for secretary the Negro Communist. The factory boss took it upon himself to fire the Negro Communist. The white workers were against it. The tools of the boss raised the Negro question in the union. A white worker took the floor and said regardless of the officials, the Negro will be our secretary. The young Communist continued to raise the question of Communist policy in the union. Then came the elections to the central body of the A. F. of L. These white workers elected a Negro Communist to the Central Body. Finding himself in this position, this Negro Communist at-

tached himself to the Party and the Party group in the A. F. of L. in order to get correct guidance and to be able to present the correct policy at the central body of the A. F. of L.

The question came up at one time of the necessity of training individuals. At one of the meetings of the A. F. of L. the question came up against one of our Communist Leaders. A non-Party worker came to his defense and said that he should stay in the union regardless of his political opinions. The Communists in the union who had made a decision in the fraction to the effect not to take the floor in his defense, would not defend him. This was a mistake. They should have defended him because he was being taken on trial.

The question of presenting the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill before the workers in the A. F. of L. was taken up as a result of the failure of Communists to defend this comrade. The Communists took it upon themselves, to prove to those workers that they could reinstate themselves and fight for the right of the Communists to bring forward the Unemployment Insurance Bill. Now there is one thing that is peculiar. A group like this can raise certain points which can be defended by the same workers who yesterday hammered down this group.

This very same Negro Communist at a meeting two weeks later raised the question that he will bring from time to time problems before the central body. He raised the question that his union was formed thru the front door but that class collaboration policies were being brought in. He carefully worked this in due time in the central body. The big shot got up and explained that the Negro Communist should not raise this question; because enemies outside of the A. F. of L. would use this against the A. F. of L. Old A. F. of L. members got up and praised the speech of this worker—but it was not the individual. It was the communist program that he was presenting against collaboration with the boss.

The Y.C.L. has ever to organize itself with the Party to work in the reformist union. We have certain things to say. It is necessary for us to continue this work. The first thing we must see to it that every young fellow under 24 years of age in the Party must be placed in responsible League work; and especially the Negro Communists; this example in Detroit brings clearly to the forefront that when a Negro Communist is armed with the correct policies and correct methods of work, that he can work among a group of workers and that the white workers will defend him.

While working in this particular local, it was necessary for this Negro Communist to attach himself to a group of people. One of these individuals he was going with as his important ally always attacked the Communists, right and left.

One day he took the Negro to drink some beer with him. But the beer parlor was a white place. He said, "they wouldn't accept me there." The white worker said, "Aren't you a leader in our union? Let's go in there." So they went in and they refused to serve the Negro. The white worker said, "Why don't you serve him some beer? If you don't, then I will go out." So they walked out. The white worker said, "Can you imagine those bastards not wanting to serve you. Why, you are the head of our union." The Negro Communist then said, "In Russia, they would serve me" and he agreed. (Great applause). This white worker was taken by this situation very much and drawn closer to the movement by this display of rank discrimination and seeing the willingness of this Negro Communist to become the leader. He said, "You are a real leader." The Negro answered, "That is because I am armed with the Communist program." The white worker then raised the question of his becoming the paid secretary of the union.

I want to say this because my time is soon up; that is, the task of the Party is to educate as many young Negroes, especially young Negroes who shall be the future Party members who can take their place among the workers and keep in mind that they can become the leaders of adult workers as well. The Negro Communist by applying correct views can batter down the question of seniority and can establish himself as a leader in the A. F. of L. locals.

At this very same local, the question of Negroes attending dances with white workers came up. And because of the correct application of our policies, the white workers said that they would refuse to attend any dance if the Negroes were excluded.

---

## The Revolutionary Unions in the New York District

By ROSE WORTIS

I WANT to deal with two important points raised in the reports of Comrades Browder and Stachel, namely, the higher political level of the present strike wave and the need of developing the struggle of the workers on the basis of a class struggle, both amongst the unorganized workers and inside of the reformist union, and how we are meeting this new situation in the New York District.

Since the Extraordinary Conference last July we have made some progress in trade union work in New York City. In July we had a membership of 23,000 in the T.U.U.L. unions in New York City; our membership today is about 45,000

in unions affiliated with the Trade Union Unity Council with about 12 to 15 thousand in independent unions, this number has now been increased by the addition of the independent taxi drivers union. At the same time, we have also made considerable gains in our opposition work in the A. F. of L., where we have an organized following of about 50,000 workers supporting our program and leadership; needle, building trades, printing, food, etc. In the recent period we have even made a beginning of opposition work among the longshoremen and heavy metal, etc. In the recent period we have been confronted with a number of difficult problems. Outstanding was the underestimation of the readiness of the workers to enter into struggle. This found expression in practically every industry where important struggles developed. In such industries where we were quick in correcting our line we succeeded in leading the struggles of the workers, increasing and consolidating a much larger membership. This is true in the shoe workers and needle workers, etc. Another difficult problem was discussion about liquidating the T.U.U.L. unions. This was greatly stimulated by an extensive campaign carried on by the renegades which even affected some leading members of the Party. How did we meet this issue? Not on the basis of a formula as to which phase of our work is more important, T.U.U.L. work or work in the A.F. of L. We were guided by only one consideration, namely how can we best advance our class struggle policy among the workers.

In the Furniture Workers Union, our fraction, overwhelmed by the A.F. of L. campaign, came forward with the idea of liquidating our union on the eve of the strike. We defeated the liquidation tendencies with the result that today we have a union which has about 10,000 workers nationally—mostly native American elements.

In other instances in some of the lighter industries, such as jewelry, doll workers, etc., where our unions did not have a mass basis and masses of workers were recruited into the A.F. of L., we decided for our union to go into the A.F. of L. with the result that today our comrades are elected leaders of masses in these unions, fighting for our class struggle line. In the ship yards where we did not watch the situation very closely we continued to carry on agitation for our unions while the A.F. of L. recruited large numbers of workers. As a result when the strike came in the shipyard we were isolated from the workers. Thousands of workers were striking under the leadership of the A.F. of L. with our union playing no role. In the needle trades, building trades and among the food workers, we developed our independent unions side by side with our opposition in the reformist unions with the result that we have not only been able to win better

conditions for the workers in our T.U.U.L. unions, but through our struggles have forced substantial concessions for the workers in the A.F. of L., as was the case in the needle trades where we forced the bosses to give the dressmakers and cloakmakers higher wage scales in the codes. This was openly admitted by Grover Whalen, chairman of the N.R.A., who warned the bosses that if they do not give in to the demands of the workers, the Communists would take over the strike.

This shows that our policies in the trade union field must be based on the conditions found in the particular situation. Another shortcoming in our work during this period was the failure to bring forward the face of the Party and to meet the red scare. This has been corrected after the strike struggles. Our Party fractions in most of the unions have grown, not to the extent possible, but we have gained considerably.

In the past period most of the strikes that we have led were in industries where we had a union in existence. Today we are facing a new situation in New York City. There is a strike wave developing among the workers in New York City, especially in industries where there is neither a T.U. U.L. union nor an A.F. of L. union. In those industries there is today, as never before, a mass resentment growing among these workers against the company unions. For example in the I.R.T. subway system where the workers have succeeded in forcing a meeting of the company union which was attended by close to 1,000 workers where the workers formulated their demands and elected a rank and file committee to present them to the company. I recently met with a group of Western Electric workers where a company union was put over about a year ago. The workers in this shop had a meeting of 1,000 and decided to demand the return of the 10% cut. With proper work we can either convert this company union into a real union or take the workers out of the company union and organize them into a real union.

We also see a mass movement for struggle developing among the radio workers. If we want to reach the young workers and women workers, the radio industry of New York should be given immediate attention since 80% of the workers are young women. Therefore the Party of New York is confronted with a very important task of assigning the proper forces so that we can become the leaders of these workers and organize them into T.U.U.L. or independent unions under Communist leadership.

We had our first experience among these sections of unorganized workers in the taxi industry where there was no union until very recently. The taxi strike is of the greatest importance, not only for the Party in New York but for the entire Party. In this strike we have seen the new phase

of development in the American labor movement as dealt with in reports of Comrades Browder and Stachel. We see here a strike developing on the basis of illusions in the N.R.A. The taxi strike in New York City is the first important strike developed directly against the N.R.A. which helped to sell out the first strike. It is the first important strike against the company union which is a growing menace to the entire labor movement. Our experience in this strike has shown to us the possibilities of establishing ourselves in the leadership of these sections of the workers.

Whereas in the first strike our comrades were bodily thrown out of these meetings, in the second strike the most popular elements were the Communists. Through our militant leadership we have won the confidence of the workers. As a result of this we have recruited in the Party in the past week close to 60 taxi drivers; we have been able to sell more Labor Unities among the taxi drivers during the past month than we sold in all of our unions in New York. As a result of our work many strikers have adopted the Daily Worker as their official organ. It was a fine sight to see the taxi drivers in thousands leaving their hall and almost trampling upon the comrade selling the Daily Worker in their eagerness to see how their strike was dealt with in the news and editorials of the Daily Worker. The leading comrades in the editorial staff took a great interest in the strike, spending their days with the strikers, and I am sure their efforts will be repaid a thousandfold.

Not only have the Daily and Labor Unity become popular among the taxi drivers, but also other periodicals.

However, even in this strike there was some hesitancy in bringing forward the Party. At the first conference called in support of the strike, some of the leading comrades questioned the advisability of permitting the Party speaker to address the conference and bring a donation in the name of the Party. All the comrades agreed after the conference that the action of the Party was correct and the discussion among the workers which followed was helpful to us in combatting the red scare, explaining the program of the Party, all of which strengthened our influence among the workers. There was also some improvement in direct Party participation in the strike. While in the past the section of the Party did not actively participate in the strike struggles, the Party sections responded to this strike, though by no means sufficiently. The sections issued leaflets, a number of mass meetings were called in support of the strike and in that way we were able to bring the face of the Party before the strikers and to expose the treacherous role of the Socialist Party in the first and second strikes. This was very helpful in the struggle.

As far as our unions are concerned, they quickly realized

the importance of this strike and its effect on the entire transportation system in New York City which is a concentration point of the district, and the movement generally responded much better than ever before. We collected \$5,000 within a period of ten days, in support of the strike, from the needle trades workers, food workers, etc., who also sent speakers to address the strikers, thus making the taxi drivers part and parcel of the New York militant labor movement.

Even in this strike there were many shortcomings which I have no time to discuss at this time. Among them was the failure to penetrate the Negro taxi drivers. However, in this strike more than in any previous strike in New York City were the demands of the Negro workers against discrimination, against jim-crowism and the right of Negro drivers to work in every part of the city (at present they can only work in garages in Harlem and operate special color cars known as jim-crow cars) brought forward not only by our comrades, but through our influence by the other rank and file strike leaders. If we follow up our work we will establish our leadership over these workers.

There is one other important lesson we can learn from this strike which is of value to the entire Party, namely this: Not only were we able to lead this strike, but we also understood the psychological moment when it was necessary to make an organized retreat. It is important to state here that the taxi strike was actually settled on March 24th. As a result of the militant street battles the companies were forced to agree to a plebiscite and had already sent out a letter to its men appealing to them to vote against the union. This was a great victory for the workers since there was no doubt as to the outcome of the vote. However, as soon as the news of the treacherous Roosevelt-Green agreement became known, the companies withdrew from the plebiscite. General Motors stepped into the situation. With the help of Comrade Stachel who worked very closely with us, we analyzed the situation and came to the conclusion that we would not be able to get full union recognition at this time. Together with our leading forces we worked out a plan for settling the strike on the basis of garage committees, reinstatement of all workers, elimination of the blacklist and payment of the tax money. This settlement has been accepted by the workers who have returned to work under the leadership of their shop committees. This is a defeat of company unionism in the taxi trade. If we follow up the organized retreat, we can establish a real union of the taxi drivers and a union that will play an important part in the organization of an independent trade union center in New York.

The question of an independent trade union center in New York City is not a matter for the distant future with

us but an immediate perspective. There are close to 100,000 workers in New York who can be brought into an independent trade union center organized under our leadership. The partial success of this strike will be helpful towards realizing this immediate perspective. In order to really get these 100,000 workers under our leadership it is necessary that the unions of the TUUL play an important role in the development and extension of our influence among the workers, something which has been lacking until now.

Our unions in New York City, and I dare say throughout the whole country, are busy with their day to day problems, and do not realize that in order to solve their problems it is necessary for them to help the entire revolutionary trade union movement. Because of this underestimation, the TUUL in New York is not a real functioning trade union center. In most other centers there are no councils in existence at all. This is a great shortcoming and must be corrected. If we want to be a real factor in the organization of this independent trade union center, we must consolidate the TUUC, we must build our own unions with the thousands of members in the TUUL unions. We will then be able to establish ourselves as the leaders of this independent trade union center on the basis of a class struggle policy. To correct this shortcoming, it is necessary to strengthen our Party fraction as the leading force for carrying through the Party policies in the union.

We in New York City know, that as the strongest trade union center, the Party has a right to expect much more and better work from us. We are confident that on the basis of the decisions that will be made at this convention we will go forward in New York City to strengthen our opposition work in the AFL and to build the independent class struggle center so that within a short period we can issue a call for a national convention to form an independent federation in the name of 100,000 organized workers of New York City.

---

## The Share Croppers Union Grows and Fights

By MURPHY

**A**T the Extraordinary Party Conference held in July in New York, it was reported that we have 3,000 members in the Share Croppers Union. We want to record at this 8th National Convention of our Party at the present time, in spite of the terror that has been leashed against the Negro and white sharecroppers, particularly in Alabama, in spite of the lynch clouds that have gathered, we now register a

membership of 6,000 members in the state of Alabama.

In order to prove that we have this number of members in our union, the organizational secretary of the Sharecroppers Union can point his finger at 400 functioning locals of the Sharecroppers Union at the present time. The most of these 6,000 members are centered mainly in the state of Alabama and a section of Georgia. And also to prove and to show that our union has a mass base, we raised within one month's time \$142.81 to send a truck-load of delegates to the Chicago Conference last November.

At the present time we see that the Roosevelt New Deal is now plunging thousands and thousands of poor farmers, share-croppers and poor tenants, and especially the Negro sharecroppers and tenants into deeper misery and distress. The Roosevelt new deal is sharply expressed through the Bankhead Bill, which is a bill of slavery and hunger for the poor farming masses all over the country, particularly in the South, and especially for the Negro farming masses.

At the present time the Bankhead Bill now has become the legal slave driver, legalizing slavery of the Negro sharecroppers and tenants, binding them to the slave masters and the bankers, evicting thousands and thousands of sharecroppers from the land, confiscating their livestock, taking away from the small farm owners their land and homes, cutting off all relief jobs, forcing them to accept even lower wages for their labor than has ever been seen before in all the history of American capitalism.

It is very clear that this bill which is now forcing the poor farming masses into deeper slavery and deeper misery, is also an invitation to fascism on the farms.

At the present time the share-croppers and tenant farmers are being forced to sign these contracts and are not even allowed to question the landlords or the county agents. Any resentment on the part of the Negroes shown against the signing of such a bill means that they are immediately threatened with eviction from their land and are jailed.

Since the Party Conference held in New York last July, our union has developed one big struggle against conditions we have in the South. This struggle was developed in Chambers County. The sharecroppers and tenants boycotted a landlord's plantation because he wanted to pay them less than the average price which was 50 cents per hundred pounds, and the landlord wanted them to pick for less than this amount. They boycotted this farm. This struggle was led by the share-croppers Union and our Party. The landlords immediately got together, rounded up their forces and united a terrific drive of terror against the Negro people, robbing their cabins, arresting them, trying them and fining them

\$300 and sentencing them for six months. And they are now in prison, most of them are now sick with some kind of diseases as a result of poison put in their food, and we have a report that one of them has died. That is the present situation.

We say that in spite of this, just last month a committee of action, composed of only women, under the leadership of the Share-Croppers Union, went to the C.W.A. officials and demanded relief. The first time one of the women comrades went alone. She couldn't get anything, and the second time she went, she took with her some more women, and at this time they demanded some relief right then, and they got it before they left the office.

At the present time we also notice that one of the main features in our organization in the struggles of the Negro share-croppers and tenants has been the arousing of the white tenants and drawing them nearer to the share-croppers union and Communist Party. At the present time they are seeking the unity of the white and Negro Share Croppers in order to prepare resolutions to send to the President and Secretary of Agriculture and to the State and Local officials. But one of our serious weaknesses has been that we have not organized any of these white farmers to engage them in class struggle with the Negro Share-croppers together with the white workers in committees to go to the landlords and local officials to demand relief. Right now we have tremendous opportunities for doing this thing,—organizing the Negro and white workers in support of the struggle for Negro rights and for the right of self-determination. This is one of our main weaknesses,—the failure to organize the white farmers. Because we know that it is very clear the reason why these white masses are coming nearer to us is precisely because of the past struggles developed by the Share-Croppers and Tenants in Tallapoosa in 1931-32.

On the question of our Party, at the present time we can witness a slight gain. We can now say that just now our Party has begun to function as a real leader of the Share-Croppers and Tenants in the South and as a leader of the struggle for Negro rights and self-determination for the Black Belt. We know that in the past it has been very, very difficult to organize the white farmers and share-croppers and even white workers in the city, but even at the present time we can say that more than 100 white workers are members of the Communist Party or trade unions under our leadership.

In line with the Open Letter adopted at the Extraordinary Party Conference last July, we must say that our Party in District No. 17 has begun to apply in practice this line. It was pointed out in the Letter that the immediate tasks, one of the immediate tasks of the Party was the fight for

the struggle for equal rights for the Negro masses and for the right of self-determination in the Black Belt. This was already begun, taking the fact that we have now begun to work in this direction by establishing our Party on a more basic foundation, a stronger foundation by developing better leadership, by removing the headquarters of the Share-Croppers Union into Montgomery, it being the central town of the entire Alabama Black Belt, and in this very town here we are now organizing the proletarians in this city who will take leadership in leading the farming masses in their struggles. The fact that we have not realized the importance of drawing into our organization the agricultural wage workers and formulating special demands for these workers, drawing them into the Party, placing them in the responsible positions and giving them the leadership along with the poorer strata of farmers, has been one of our main weaknesses.

We might characterize the Black Belt now as a great arena in which there stand the oppressed Negro share-croppers and tenants, together with the white workers, standing face to face, with the landlords and the bankers on the other side. We can see now that the masses in the Black Belt are waiting to see what the Communist Party will do. The Negro masses in the Black Belt and in the South as a whole have begun to organize as never before into the Share-Croppers Union and into the Party. This is precisely because the Party has made a slight turn in its work and begun to get down to business and begun to carry out its real purpose and aim in the south and the Negro and white masses in the South are beginning to realize that the Communist Party is their Party. The tremendous revolutionary upsurge of the masses, particularly of the Negro masses in the South can be seen in the increase of the membership of the I.L.D., mostly Negro workers and farmers, in the tremendous growth of the sharecroppers union where 3,000 share croppers, tenants, agricultural wage workers, women, men and children have been drawn in since July 10th, 1933. And also the rapid drawing into the Party of Negro and white workers, working in the most basic industries in the South, namely the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, which is an affiliate company of the U. S. Steel Corporation and the Republic Steel. Here in this particular industry which is the stronghold of the Southern capitalists and part of the stronghold of the American capitalists in this particular industry for the establishment of our Party units.

On the question of the struggle for Negro rights and on the question of the struggle for the right of self-determination for the Black Belt. At this particular time, it is important to see that there are wonderful and tremendous possibilities existing in the South, especially among the Negro

share-croppers, tenants and workers, in spite of the terror, in spite of every kind of obstacle that has been raised before the Negro share-croppers in their union. We have succeeded in crossing over the Alabama line into Georgia and have begun to establish the union and the Communist Party. It is very clear also, comrades, to see that the main task of our Party at the present time, in the agrarian Black Belt, the immediate task of the Party, is to develop struggles among the share croppers, drawing in the white share-croppers and tenants into the union and Party, to support the Negro share-croppers in their struggles for equal rights, in the struggle for the right of self-determination, the basic task of our whole movement in the South. This means the educating of our membership throughout the union, raising this question in every single local of our union, and especially in every single unit of our Party; popularizing and explaining the slogan for self-determination in the Black Belt, for equal rights for the Negroes.

We thought some time ago that it was sufficient to put out a strong leaflet and at the bottom, demand the right of self-determination in the Black Belt. But we found that this has not been enough. The Communist Party is going to actually become the general staff of this struggle for the right of self-determination in the Black Belt by organizing the white farmers and share-croppers into the union, into committees of action around specific, immediate demands, developing struggles, creating demonstrations wherever possible, create a barrage of protest against eviction, linking up these struggles with the main struggle of our Party, and that is the struggle for Negro rights and the struggle for self-determination. What will have to be done is the leadership of local struggles on a mass basis, including the white farmers, where we see they are ready to support the Negro masses in their struggle for their rights. Again I want to emphasize, that in view of the situation existing in the South, particularly among the Negro people in the Black Belt, that the Party must bring to the forefront more sharply than ever before the struggle for Negro rights, and for self-determination, by explaining to the Negro and white workers what this is, what is the right of self-determination. They want to know what the right of self-determination can do for us.

---

## The United Front Policy Wins Militant Socialist Workers to the Party

*By ASCHE, California*

COMRADE chairman, comrade delegates:

I bring greetings to you from the most recent converts to the Communist Party—the 350 militant Socialists in District 13 that have joined the Communist Party since Dec. 1st, 1933. I think that this example given to you by District 13 should serve to inspire every other district represented to go out and do likewise.

District 13 has demonstrated that a united front can accomplish striking results. District 13 was not satisfied in making a mechanical appeal for a united front with the Socialists; it was not content with merely sending out form letters, with going through the customary phrase-making and the customary routine gestures. To the contrary, the district merely used the formal letter as a starting point. I think it has no illusions as to the reception this letter would receive at the hands of the state executive committee of California. Therefore the letter was addressed not only to the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of California but also to its members. With that in mind they proceeded to mimeograph this letter and circularize it to all 60 locals and branches of the Socialist Party of California.

The results were quite startling. As you know, the Socialist Party higher bodies function very slowly, with the result that many of the locals, seeing in this letter an honest, sincere desire for a united front, responded, sent letters to District 13 expressing their desire for a united front and moreover going on record with resolutions endorsing such a united front and demanding of the Executive Committee a united front on a state-wide scale. Before the Socialist State Executive Committee started wheeling into action there were some 20—25 locals or branches that had declared their intention to have a united front with the Communist Party. The appeal for the united front was made on the basis of the immediate needs in our territory. The appeal for a united front of struggle was made on the following points:

1. To help strikers with strike relief funds.
2. Fight evictions, gas and water shut-offs.
3. Against imperialist war;
4. Against fascism;
5. For repeal of the criminal syndicalist law—points on which the Socialists and Communists could get together.

Within two or three weeks there was open rebellion. A prelude was the action of the State Executive Committee in

removing me as state secretary because I had voted for the united front as a state committeeman. The trial was a public one although we had to fight to make it public. It was open to all members of the Party and this trial was used as a means of demonstrating to the rank and file the essential viciousness, the essentially reactionary tendencies of the State Executive Committee. This effort was quite successful. As a result of this trial a spontaneous rank and file committee was formed the very evening of the trial. This rank and file committee for investigation and action was exactly what its name implied. It investigated everything we could lay our hands on and we found plenty; and it gave the Socialist Party of California more action than it had had in the previous ten years. In fact the Socialist Party of California got so much action after that that it overexerted itself and is now suffering a serious relapse.

In the brief time allotted to me I would particularly like to emphasize the absolute necessity in making an approach to Socialists either individually or as groups to beware of attacking Socialist Party leaders in general terms. I think we are too prone to do that and when we do that even a left wing Socialist who may be coming along throws his back up. If we want to attack the reactionary leaders of the Socialist Party, and I doubt that there are any of us that don't want to attack them, if we want to expose them there is only one way to do it, that is to be armed with all the facts and documentary evidence.

In California in our drive against the Socialist Party leaders we have never made a single statement that we could not back up with facts, preferably with documentary evidence bearing the signatures of the leaders. It is because of this fact very largely that we have been able to win over such a very large segment of the Socialist Party of California. Let us enumerate the results so that we can realize it is very much worthwhile to seriously consider the possibility of the united front, even when we know in advance that the Socialist Party top will reject it. Such rejection clearly calls for a concerted exposure to the Socialist Party rank and file of its reformist and social fascist leadership. This is not optional; it is obligatory.

In California prior to the offer of the united front by the Communist Party to the Socialist Party the Socialist Party had 1234 bonafide members, based on dues payments in much the same way as our membership is based on dues payment. Today they have less than 800 on a dues paying basis, so that we see the united front has worked a two-fold benefit. It has not only increased our ranks by 15% but it has decreased their ranks by one-third. However, this is only a part of the gain that we have made. I think the most im-

portant gain we have made is that we have won over at least 70% of their most effective workers and leaders locally. Among the leaders and workers in the Socialist Party that have joined the C. P. in recent months are at least six local secretaries, three federation or district secretaries, and three platform speakers.

While no special effort was made to win over members of the Young Peoples Socialist League, as such, we have already gained as converts following our recent united front mass meeting against War and Fascism two leading officials of the Young Peoples Socialist League and more are expected to join. Here again, I wish to make a distinction between state and national leaders and local leaders. Moreover, the morale of the S. P. in California is at an all time low level.

In touring the state I found one very grave condition locally in which some very enthusiastic comrade without any facts, unwarrantedly and without justification attacked a socialist local leader with the result that we have lost that local. The local leaders in the main are absolutely sincere; they are nothing more nor less than rank and file members who happen to be in local positions because there is nobody else. Some Communists seem to think that a leader is a leader whether he leads 10 or 100 or 10,000. I wish to caution those here to be careful when they attack. In that connection I would like again to emphasize particularly to the older comrades here that a very large part of the rank and file of the Socialist Party is sincere: this is demonstrated by the fact that 350 out of 1200 Socialists in California have joined the Communist Party in the last five months. Carried out on a national scale following the rejection of a national united front by the S. P. similar efforts upon the part of all districts would result in 3,500 new converts and the further reduction of the S. P. effectiveness and membership. If you overlook this fact you are not going to be able to accomplish very much. You are playing right into the hands of the social fascist leaders. If you recognize, however, that a very large part of these members, rank and file members and lesser leaders of the Socialist Party are sincere; if you recognize that, mistaken though they may be, they are laboring under the illusion that they are working for Socialism in the Socialist Party, if you recognize this truth, then and then only will we be able to concentrate our forces and defeat the social fascists, the handmaidens of world fascism.

---

## The Work of the Textile Unions

*By ANNA BURLAK*

THE 13th Plenum Resolution of the C.I. places the problem of trade union work and especially the trade union in the basic industries as our most important task if we are to win over the majority of the American working class.

In line with this, the Central Committee has not only selected major districts as concentration points but also industries among which is the textile industry. I want to deal with only a couple of problems which face the textile union because I feel that these particular problems face every one of our revolutionary trade unions in this country.

First, the question of independent unions and our attitude towards them, our work with them, and secondly the question of the United Front. Since the NRA has been applied in the U. S. there has been a tremendous growth of independent unions of various characters: reformist unions that are just a counter-part of the A. F. of L., in some places leaning very much towards company unionism; unions built spontaneously by workers on their own initiative and also unions built by us. These unions have grown up first, because of the great desire on the part of the workers to organize, especially since they were under the impression that the NRA gives them the right to organize. Secondly, because of the great mistrust of the A. F. of L.; and, thirdly, because in many cases our red unions were not in the field. Regardless of the category into which these independent unions fall, unless we as Communists work within these unions and build our fractions within these unions, these unions are bound to disintegrate or degenerate into counterparts of the A. F. of L. The great danger that affects our comrades and we have examples in the textile industry where our comrades built independent unions) is the fear of injecting our revolutionary trade union policy into these independent unions. They try to build a union which will be between the A. F. of L. reactionary policy and the revolutionary policy of the revolutionary unions. The comrades say, "Well, we can't go forward too fast because we will immediately be classified as reds." Comrades, especially because of the sharpening attack of the bosses upon our trade unions, this policy is not going forward at all. It is not even standing still; it is going backward. There is no middle ground on the question. Unions will be either red class struggle unions or they will be yellow reactionary unions, but not somewhere in between. Reds, communists can win over workers in the most conservative areas by boldly presenting our revolutionary program. This was proven in our work in Salem, Mass. where it was possible for me to

go—and, of course, I was not unknown in New England; the capitalist press has taken care of that—where the U.T.W. had 1,800 workers in the A. F. of L. for some 14 years. It was possible to work with these workers, to gain leadership of the strike and to win the demands of this strike. We put through a move where these 1,800 workers unanimously voted to break away from the U.T.W. and organize an independent union. Some of these workers developed into the most militant fighters. Especially was this true of the women. In fact, at one meeting where Mr. Thos. McMahon tried to speak to these strikers, the women jumped up and said, "Mr. McMahon, you talk about God, but you don't care whether our children starve," and pulled him off the platform and practically tore his clothes off.

Today that same independent union is quickly degenerating into a reactionary union, and that is because after the Salem strike, the Paterson strike broke out among the silk workers, and the work in Salem was not continued. We built that independent union, we helped the workers break away from the U.T.W., but we did not have complete leadership of these workers because of not building our Party in that center and not continuing work inside the new Independent Union. With the rise of the independent union, it becomes doubly important to bring in the United front. Where we do fight for the unity, where we fight for it correctly and boldly, the workers recognize this and come to us. In Washington, D. C., after the breakout of the national silk strike, we went down for a conference with Senator Wagner on the national silk strike. There were exactly 38 labor representatives, including McMahon and other U.T.W. leaders, independent union leaders and the N.T.W.U. In that conference with Wagner, McMahon tried to split the delegation by isolating the members of the N.T.W.U. by calling them Communists and Reds. We fought McMahon along the line we fight an important enemy as one who is helping the unity of the boss and the government through the N.R.A. against the workers. It is necessary to develop the greatest amount of unity and present one front of all workers against the bosses. McMahon walked out and called upon the independent unions to walk out, but because we fought for unity of all workers against bosses regardless of union affiliation these independent representatives stayed with the N.T.W.U. and they were the basis for the formation later on in the strike, of the biggest united front conference which we held in Allentown, Pa.

In Paterson because of the application of the United Front, because of our constant fight for unity, the rank and file at one point forced the leaders of the A. F. of L. to come down to our headquarters during a strike and ask for

speakers at one of their meetings. In Allentown the rank and file members took their leadership boldly and brought them to a unity meeting. They told their leaders "We want unity, and you must accept the unity," and they had to do so.

One major point we fell down on in Paterson and which I feel is the important point in every industry, is that while we made good agitational speeches from the outside, calling upon the workers to unite, with us and the workers wanted unity, we did not work inside the American Federation of Silk Workers in order to organize a group that will fight for unity from the inside. Had we definitely organized the fight from within the American Federation of Silk Workers, we would not have had the situation where a renegade, Eli Keller, was able to get up at a strike committee meeting and say, "I will see this strike in hell before I see unity with the N.T.W.U." This would not have happened if we had a rank and file group to force Keller to accept the united front.

I want to deal with one last point. Comrade Browder made an excellent contribution to the Convention in his report in dealing with the importance of developing women cadres in our Party. Especially with the coming danger of war and the possibility that a lot of our men comrades will be out at the front pretty soon. I feel that many of our Party functionaries in the field still take the fact that it is necessary to develop women leaders, with a grain of salt. It might not come out openly, but there is that hidden insinuation. And there is still skepticism as to the capabilities of women becoming leaders. I know that women, although they are militant in strike struggles and demonstrations, are still hesitant to get up and speak in meetings; especially when they get the feeling from the men that they don't know enough to get up and speak at a meeting. It is necessary for every one of our comrades, especially the men comrades, to devote more time to encouraging women to take leading parts in our trade union and Party work. There is still a certain skepticism as to whether women can become district organizers of the Communist Party. I have heard this expressed by many comrades — "she is a woman, how can she be a district organizer?" This is the same idea that existed on the part of some comrades towards Negro comrades. It is incorrect, and against the entire line of the Party. I agree with a previous woman comrade speaker from the Women's Auxiliary of the N.M.U. that for every male worker we take into the Party, let us take in a woman worker, and develop the best among them into leading positions in the Communist Party.

---

## Concentration in the Chicago Stockyards

By A WOMAN PACKING-HOUSE WORKER

I WOULD like to give a picture of just what we have in the stockyards in Chicago so that the comrades will not get the impression that it is just a large factory. The stockyards are located in one concentrated territory. The stockyards surrounded by a large fence form Packinghouse Town which is controlled by three large trusts: Armour, Wilson, and Swifts. 40,000 Negro, White and Mexican workers are employed there and wield tremendous influence in the city.

We find, realizing the importance of the stockyards, that the A. F. of L. and an independent union, the Stockyard Labor Council, have been making every effort to get the workers under their leadership. The A. F. of L. has already organized under its leadership the stock handlers and the butchers. In the smaller shops the stockyard Labor Council has 100% organization. The status of our union is very weak. In connection with this industry, there is an article in the April Party Organizer by comrade Bill Gebert, our district organizer, in which he discussed in detail the question of the three unions and the unity conference that is being developed. This article should be read in order to understand the situation in this industry.

As far as our methods of concentration are concerned, they have been very general, with very little work accomplished. Concentration has been more or less a question of coming down to the stockyards and selling the Young Workers, distributing a leaflet, etc., not realizing that the territory around there, the blocks where our comrades live, and our unions are, is where the comrades should carry on work, amongst the yards workers.

In the stockyard industry, there is a trend towards drawing in women, to replace men, paying them lower wages, women being paid 37½ cents an hour and men 42c an hour and up. Women are being drawn into this industry because they are preparing them to take the place of the men in the event of war. Therefore, we agree with Comrade Browder's report that special emphasis must be placed upon the question of developing women into leadership of our movement, and drawing women workers into our movement.

The main problem at the present time that faces our union and our movement inside the yards is the development of systematic work for department nuclei and department groups. The only way in which these can be built is on the basis of the particular grievances of the workers in each department. In the stockyards, we have three major grievances. The terrific speed up being the major grievance. In

one department two lines ran 700 hogs an hour with four girls doing the labelling. Now 500 hogs are run and one girl does the labelling. This speed up is characteristic of every department resulting in many accidents. As a matter of fact most workers go once every three months to the doctor. Another grievance is the wet floors and stairs that result in accidents to the workers.

In this connection when we discussed the question of special youth demands, we did not consider the question of these major grievances but were looking for something special. However, we found out that any grievance that affects young workers, is a youth demand, while affecting adult workers, also.

Our nucleus also had a bad outlook stressing more the importance of outside work and belly-aching about lack of section concentration. In my department, we succeeded in getting together a group of girls who discussed the question of sticking together, and formed an action group as a result of which we dominated the entire floor. Grievances arose to which the entire group reacted, and we were able to win various demands, such as rest periods, etc. I developed a deep, personal friendship with one of the girls and came in contact, thru her, with workers from another strategic department of the industry. In this other department thru personal contact, we succeeded in putting up a fight for a half hour rest period. This shows how thru personal contact we are able to carry on work. Thru this personal contact also we built another definite group in that department.

One of the weaknesses in my work was the failure to raise the political consciousness through consistent studying, etc. of the workers and actually recruiting them into the Y.C.L. and Party and more into the union. This is a serious weakness of many of our shop workers at the present time.

One of the major problems is the Negro question. The stockyards is the center of white chauvinism in Chicago. In 1919 the bosses utilized the Negro workers to break the strike which resulted in race riots. The company is doing everything possible to maintain this race hatred. If it is known that white and Negro workers associate together, they are immediately fired and blacklisted from the yards. Inside the yard, there is a tremendous discrimination, with Negro workers working in the worst possible jobs. In the offal department which is one of the dirtiest, wettest departments, where the guts are cut, only Negroes are employed. In the sliced bacon, one of the clean departments, only white workers are employed. However thru our work, we did succeed, thru our actions and thru many discussions with the workers, in breaking down chauvinism to such an extent that we established social relationships between the Negro and white girls inside the dept. and after work in the homes.

There is another weakness of the Party District I would like to name that is the fact that the Party has absolutely failed to give the Y.C.L. Nucleus real guidance. Our unit has no Party rep. attending meetings, the Party doesn't have discussions with us and take up our problems. The Party District has never taken up the question of the Y.C.L. unit and has no discussion with us personally on our work. This is something the Party must change. In closing I would like to say the following: We realize that we've got to increase our tempo so we will be able to lead the coming strike struggles. We've decided therefore to make a challenge, and we have a basis to fulfill it, that we challenge the Pittsburgh packing house Y.C.L. to establish 2 department nuclei by the time of the National Convention of the Y.C.L., June 15.

---

## Lessons From Needle Trades

*By N.*

**F**ROM the needle trades, although a light industry, many political lessons can be learned, especially from the experiences of the last general strike in the dress trade. We are acquainted with the fact that the NTWIU played an important role in the last general strike, yet we did not successfully gain a large number of workers to join our NTWIU.

I believe it is important that the comrades know the situation in the fractions of the dress trade. I want to quote from the report of Comrade Kuusinen at the 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I.:

"Without a persistent struggle against opportunists passivity in its ranks, not a single Communist Party will achieve success in winning mass influence in the factories, in the trade unions, in the rural districts, and in the army. It must be said that in the majority of cases we still work badly in these spheres in all capitalist countries; we have not yet sufficiently learned the methods of Bolshevik mass work."

This is the root of the trouble of the dress department in not winning the masses of dressmakers. But, we must know also that we did try to do something, that the masses of workers, 60,000 dressmakers did come out, and when they came out we were fast asleep. We tried to counteract the sell-out of the ILGWU misleaders, and to find out how it was possible to get some gains for the workers. Just because we were in the field and raised the slogan not to go back to work without increase in wages, etc. This helped

to get some kind of gain. Immediately after the workers came out on strike the ILGWU misleaders attempted to send the workers back without a settlement, and because of our correct slogan we succeeded to help the workers to get some gains. Later on some comrades began to develop a theory of liquidating the industrial union, when the Needle Trades Union was most needed in the dress trade.

We have many young women workers ready to do work. We have not found the method of drawing in these young workers. We must correct this. We must draw in young comrades and help to develop them in strengthening the work in the shops in order to have a better success.

Now, I want to bring out the question of the youth. We did not prepare a group of young workers and give them responsibility; only thru guidance can this be done. This is important for other trades—to know just how to build groups of workers, to teach them how to take the initiative in order to be able to plant our roots in the shops. This is what we must learn how to do, particularly in the TUUL. We cannot do work like the AFL, wait for business agents to come around. We must be the organizers of the workers, teach the workers to be leaders in their shops and develop leaders of the shop committees. If we take time to build leadership in every individual shop then the TUUL unions have a possibility of existing.

In Maimon and Sanger Shop, we had a shop unit and the young women comrades were leaders of the shop, known as Communists, who had a real following in the shop and everything was carried on under the leadership of these young comrades. When wage cuts began to take place in the industry, we still maintained our good conditions in our shop. Finally, we were locked out, and because we had established good leadership in the shop, we were able to give the bosses a real good fight—a fight that the dress manufacturers will never forget. For 11 weeks in zero weather we put up a fight. The majority of workers fighting together—were women and young workers, Negro and white.

Here, I want to deal a little bit on the question of developing women workers. I haven't much time and I want to stress on this because I feel it hasn't been touched upon enough. We must realize the importance of developing women cadres and doing work among the women workers.

I want to quote again what Comrade Kuusinen says:

“We have not yet learned how to carry on Bolshevik work among proletarian women. The first task of all the sections of the Comintern in this sphere is to get rid once and for all of the underestimation of this work, to

get rid of the idea that this work is not part of general Party work."

If Comrade Kuusinen can put this in his report, we must certainly let this sink into our minds. This question was raised at the Extraordinary Conference. It seems we are still talking about it, about developing women cadres also in the shops. Some think because the comrades work in the shops we don't have to develop them. We must especially develop them because they work in the shop. It is particularly important that we develop the Negro comrades, because the Negro women in the shops are the most exploited. At the Convention yesterday, a telegram from Detroit called away many comrades. This shows the American working class is active, and we are glad. But we must also see the other side of it. When comrades are called away suddenly, as may happen any time, when are we going to prepare the leadership to take their places? You can't push anyone into leadership, you have got to guide and develop them into leadership. Now is the time to prepare women cadres. We must plant this important fact in our mind, go back and do something about it and not only talk about it. At this Convention there are whole solid delegations that have not one woman comrade. This is deplorable. Unless we hammer on this we will not do anything about it.

On the question of the youth. We must cease sneering at the youth and calling them children. We must realize how important a role the youth plays in these times of revolution, wars, etc. In this period we have to prepare and if we want to carry in life that most important slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union", we must prepare the Party in the shops thru the women, the men and young workers, spreading out influence and building a strong Communist Party and YCL among the millions of workers in the United States.

---

## Organize the Farm Women

*By V. S.*

**T**HE Party must not overlook the importance of organizing the poor and middle-class farmers.

The farmers in the past have showed great militancy in their strikes, hundreds of them fought on the picket lines. Fighting deputies, sheriffs and state militia.

Also the farmers have put up strong fights against the mortgage sharks to save farm homes. June 1933 the farmers of Wisconsin supported the hunger march of unemployed

to Madison. That alone should prove that there is all possibility of winning the farmers over to the side of the proletariat, as their allies and not their enemies. The Party must give more guidance to the farm movement in the future, then it has given in the past, because the farm movement has not grown as it should have grown. At some places it has even taken a serious fall. There is also another great danger, and that is, the Farmer-Labor Party rooting itself in the middle west and in Wisconsin. I fully understand the great importance of the Party to turn to the shop. As Lenin stated: "That every factory should be a fortress for the proletariat." At the same time, the Party should not overlook the importance of winning the toiling farmers.

Comrades, there is one point that has been left out completely at this great Convention, and that is, the importance of organizing the farm women. Here I want to state that we cannot build a revolutionary farm organization in the country side unless we win the farm women. In the few places where we have succeeded in getting the farm women out in the struggle we have found them to be very militant and where we have won the farmer's wife we have won all the family. On the other hand, if we do not take definite steps in winning the farm women, our enemies, the capitalist class, will continue to use these farm women against us in every way and form. Use them as scabs to drive milk trucks through picket lines to uphold the capitalist system, and to work against the Party itself and against the Soviet Union. Comrades, there is every possibility to organize the farmers. They have many grievances, these farm women work from 14-16 hours a day. They have no time for rest or pleasure of any sort. Besides, these women have to watch their children grow up without necessities of life such as fresh fruit and vegetables.

We must increase our work among them. While we recognize the necessity of working primarily among the women in industry, we must realize the tremendous importance of also working among the farm women.

---

## The League of Struggle for Negro Rights in Harlem

*By* MACKAWAIN

**I** WANT to speak specifically for the L.S.N.R. council of Greater New York.

You will recall that before the Extraordinary Conference of our Party last July, we had a revolutionary upsurge of the Negro masses around the Scottsboro case. At the

very moment the legal-lynch verdict was made known in the Scottsboro case, the Negro masses spontaneously surged into the streets, demanding working class justice for these innocent boys. It was these workers who first suggested the march on Washington to protest this infamous verdict. When the masses themselves first suggested this action, the Negro reformist leaders tried to organize this march in order to prevent it from going through. A few days before the scheduled start for Washington, these Negro misleaders suddenly announced that: A march at this time would do more harm than good to the Scottsboro boys. It was at this time that the I.L.D. exposed these reformist leaders, and carried this march through successfully.

A few weeks later at the Extraordinary Conference of the Party held in New York, it was decided to revive the L.S.N.R. which would stand as an effective bulwark for the Negro masses against Negro reformism. The Extraordinary Conference made a momentous decision when it sent one of its best leaders into Harlem, Comrade James W. Ford, because Harlem is the ideological center of Negro Reformism in the United States. After the conference, Comrade Ford called a membership meeting of the Party in Harlem and proceeded to set up control tasks in carrying out the Open Letter to the Party.

In building the L.S.N.R. we were confronted with the problem of getting adequate forces to do this work. A division of work was brought about in the units, and several comrades in each unit were assigned to L.S.N.R. work. These comrades were instructed to canvass their respective territories for some possible issue around which neighborhood struggles could be developed, giving a base upon which to firmly establish L.S.N.R. branches. Many struggles were developed and branches set up on a neighborhood scale. These struggles were against the rotten conditions in the Harlem Hospital; against discrimination on the C.W.A.; the murder of James Matthews in the prison of Welfare Island by the police, and exposed by the Daily Worker; against police brutality, etc. Before the decision to build the L.S.N.R. was made at the Extraordinary Conference, we had only one branch in New York with about 35 members. Today I can report 16 branches with 625 members out of a total of 1,000 recruited into the organization. In the struggles around the Harlem Hospital it was discovered that a Nazi doctor, who was the president of the Friends of New Germany, was on the surgical staff of the hospital. A campaign was launched against him in which he was exposed as carrying out the sterilization policy of the fascist Hitler. Thousands of signatures were collected and protest demonstrations held, forcing his resignation. The C.W.A. was forced to register the Ne-

groes in the neighborhoods in which they lived. Heretofore, all Negroes living outside Harlem were compelled to go to Harlem to register. The L.S.N.R. won the right for white and Negro workers on all C.W.A. projects to make up time lost on account of bad weather.

### The Struggle Against Petty-Bourgeois Nationalism

This is the first time I have attended a National Convention of our Party. For the first time in my nearly four years in the Party, I can say that I am clear on the correct line of the Party.

When I joined the Party the situation within the Party in Harlem was rotten. Petty-bourgeois nationalist tendencies were very rampant among our Negro comrades. Nearly every white comrade was charged with the crime of white-chauvinism, a vast majority of these charges had no foundation whatsoever. At this time, as a new member, it appeared to me that the duty of a Negro worker in the Party was to accuse a white worker of white chauvinism. The Party took no steps to check this unfair attitude of the Negro comrades toward the white comrades. This served as an adequate blanket under which petty-bourgeois Negro nationalist tendencies were covered. These very bad conditions were allowed to exist so long until our Negro comrades got the impression that petty-bourgeois tendencies within the Party are virtuous instead of dangerous. White-chauvinism was considered the only danger.

### The Struggle on Two Fronts.

As long as we have capitalism we will have white-chauvinism and petty-bourgeois nationalist tendencies to contend with; both are main props of imperialist reaction and therefore, both are main dangers to our Party, to the revolutionary class struggle. We must carry the fight on two fronts simultaneously; we must crush both where ever they show their poisonous heads. One cannot be a revolutionist unless one is thoroughly convinced of the correctness of the Communist line as the only way out for the whole working class. When ever a comrade slides down into the camp of imperialist reaction, it proves that he has never felt the urge to revolutionary action. Let us see what Comrade Lenin had to say on this question.

“It is not at all difficult to be a good revolutionist once the revolution has broken out—when all and everyone joins the revolution from mere enthusiasm, because it is the fashion, sometimes even from considerations of personal gain. It costs the proletariat labor, great labor and I may say excruciating pains, after the victory to rid itself of these pseudo-revolutionists. But it is far

more difficult, and yet more valuable, to know how to be a revolutionist, even when conditions are yet lacking for direct, general, truly mass and truly revolutionary action; to be able to defend the interests of the revolution by propaganda, agitation and organization, in non-revolutionary institutions and oftentimes in downright reactionary surroundings, among the masses incapable of immediately understanding the necessity for revolutionary methods.

"To be able to find, to sense, to determine the concrete plan of still incomplete revolutionary methods and measures, leading the masses to the real, decisive, final, great revolutionary struggle—this is the chief problem of modern Communism in Western Europe and America."

Let us go forward, white and black together in one solidarity to overthrow capitalism, and establish the United States of Soviet America.

---

## Eighth Convention Decided Upon Recruitment Campaign

**T**HE EIGHTH Party Convention decided to bring the membership of the Party up to 40,000 by the time of the Lenin Memorial. This is not an impossible task. Such a number can be reached and must be reached, but to carry it out, the District Committees must pay more attention to this important task of the Party. **We must double the recruiting power and cut the fluctuation in half.** If we apply this line, then the decision of the Eighth Party Convention will be realized. The Eighth Party Convention Manifesto to the American toiling masses must be systematically distributed as a means of recruiting workers into the Party. Furthermore, all Districts must take the necessary steps to utilize the election campaign, the Party Anniversary for the speeding up of the tempo in recruitment.

The dues-paying membership and initiation figures for January, February, March and April, 1934, are the following:

Dues Payments		Initiations	
January	24,737	January	2,000
February	22,344	February	2,003
March	24,784	March	3,100
April	22,011	April	2,084

These figures indicate that we are reaching a dangerous situation in the growth of our Party. Why? Firstly, because

the figure for March is the same as that of January. After January, our dues payments declined by 2,000. The figures for April show, a still further decline. In spite of the fact that between January and April, over 9,000 members were recruited into the Party, these 9,000 members do not appear in the dues-paying membership. This means that either those who paid the initiation fees are not yet in the ranks of the Party, or that a large percentage of the newly recruited, together with a high percentage of those previously recruited, are lost.

We give these figures so that all District Bureaus shall consider very seriously the problem of fluctuation. These figures indicate that the Eighth Party Convention has not noticeably stimulated the recruiting campaign as a daily task of the Party. They show that, with few exceptions, the struggles of the workers which are occurring in practically all districts, are not utilized for a speeding up of the tempo of recruitment.

In New York, for example, where in the last period recruiting has increased, the leading comrades report that after the workers fill out their application blanks, they find many of these blanks returned with the note: "unfit for Party". This situation which is also to be found in other districts, shows that we are confronted with the problem of correcting a complete misconception on the part of the lower functionaries of the type of member we shall recruit into the ranks of the Party; it shows that there are in the lower ranks many comrades who do not understand that our task is to recruit into the Party all honest workers who want to join the Party and who want to become Communists through the training which they will receive in the Party.

In the last two or three years, much good material has been issued explaining the reasons for the fluctuation, and popularizing the necessary measures to be taken to cut down the fluctuation. However, in many of the sections, there is still a looseness concerning dues payments, in making the life of the unit interesting and in making the new Party members feel at home in our ranks.

In line with the Eighth Party Convention, every district shall prepare an outline for discussion the units, stressing the importance of recruitment, the utilization of the struggle going on to bring into our ranks the best elements, etc., which will spur the activities of each individual Party member in this direction.

---