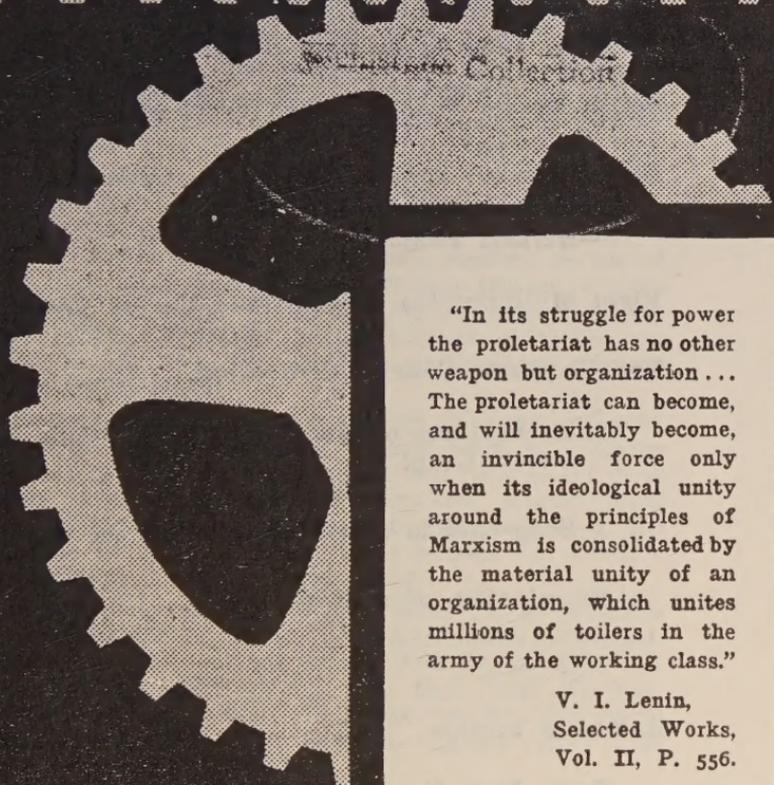


Party Organizer



"In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organization . . . The proletariat can become, and will inevitably become, an invincible force only when its ideological unity around the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organization, which unites millions of toilers in the army of the working class."

V. I. Lenin,
Selected Works,
Vol. II, P. 556.

Vol. VIII

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No. 8

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CONTENTS

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| | |
|--|----|
| After August First | 1 |
| A Section Reviews Its Plan of Work..... | 3 |
| Polish Masses Weld a United Front—T. A. R..... | 8 |
| Begin Without Further Delay the Intensified Campaign Against Unemployment —Herbert Benjamin | 12 |
| Fight Militarization of Children—Martha Campion.... | 14 |
| The Cleveland District Convention | 16 |
| Some Features of Our Trade Union Work —P. Grant | 16 |
| > A Shop Unit in a Steel Plant—A Steel Worker.... | 20 |
| Examination of a Shop Unit | 21 |
| | |
| Agit-prop Section | 24 |
| Train More Forces for the Revolutionary Movement | 24 |
| Double the “DAILY” Circulation | 29 |
| Tasks of the Communists..... | 32 |

PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. VIII

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After August First

AUGUST First, 1935, finds the nations of the world standing on the threshold of another World War, which will bring to the masses of toilers throughout the world misery far greater than that experienced in the great World War which engulfed the world twenty-one years ago.

The mad rulers of Hitler Germany are preparing for a speedy attack on the Soviet Union, hoping at the expense of the Workers' Fatherland to reclaim their position as one of the great imperialist world powers. Italian fascism is even today sending its troops to Africa, for a conquest of the Ethiopian people. Japanese imperialism is extending its domination in the Far East and is making new threats against the Soviet Union.

The struggle against war and fascism does not end with the August First demonstrations. August First only marks the **beginning** of the campaign against war, and is the first in a series of great anti-war demonstrations. August First must be considered only the day of mobilization of the forces of the Party and of the broad masses for a determined and continued struggle against war.

The preparations for August First were not as intensive and as broad as the seriousness of the situation demanded. The Party was not mobilized in the districts, sections and units to the same extent as for May Day. Real and sustained efforts were not made to approach the Socialist Party and the trade unions for the building of a great united front in the struggle against war.

The whole Party must be conscious of these weaknesses and shortcomings, and must exert itself to the utmost to overcome them in the campaign against war, which must now be in the very heart and center of every phase of Party activity. Every Party member must be acutely conscious that the struggle against war and fascism is not a routine part of the Party's program, but an urgent and immediate task to which all our energies must be devoted.

The war drums are beating today. Tomorrow our class brothers will be in the thick of the fight. Only a mighty united front of workers, farmers, intellectuals and all the

forces who are ready to struggle against war, to erect a mighty barricade against the war-makers, can stop the slaughter of millions of workers and farmers.

This is our task! We dare not fail! We must now, in all seriousness and with a consciousness of the urgency of the situation, mobilize all our forces and exert all our energies in the task of rallying the American masses for a real struggle against war. The campaign must be brought into every shop and factory, into every mine and mill, into the neighborhoods and the countryside. There should be no Socialist local, no local union of the A. F. of L., unapproached by our appeal for common struggle. No obstacle can be permitted to stand in the way of a united front. We must reach the millions with our appeal. For this the whole strength of the Party is needed.

Forward to the Struggle Against War!

"What is meant by Bolshevizing the Party?

"It means to . . . become a Party of the masses; to be a Party with its strongest roots among the decisive workers in the basic industries; it means to be a Party whose stronghold is in the shops, mines and factories, and especially in the biggest and most important ones; it means to be a Party that leads and organizes the struggles of all the oppressed people; brings them into firm alliance with the working class; it means to be a Party that answers every question of the struggle, that can solve every problem; it means to be a Party that never shrinks from difficulties, that never turns aside to find the easiest way, that learns how to overcome all deviations in its own ranks; . . . it means to become a Party that knows how to take difficulties and dangers and transform them into advantages and victories." (Report of Earl Browder to Eighth Convention, C.P.U.S.A.)

A Section Reviews Its Plan of Work

By Section Bureau, Section 1, District 8

ON March 23, 1935, Section 1, District 8 (Chicago) held a convention, at which a number of specific tasks on shop work, united front, and agit-prop work were adopted to be accomplished by July 1. In this article we shall critically review the work of the Section since that time, in the light of these tasks.

The Convention set the following tasks in shop work:

1. That the units in the International Harvester Company should function regularly and develop a program of activity by building the Farm Implements Workers Association, and to organize the Harvester workers 100 per cent into that union.

2. Through these activities ten new members were to be recruited into the Party by July 1.

3. To stabilize the shop paper on a regular monthly issue basis.

4. That the other shop units in the Section develop new contacts around concrete issues and that each unit recruit at least two new members for the Party.

5. To organize at least two new shop units in our territory.

6. All eligible Party members to join the trade union in their respective field.

How did we organize to carry out these tasks? To what extent has this plan of work been accomplished?

Section Committee members were assigned to work with the shop units, so that the Section Committee would at all times be in close touch with the work of the units. As a result the International Harvester units are now meeting regularly, and the comrades have a clear perspective of the tasks facing them. For May First, about 6,000 leaflets were distributed at the gates of the McCormick and Tractor Plants, calling upon the workers to organize and fight for a 25 per cent increase in wages and to struggle against the speed-up. The leaflet also reminded the workers about the militant traditions centering around the McCormick Reaper Works and the heroic struggle of the workers during May Day, 1886.

The plan to issue the shop paper once a month has not materialized. This is a very serious shortcoming, which must be corrected.

Only one new member has been recruited for the Party.

The membership in the Farm Implement Workers Association is growing slowly, although many new contacts are being developed.

What means do we have to strengthen the Party influence in International Harvester? Through the regular issuance of the shop paper we can contact thousands of workers and so develop a base both for the Party and for the union. We can explain to the workers the need for a real union with democratically elected officers, and with a program of action. The units must see the importance of this and decide to issue the shop paper regularly every month. The comrades in the units must become subscribers to the **Daily Worker**, make a drive for "subs" in the shop, and a regular sale of the **Daily Worker** in front of the shop gates must be established. The street units in this concentration territory should take responsibility for this task.

Only two of the six shop units have recruited new members. A shop unit in the social work agencies was very active in the recent struggle against the three per cent sales tax and for the opening of the relief stations. During the struggle they recruited five members for the Party and set up a new unit in another section of the District. A unit in a fur shop has recruited two new members in recent weeks and their outlook is a very healthy one, in contrast to the situation several months ago at which time a suggestion was made by a leading comrade in the Fur Workers Industrial Union to dissolve this unit, due to a temporary defeat of the workers in a strike.

The other shop units have not shown any evidence of concentrated effort to carry out the Section Convention Resolution. These comrades must check up on their unit plans and activize their entire membership.

United Front Work

On United Front Work, the Section Convention drew up the following plan of work:

1. To assign all available Party members to establish fractions in mass organizations.
2. Each unit to contact one union and one mass organization in its territory for the United Front May Day Demonstration.
3. To organize one Y.C.L. unit on the north side of the Section and to increase the Y.C.L. membership to at least 50.
4. To intensify our work in building neighborhood unemployed locals; to work in the locals of the unemployed organization in our Section and to popularize the fight for the passage of the Workers' Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance Bill, H.R. 2827.

5. To recruit at least 50 new members by means of these activities into the street and shop units.

We can report that fractions have been set up in one unemployed organization, in one union and in two workers' clubs. The units have not been very successful in contacting outside organizations for either the May Day Demonstration or for the May 15 Demonstration on the relief situation. The comrades in the Negro territory succeeded in getting the floor in a number of churches and were able to rally workers for both occasions. At an open hearing held several weeks ago in a church in this territory, more than fifty non-Party Negro workers were present, a number of whom took the floor in the hearing.

Three Party members have been assigned to work in the Y.C.L. which has hitherto been scandalously neglected in our Section. Definite contact has been established with the Section Y.C.L. organizer and plans have been drawn up to build the Y.C.L. Four hundred **Young Workers** were sold for May Day and 625 for United Youth Day. There are several Party units that order regular bundles of the **Young Worker**. Although no new Y.C.L. units have been established, the life of the old units has been improved. One young comrade has established a Youth Club in the neighborhood.

To date (June 1) we have recruited 25 members into the Party, which is just 50 per cent of our quota. Nine were employed workers. Fluctuation is not as serious today as it was several months ago but for the past three months there has been some loss due to transfers from our Section, which has been offset by our gains in recruiting.

The Work of Agitation and Propaganda

In the field of agitation and propaganda we set ourselves the following tasks to be accomplished by July 1:

1. At least one or two new members from each unit to attend the Section or Central Workers' School.

2. To draw up plans for street meetings and forums.

3. Circulation of **Daily Worker** to reach at least 300. Each unit to establish a circulation to correspond at least to its own membership. To establish regular **Daily Worker** sales at busy street intersections and in front of a number of shops.

4. To increase literature sales to a least \$70 per month, by having literature at all mass meetings in our territory as well as by canvassing our neighborhood.

An eight-week class for new members in Principles of Communism was established and a more or less regular attendance of twelve was recorded. A three-weeks course in

Public Speaking, with an average attendance of fifteen was not only helpful technically to our comrades but was an important step in assisting a number of comrades to clarify their ideas on basic theoretical questions. At the regular unit organizers' meetings and unit agit-prop meetings as well as at some Section Committee meetings discussions on current political issues were held.

The West Side Workers' Forum, which was raided by police last winter has functioned very well during the past few months. Forums are held there about five times a week, a great variety of subjects are discussed and an attendance of 300 workers is not an uncommon event. A number of open air meetings have been held, and with one exception, when the speakers failed to appear, they've been uniformly successful, resulting in the sale of literature and in fairly good collections. At these meetings the relief situation and H.R. 2827 have been the main topics of discussion.

The circulation of the **Daily Worker** has increased from 95 during the Section Convention to 155 at the end of May. We are still 145 short of our quota. Some units are lagging behind very seriously. There are several street units that get regular bundle orders of 25, and there are several units that order no bundles at all. Only four or five units are really active in the present drive to increase the circulation of the **Daily**. The shop units in particular must discuss this question and see to it that not only every member of the unit is a reader of the **Daily**, but that the paper is popularized in the shops. Those street units that are now placing no bundle orders must remedy this disgraceful situation at once.

Two comrades have volunteered to sell **Dailies** in the Loop. More unemployed comrades should be involved in the task of establishing Red Builders in our Section.

Literature sales averaged more than \$60 during the month of March, but declined to a \$50 average during the months of April and May. While this is nearly 600 per cent above the sale of literature in the spring of 1934, we can reach our quota of \$70, if we organize the work properly so that each comrade will be responsible for the sale of at least 20c worth of literature every month. In this field, the work is very uneven. For example, one unit sells on an average of eight or nine dollars worth of literature a month, while another unit will only average sales amounting to 60c. Some units always take the assigned quota of theoretical literature as well as pamphlets, while others complain either that they are "saturated" with literature or that they are broke. There can be no saturation point in literature sales if we are to take seriously the Party slogan of "reaching the

millions". With one exception the shop units have not even supplied their own comrades with our basic literature.

That our inner Party life has improved can be seen from the record of dues payments. In January, 1935, the dues payment was 70 per cent of the registered membership. This has risen steadily until now we have a record of 100 per cent. The functioning of our street units has also improved.

We can only become a decisive force in our section and develop a basis for a class struggle Labor Party if we strengthen and improve our work among the masses. One way of doing this is to carry out our Section Plan 100 per cent, and steps must be taken both by the Section and the units to see that this is done.

EDITORIAL NOTE: While we greet this critical examination by a Section Bureau of the carrying out of its plan of work, we must ask the Section Bureau to explain **WHY** the plan was not fulfilled? The Section Committee, as well as the units, especially the shop units, must answer the question: why was the adopted plan not carried out? Was it too big a task? If this is the case, then it shows that the Section did not seriously and realistically plan its work. If the task was not too big, then it is evident that the Section did not seriously organize its forces to carry it out. What was wrong, comrades? We must make an end to our practice of adopting grandiose plans, which remain unfulfilled. The struggle against paper decisions must be applied here concretely. We expect the comrades from Chicago to answer this question and tell us not only the extent to which they fulfilled their plan, but also the reasons why they failed to fulfill it completely.

Polish Masses Weld a United Front

By T. A. R.

A UNITED FRONT Convention of a language group, representing over 200,000 workers from numerous and diverse organizations, is in itself noteworthy. However, an analysis of the achievements and shortcomings of the Third Polish Workers' Convention, which was held recently in New York, is particularly important in that this Convention was a reflection of the general situation in the United Front movement among the foreign-born masses.

The success of the movement, as evidenced by the Conventions make necessary an examination and a sharp self-criticism of our work.

Broad United Front Character of the Convention

The Convention, which was called at the initiative of the Polish Chamber of Labor, had delegates from 101 organizations, 75 of which, with a total membership of 5,000, were directly affiliated to the sponsoring organization. In addition three Committees of Action for H.R. 2827, organized by the Polish Chamber of Labor and composed of representatives of various organizations with a total membership of 9,000, were represented. The remaining 23 organizations with a total membership of 186,000, were in no way organizationally connected with the Polish Chamber of Labor.

This clearly indicates that the center of gravity in all our united front activities lies in the penetration of the mass organizations which are controlled by reformist or reactionary leadership, and not in the building of independent organizations under our control.

The Composition of the Delegates

Of the 91 delegates, there were 32 employed in industry, two on relief work, four functionaries in organizations, 40 unemployed and 13 housewives.

The high percentage of employed workers is evidence of the fact that the United Front movement, as represented by this Convention, is no longer a movement of the unemployed, but predominantly a movement of employed workers. This is particularly noteworthy because of the fact that the Convention was based primarily on the struggle for Unemployment and Social Insurance.

Nineteen were metal workers, 16 textile workers, three miners, three auto workers, three building trades workers, two shoe workers, one railroad worker, and 23 from miscellaneous occupations.

The main shortcoming was the extremely weak repre-

sentation from the heavy industries, in which a large part of the Polish-American workers are employed. The three miners were unemployed, and not active in the union; there was no representation from the steel industry. Only 20 of the delegates were union members, 14 from the A. F. of L., and six from Industrial or Independent unions. There was no direct representation from local unions.

Thirty-nine of the delegates were members of the Communist Party, five were Democrats, and the remainder had no political affiliations. One-third of the Communists (13) were new Party members, having been recruited in the course of the united front activities.

In contrast with this we have lost a number of Party members, some of whom still work closely with us in the United Front, due primarily to our own blunders, and in some cases to an incorrect method of dealing with comrades who are active in language work. While it is to be expected that these comrades should participate in the general mass work of the Party, language work should not be underestimated, and mechanical decisions made which overburden the comrades who are leading the work in the language field. A method must be found which will overcome the too-frequent practice of language comrades evading Party work because they claim to be active in their language organizations, where they are too frequently members in name only, and which at the same time will permit those who are carrying on language work to do so without hindrance.

Neglect Causes Lag in United Front

In comparison with the preceding Convention, held in Chicago in September, 1933, this Convention registered a tremendous progress in the broadening of the united front. At the last Convention, only 25,000 workers were represented. This Convention had representation from ten times that number.

Until the Washington Congress for Unemployment Insurance in January, 1935, our united front activities on behalf of the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill had secured endorsements from over 300,000 Polish-American workers. The Convention, however, registered a considerable set-back from this achievement. Although we were subjected to the most vicious attacks from the semi-fascist top-leadership of the Polish National Alliance (which is the largest Polish fraternal organization in this country), from the reactionary press and from the Polish fascist radio-priest, Father Justyn Figa, we cannot say that these attacks were responsible for our losses in this field. Their cries to "chase away the Reds", to refuse admittance to the United Front delegations and to throw the appeals for the endorsement of the

Workers' Insurance Bill into the waste basket were on the whole disregarded by the local branches and communes of the organizations which they control.

Our Losses Were Due to Our Own Neglect

The Polish Bureau of the Central Committee paid very little attention to this question, politically, and made no serious attempts to secure direct representation to the Convention from the communes and branches of the Polish National Alliance in Detroit, where the Bureau is located, and as a result this organization did not participate in the local united front activities. The narrowness of the united front in Detroit is evidenced by the fact that the delegate from the Detroit Committee of Action was the Secretary of the Polish Bureau of the Party.

In Chicago, where the Executive Committee of the Polish Chamber of Labor has its headquarters, our whole united front work among the Polish American workers, which had splendid beginnings, was allowed to lapse, and there was no real united front delegate from Chicago at the Convention. This was primarily due to the fact that our Chicago comrades were so enthused by their initial local successes and by the broad character of the national work which was conducted in the name of the Polish Chamber of Labor, that they failed to follow up their successes and to carry on activities among the Polish workers.

From Jersey City where before the Washington Congress for Unemployment Insurance we succeeded in securing endorsements for the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill from practically all the Polish organizations of the city, with a total membership of 20,000, and from Newark, where endorsements were secured from organizations with a total membership of 9,000, the representation at the Convention consisted of delegates from our own weak clubs and from branches of the I.W.O.

The inadequateness of the leadership given to the Polish Chamber of Labor by the Polish Bureau is due primarily to its insecure, hesitating political orientation, **unconsciously** determined by renegade influences. This expresses itself concretely in a peculiar semi-defeatist attitude toward the Polish Chamber of Labor, in view of the successful growth of the Polish Section of the I.W.O., taking form in the opinion: "We are not able to develop both organizations simultaneously, so let's concentrate exclusively on the I.W.O." The extent to which this sentiment pervaded our Party members was evidenced by the fact that on the eve of the Convention, which proved to be the greatest political and organizational success of our Polish work, our comrades were saying it would be a ceremonial first-class funeral for the Polish Chamber of Labor.

Since the renegades had no organized expression in the Polish language field, we failed to see the necessity of combatting their ideas, except to repeat, as a matter of routine duty, the decision of the Central Committee Plenum that these renegades should be regarded as the worst class enemies, and thus carried on no consistent campaign against their ideas, which can cause tremendous and sometimes irreparable damage, if unseen and unfought.

Other basic shortcomings in the united front work among the Polish workers is its spottiness, lack of continuity and coordination and an absence of planned work. We wholeheartedly accepted the **Open Letter** and then conveniently forgot its instructions. We give only lip service to concentration. We concentrate neither on basic industries nor on strategic key positions in the big mass organizations. Our gains are in most cases accidental, and we do not take serious steps to consolidate them.

In spite of all these serious and dangerous shortcomings in our work, the deepening mass radicalization is finding expression in the united front movement among the Polish-American workers.

The Tendencies Towards a Labor Party

This movement, which began in the participation of the clubs of the Polish Chamber of Labor in the struggles for unemployment relief and against evictions, grew into a real mass movement, involving hundreds of thousands of Polish workers in the campaign for Unemployment Insurance, and is now manifesting a very significant tendency toward developing into a struggle for hegemony among the Polish-American workers, with the issue of the Labor Party in the forefront.

It is significant to note in this connection that the overwhelming majority of delegates at this Convention consisted of members of political voters' organizations. Their participation in the United Front movement on the basis of the struggle for Unemployment and Social Insurance will lead them, with proper guidance, toward the Labor Party.

The Convention adopted a resolution on this question setting the practical task of working in the Independent Citizens' Clubs for their direct participation in genuine local and state-wide Labor Party movements, and also within the Democratic or Republican Clubs for a Labor Party.

The good resolutions of this Convention must be put into effect, and the united front movement broadened and deepened among the masses of Polish-American workers, particularly in the basic industries. This can only be done by improving our concentration work, strengthening and improving our leadership and developing and training our cadres.

Begin Without Further Delay the Intensified Campaign Against Unemployment!

By HERBERT BENJAMIN

THE RECENT Regional Conferences on Unemployment served to recall the attention of the entire Party to a major task which for some time suffered from neglect. In the discussion which took place at these conferences, the relationship of our work among the unemployed to the concentration tasks of the Party (basic industries and shops—A. F. of L. unions) was clearly brought out and correctly emphasized. The Central Committee reminded the entire Party through these conferences that we cannot neglect the almost 15 million unemployed of the United States and that the problem of unemployment relief and relief policy is one of the most important political issues for the entire working class.

Every unit and section as well as every district must now undertake a serious examination of its work on the unemployment field. In view of the new government "coolie wage" program, it is also especially important that every trade union fraction shall likewise make a thorough examination of its work in connection with unemployment.

It is not enough, however, merely to establish the weaknesses and the shortcomings of our work on the unemployment field. It is necessary that every unit and fraction of the Party shall also work out a concrete plan of action in line with the general program of the Party. Such a plan of action must be directed to the following immediate objectives:

First: To launch an immediate campaign and struggle for jobs. Workers who want jobs should be systematically registered and organized into groups to conduct under the leadership of the Councils, the trade unions and Joint Organizing Committees, an organized struggle for jobs. We must bear in mind that the speed with which jobs will be provided will be largely determined by the extent of our struggle for these jobs.

Second: Joint Organizing Committees should be developed without further delay. Each unit and Section and every trade union fraction should however not only help establish such committees, but must be prepared to work through and in the name of such committees to establish all-inclusive project locals as soon as a project begins to operate.

Third: Neighborhood and community conferences to determine on a concrete program of Public Works should be devel-

oped. Every kind of neighborhood and community organization as well as the local unions and unemployed groups should be involved in this campaign which should be energetically conducted. Local officials (aldermen, etc.) must be forced to take a positive stand in support of such construction program as is developed by these conferences.

Fourth: In preparation for the struggles that must be waged against the plans to deprive the unemployed of all Federal relief and in order that we may secure supplementary relief for large families whose income from work on the W.P.A. jobs will be less than their direct relief allotments, it is necessary to strengthen and improve the functioning of the existing unemployed organizations. This means that all our campaigns and struggles must be accompanied by systematic recruiting into the Councils. At the same time steps must be taken to broaden and stabilize the leadership of the Locals and Councils. The inner-life of the unemployed units must be improved by means of well-planned meetings, by the introduction of systematic educational and social activities, etc. Dues payments and committee work of all kinds must be regularized.

Fifth: United front activity must be intensified and improved. Local units of the unemployed organizations as well as the city-wide and state-wide organizations must take the initiative in approaching corresponding units of other unemployed organizations and trade union locals.

Our Party fractions in the unions have the task of supporting all these activities by initiating corresponding action through their local unions. Every local union should be induced to establish an "Unemployment Committee". These committees shall take up the relief problems of their own union members and cooperate with the unemployment organizations in carrying through all other phases of the necessary work. It is planned to develop Fraternal Membership in the Unemployment Councils so that members of unions can directly support the struggle against unemployment. Trade Union Relations Committees should be established in all unemployed organizations to develop this necessary improved relationship between the workers in the trade unions and those in the unemployed organizations.

Fight Militarization of Children!

By Martha Campion, Editor, New Pioneer

FROM August 23-30, Washington will be crowded with 30,000 youngsters in khaki uniforms. They will look like little soldiers, and in truth that is what the government and the bankers and industrialists who make up the Boy Scout Executive Committee would like them to be.

As early as February, 1934, President Roosevelt urged Boy Scout Troops from every "nook and cranny" of the country to choose delegates to this Jamboree, which will celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Boy Scouts of America. This year he renewed the invitation.

The Scouts will be encamped in the Nation's capital for ten days. They will take trips and "see how efficiently the government to which we owe our service and loyalty works". They will visit patriotic shrines. Every attempt will be made to turn this Jamboree into a demonstration of militant nationalism.

But since this is not 1914, but 1935, and since we have a mass sentiment and a mass movement against imperialist war, the Scout officials are rather careful, concealing their real motives behind pious expressions of desire for peace and international good-will. We must therefore expose them on the basis of their deeds, their part in the last war, etc.

The government is cooperating (through a committee composed of the secretaries of various Cabinet members) with the Scout officials to the fullest degree.

What are we, in the Party and in the mass organizations, going to do on the occasion of this Jamboree? What is our answer to the program of the government and the industrialists for the youth and children of America?

We also have a program for the youth, and it is by bringing this program to the largest masses of the American workers, at the same time that we expose the true role of the Boy Scout leaders, that we shall be able to counteract the war program, the attempt to militarize the youth, of the Roosevelt-Wall Street gang.

We have a few questions that we'd like to ask Mr. Roosevelt and the Boy Scout leaders: What are you going to do about the undernourished children of America? What about the overcrowded schools? What about the thrice miserable conditions of Negro children?

And we must reach the Scouts themselves, and tell them why we are opposed to the program of Scouting, why we

are opposed to war and fascism, why we believe workers' children should not join the Scouts.

The National Council of the Federation of Children's (Pioneer) Organizations has taken the initiative in arranging Peace Jamborees to be held in the various cities, in attempting to get publicity into the press, in getting out a pamphlet on the Jamboree for mass distribution, and, most important, in getting out a special Boy Scout Jamboree issue of the **New Pioneer**, the only magazine for workers' children in the United States. It was planned to circulate this issue of 100,000 copies among Scouts and other children. This, however, would have been possible only with the fullest cooperation of the Party, the Y.C.L., and the mass organizations. The response to the letter sent by our Central Committee to the Districts on this question has been very poor. Three Party units in Detroit sent in orders, and six branches of the Lithuanian organization. The largest and best response was from forty-five branches of the Finnish Federation. From this response it is evident that the August issue of the **New Pioneer**, addressed specifically to Boy Scouts and children not yet class-conscious, will not reach many of those for whom it was issued.

However, extra copies of the magazine will be printed. Party units, League units, branches of mass organizations, are urged to send in orders, with money orders or checks payable to New Pioneer, Box 28, Station D, New York, at the rate of four cents a copy. Thus we may still atone for our unpardonable neglect of this important issue and fulfil our duty as Bolsheviks by trying to counteract the attempts of the bourgeoisie to militarize the children of America.

"We Communists are prepared to join hands, with all our force, all our energy, all our fighting capacity, with all who are ready to fight against Wall Street, against monopoly capital, in the formation of a broad mass party to carry on this fight, into a fighting Labor Party based upon the trade unions, the unemployment councils, the farmers' organizations, all the mass organizations of toilers, with a program of demands and of mass actions to improve the conditions of the masses at the expense of the rich, for measures such as the Farmers' Emergency Relief Bill, the Negro Rights Bill, and the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill." (Earl Browder, Speech Delivered at the National Congress for Social and Unemployment Insurance, Washington, D. C.)

The Cleveland District Convention

ON JUNE 22-25, the Cleveland District held a Convention. It was the first District Convention since the Eighth National Convention of our Party, and therefore constitutes the first examination of the work of the Party on a District scale since the National Convention established the tasks of the Party for this period.

The reports and discussion disclosed that the Party in District Six has made progress, particularly in the field of trade union work. The shortcomings and weaknesses of the work were also examined in a spirit of self-criticism.

Because of the importance of the reports and discussion at this Convention, we are publishing in this issue of **Party Organizer** excerpts dealing with trade union and shop work, which are worthy of careful study by the entire Party.

* * * *

SOME FEATURES OF OUR TRADE UNION WORK

By P. GRANT

Report at District Convention of Cleveland District

It is evident that our Party has made tremendous progress, especially in the field of trade union work. In view of this fact, many important problems face our comrades in their work in the trade unions. Comrade Williamson, in his report, mentioned that the capitalist class will not find it as easy to create new illusions in the minds of the workers as it was before the New Deal. This is because the workers have had two years of bitter experience with the N.R.A. and the various labor boards. Another important factor is that our Party is among the masses in the trade unions, whereas two years ago our Party was to a large extent outside of the A. F. of L. unions, and isolated from the broadest masses of workers. Today our Party has begun to break down this isolation. Therefore, to the extent that we entrench ourselves in the trade unions and mass organizations, to that extent will it become more difficult for the bourgeoisie to create new illusions among the workers, either through the Wagner Bill or with promises of constitutional amendments.

It is necessary therefore that we emphasize again the necessity of our Party sinking its roots still deeper into the trade unions. It is no longer enough to insist that every Party member join a trade union. We must ask more today. We must demand of every Party member that he become a leader inside his union.

Communists Must Be Active Trade Unionists

It is true that we have made great progress, and have already become entrenched in many unions. This was evidenced by the many speakers at this Convention, who spoke, not as rank and file members, but as presidents of unions, members of executive boards, etc. At the same time we must emphasize that there are still tendencies on the part of some of our comrades to consider the trade unions as organizations separate and apart from us. Some of our comrades feel that we Communists are strangers in the trade unions, that we did not join as citizens, with equal rights, but that we have "sneaked" into the trade unions. We can cite a number of examples to illustrate this.

Only a few days ago we were confronted with the following situation. In one of the largest local unions in Cleveland, we faced an election where we had to draw up a slate. In this local we have ten Party comrades, all of them members of the union for as long as ten years, and all of them Party members of long standing. But when we had to draw up our slate, we discovered that not one of our Party comrades could be put forward for any leading position because, in spite of their long union membership, they were not known among the union members, they did not attend union meeting, and took no part in the life of the union. Such comrades can never carry out the Party line in the trade unions. It would be just as well if they were not members of the union. These comrades have formally carried out the Party decision, but they do not understand that when the Party demands that we join the trade unions, it demands also that we participate in the activities of the union, and become known to the union membership as active trade union forces.

Toledo offers us another example. When the Toledo strike was called we had two Party comrades working in the plant and 15 other contacts who were close Party sympathizers. But our comrades did not know these 15 contacts. They were only known to the Section Organizer. Furthermore, these 15 sympathizers did not know each other. As a result they could not act as an organized group.

In the Cleveland Federation of Labor we have Party members who are delegates. They are good comrades, active in their local unions. But how can we explain the fact that these comrades have never taken the floor at the Cleveland Federation of Labor, that they never speak, never make motions? If these comrades felt at home in the trade unions, felt that they belong there, they would speak at these meetings, and would attempt to become leaders of the progressives in the Cleveland Federation of Labor.

Leadership Imposes New Tasks

Our Party can state today that in many local unions we are in the leadership. Many local executives are under our influence, and in many unions we have ideological control. This imposes new tasks upon us, and gives us a new outlook in our work in the trade union movement. In the past we were a small minority in the A. F. of L., and we had to prove through our daily activities that we can lead the workers and gain concessions for them. Because of the fact that we were in the minority many of our Party comrades adopted an "opposition in principle" attitude, and were satisfied with merely criticizing the officials, appearing as chronic kickers in the eyes of the workers.

We must change this. It is not enough to be able to criticize. We must convince the workers that we also know how to lead them in struggles for better conditions. It is precisely because of the fact that today in many of the local unions we are in the leadership, that we must drop this opposition on principle attitude. We must begin to learn the most elementary forms of strike strategy and tactics. We must learn how and when to call strikes and also when to call them off. These are questions that face us daily in our work in the A. F. of L. unions. We must learn when to retreat and when to advance. In short, we must convince the workers in the trade unions that the Communists are responsible trade union leaders.

Another question to which we must give serious attention is the kind of program around which we attempt to organize in the trade unions. Very often we do not know how to draw up programs that really reflect the needs of the union membership. In many cases, they are too general and too vague and do not appeal to the workers. As a result of this the workers will not follow us. For example the other day our attention was drawn to a program drawn up by our Party comrades, around which they wanted to organize a rank and file group. One of the points of the program was a demand for lower dues, **although the dues amounted to only 50c a month.** Naturally they rallied very few workers around this slogan.

Expose Bureaucracy on Basis of Facts

Another question to which we must give careful consideration is the manner in which we estimate strikes which are led by the A. F. of L. officialdom. Very often our comrades content themselves with shouting "sell-out", which frequently alienates the workers. We know that the A. F. of L. bureaucrats betray strikes, but we must learn how to expose them

so that the workers will understand this, and not merely shout out "betrayal", "sell-out", etc., under any and all conditions.

We have a concrete example to illustrate this point. Recently a letter was received from one of our leading comrades in Cincinnati, giving a report on a strike in Norwood, Ohio. The workers returned to work, having gained some very important concessions, among them an increase in wages, recognition of a shop committee and other important concessions. Our comrades in Cincinnati estimated this strike as a complete sell-out. Such an estimation of the strike will not convince anyone, and is not in accord with the facts. Undoubtedly if the leadership of that local had fought harder, more concessions would have been gained. But at the same time we cannot estimate this strike as a sell-out. Such an estimation only estranges us from the workers in the union, who rightly consider that they have won a victory in the strike.

Some of our comrades think that the A. F. of L. leadership does nothing but sit around plotting how to sell out strikes. We cannot place the problem in so simple a manner. We must expose the A. F. of L. bureaucracy not by name-calling, but on the basis of concrete facts which the workers will understand.

Win the Local Leadership

Comrade Williamson has already mentioned in his report that in approaching the local leadership in the A. F. of L., we must do so from the viewpoint that many of these local leaders can be won for our Party. That this can be done has been proven on numerous occasions. This is especially true of the leadership in the newly formed federal local unions, whose leadership is composed in the main of workers from the shop. We must be patient with these people and do everything in our power to win them over to our program. Too often we place these local leaders in the same camp as the Greens, Wolls, etc. We have the best example of this in Toledo. Immediately on the outbreak of the strike at the Chevrolet plant, the leader of the strike was branded as a Trotskyite by our Party comrades, and having classified him satisfactorily their efforts ceased. Undoubtedly this worker is under the influence of the Trotskyites and if left alone will become corrupted. Our comrades were not patient enough to attempt to win this worker for the Party. One of the comrades states that this worker is a member of the Ohio Unemployed League and had been active there for two years. But we cannot take the attitude that everyone belonging to the Ohio Unemployed League is a

Trotskyite. We must be more careful in characterizing people. Honest workers can easily be confused and misled by renegade and counter-revolutionary elements, but this does not mean that we should not try to explain our position to them, and to win them for our movement.

We have another example to illustrate this point. In Norwood, Ohio, one of the leaders of the local union is working with us to organize a progressive group in the auto union, and yet our local comrades consider him a reactionary Coughlinite, with whom we should have nothing to do. How can we explain a situation where on the one hand this local leader works with us for a national progressive group in auto, while our local comrades consider him an arch reactionary? Does this not prove conclusively that we still do not make sufficient distinction between the top bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. and the local leadership of the unions?

It is precisely because we are becoming a factor in the A. F. of L. unions and gaining more influence upon ever greater masses of workers that William Green has begun a new anti-Red drive to expel Communists from the A. F. of L. unions. But this anti-Red drive of Green's will meet with failure because we are no longer on the fringe of the labor movement. We Communists are today part of the labor movement and this makes it impossible for the A. F. of L. bureaucrats to carry through a successful campaign to expel us from the trade unions. We are not strangers in the A. F. of L., who have sneaked in through the back door. We are part and parcel of the labor movement and the workers are more and more beginning to recognize this fact. Our answer to Green's expulsion edict will be to send a large delegation of progressive and Communist delegates to the next convention of the A. F. of L.

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A SHOP UNIT IN A STEEL PLANT

By a Steel Worker

Our unit is a steel shop unit. We helped through our union to send a delegate to the Washington Congress on Unemployment Insurance. When the delegate returned he reported not only to the union but to the fraternal organizations also. We also aided in sending delegates to the rank and file steel conferences. Our members are active in the A. A. Lodge.

In our city we have a disciple of Ham Fish, Jr., who is a leader in the American Legion. He says that he favors the A. F. of L., but it must be free from Communists or radicals. He makes statements on Army Day that if the

law cannot be preserved, they will take the law into their own hands. But we go ahead. As an answer to him, we have distributed through our Party 50,000 leaflets.

To meet some of our financial problems in the lodge, we suggested an advertising campaign which netted \$200. By carrying on social activities, we have met many financial difficulties. We have been able to carry on educational and organizational campaigns since our last convention, and have held many mass meetings.

Our Lodge attendance is still weak. We have been able to handle from 300 to 500 copies of the **Progressive Steel Worker** and the **A. F. of L. Rank and File Federationist** along with pamphlets on the Workers' Bill, H.R. 2827, and with the Lodge endorsing these measures. At the last meeting we elected a Strike Committee which is going into training along the lines of strike strategy and preparing for the coming struggles, the beginnings of which we are experiencing in Ohio.

In the Party unit, we can report a bigger and better organized unit than at the last District Convention. Hundreds of leaflets and pamphlets have been distributed and the dues payments are almost 100 per cent. We secured 65 subscriptions to the **Daily Worker**, but 20 of these did not renew. We now have 45 regular subscribers, which is considered pretty good for the size of our town. In — we have 91 readers of the **Daily Worker** and 32 members of the Party. Some literature is being sold in the mills.

As to failures and weaknesses, we have not been able to draw the workers into the union, except on a pledge basis. This year from 500 to 600 workers have pledged themselves to the rank and file lodge. However, they don't come to meetings or pay dues.

We have not been able to draw the majority of the Party members into activity, and therefore the work is made harder for the active members in the unit. That is one of the major weaknesses of our unit, which we are striving to overcome.

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EXAMINATION OF A SHOP UNIT

From Report to the Cleveland District Convention,
June 22-25, 1935

Let us examine one typical shop nucleus in the important Blank Plant. Here we have a plant which today employs 7,000 workers. There is a union of 1,500, with 800 who are paying dues. The Party nucleus was organized in 1926. It has 27 members, of which 25 are in the shop, but the average

dues payments from this nucleus is 18-20, while the attendance at meetings is only from 12 to 14. Of the 25 members from the shop, only 17 belong to the union. Although 1,000 women work in this plant, not a single woman belongs to the Party. Only eight of the members are native born, and half of the nucleus is over 35 years of age. The unit issues a regular shop paper, and has been effective in issuing special editions during critical times. While 19 members read the **Daily Worker**, not a single copy of the **Daily Worker** is sold in the factory, and of the 27 members only six read **The Communist**. In the past six months only seven new Party members were recruited, and these were recruited by only three out of the 27 members of the shop nucleus. In contrast with a year ago, the nucleus works better, has some influence in the union and has reacted and given a proper line to the workers, primarily through the shop paper, during the complicated strike situation of the past months. There is also a Y.C.L. nucleus of from eight to ten members, which, however, was not organized through the efforts or assistance of the Party nucleus.

This is by no means the worst shop nucleus in our District. As a matter of fact, it is probably better than the average. Briefly what are the lessons we must draw?

1. The elementary question of every Party member being a union member is not carried out. The culprits are a certain type of old sectarian language comrades, who live in the past, who are pessimistic and have no faith in the workers, and who do not see what is going on around them. The majority of these comrades may be very loyal sympathizers, but they are very bad Communist Party members. Some would even be willing to give their lives for the Party, but simply will not carry out mass work. In contrast to them, which proves that these comrades are not representative of language comrades, is Comrade —, who is active in his union, and one of the most energetic comrades in the nucleus. Next, we must note that while a group of eight or ten comrades have begun to learn how to participate in union work and have begun to win some recognition, they have not been able to learn how to adjust themselves to work with non-Communist workers within the union to win them to a progressive policy, and form them into a progressive group. Our comrades, because they have not rid themselves of their sectarian past, still tend to function as professional oppositionists within the union, despite the fact that in this union no case-hardened bureaucracy exists and there are good fighting progressive elements with whom we must work and whom we must influence.

2. While a shop nucleus of 27 may seem to be an achievement, in contrast with 7,000 workers it is insignificant. The

sectarianism of our comrades is shown in the small number recruited, and above all in the fact that practically no one recruits. Of the seven recruited, not a single one was in the union before he joined the Party. The fate of the nucleus is directly connected with the ability to recruit the most active, progressive union men into the Party. As long as we fail to recruit the active union members, we will be "swimming in the wrong pond". The perspective must be for a nucleus of at least 50 in the coming months. One of the good features of this nucleus, as of other shop units in contrast with the street units, is the small fluctuation.

3. We also must take note that our comrades do very little work inside the shop. Instead of every Party member being the most popular union man in the department, the majority of them are unknown. Not a single Party comrade sells the **Daily Worker** or any literature inside the shop.

4. While some little progress has been made in Party training, it is not yet even approaching an organized basis. If necessary, a capable agitprop worker, to assist in the training of these comrades, must be assigned to this nucleus. Out of this must be developed greater initiative on the part of the nucleus itself, especially in reacting to political events.

5. The concentration of the entire Section from the outside must also be improved. Above all, the establishing of a special **Daily Worker** agent, assigned to that shop, is an immediate necessity.

The examination and lessons of this shop nucleus should serve as an example for others.

AGITPROP SECTION

Train More Forces for the Revolutionary Movement!

By a Group of Students, National Training School,
March, April, May, 1935

IN ITS resolution adopted at the Eighth National Convention, our Party laid special emphasis on the necessity of training new forces for leadership in the revolutionary movement. Since the Convention we can point to definite gains in this direction. Many districts and even some of the large sections, not only opened Workers' Schools, but conducted full time training schools. A number of National Training Schools have been established, two within the last year.

However, many of these schools did not produce the anticipated results in the form of training real leaders for the revolutionary movement. For this there are many reasons which we cannot deal with in this article. Our purpose is to present a picture of how the last National Training School was conducted, in the hope of furnishing some help thereby to the Districts and Sections in relation to their future work in organizing training schools. We, who went through the last National Training School, believe that the District and Section comrades can learn from our experiences.

Two Years in Ten Weeks

At the beginning of our school the leading comrade who was in charge of the N.T.S. greeted us with the following words:

"We have much work before us. Ten weeks seems to be a long time. But you will find that in relation to the work we have to do, it is not so long. In ten weeks we have to cover as much as ordinary schools do in two years."

Outwardly we took this seriously, but secretly we were very sceptical. Many of us smiled. But in the course of our work we learned that the Director of the school does not play around with phrases. As the school progressed and as we recalled that statement we began to believe that we were accomplishing what we at first thought was impossible. At the close of the school we could definitely state—even

our ex-college boys—that we learned more in ten weeks' time in a Bolshevik school than in all our lives before.

How was this possible? How can we explain that in a short period of ten weeks even the most handicapped comrades, politically speaking, came out of the school with at least a clear understanding of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism?

Collective Work — Organization

In our opinion there are three main reasons for this. The first one is collective work, which means organization. Comrade Stalin stated that once the policy is laid down, organization decides everything. It was decided that in the N.T.S. so much must be covered in ten weeks. Therefore, the school had to be organized in such a way as to be able to put this policy into practice. This was done in the following way:

First, the whole school was organized to constitute a regularly functioning unit of the Party. At unit meetings the work of the school was discussed, along with all other activities that we carried on. Every other unit meeting was devoted to political discussions on problems with which our Party is faced and on the international situation. In between meetings the unit bureau functioned.

The unit then was divided into groups of five, each with a leader. The groups worked out their plan of work as regards reading material, the number of inner-group discussions as well as discussions in the course of revolutionary competition with the other groups.

It is important to note that in working out this plan for the groups, the political development of the comrades was taken into consideration. Those groups, whose members were more developed, planned their work accordingly.

The group system was particularly useful in teaching us how to work collectively. Towards the end of the term it taught us to develop independent initiative while keeping within the bounds of collective work, i.e., without falling back into our old individualistic habits.

In addition to the groups we had our own special committees, such as the editorial, recreation, and house committees. For special tasks we always elected new committees.

Organizing ourselves in this way we were enabled to meet all problems—and solve them. Furthermore, we succeeded in involving every single comrade in some phase of the activity.

Bolshevik Self-Criticism

Every Communist professes his belief in self-criticism. But there is a world of difference between words and practice. For, it is very simple indeed to criticize other comrades, but quite painful, especially at the beginning, to criticize ourselves. Also, it is very hard to take it, particularly when one has not yet learned the real significance of self-criticism.

To everyone of us one thing was made definitely clear. All criticism must be political and not personal, for personal criticism only creates antagonism between comrades and consequently hinders our work.

The group system was an excellent instrument in teaching us how to practise self-criticism and how to criticize correctly other comrades. All problems were discussed in the groups. If they proved to be too big a problem for the group, then it was taken up by the whole class.

The outstanding feature of the whole process was that no one was ever in any way **forced** to indulge in self-criticism. Everything was done on the basis of convincing comrades on a political basis. And it never failed. Our comrades not only took the sharpest criticism, but profited by it in so far as it made them understand problems that had been quite incomprehensible to them before.

Here we must say also that in every case the sharpness of the criticism was determined by the political development of the individual comrades.

Socialist Competition

The third main reason which made it possible for us to accomplish what we did in ten weeks time, in our opinion, was Socialist competition. This too was quite a problem for us in the beginning, for we were all "practical" people. We readily understood what Socialist competition means in getting **Daily Worker** subscriptions, recruiting new members for the Party, or getting new contacts. But it was quite another problem in school where we had nothing of this sort to do.

But we learned this, too. In fact, as we progressed we began to see what little we knew of real Socialist competition. We used the following method: First, the groups challenged one another; second, individual comrades also challenged one another. The object was, of course, to carry out assigned tasks in the allotted time and to do as good a job as possible.

But this in itself would be simply capitalist competition. **We had to do more than this. In doing our own work, we had to see that our competitor was doing his also; and if he**

did not show the anticipated results it was counted against his competitor.

The main essence of Socialist competition, therefore, is not only the ability to accomplish our tasks, but also to pull the slower comrades along with us.

This is the kind of competition that made the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union possible. And this is the kind of competition that was one of the main factors in making it possible for us in school to cover and to learn—in the short period of ten weeks—the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. Any other method could have failed.

The symbol of our struggle in our Socialist competition was a small red flag that was awarded every two weeks to the group that had done the best work in the previous two weeks. These meetings were very lively, indeed. Particularly when two or more groups were about even in their accomplishments, was the struggle very heated; at times even bitter. But here, too, we learned. For, before awarding the banner, we had to analyze, under the direction of the comrade in charge of the school, the accomplishments of the comrades, taking into consideration every possible angle. In this way we learned how to judge the progress of our comrades. It is interesting to note that, no matter how bitter the struggle was, at the end we always arrived at a unanimous decision.

Advancement of Comrades in School

Undoubtedly we had learned much in school. It was really a pleasure to watch the development of comrades. At first we were more or less all very hesitant. But soon this began to change, and towards the end of the school term the comrades were really tackling problems from the correct, Leninist point of view. They learned not only the basic principles of Communist theory, but also how to express themselves.

Of course, as in every other field of activity, there were comrades who advanced faster than others. But on the whole, every comrade showed marked progress as a result of the training. All of us, to a greater or lesser degree, acquired a foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory. There is no doubt that every single comrade will be able to work much better than before he came to the N.T.S.

The Real Test Will Come in Our Day-to-Day Work

However, the real test for all of us will come in our practical day-to-day work in the ranks of the working class. In connection with this, it is well to recall the words of

Comrade Stalin, spoken to the graduating class of the Military Academy of Moscow a short time ago:

"The real tempering of cadres is obtained in living work outside school, in the struggle with difficulties and in overcoming difficulties. Remember, comrades, only those cadres are good which fear no difficulties, which do not hide themselves from difficulties, which on the contrary, breast difficulties in order to overcome and liquidate them. Only in struggle with real difficulties can real cadres be forged. And if our army has an adequate number of real, hardened cadres, it will be invincible."

Certainly, this applies to our Party, to our Communist cadres here in the United States. And we can say, along with Comrade Stalin, that if we can furnish our Party, and consequently the American working class, with an adequate number of hardened Bolshevick leaders, then it will not only be invincible, but victory will be achieved in a far shorter time.

"The Workers' School is that institution where we arm our leading cadres with weapons which give them the ability to resist the influence of class enemy ideas, to combat them, to overcome them. The school is where they master the ideological weapons of Marxism-Leninism and put them into effect in the mass struggles. Let us grasp the full meaning of that slogan of our great leader, Marx, that **an idea becomes power when it is seized upon by the masses**. Our ideas are not forces in themselves. They are instruments of the masses for the carrying through of the class struggle." (Earl Browder, *Communism in the United States*, p. 310.)

Double The DAILY Circulation!

IN answer to Comrade Browder's appeal for 50,000 new **Daily Worker** readers, District 6 pledges to double its circulation by Nov. 7.

"We shall use every means available to achieve this goal: subs, bundles, factory sales, house to house routes, Red Corners, new stands, meetings, every member a reader, mass organizations, press correspondents, wrappers, etc."

With this pledge, District 6 opens the campaign: "Double the Daily Circulation of the **Daily Worker** by Nov. 7." In a special bulletin, "Draft Control Tasks", it shows the units how they can proceed with this work.

The most important characteristic of this plan is that it teaches the comrades that the **Daily Worker** circulation is the daily business of the Unit, Section, and District Committees, and guides them in carrying out this task.

We are here presenting excerpts from the Bulletin:

Into the Shops With the "Daily"!

1. Our comrades in the shops can find out the addresses of many of their shopmates.
2. A comrade from the street unit should be assigned to visit these workers at their homes to sell them the **Daily Worker**.
3. The wrapper plan can be used on these workers to even greater advantage.
4. The street unit concentrating on a factory, in consultation with some one from the shop unit, should occasionally print (with union label), or mimeograph an effective editorial from the **Daily Worker**; one that pertains particularly to that plant or industry.
5. The leaflet should mention that it is reprinted from the **Daily Worker**, and that the **Daily** will be sold at the gate later in the day, or the following day. This leaflet should also carry the addresses of the stand where the **Daily** is sold.
6. The actual sale must then be carried through every single day. The unit must be alert to more excellent articles or editorials to reprint them again.
7. The leaflets should also urge the workers to write about their grievances and experiences to the **Daily**, telling them they will be printed.
8. We must continuously encourage more and more

workers to write to the **Daily** and make them realize that it is their weapon.

Each Unit to Assign a Red Builder

There is barely a street unit without at least one unemployed comrade. Each unit is to assign a comrade who will sell the **Daily Worker** and other Party literature at a prominent street corner every day in the unit's territory.

There should not be a unit without its **Red Builder** and its **Red Corner**. The profits made by the comrade should be kept for his or her personal use.

It may be that the first few days we may not sell as many copies as we expected on our new unit Red Corner. A good corner is not always built over night.

At some busy intersections, if our Red Builder is aggressive, and calls out effective slogans, he may sell more than expected. Other corners will have to be **built**. This requires Bolshevik patience and persistent work. We must not give up. Bolsheviks don't become discouraged in building our Party.

To quote Comrade Browder: "What Communists take seriously, with the passion of revolutionists, can be done."

EACH UNIT SHOULD HAVE

A RED BUILDER

A RED CORNER

A DAILY ROUTE OF THE "DAILY WORKER."

In the section dealing with: "How can we build a daily route of the **Daily Worker**?" the bulletin contains a sample set of six wrappers, each of different color and different matter printed on each sheet. Each has a different day of the week imprinted. The following is an example of such a wrapper:

Monday

Dear Neighbor,

We are leaving you a free copy of the **Daily Worker**. We shall leave you these sample copies for six consecutive days. In today's issue we want to call your attention to the "Questions and Answers" column on page 5.

Everyone is invited to address questions to the **Daily Worker**. This column gives a clear, correct explanation of all questions relating to the Labor Movement, Trade Unionism, Political Parties, Father Coughlin, Huey Long, President Roosevelt, Socialism, Capitalism, Fascism, and Communism, the Soviet Union, National and International matters.

The **Daily Worker** aims to teach the worker, to organize them, to make them U. S. A. a better place for the workers to live in.

* * *

The example of District 6 is worth while following. We hope that other Districts will display similar initiative in planning campaigns.

Carefully planned campaigns, instead of the haphazard appeals, "Read the **Daily Worker**", is a step toward rooting the **Daily** among the masses. But planning is only half of the job. The next step should be a thorough follow-up on the discussion of this plan in the units and sections. We shall be glad to hear from the Districts the reaction of the units to this plan. How much of it was carried out? What were the results?

"The problem of penetration of the shops and the problem of the development of the strike movement, the problem of building the trade unions, is the problem of how to develop confidence among the masses in our leadership, by showing them that we know how to do things, by winning one thing here and one thing there, always make one thing lead to another, to a higher stage of struggle, or broadening out the struggle, or deepening the political character of it. Moving from success to success, making of every success the foundation of immediately moving forward to another one. In this we have one of the basic principles of concentration." (Earl Browder, Report to Extraordinary Party Conference, July 7, 1933.)

Tasks of the Communists

WHAT are the main strategic tasks of the Communist Party?

First, to help the masses of workers, who are coming to realize that they must halt their mutually destructive competition and begin to act unitedly against a hostile ruling system, to find the road to independent class organization and class struggle in the fight for their daily bread.

Second, to organize every possible form of resistance and counter struggle against the attacks of reaction, against every reduction of living standards, for wage increases, for more relief, for jobs, for unemployment insurance, against cultural reaction, against Negro oppression, for civil rights, for the right to organize and strike.

Third, to find the broadest possible forms of organization of the struggle, to apply, with Bolshevik flexibility, the tactic of the united front from below.

Fourth, to expose the true role of every hidden agent of capitalist reaction in the ranks of the working class—the leaders of the A. F. of L., of the Socialist Party, the renegades, by concrete analysis of their actions and policies.

Fifth, to raise the political consciousness of the struggling workers, to bring to them an understanding of the class structure of society, of the fact that two main classes are fighting for control, that Roosevelt, leading the present ruling class, finance capital, stands for degradation, hunger, misery, oppression, fascism, war—that only the working class, exercising state power, can open up a new era of peace, progress and prosperity for the entire human race.

Sixth, to imbue the broadest masses with the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, to arm them with the lessons of successful revolution, against the treacherous slogans and ideas of social-fascism.

Seventh, to create strongholds of revolutionary mass organizations in the most important industries, localities and factories.

Eighth, to consolidate everything that is active, intelligent, fearless and loyal in the working class into a compact, monolithic leadership of the mass struggle, into the Communist Party, organically united with the revolutionary workers and oppressed peoples of the world in our Communist International. (Earl Browder, Report of Central Committee to Eighth Convention.)
