

# Party Organizer



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Directives on Literature Distribution in Mobilizing for May Day.

On the Sale of Literature at Open Meetings.

For Greater Use of Open Forums.

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Vol. V

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*Issued by*

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A

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## May Day, 1932

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

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

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

### Slogans

Stop the imperialist war against the Chinese people!

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

All war funds for the unemployed!

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

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

Against the persecution of the foreign-born workers!

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

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

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

For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

### The Task of the Shop Units

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Trade Unions

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

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

### Neighborhood Activities

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

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

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

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## The Study of the Resolution

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **What Kind of Activists Does the Party Need at Present**

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

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

VASSILIEV.

## From the Practical Work For the Practical Work

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

### Rooting the Party in the Shops

#### On Carrying on Communist Work in Shops

##### The First Meeting of a Newly Organized Shop Nucleus

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

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

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

#### What These Questions Were

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

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

*The shop nucleus does not become a trade union branch just*

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

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

### Shop Nucleus—Basic Unit of the Party

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

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

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



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

### Utilizing Grievances and Victories Gained for Further Struggles and Organization

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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### From a Grievance to a Grievance Committee

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

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

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

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

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

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

### A Careful Analysis Is Made of the Grievance

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. B.

## A Shop Nucleus Facing An "Acid Test"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FRANK ROGERS—Youngstown.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Criticism by the Agitprop Dept.

#### What Are the Good and Bad Features in This Story?

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

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

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

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

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

## Experience in the Formation of a Shop Nucleus

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SAM REED, District 1



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"TONY"—Y.C.L.

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## Organizational Lessons Learned From Bloody Monday—Mobility

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

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

1. Unit Organizers *must* meet (in a private home) as soon after the demonstration as possible. Arrangements for the meeting to be made before the demonstration.

2. Unit organizers *must* have well functioning groups and arrange to meet the group captains together with Buro members the day following the demonstration.

3. Section organizers should establish daily contact with unit organizers. Arrangements to be made for section committee to meet on short notice.

4. Mass organization fractions (language groups, Unemployed Councils, unions, etc.) should as much as possible organize group systems to mobilize sympathizers for special duties such as leaflet distribution, collections, etc.

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

M. PALMER.

### A New Communist Unit in Action

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

1. Three successive committees demanding the release of our comrades, each larger than the previous one to be sent to the police department.

2. All personal contacts and organizations were instructed to send protest wires demanding immediate release of the defendants.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Organizational results:

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

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

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

**Ideological gains:**

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

b. Increase in attendance at street and indoor meetings.

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

**Methods used to develop the campaign:**

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

2. 60 protest wires.

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

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

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

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

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

8. Basis laid for new units in those towns.

W. GELLES, Richmond, Calif.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Even Our Best Work—Farm Work—Shows Great Weakness**

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



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

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

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

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

K. H.

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## Election Campaign

### The Party and the Elections—Some Mistakes and Lessons

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WM. SCHNEIDERMAN.

## Literature Distribution

### Directives on Literature Distribution in Mobilizing for May Day

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## On the Sale of Literature At Open Meetings

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. A. HATHAWAY.

## **Agit-Prop Work**

### **For Greater Use of Open Forums**

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

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

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

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

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

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

PAUL MUNTER—Portland, Ore.

## Material For a Course on Organizational Questions

### IV

#### The Work of Our Party Committees

*(Continued from last issue)*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Reference material:*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*F. Special methods of work among Negroes.*

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

*G. Workers Defense.*

*Reference material:*

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

(To be concluded)