

Party Organizer



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The Election Campaign and the Struggle for the Masses

TWO months have already passed of the six-month period of the campaign. During this time, we must ask, how effectively have we conducted this struggle?

If we are honest with ourselves, we must be profoundly dissatisfied with our work. Starting with the greatest opportunities, with the events of every day giving point to our election platform, not only nationally and internationally, but in every locality as well, with life itself exposing day by day the hollowness and falsity of the promises of the demagogues—still our election struggle has not penetrated fundamentally into the million-masses.

At the National Nominating Convention in Chicago, the campaign was launched in a reasonably satisfactory manner. A thousand delegates, of native working class composition, came from forty-three states to enthusiastically endorse the platform and candidates of the Party. Platform and candidates combine to provide the best instruments possible to have proceeded from Chicago to the rousing of a broad mass movement of struggle for the immediate necessities of life. The masses have shown a magnificent response to the smallest organized efforts to draw them into the struggle. Still the results are unsatisfactory. We must searchingly examine the causes for this, and bring about that change in the whole work of the Party which will enable us really to bring forth those deep working class forces which are at hand to be mobilized under our leadership.

In all the work of the campaign thus far, the greatest weakness has been the failure to reach out among new groups of workers, hitherto untouched, to bring them into the struggle on the basis of a united front for their immediate needs. There are tremendous opportunities for this. The state conventions thus far held, in spite of the small efforts put in, show this fact. What results have been achieved, however, are largely the spontaneous action of workers and their organizations coming to us under the general influence of the Party platform and slogans, and not of systematic work on our part.

That this is true is shown by the neglect in development of

local demands and issues. There is entirely too much reliance upon *only* the national platform demands. In formulating local demands, we have witnessed in case after case merely the restating in a mutilated form the national demands. The Illinois platform which is very good in many respects, suffers from a mere restatement of our national demands. Our national platform is the basic document of the campaign, and a powerful one. Its demands should be used as they were adopted, in every locality; their form should not be changed; but they should be *supplemented* by real local and state demands, which arise out of the special circumstances of each state.

The local demands give the special, concrete basis for sharpening the struggle for the national demands. There is no contradiction whatever between them. And it is precisely these concrete local demands which furnish the very best means of winning the *broadest* strata of workers in each locality to active participation in the Communist election struggle. These issues primarily center around the struggle for relief, against evictions, against wage-cuts, against tax-sales, against police terror and denial of workers' rights, etc. (While we cannot over-emphasize the importance of local demands, we must at the same time guard ourselves against distorting local demands to a mere enumeration of scores of grievances as is the case in the New York platform.)

Upon the basis of local demands, we must build up a broad network of united front committees of struggle which have tasks simultaneously of developing the special fights and of uniting them in the broad election struggle for the interests of the whole working class.

All this requires systematic, organized work, and energetic leadership. It requires the maximum development of initiative of the lower organizations and of individual workers. And above all it requires a comradely, fraternal approach to *all workers*, regardless of what organization they belong to, or if they are entirely unorganized. We must approach the workers to *convince* them, to win their *voluntary* agreement with us and adherence to the united front.

We must sharpen our political struggle against the social-fascist misleaders and demagogues of all stripes. But to sharpen politically, does not mean to use more name-calling, vituperation and shouting, which does not convince the workers, but rather prejudices them against us. And especially it does not mean sharpening against the workers in the reformist organizations, but against the misleaders in order to *separate* the workers from them and win them to our support.

There should be no gathering of workers during the election campaign without the message of the Communist Party being brought to them as clearly as possible. This requires the most systematic, energetic, and politically intelligent agitational work.

Those who do this work must carefully prepare themselves. They must know the issues closest to the hearts of the particular workers to whom they speak. They must raise these issues in such a way as to clearly expose the false promises and betrayals of the misleaders. They must not, by clumsy and unintelligent name-calling, antagonize honest workers to whom the issues are not yet clear. The function of our agitators in penetrating the enemy camps is to *clarify* and *win* the honest workers.

Lessons of the Metal Strike in Terre Haute

THE workers of the Columbian Stamping and Enameling Co. have recently carried through a successful strike and defeated the wage cut announced by the company. It is important for us to learn how to conduct strike struggles effectively.

The type of workers in this plant is the type to be found in any small industrial town: essentially native born and usually dubbed "home guards." The introduction of rationalization of production has almost wholly eliminated the aged workers. The average age of the workers in this factory is about 25. About half of them are girls.

The factory now produces hardware goods. But during the war it produced helmets, mascots and gas masks. The factory is so equipped that it can be turned into producing war material within 8 hours.

Since the intensive provocations upon the Soviet Union on the Eastern front by the Japanese and American imperialism, there has been brought into the plant hundreds of new dies and other equipment, making it possible to go over to production of helmets, etc., at a moment's notice.

Announcing the Wage Cut

Simultaneously with preparation for war production the company hired a new efficiency expert (at \$100.00 per week) who very efficiently cut down the rates of the piece-workers. On top of this the company put through a liberal wage cut of 10% on June 1st. Prior to the cut the average wage of the workers was about \$10.00 a week. Especially low were the rates of the girls in the dipping department. After the wage cut it turned out that the workers earned about 4 cents an hour. The limit had been reached.

Several girls went to the foreman and told him as much. Nine of them were told that they were "fired." The boys in the next department learned of this and out they came. Two de-

partments were down the first day. The following day little persuasion was necessary to bring all other workers out on strike.

The usual barrage of lies, deceptions, and rumors practiced by the bosses through their stool pigeons failed to break the solidarity of the strikers. First, the rumor of the plant shutting down for good unless the workers returned within two days was picked by the rank and file strike committee (elected first day—representing all departments) by exposing this method in broad meetings of strikers, and showing the workers that the company had no intention of shutting down the factory, because of the orders that were jeopardized by the strike,

Over the week-end the bosses' agents were only able to get three to sign up. On Monday a mass picket line was organized and no attempt was made to reopen. Negotiations immediately started. A committee representing all workers was sent in with the following demands:

1. Return of the 10% wage cut; 2) Reinstatement of the nine girls and no discrimination of any striker; 3) Discharge of the efficiency expert; 4) Recognition of the workers' shop committee.

An effort to get the workers to return to work with the promise that the demands would be given "consideration" after their return failed completely. The committee stuck out for the demands, and backed them up with a stronger picket line than the day before.

The timely intervention of the Metal Workers Industrial League organizer in guidance and direction of the strikers and formulation of the demands, had a decisive influence upon the strikers, and was an important factor in winning the demands for the strikers. The company, seeing the solidarity and increased picket line on the fourth day of the strike, called in the strike committee and agreed to all the demands, including recognition of the committee—except return of the 10% wage cut. In addition to this there was an arrangement of rates in the dipping department bringing their wages equal to that of pre-war cut rates.

The partial victory of this strike has raised the spirit of all workers. They are now determined to organize into the Metal Workers Industrial League, as a guarantee that their partial demands will not be stolen from them, and in order to force other concessions from the bosses under the leadership of a permanent class struggle organization.

The task of the Metal Workers Industrial League is to root itself into all departments and establish a shop committee and prepare for better and more victorious struggles.

JOE WEBBER.

The Fight for Unemployment Insurance and Local Demands

We print below an excerpt from the October, 1931, resolution of the Central Committee on Unemployment, printed in full in the pamphlet Toward Revolutionary Mass Work.

We urge the comrades to read the article on unemployment by A. Allen, which appears in the August issue of The Communist.

* * * * *

THE Party must incessantly compare the wealth of the rich with the poverty of the unemployed: "*In the richest land on earth there is the greatest poverty among the unemployed.*" We must denounce the policy of the American government and the American capitalists by pointing to the *example of the Soviet Union*. We must carry on a widespread campaign against the dismissal of workers and we must overcome the conception of dismissals and unemployment as something to be accepted as a "law of nature."

The demand for unemployment insurance must be put forward not merely as a propaganda slogan, as has been the case until now, especially in the *Fight Against Hunger* program (*Daily Worker*, August 29, 1931), but as one of the *central slogans of action*. The struggle for social insurance, and especially *unemployment insurance at the present time*, has the greatest revolutionary significance and all tendencies to push it into the background should be decisively combatted. In the marches and demonstrations to take place on the opening of Congress, December 7, this demand for unemployment insurance at *full wages* at the expense of the employers and the government and to be administered by the workers should receive the *chief emphasis* as the most effective instrument for exposing the charity proposals of the bourgeoisie and the fake insurance proposals of the reformists and "progressives."

In addition to the *main slogans* enumerated above, it is necessary to raise local demands in the various localities, before the state legislatures, etc. These local demands should be *carefully worked out* to conform to the needs of the unemployed workers in the given locality and should be capable of rallying the masses for struggle. They should be for specific public works in the workers' neighborhoods, for definite appropriations for local relief, for more adequate housing, food, etc., for the unemployed, against cutting off the workers from the local welfare budget (Detroit), against the widespread graft in the administration of relief (Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, etc. Such local demands, however, should in no case be used as a substitute for the main demands enumerated above; on the

contrary, through a *sustained struggle* for these local demands, widely popularizing every victory gained, no matter how small, the workers must be made to see the possibility of winning the broader national demands, especially insurance, by continued mass struggle.

The unmasking of the bourgeoisie and reformists and the systematic exposure of their proposals has been one of the weakest phases of the unemployed work. All tendencies to underestimate the demoralizing influence of their continuous propaganda among the unemployed must be decisively combatted.

Experiences of Neighborhood Concentration

ABOUT four months ago, I was assigned by my unit to concentrate on two houses in our territory. These houses adjoin one another, one occupied by about eight white tenants and the other by about eight Negro tenants.

The first few times I visited these workers, I brought them literature which I thought would interest them, talking to them about their daily problems. I soon found that the problems which interested them the most were unemployment relief, and the Scottsboro case. I therefore brought them all literature pertaining to this case, and to the fight for unemployment insurance.

The most important thing I learned from this experience is that in order to gain the confidence of the workers, one must concentrate wholeheartedly, and not indifferently. By that I mean, visiting the workers at least two or three times a week, getting to know them by name and their individual problems, and have them call you by name and feel that you are one of them. I can truthfully say that by this time the workers do not look at me as an outsider but as a friend, and if for some reason or other I find it impossible to see them for a few days, I find that they keep asking one another if they know what happened to me.

When the Election Platform pamphlet came out, I brought same to these workers. The Negro workers, especially, were interested in the fact that a Negro candidate was running for Vice-President, and all were interested in hearing him. Thus, when Ford spoke at the Reinassance Hall in Harlem one night, I asked the workers to come with me. Although only two Negro workers came down to hear Ford, when they went back to their house, all the others were interested in hearing the report. We therefore called a meeting of the workers in that house on

the roof, and there went over the platform and the report of the meeting was given by one of the workers who went down.

Since it was impossible to go over everything that night, we decided to call another meeting on the roof the following week. At this meeting, several workers of the house next door came up, and a very interesting discussion took place, white and Negro workers taking part, on the program of the Communist Party.

We discussed the fact that because of lack of organization the workers have no means of gaining immediate demands. On this point all agreed. One worker stated that one of the most important needs of the workers on that block was a playground for the small children, who now played in the streets, with great danger to their health and safety. I asked whether they would be willing to fight for this demand, and they all were willing. It was then decided to draw up petitions to be signed by all workers on this block for a playground, under the auspices of the ———Ave. Workers Club. A committee was elected to be in charge.

At this time petitions are being signed with the aid of the tenants of these two houses, and we are planning to call a large meeting of all tenants on the block, under the auspices of the club, when the whole block has been canvassed.

The important points which may be learned from the above are as follows:

1. Make friends with the workers so that they have confidence in you and so that you can learn their needs.
2. Don't call a meeting until you feel that the workers understand what the purpose is and what it is all about. Too often meetings are called before the workers are ready. Individual contact with the workers for months is necessary.
3. Don't force anything on them—explain and let them with your guidance choose their own program. Personally, I thought that there were greater necessities for these particular workers than playgrounds, but since it was their idea to petition for a playground, I agreed with them.

SYLVIA TATE—New York.

To the Study of Marxism-Leninism

"Marx discovered all forms of antagonism and exploitation in order to help the working class to abolish them.... The essential in the teachings of Marx is the explanation and clarification of the world-historical role of the proletariat as the creator and builder of a Socialist society." (Lenin)

Read the

MARXIAN STUDY COURSES

announced on page 28

Winning the Negro Masses for Our Election Campaign

IS IT permissible to take bold steps forward in new methods of work? I think so. I think that this is the essence of the organizational directives issued by the 14th Plenum in order to successfully carry out in life the important resolutions and the new tasks facing our Party at the present time. Our Party calls for immediate and drastic changes in methods of work—therefore we must take bold steps. It is necessary even to consider “dangerous” ideas and methods proposed by new comrades in our ranks. Especially must our ears be open to the suggestions of non-Party workers who have a wealth of information for our Party. Such alertness will enable us to formulate a correct mass policy and methods of work.

But is it an easy matter to introduce new methods of work after we have been driving our wagon for years in the same old tracks—going along in “grooves” that makes it unnecessary for us to even steer or think? I want to record here just one incident which took place after the 14th Plenum to show the difficulty in introducing new methods and also the new life that will be evident just as soon as we abandon some of our inherited bad methods of mass work.

We all admit very sincere efforts toward work amongst the Negro workers, but it usually boils down to the point: “They all promised to come but they didn’t.” Space here does not permit us to go into very many cases of splendid preparatory work and good response but *bad organizational results*. May be the Negro workers don’t even trust a white revolutionist upon first acquaintance? This is possible. Let us think it over. We must remember that the Negro race of this country has gone through much at the hands of the white master ruling class. For years after the “great emancipator” Lincoln issued his proclamation of freedom and equality the Negro people have been fed “white lies” by the former slave owners—today’s wage-slave owners. It is this mistrust of everything “white” that must be reckoned with and must be broken down by the most heroic sacrifice and work of our white comrades in defense of equal rights for the Negro workers.

Resistance to New Methods of Work

A proposal was made to the District Bureau that it was necessary to work our special method to win the Negro workers in support of our election program. It was pointed that there was very little interest among the Negro workers to vote in the coming elections. The proposal included a recommendation for a *special Negro conference* to raise the question of equal rights and endorsement of candidates in the coming elections

that would champion the interests of the Negro workers. It was pointed out that such conferences were necessary because of the deep mistrust the Negro workers have for conferences organized and led by whites. It was further pointed out that these conferences should be initiated, organized and led by Negro Communists; and finally that these conferences should have as their foremost task the campaign for solidarity of white and Negro workers against their common enemy—the ruling capitalist class, their political parties and candidates.

But in the eyes of the comrades this was a dangerous bold step. It was unanimously rejected by the Bureau with the sole exception of the leading Negro comrade on the Bureau. Most of the comrades spoke about distorting the Party line. Hints of white chauvinism were circulated. The sincerity of the comrades proposing such ideas was questioned. After much arguments and talk—it was agreed that the proposal would be accepted for trial—but with much scepticism. It sounded good but it was so new!

The recommendations of this proposal and others for special methods and forms of work amongst the Negro toilers have yet to be tested fully. But preliminary work indicates some splendid gains in new personal contacts established with such methods and a keen interest aroused among the Negro workers in the coming elections. It is quite evident that new methods are necessary and these will bring a wealth of lessons to our Party.

For bold steps forward in new methods of work to carry out the directives of the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party!

FRANK ROGERS—Youngstown.

NOTE: We request the Cleveland District Bureau to explain the basis for their disagreement with the proposal of a special Negro conference. As presented by Comrade Rogers in the article, we cannot see serious objections to his proposal for a special Negro conference in our election campaign in Youngstown. However, we would like to hear from the District Bureau.

Read This New Pamphlet
**THE COMMUNIST POSITION ON THE
NEGRO QUESTION**

*Resolutions :: Speeches :: Articles
setting forth the full Communist program
on the Negro question.*

64 pages

10c

Good Methods of Shop Work Bring Results

THE S. P. shop unit has been in existence for the last three years, made up of the same number of comrades (four working in the shop): two Greek comrades, one Russian and one Slovak comrade. The main characteristics were sectarianism of the worst kind; theories prevailed that no foreign-speaking worker can speak of organization to an American worker; they depended entirely upon the bulletin to bring the workers into the Party and Trade Union Unity League. The bulletin was issued more or less regularly, but there was no attempt toward picking up issues in the shop and developing struggles. The stories were mostly a record of things that happened in the shop without following it up. The result of this situation was stagnation in the unit.

The situation has changed considerably within the last few months. With the assignment of more comrades from the District, a persistent effort was made to get the unit out of its isolation. As a result we met with some success. First of all, the comrades began to understand that Party members who work in shops are not ornaments in the Party, as a good many used to think, but that their duty is to work among the workers in the shops, and not to leave this to outside forces only. Then we began to take up issues in the shop in the bulletin—especially those which aggravated the workers the most, and we were not satisfied only with reporting them, but followed each of them up with leaflets as well.

We started a campaign of exposing the company union, and it had developed into quite a struggle when the officials of the "union" proposed to raise dues from 35c to 75c a month. Here we succeeded in developing a pretty good fight of the workers in the shop against the company outfit. Upon the suggestion of one of our comrades a petition was initiated, which was signed by 317 men. The reason why the rest of the men did not sign was that the petition had to be circulated in a hurry so that the foremen would not catch them, and secondly, the thing was started late in the afternoon. This fight was also carried to the meetings of the company union local, and the workers were really militant. The petition called upon the company to stop the company union officials from raising the dues, threatening to drop out of the "union." By this time, there was no doubt in the minds of the workers as to the role of the company union. And this whole fight was not so much against the few cents, but more a manifestation of their resentment against the outfit for all of its deeds, the ten per cent wage cut, etc. In fact, the workers in the shop discussing the problems, used our arguments.

But here is where we displayed our weakness the most. While

one of our comrades suggested the idea of the petition, yet he and the rest of the comrades in the shop failed to become the leaders of the situation in the shop—the organization of the fight had to be carried on mostly from the outside through our bulletin, leaflets. The results of this fight are the following:

1. The dues were increased to 50c instead of 75c.
2. A very favorable attitude of the workers in the shop towards us. The bulletin is very popular and read by almost all the workers. The reaction towards the contents is very good, although the make-up is not technically as good as it might be.
3. Four new members joined the Union—two Americans and two Spaniards.
4. A number of good contacts to build a T.U.U.L. group in the shop.

We are now working to organize specifically an opposition group within the company union. This is more tangible to the men than "unity" or "grievance" committees.

This report was thoroughly discussed at the District Committee meeting, and the decision was made to add two more comrades to help in the work of the unit; to organize a conference of contacts and members in the S. P. shops throughout District so as to establish some coordination in our work.

—SAN FRANCISCO.

Suggestions for Concentration in Ford Plants

WILL the Ford workers fight? The refusal of the workers in one whole department in the foundry to obey the orders of the bosses prior to March 7th—the Ford Hunger March—and the joining of the workers into the Union and the Party after March 7th, are very positive answers that the workers will fight. There is a basis for developing the struggle further, providing we know how to organize the workers, which we were unable to do sufficiently after the Ford Hunger March. It seems as if the Hunger March was an aim in itself, whereas it should have been a great stimulus for further development of our struggle to a much higher level.

Our present methods of organizational work in the factories are not sufficient and effective enough. We confine ourselves to individual contact of a comparatively small number of Party comrades working inside, and to the distribution of the *Ford Worker*, very few of which are distributed *inside* the shop. This paper is distributed in street cars and at street junctions. The majority of the workers, even sympathizers, are afraid to buy it or take it for nothing in the presence of the other workers. Work is carried out in an unsystematic mechanical way. Not sufficient attention is paid to the shop yet. In spite of many

discussions, decisions, and resolutions, this cannot be called a serious concentration of our Party on one of the strongest pillars of capitalism and one so significant and of such international importance as the Ford factory. As the situation stands today, we cannot speak of any serious work in the Ford shop; we have to show something concrete and tangible to the workers before they will follow us on a mass scale. They must be convinced of the ability of the Party and the revolutionary union to lead them victoriously in the struggle against these terrible conditions. In addition to carrying on every-day work in the Ford shop, a victorious strike in a nearby factory would give a great impetus to the development of struggle in the Ford factory.

We have some Ford units organized on a territorial basis which belong to another section which is not taking up the problems of shop work. In order to coordinate the work of the various units, we should establish a Ford Central Bureau composed of representatives of all Party and League Ford units in order to take up the problems of shop work,—such as reports on the activity of various units, reports on shop conditions, organization of a shop and anti-war committee; to formulate our policy on the basis of collective agreement and to give guidance to work in the Ford factory; to keep a record of the increase and decrease of employment and speed-up, so as to be in a position to know actual facts in the shop; to shift the concentration from one department to another as necessity demands; to know the strength of every unit, to assign the necessary forces in weak units, etc. The section committee can also do this work if it is relieved of work which is not directly connected with shop work.

Concentration on the Ford shop should be on a much larger scale than it is at present. The whole Party in Detroit and in the other surrounding cities should be mobilized for this work. We have about 800 Party members in this territory. On an average, every Party member has at least three or four Ford workers that he knows personally. The Party must assign one day in the month for Ford concentration where all Party members must participate. The Party must issue to sympathizers, Ford workers, a registration card on which they can write their name, address, building and department where they work, whether sympathizer or just contact, the name and the units of the comrades that got these contacts, etc. These should be sent to every unit in the territory with instructions and an explanation of the importance of this work. A copy of this registration blank should be sent to the Ford Central Bureau.

These contacts must be sorted out and divided according to the building and the departments, so that in case of strike, we will know how to get the workers and give them instructions from outside on how to work in the shop. In this way we can at the

beginning establish a network of about 3,000 Ford workers and through them get many other contacts.

A copy with the name and address should remain in the unit that got the contact: and on the day of the Ford concentration, every unit should be supplied with the necessary literature—*The Ford Worker*, etc. Comrades should be sent to visit these contacts, to sell them literature and to get information about the shop conditions.

NOTE: *We request the Detroit District Committee to send in their opinion on the points raised in the article. The experiences of our methods of shop work in the Detroit Ford Plants are of importance to the entire Party. We ask the comrades to send in articles dealing with their experiences.*

The Work of Trade Union Fractions

WE have just received the resolution on "The Work of Trade Union Fractions," recently adopted by the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. This resolution is of the greatest importance in establishing the line and guidance of the Party in our work in the trade unions. Every comrade should read and study the resolution. It is printed in full in the August issue of *The Communist* and in the *Daily Worker* in the issues for August 1, 2 and 3.

We are reprinting below an excerpt from the resolution:

"The most important (and at the same time the most difficult) thing is to establish the correct relations between the Communist fractions and the trade unions, especially the revolutionary trade unions. It is along these lines that most mistakes and confusion is found in practice. As the revolutionary trade union organizations must be mass organizations, including all sections of the working class irrespective of their political views, etc., the Communists working in these organizations must insure themselves influence and the decisive role by good and capable work, by methods of the most patient and insistent explanations of the Party line, showing by concrete examples what line the Party is carrying on in the struggle for the immediate demands of the workers, and giving personal examples of the most consistent and courageous work for these demands.

"The correct and flexible leadership of the work of the trade union fractions is of specially great importance during economic struggles. During economic struggles the Party as a rule must act from within, putting forward corresponding organizations of the revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary trade union opposition as organizers and leaders of economic struggles."

Some Experiences in Shop Concentration

THE recent convention of the New York District of the Communist Party, U. S. A., definitely and sharply engraved in the minds of the comrades the necessity of rooting the Party amongst the masses by giving them leadership in fighting against the economic and political oppression which they face in their day-to-day life.

However, this convention did not sufficiently explain *how* to coordinate Party work with mass work. Neither did it sufficiently tell us *the elementary steps necessary in order to break down the Chinese wall which stands between us and the decisive sections of the workers in the New York District.* Yet without such an explanation there can be no decisive change in our methods of work and no basic improvement in our work amongst the masses.

The distribution of Party forces is not planned in a manner which makes it possible to coordinate the work of our Party amongst the masses.

I know of two comrades, railroad workers in a strategic yard, who have for years been concentrating on the Singer Sewing Machine plant. Now as unemployed workers they have even more time for this important work *but they never built a group where they themselves had worked for years.*

One unit of Section 2 has been concentrating on a railroad yard for some time, but two Party members who work on this railroad are active in L.S.N.R., League for the Protection of the Foreign Born, unemployed work, etc., and are members of other units in the section.

Thus we have a situation where units spend months and even years trying to make contact from the outside while Party members of strategic plants and industries are busy in other units with other work, just as other active members of the Party. Likewise we have a situation where leading members of the unions belong to units which are totally disconnected from their daily activity while nearby units are groping in the dark, concentrating on a shop or factory of a similar industry to which our union leader belongs.

Our Party as a whole is isolated from the decisive sections of the working class. Therefore to us the question of *how* to utilize the few contacts that we have, and our forces in general, to develop shop activity in the large plants—is of decisive importance.

I remember how a group of comrades just out of the District Training School—hard workers and devoted comrades—concentrated for months on the Otis Elevator shops. They sold *Daily Worker* and distributed a shop bulletin in the name of the Party. The information for the latter was received from a group of workers sympathetic to the Party. But the workers

in Otis were not interested in our Party and looked upon the comrades as a bunch of outsiders trying to utilize them for our own political purposes, trying to tell them from the sidewalk what to do. For the sympathizers we had no organization which they felt could rally and unite the workers for the improvement of conditions in the shops. In other words we offered them no solution to their immediate problems.

If we had coordinated our work (this was done much later but not consistently) with the Metal Workers Industrial League, gotten a metal worker to visit the contacts and sympathizers and on the question of shop organization patiently shown them how to work, if the bulletin had been issued in the name of the shop group, then *the workers would have seen an organization which attempts to solve their problems, then the bulletin would have become a rallying center, and our Party group on the sidewalk would not be a bunch of outsiders but a group of workers helping to build an organization of (not for) the workers.*

I know of a case where a Party member working together with a leading comrade of the section developed a shop group, but the group was often not consulted on the methods of work to find out whether they agreed. Usually such procedure brings no organizational activity from the workers and in this case, when the Party member was fired, the workers lost faith in our ability to lead them and will no longer come to meetings.

H. SHAW—New York.

Less Inner Meetings and More Concrete Work

THE 14th Plenum is of great importance, especially now, at a time when the war danger is more acute than ever. When the imperialist powers through the spearhead, Japan, are preparing war against the Soviet Union; at a time when the crisis is deepening, unemployment is growing every day, wage cuts are taking place daily. It is at this Plenum where the Party stressed the importance of mass work through personal contact.

Can the method—personal contact—be applied? Yes. It can and must be applied if we want to carry on real mass work. But, can personal contact be applied now in the way our Party functions? I say no. Why? We cannot make personal contact with workers simply by going out in front of factories with literature and leaflets and at that time talk to workers in a sense of making real contact with them. In order to talk to workers you must visit their homes and spend a few minutes with each worker and discuss with him the problems that con-

front the workers and try to convince the workers to join our ranks.

Our Party at the present time has a new face. The majority of the members are new in the Party. And the new members are not given enough training to approach the workers correctly. It is therefore left to those members who are long in the Party, and who are most alive. What do we find there?

The active and capable comrades in mass organizations are overburdened with work. That is not with concrete work but with too many meetings. I will cite a few examples to prove whether I am correct. A certain unit is calling in its members to the unit bureau to hear of their activities in the mass organizations. We found out the following: the unit organizer besides being unit organizer belongs also to a union of the A. F. of L. And he has in the unit: organizers' meetings, unit buro, unit meetings; meets with the fraction of the unemployed council, opposition group of his union, union meeting, etc. Practically every single night in the week—meetings, and very little results. A leading comrade in the N.T.W.I.U., a worker in a shop, is the chairman of the union, in the sub-committee of the union, organization committee, concentration committee, fraction secretary and such has to meet with union fraction, Amalgamated fraction, shirtmakers' fraction, millinery fraction. Yes, she is also in the Youth committee.

How to Approach Workers

Can this comrade make friends with her shopmates and visit the workers home? Of course not. The same applies to the comrades in the I.L.D., I.W.O. and so down the line. Not only must we apply personal contact in factories, mass organizations and in territory, but much time must be devoted to train our new members and draw them into the day-to-day work. Here is where I also must cite a few examples the way our new comrades approach the workers.

A new comrades and an old comrade went out to visit workers and approach them to join the Party. "Join the Party," said the new comrade to the worker, "it's a good Party, I also joined it." And the worker answered him: "It doesn't mean that I have to join the Party because you joined it. You'll have to convince me why I should join the Party." And the comrade didn't know what to answer. Or I went out with a Negro comrade to sell Dailies. We both went separately. I watched the comrade how he is trying to sell the Dailies. The comrade kept the *Daily Worker* and asked something the worker and the worker shook his head—no, and the comrade left. So he kept on a few houses, with the same results. I went over to the comrade and with these words he approached the workers: "Would you be interested to buy this paper—the *Daily Worker*?" The worker answered—no. I told the comrade to listen to me talking to the

next worker. We came over to a worker, he was reading the *Daily News* (it happened to be a Negro territory). I started to talk to the worker and compare the *Daily Worker* to *Daily News*, opened up the paper and showed the worker where the *Daily Worker* leads the struggle to free the nine Scottsboro boys, is fighting against lynching, against race discrimination and for the unity of the white and colored workers. By spending a few minutes the worker bought a copy. A worker that stood by also bought one and gave his address to send the *Daily* by the week. This will prove the importance of training the new members. It is up to us to do it, but there are too many meetings.

The trouble is that the activity of comrades is being measured by meetings; the more meetings you have the more active you are. This is true with our leading comrades from top to bottom. After getting through with a general functionaries' meeting, the Org. secretary of our section ran around from comrade to comrade asking whether they had a meeting on Monday, as she had to get comrades for the Party affair committee. She asked me, "Have you got a meeting on Monday?" I answered "yes." She asked another comrade, the same answer. The third comrade answered—no. "That's good," said the section Org. secretary, "here is a meeting for you." She did not ask the comrades what they are doing on Monday, but whether they have meetings. It looked like the comrade had a pocketful of meetings and when she distributed them among the comrades she was satisfied and went away.

So long as this situation will prevail it will be impossible to carry on mass work through personal contact. I believe that the Party must carry on a campaign against these evils. Much attention must be paid in this direction. We must see to it that the comrades in mass organizations should not be piled up with committees on top of committees. *Non-Party members must be drawn into work*, a weakness that we fail to overcome. Not only don't we draw in non-Party members, but even members of the fractions are "getting away with murder" and only a handful of certain individuals are accepting on all the committees and the rest are not doing anything.

Too many inner meetings must be eliminated; if necessary units should meet every other week. I think the Party should carry a slogan in our Party press: *Less inner meetings and more concrete work*.

We must properly coordinate and distribute our work, the new members must be trained, and non-Party workers actively drawn in into work.

C. GELSON—Philadelphia.



Shop Paper Reviews

The Milwaukee Headlight — Milwaukee Railroad Shop—July, 1932.

All of the main issues of vital importance to the workers are taken up in this issue of the *Milwaukee Headlight*. The bonus march is discussed. The shop paper keeps reminding the Milwaukee railroad workers of the 10% wage cut put over a few months ago, and shows up some of the indirect wage cut schemes being put through on the railroads at the present time. The workers are not warned, however, that a new general wage cut on the railroads will be put through when the present wage cut "expires." This must be done so the workers can prepare for action against the next wage cut.

"War and Railroads" shows the direct effect war will have on the railroad workers—it is not too general, as the articles on war usually are in the shop papers.

To call on the railroad workers to demonstrate against war is not enough. Anti-war committees must be organized in the Milwaukee Railroad and other shops. The war article should have been on the front page in this August 1st issue.

The election campaign is also concretely tied up with wage cuts. This article however tends toward name-calling, stating that Hoover, Roosevelt and Thomas are for wage cuts but giving no facts to show this.

There is too little shop paper correspondence in the *Milwaukee Headlight*. The workers can only feel it is their paper if they write for it. Shop news must be stimulated.

The demands for part-time workers are of first-rate importance on the railroads. This question is ignored in the *Milwaukee Headlight*. Isn't it a fact that most of the railroad workers—especially in the shops—are on part-time? A program of immediate demands must be worked out for the part-time workers and played up in the shop paper.

The demands for the unemployed railroad workers are not mentioned in the shop paper.

Without struggles of the unemployed and part-time workers there can be no effective shop organization.

The Red Billet—Republic Steel, Canton, Ohio—July, 1932.

The *Red Billet*, in this issue, makes the National Convention of the Metal Workers Industrial League the main feature. This is fine. One shortcoming in the handling of the convention is that the tasks in the preparation of the convention are not properly given. The development of local struggles in the mills is not called for. The delegates to the convention should be workers who have come directly out of struggles in the mills.

The shop paper mentions the words "Program of the Metal Workers Industrial League" but does not give that program in connection with the fight on wage cuts, for unemployment relief and unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and government, the M. W. I. L. program for the part-time workers, youth, Negro steel workers, etc.

An issue of a steel paper which comes out just before a convention which is to form a Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, should be printed in many thousands of copies and should contain the program of the M. W. I. L.

War is not played up sufficiently in this issue, which is doubly severe shortcoming in view of the fact that the issue was the last one before August 1st. There is some but not enough shop news written by workers.

The analyses of the platforms of the Republican, Democratic, Socialist and Communist parties make an excellent way of presenting the election campaign to the workers. We suggest that it be followed up by taking personalities of the different capitalist parties and showing their connections with the bosses.

We shake hands with the *Red Billet* for handling the Bonus March. Yet this is done in a superficial way. The bonus marchers are not shown as starving unemployed workers and the employed and unemployed workers in general are not called to support them.

* * * * *

The Spark Plug—Fisher Body, Cleveland.

Here is a case of "from one extreme to the other." Most of the shop papers have fallen down in handling the main general issues—war, elections, etc. But the August issue of the *Spark Plug* consists of an article on war, one on Scottsboro, one on the Bonus March, and that's practically all. Nothing to speak of about the specific conditions in the shops, the grievances of the Fisher Body workers, the program of the Auto Workers Union, the wage cuts in the auto industry, the struggles of the workers in other industries, as the High Point strike, etc.

These every-day questions must make up the life of a shop paper. These are the things the workers feel every minute of their lives.

There is no article on the struggles of the unemployed for relief and unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and the government; nothing about the grievances of the part-

time workers, or in other words the majority of the auto workers.

* * * * *

The Ford Worker—Detroit, Mich.

The *Ford Worker* is a printed paper, and as such we must give it criticism on make-up, that is, attractiveness of appearance. By use of balanced heads, bigger type for heads, a few cuts (sketches or photos) the paper could be immensely improved.

The August issue mentions the Auto Workers Union just once, and then in passing, by tacking on to an article the slogan: "Join the Auto Workers Union," without telling the workers why they should do so, or what the Union stands for, what its program is.

There is very little about specific grievances in the Ford shops, the day-to-day life and demands of the Ford workers, employed, part-time or unemployed. The paper is much too general. It must get down to brass tacks.

The elections are handled barely at all, and very superficially. The Ford workers are not told why they should vote Communist. The capitalist parties are not exposed as enemies of the workers, even with the abundance of facts available in the Detroit section—Murphy's demagoguery while he supports the Ford massacre, the control of Dearborn by Ford, with Ford's relative as Mayor, etc.

Some Shortcomings of the Shop Papers

THE shop papers are beginning to show some improvement in the handling of subjects vital to the workers. Many of the shop papers take the subject of war and try to show its connection with the workers in the particular industry. In handling the elections the tendency is beginning to show of telling the workers specifically how the capitalist parties serve the bosses, and how the Communist platform is based on the needs of the workers. The shop papers reacted to the Bonus March.

A major shortcoming of the shop papers is the lack of shop correspondence. Very little of the shop papers is written by the workers themselves. Due to this the shop papers do not reflect the every-day life, thoughts and grievances of the workers.

The shop papers do not tend to serve as stimulators in the preparing of the partial struggles in the factories based on the daily grievances. They do not popularize sufficiently, in fact most of them do not at all popularize, the organs of struggle in the factories—the grievance committees, department committees. The shop papers must explain to the workers how these

bodies are formed, how they function, and for what purpose.

The shop papers for the most part very seldom mention the T.U.U.L. unions in the particular industries. The program of these unions in the fight against wage cuts, for unemployment relief and insurance, etc., must be brought to the workers.

In the question of the struggle against war, it is not enough to call on the workers to demonstrate against war on certain set dates. The struggle against war must be an every-day struggle right in the factories. Call for the formation of anti-war committees in the factories.

Specific demands for the part-time workers, for the young workers, women workers, Negro workers are seldom printed in the shop papers, thus failing to show whole big sections of the workers that the shop papers are their papers.

The shop papers do not go in enough for exposing local politicians, of charity agencies, of conditions in the neighborhoods in which the workers in the shop live, etc. This would also show the workers that the shop paper is their paper.

There is seldom material exposing the reformist union misleaders. There is almost never news of the strikes and other struggles of the workers in other industries and other sections of the country, or in other countries.

All of our shop papers suffer very much from failure to take up struggles of the unemployed, the fight against the stagger system, etc. This is a most serious shortcoming, which must immediately be corrected.

N. H.

Conditions for Successful Shop Work

The main basis of the work and development of the lower Party organizations is the work in the factory. Up till now the Party has not found the fit methods for carrying on this work. The content of this work is not merely organizational detail routine, but is the whole struggle against the capitalist offensive and against the policy of reformists. The first essential condition for successful work in the factory is daily contact with the mass of workers in it and thorough knowledge of the position of the workers in the factory and of the concrete conditions of struggle. The Communists must firmly grasp all the countless conflicts of a minor and major character arising daily with the employers, foremen and trade union bureaucrats, spies, etc., such as disputes, incidents, demands and grievances of the workers, including the women and youth, discriminating against Negroes and foreign born, with regard to wages, hours of work, working conditions, rationalization measures, infringements of workers' rights, dismissals in case of arrests of workers, etc. (From the 14th Plenum Resolution.)

Agit-Prop Work

NOTE: *The comrades are urged to send in questions regarding agit-prop work which will be answered in this section or through mail. We also request the comrades to send in short articles dealing with their experiences in agit-prop work, or the raising of some problems growing out of their experiences which require discussion and answers. By all means, send in your questions and articles.*

For Broadening Our Agitation in the Election Campaign

IN an article in the August issue of *The Communist* on some problems of agit-prop work in our election campaign, the question of broadening out our agitation in the elections was discussed. This was done by the method of a concrete examination of the various election leaflets.

Here a few more points will be discussed.

So far our agitation around the elections is mainly confined to a few central leaflets and the tours of Comrades Foster and Ford. It is necessary to broaden out and increase our meetings around the election issues. We must particularly arrange many meetings in the neighborhoods, in places where the unemployed gather and especially around the factories. The 14th Plenum Resolution gives us the line in this connection when it states:

"The Communist Party itself should organize thousands of meetings—great street meetings as heretofore, neighborhood meetings and especially small meetings in the workers' homes where our program shall be explained and the workers drawn into active participation in our election campaign."

Our election campaign also suffers from the fact that we have not attempted, nor do we even have the outlook for organizing "small meetings in the workers' homes," and "workers drawn into active participation in our election campaign."

Our agitation inside the shops to popularize the election issues is the weakest part of our election agitational activities. We do not even seem to develop factory gate meetings, especially called for the purpose of discussing the election platform. The greatest efforts and attempts must be made precisely in developing our agitation inside and around the factories.

The first central demand in our election platform is the demand concerning the unemployed workers. We have very few leaflets on hand addressed to the unemployed workers, leaflets which would indicate that special meetings of the unemployed were called for a special discussion on the election issues. It would be very important to know as to whether the Districts are developing organized distribution of our leaflets and platform where the unemployed gather, at the relief stations, bread lines, at trade-union halls, etc.

While undoubtedly the tour of Comrades Foster and Ford this year has aroused tremendous mass enthusiasm and is far greater in attendance than in our previous presidential election years, the preparations for the meetings are such that they do not indicate special election campaign activities to bring in new strata of workers to hear or program. We are particularly guilty in not having taken special steps to popularize and organize the meetings of Comrade Ford. The meetings of Comrade Ford must be an event. They should be part of our struggle for Negro rights. Special pains and steps must be taken for the organization of Comrade Ford's meetings.

Our local candidates must become fighting figures as is the case in some sections (Chicago). They should visit various working-class organizations to explain and popularize our election platform. Special debates should be arranged challenging our class enemies, etc.

We are not following up the election campaign activities and mass meetings of our enemies. The 14th Plenum resolution specifically pointed out the importance of it:

"Not a mass meeting during the election campaign without Communists. At all mass meeting arranged by bourgeois parties, the Communists should appear, expose the position of the enemies and make clear the position of the Party, distribute our literature; debates should be organized with the enemy candidates in order to expose their demagoguery and to reach the workers under their influence with the demands and program of the Communist Party."

The method mentioned in the Plenum resolution must be the

guide for our campaign against our enemies. In some cases, instead of developing a real mass campaign by following up the activities of our enemies, thus winning away the workers from their influence, the road of least resistance was adopted by developing a leftist twist, namely a handful of comrades attending meetings of our enemies, and with their behavior, creating the impression that they are there merely to break up the meeting. This must be corrected.

S. D.

An Examination of Some August First Leaflets

THE Center has so far received copies of the August 1st leaflets from only a few Districts. We will take up a few points in connection with the leaflets we have on hand. The first impression as to the make up and style of the leaflets shows that they were written in haste, the last minute without due consideration. We raise this point because practically all our leaflets suffer from this evil.

A serious political shortcoming of the few leaflets we have seen so far is that the war issue is submerged completely in the discussion of the local conditions. This, instead of making the local conditions part of the discussion of the war situation and placing the problem of convincing the workers of the need for demonstrating against imperialist war, in the center of the leaflet.

The absence of a concrete struggle against war is reflected in the leaflets. This is most clearly seen in the failure of a number of leaflets to raise the slogan: "Stop the shipment of ammunition to Japan." The Detroit leaflet, the North Philadelphia leaflet do not raise this slogan, nor do they mention it in the text of the leaflet. Others (Chicago) while raising the slogan against the shipment of ammunition to Japan do not discuss it in the text.

The struggle against pacifism is in some leaflets completely left out, and in others merely mentioned in passing. We cannot mobilize the workers for a struggle against imperialist war without a sustained systematic struggle against pacifism and pacifist illusions.

Many of the leaflets do not even mention the bonus march to Washington, for instance: Philadelphia, New Jersey. Some, while speaking of the bonus, fail to mention the fact that there was prior to August 1st, a bonus army encamped in Washington (Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh leaflets and others).

Our demand for unemployment insurance appears in some leaflets in a distorted and opportunist manner. For instance, the North Philadelphia leaflet places it in the following manner: "For the immediate payment of jobless relief," instead of raising the demand for unemployment insurance. The Detroit leaflet, while it raised the slogan for unemployment insurance, does not bring it out fully by stating our demand completely, namely, "for unemployment insurance at the expense of the state and employers."

We have not attempted here to give a thorough examination of the few leaflets we have on hand. This may be done at a later date. The above mentioned criticism emphasizes the need of a more careful writing of our leaflets, particularly having in mind the line of the Party and a correct presentation and placing of the central slogans of the Party.

For Political Clarity in the Writing of Leaflets

A MISTAKE was made by myself when, in calling a meeting recently in Washington, I carelessly wrote the following title on a leaflet:

"Imperialist Japan's Dream of a Pan-Asiatic Empire as a Threat to the Soviet Union and the United States."

This heading is wrong for the following reasons:

1) It suggests advocacy of rotten national chauvinism by making it appear as though the purpose of the title were to arouse a protective interest in American imperialism, as opposed to Japanese imperialism. This meaning was given to the leaflet by paralleling wrongly the Soviet Union, where workers rule, with the United States, where the capitalists rule, starve and beat us. We do not cry about "a threat" to the United States or any other robber power. The threat for us now is the threat of a war against the Soviet Union by Japanese imperialism, backed by American imperialism.

2) The title fails to show that in spite of the growing antagonisms between these two robber powers—they are united against their principal class enemy—the Soviet Union, and the support of American imperialism to Japan's war against the U. S. S. R.

SAM ROOL.

NOTE: The above is an excerpt from a statement sent in by Comrade Sam Rool. The statement indicates that Comrade Rool sees, though not quite fully, the basis for his very serious error. His mistake is not due to mere "carelessness." It is rather due to an insufficient absorbing of the line of the Party, of insufficient study of Leninism. Indeed more thoughtfulness for the line of the Party, more study of Leninism is required for the writing of our leaflets.

A serious and thorough study of the line of the 14th Plenum Resolution is one of the best guarantees against the committing of serious errors as the one committed by Comrade Rool. For the sake of clarification we quote the section of the 14th Plenum resolution dealing with the war situation, which explains the basis of Comrade Rool's mistakes.

"The sharp change in the international situation is the outstanding feature of the present situation. The war for the repartitioning of the world, and in the first place, for the imperialist partitioning of China and the crushing of the Chinese revolution, is already being waged by the imperialists in the Far East... The great imperialist powers,

especially Japan and the United States, are at present more and more involved in the sharpest conflict for their share in the exploitation and division of China and concentrating their war forces (navy, air forces, war industry) for an immediate armed struggle in the Pacific. At the same time the feverish efforts of Japan, United States, England and France to come together, arising on the basis of their common hatred of the Soviet Union, their preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union, the movement of Japanese troops to Northern Manchuria, the feverish activities of the white guards, sharply raise in this situation before the international proletariat **ABOVE ALL THE GREATEST DANGER OF COMMON INTERVENTION OF THE IMPERIALIST POWERS AGAINST THE U.S.S.R., THE WORLD PROLETARIAN FATHERLAND."**

Agit-Prop Briefs

THE lack of reading of basic resolutions assumes alarming proportions. At a functionaries' class in Harlem at which about 30 comrades were present, only 8 had read the 14th Plenum resolution and only 4 had read the resolution on the Lessons of Strike Struggles in the U. S. A. At a recent Minneapolis District Convention only four or five of those present had read the Central Committee, October, 1931, resolution on unemployment. In an article on Party literature which appeared in the *Daily Worker*, the reasons for the failure of reading basic Party resolutions was discussed more in detail.

The additional facts brought out here point to the alarming situation which exists in connection with the training of the Party for the study of our basic resolutions.

* * * * *

A MOST thorough and extensive discussion must be developed throughout the Party on the lessons of the bonus march. This discussion should be based on the statement of the Central Committee. The lessons of the bonus march are of the greatest importance in stirring up the entire Party to the present situation in the country, the weakness of the Party and the methods of developing a correct mass policy. Special functionaries' conferences with discussions in the units should be organized.

* * * * *

THE Harlem section arranged a Six-Weeks' Functionaries Conference at which the following topics were taken up:

1. The role of the Party, a political discussion on the historical, political importance of the Communist Party.

2. The structure of the Party, shop nuclei, fractions.
 3. The united front and the mass activities of the Party.
 4. The national problem and the struggle for Negro rights.
- We suggest this method for the other districts which of course can also be adapted to the local conditions and needs of the various districts and their sections.

* * * * *

THE 15th Anniversary of the November Revolution must be the occasion of popularizing the achievements of the Soviet Union, the lessons of the proletarian revolution and the mobilization of the masses for the defense of the Soviet Union. Special agitational material will be issued for the celebration of the 15th Anniversary. Special discussions throughout the Party on the lessons of the Bolshevik revolution and their application to our struggles in the United States will be organized throughout the Party.

Shop Gate Meetings as a Help to the Comrades Inside

OUR shop unit in the Caterpillar plant is only about six months old. And while we are getting new contacts on the job (the plant has been working a few days a week and now closed down indefinitely), we found that shop-gate meetings are a great help in approaching workers on their problems.

On March 1st a Party speaker held a meeting at the shop during noon hour. After the meeting the workers discussed a great deal amongst themselves on how to solve the conditions in favor of the workers. During the same time the Workers International Relief was showing a Russian movie to which the workers were invited. And for the next few days the workers in the plant were discussing the lack of unemployment in Russia and the millions of unemployed here. These discussions amongst the workers gave (the Party members) the opportunity to comment and help them along and thereby find out who is who in the shop.

As a result of the shop gate meetings outside and our work inside we have now a functioning group of the Metal Trades Industrial League and have recruited 7 new members to the Party unit (we started the shop unit with 3 members).

UNIT ORGANIZER,
Caterpillar Shop Unit.

Marxian Study Courses

for Individual study and class work

Political Economy

12 lessons. Four lessons now ready. Price 15c each

1. Marxist Theory of Value
2. Capital and Surplus Value
3. Capital and Surplus Value (continued)
4. Wages and Accumulation of Capital

History of the Working Class

12 lessons. Four lessons now ready. Price 15c each

1. The Great French Revolution
2. The Industrial Revolution in England and Chartism
3. The Revolution of 1848 in France and Germany
4. The First International and the Paris Commune

LITTLE LENIN LIBRARY

Indispensable handbooks for every Party member

The Teachings of Karl Marx	15c
The War and the Second International	20c
Socialism and War	15c
What Is to Be Done?	50c
The Paris Commune	20c
The Revolution of 1905	20c
Religion	20c

See that you are supplied with the above booklets
through your unit literature director.



Section Stimulates the Sale of Literature

OUR section has, until a few weeks ago, sold about \$120 worth of literature a month. This is roughly about \$1 a week for each unit. Lately, however, due to the persistent agitation of the Party on the importance of literature, a change has taken place for the better. However, this change affected the sale of literature *within* the units only. Practically no literature is being sold by the units in their own territory or concentration points.

The section has recently initiated a campaign to raise the circulation of *The Communist* among the section membership. The result was that we are now selling 175 copies, an increase of 50 copies. The aim is to reach 250 copies per month. We are also disposing of 110 of the *Inprecor* and 250 of the *Party Organizer*.

PAUL ENGLER,
Section 15, District 2.

Making a Good Start Out of Nothing

IT WAS suggested at an unit meeting that some of the few workers working (at low wages) contribute to start a literature fund. Fifty-five cents was contributed and literature purchased. Only ten per cent discount was granted by the Literature Department, yet in a period of less than ten weeks the literature fund grew to more than two dollars, through profits made on literature sales and through a policy of keeping the literature fund strictly apart from all other Party money.

Now the discount granted is 20% and there can be no doubt the literature fund will grow much more rapidly than heretofore, especially in view of the fact that the unit is conducting more election campaign meetings and more unemployment meetings now than before, and is using literature as one of the important means of agitation and mobilization.

It must also be remembered that the bulk of the unit mem-

bership are marine workers and they sell their own literature, especially pertaining to their industry, supplied by the Union, which has no organizational connection with the unit literature fund. The seamen are specially successful in selling literature on board ships in the harbor.

The stimulating force in the sales of literature in this unit was a very loyal and energetic Negro comrade who pushed the work. Though progress has been made, the unit, as a whole, does not regard the work satisfactory and intends to go forward at a much more rapid tempo in the future. A special effort will be made for sales of the lower priced pamphlets, especially the election campaign pamphlets.

HENRY ROBINSON,
District 3—Section 1.

Planning for the Foster and Ford Meetings

A Suggestion from Lawrence, Mass.

The section organizer in Lawrence proposed that we should not merely try to sell individual pamphlets to workers at our campaign meetings but that we should make up 15c or 25c packages of platforms and other election literature. Our literature speakers at these meetings, in urging the sale of these packages, should emphasize the role of every non-Party worker as a literature distributor for the Party as a means of winning the support for the platform of the Party and the candidates.

Chicago checks up:

"We are taking good care to cover Comrade Foster and Ford meetings in District 8. We are communicating with section organizers in Chicago and out of Chicago sections. Where the sections would fail to take care on the literature at certain more important meetings, we are making arrangements to send responsible comrades there directly.

Pittsburgh has a water-tight plan:

On the Foster-Ford tours we have in mind the following: When Foster or Ford arrives here a comrade will be placed together with his, who will attend every meeting where Foster and Ford speak. At those meetings this comrade talks on literature. Our aim is not to sell so much individual pamphlets but rather call upon the workers to buy five pamphlets and distribute or sell them among their friends.

Workers More Anxious to Buy Literature Now than Ever

(Answers to arguments that workers will not buy literature during the crisis)

Boston reports on the Ford Meeting:

We had literature displayed on a table near the entrance. A comrade gave a talk on the most important pamphlets and Foster's book to the audience. We immediately had comrades going through the crowd, quietly selling the literature. Every comrade had a special pamphlet. Two comrades took subscriptions for Foster's book, since our order did not come in time, and we had only two books left. We received ten subscriptions for this book, paid in advance. If we had had the books on hand we would have sold many more, since some of the workers could not give us a permanent address, to which we could send the books. All these things were done in a quiet way so as not to disturb the meeting.

Cleveland reports:

Increase in sales, while not very great, yet we had to convince the agents that we print more literature during a crisis, and that the workers are anxious to read, to find the way out of the crisis, and to see just what is going on in the world. Many used the argument that the workers are all broke, and have not a penny for reading material. They are being convinced otherwise.

Detroit reports on the Foster Meeting:

At the Detroit Foster meeting, 600 sets of four pamphlets were sold—because they were cheap, and because they were well announced. The sale of Foster's book was about forty copies (5000 audience)—because it is dear, and was very poorly announced. The selling speech was bad and inexecutable. "Here is a book by Foster. It's a good book, you ought to have it. Price one buck." This was practically all.

Literature should always be announced and sold from the platform, *before* the collection is taken. I was talking to an unemployed auto worker in a restaurant after the meeting. He saw the Foster book in my hand. And he said, in effect, "Geez, I want that book bad, but I put my last dollar in the collection." Of course, collection and literature are both important, but comparatively, the latter must obviously be placed first.

ANTI-WAR LITERATURE ORDERS FROM THE CENTER (FROM JUNE 20 TO JULY 31, 1932)

Literature	Districts																		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	19	
Chapel in Flames	110	20	20	20	20	20	155	155	10	120	50	1	50						
Tanaka Document	130						85	85		170	90						25	25	
War in China	165	12	*10	25	25	25	25	35	35	10	50	50						25	
Rev. Struggle vs. Pacifism	100	245					200	50	5		30								
Soviet China	10	86					45	45		72	25								
Plenum Pamphlet	25	74	10	15	100	20	8	100		75	5	5	50	10					
War and 2nd International	20	13					10			6									
Socialism and War	10	21					10	5		6									
Struggle Against Imperialist War	5							3		25									
Veterans, Close Ranks!	*300	244	50	100	200	300	50							5	101	300			
S. U. Stands For Peace	1335	2041	1900	850	750	200	500	364	100	25	1500	150	200	300					
		*3								*4									

1850 Bonus Pamphlets sold to W. E. S. L.

* Numbers marked with asterisk indicate non-Party organizations.