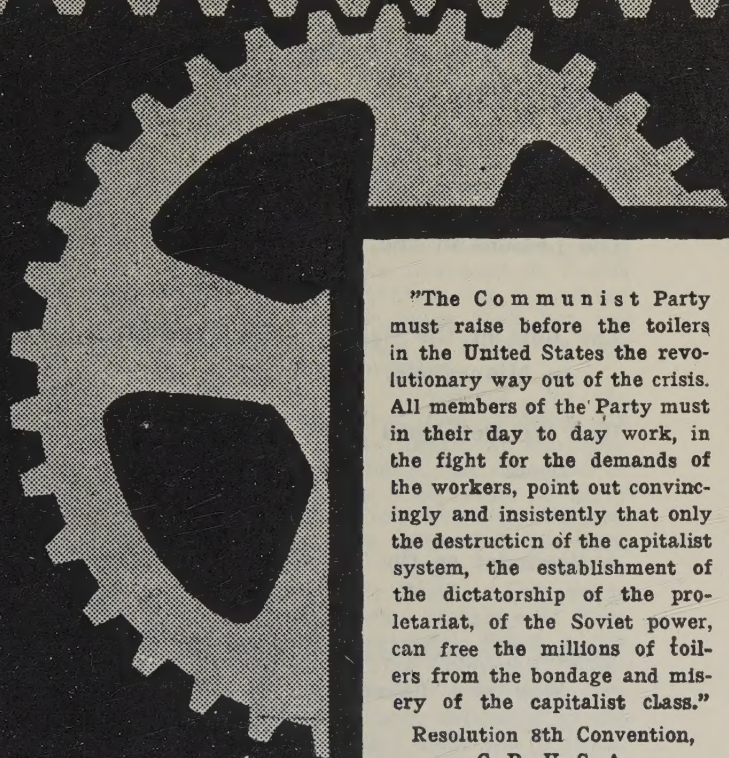


Party Organizer



"The Communist Party must raise before the toilers in the United States the revolutionary way out of the crisis. All members of the Party must in their day to day work, in the fight for the demands of the workers, point out convincingly and insistently that only the destruction of the capitalist system, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the Soviet power, can free the millions of toilers from the bondage and misery of the capitalist class."

Resolution 8th Convention,
C. P., U. S. A.

Vol. VII.

JULY, 1934

No. 7

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CONTENTS

How Are the Convention Decisions Being Carried Into Life?	1
By Jack Stachel	
Are the Control Tasks Being Fulfilled?	7
The Lessons of the Auto-Parts Strike in Toledo.....	8
By John Burns	
The Role of the Party in the Truck Drivers Strike in Minneapolis	15
How We Developed Party Activity in an A. F. of L. Local	18
By Gene Gordon	
A Reminder on the Thaelmann Campaign	20
By F. Brown	
August First—International Day of Struggle Against War and Fascism	23
By G. Maul	
Mass Defense Is the Only Answer to Terror	26
By J. Peter	
The Meaning of Independence Day and the Task of the Party	31

PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. VII.

July, 1934

No. 7

How Are the Convention Decisions Being Carried Into Life?

By JACK STACHEL

(On the problems of increasing the membership of the Party by 40,000 by January, 1935; to increase the circulation of the **Daily Worker** to 75,000 by the end of the year; to **ENROLL EVERY PARTY MEMBER ELIGIBLE TO JOIN THE TRADE UNIONS.**)

THE Eighth Party Convention unanimously and with tremendous enthusiasm decided that the Party pledge itself to increase the good standing membership to 40,000 by the end of the year. It was also decided that during this same period the circulation of the **Daily Worker** be increased to 75,000. A third important decision of the Convention was that every Party member eligible to join a trade union shall join and that the Central Committee shall make a report on this question three months after the Convention.

It is now two months since the Convention. We can already begin to examine to what extent these decisions are being carried through. Before going into detail, we can state that we have been very slow in beginning the execution of these decisions, and where efforts are being made to carry them through the tempo is entirely too slow to give any guarantee that these decisions will be fulfilled in the time specified.

One thing we must root out of our Party: the tendency to make decisions and forget about them. In this case these decisions were made by the **Party Convention** which is the **highest authority** in the Party, next to the Communist International, the World Party of which we are a section. Certainly once the leading forces of the Party delegated by the Party membership to the Convention have made this decision, it is a pledge that we cannot take lightly. **There is no more time to lose. These decisions must and can be carried through.**

These decisions can be carried through provided the entire Party membership and in the first place, the leading forces of the Party, do not for a moment forget about these decisions,—provided these tasks become inseparable from our daily activities.

Here we will deal mainly with the question of Party membership.

State of the Party Membership

The dues paying membership of the Party for the first 5 months of the year stands as follows:

January	26,727
February	22,344
March	24,784
April	22,115
May	22,564 (incomplete)

Thus we see that for the first two months after the Convention there has been no growth of the membership of the Party as registered in the dues payments. If anything, there is a small decline. But this is not all. Let us take these figures together with the recruitment during these same months as recorded by the initiation stamps sold in the Districts. These figures show:

January	1958
February	2337
March	3153
April	2153
May	2306
Total	11,907

This situation is more or less true of every district of the Party. Let us take some examples of districts, including the concentration districts and those where there were important struggles. Here we see the following:

District	Membership in January	Recruited in Past 5 months	Present Membership
2	4774	2800	5274
4	404	175	449
5	1087	397	1116
6	2076	715	1390
7	1420	276	925
8	3186	1073	2899 (incomplete)
9	2656	409	1451
13	2236	1496	2128
15	404	182	479

A glance at these three columns of figures shows how serious is the situation with regard to fluctuation in each of these districts.

If we had maintained all the new recruits and not lost any of the old members we would now have a Party membership of 35,000. These figures do not take into consideration the fact that in the dues payments of January some of the new recruits for that month are included, and that some of these recruited in May could not yet pay dues, but the indi-

cations for the month of June show that the dues-paying membership remains about the same, and that in reality only two-thirds of the 35,000 are actually in the Party.

On this basis of recruitment and present status of the membership the turnover for the year remains about 100%. This is an alarming situation, about which we have already spoken much, but which we have done little to overcome.

Some comrades will say that the dues payments do not show the actual membership, which is in reality larger. This may be true for a short period. But experience shows that in the main the membership figures, as shown by dues payments over a period of a few months, corresponds to the actual membership. The failure of members to pay dues is their first step outside the Party.

Therefore the major problem in increasing the Party membership is to overcome the fluctuation. Much has already been written and said on how this can be achieved, and it is not necessary to restate the whole problem and the means of solving it. What is necessary is that the Party organizations **undertake to solve the problem** in a serious and systematic manner.

Some comrades when pressed hard about this situation will state that this is due to the fact that the new recruits were not yet ripe for the Party. Nothing can be farther from the truth than this statement. Granted that in many cases there have been some bad methods of recruiting. Certainly it is correct that our recruiting is weakest in the factories, where our principal recruiting should be done. But this does not explain why so many new and old members leave the Party. The main causes for this are the inefficient functioning of the nuclei and the nuclei bureaus, the failure to assign and help the new comrades to carry through their work, the inadequate educational work and the training of the new members, and above all the **fact that the Party organizations do not carry on real Communist mass work** by which the workers were in the first place attracted to the Party. The solution of these problems will solve the problems of fluctuation.

In addition to this we must stress the fact that there is no real control of what happens to every member, new and old. There is even a certain lack of comradeship in the organizations,—a too impersonal attitude. The new member who comes into the organization finds himself isolated, with the organizations often speaking a language that he does not even understand. This requires that in the Districts and Sections the leading committees take steps to organize functioning membership committees to deal with this problem.

Every new member must be properly assigned, followed up and helped especially in the early period of their member-

ship. This requires visiting the new members in their homes if for some reason they do not attend the meetings.

In the nuclei where the group system has been established the new members should be assigned to a group where there are more experienced comrades to help them in their work, guide them on what to read, help them interpret the daily events, go with them on their assignments, and demonstrate taught how to carry on work in the factory without victimizing how the work should be carried on. This is particularly important in factory nuclei, where the new member must be aided. The comrades in the shop nuclei should receive constant guidance and support from the members of the District and Section Committees.

Some comrades will draw the conclusion that if the problem of fluctuation is solved, we will not have to worry about recruiting. These two problems cannot be separated. In the first place the quality of our recruitment has an important bearing on the fluctuation. The more we recruit directly from the factories, through strikes, through the trade unions, the greater is the possibility of keeping the new members. This is established through an examination of the relative fluctuation in the shop and street nuclei. It is also true that when many members drop out of the Party, some comrades become discouraged about bringing new members in. Likewise the members who drop out tend to discourage other workers with whom they are in contact from joining. On the other hand if they had been kept for the Party they would have become new means for further recruitment. Certainly to solve the question of fluctuation will greatly aid in the recruitment of new members.

But can we be satisfied with the number of workers we recruit to the Party at the present time? Certainly not. There are at present tremendous strike struggles involving hundreds of thousands of workers. There is a tremendous leftward swing among these workers as well as of the rank and file of the Socialist Party. In the face of this our recruitment of some 2,000 members per month is indeed very small.

Worst of all is the fact that in most of the recent big strikes the Party recruitment was very small. Take for example the Connecticut District, where there have been many strikes. In some of these strikes we did not recruit a single member although we carried on extensive activity. This is also true of the strikes in Minneapolis, the longshore strikes, and many others. Why don't we recruit? In the first place because we often fear to bring forward the Party to the masses. In other cases it is brought forward very abstractly. In other cases because we depend on the masses coming to the Party spontaneously. Our organizations and leading comrades simply forget to ask the workers to join the Party.

There is one case that is very enlightening. There is an independent union of some thousands of members where the union secretary is a Party member. He was unknown to the workers as a Party member. But he was a good secretary of the union and the Party was active in the strike of the workers. Recently the reactionary elements in the union threatened to ask the removal of the secretary because he is a Communist. The Party organization decided that he should come out openly and state that he is a Communist, defend the position of the Party in the strike and attack the reactionary elements. What was the result? The workers greeted with enthusiasm the secretary as a Communist. The reactionaries did not dare to raise the issue, and the membership at that very meeting elected this Communist as their paid organizer. A number of workers who until then did not wish to join the Party, immediately applied for membership. This does not prove that it is not necessary in certain situations not to make public for the moment who are the Communists in the union. But it does show that the masses are not afraid of the Communist Party. The only trouble is that the masses get their opinions of the Party from our enemies who vilify the Party. It is our job to tell the workers the truth about our Party.

Because some of our recruitment drives have not had good results, conclusions are sometimes drawn that membership drives in general are no good. This is not so. It is very useful from time to time in connection with certain general events to have for a certain period of time a well organized and systematic recruiting campaign. But what must be stressed is that the building of the Party must be achieved through constant and daily recruiting in connection with all the struggles of the Party. Of special importance is to carry through organized and concentrated recruiting in certain industries and localities during strikes and also in preparation for a struggle and after the struggle when the workers can draw the lessons of the struggle, its outcome, the role of the various organizations, etc. It is to this type of recruiting that we must at this time give our major attention as we see the growing and sharpening struggles that are taking place and that will take place.

Daily Worker

What has been said with regard to recruiting to the Party and the fluctuation in membership is also true of the circulation of the **Daily Worker**. The circulation of the **Daily Worker** has only slightly increased since the convention. The turnover is also very great. New readers, new subscribers are won and lost. A good example of this was the recently conducted drive for monthly subs, only a very small fraction of which we succeeded in renewing.

There is an insufficient effort on the part of the Party organization to bring the **Daily Worker** to the workers in connection with strikes, unemployed and other struggles. The **Daily Worker** is the most important weapon the Party has with which to reach the masses of workers. But it is not being used sufficiently.

The convention decision to increase the circulation of the **Daily Worker** to 75,000 by the end of the year can be realized only if the Party organizations stop looking upon the **Daily Worker** as a side issue and take it up as a basic task. Certainly it is possible to far surpass this number by the end of the year. Wherever a systematic attempt is made the workers are eager to get the **Daily Worker**.

If every Party committee, every nucleus, will work out plans how to bring the **Daily Worker** to the masses in the factories and neighborhoods, into the trade unions and mass organizations, if all organizations will create the machinery and constantly check up on the progress of the drive for the increase of the circulation to 75,000, then there can be no doubt that this number will be reached and surpassed.

We have no guarantee of a change. The comrades must now, in the next month, answer by deeds that such guarantees are being created. The **Daily Worker** management and the Org. Commission have already sent out all the material for the drive. In the next issue we expect to print what the various districts are doing to realize the quotas set for them.

Trade Unions

Not more than between one-fourth or one-third of the membership eligible is in the trade unions. This is also true of the concentration districts as Chicago, Detroit, and Pittsburgh. This is an especially serious question when we consider that many workers are constantly joining the Party.

The Eighth Party Convention discussed thoroughly the necessity of activizing every Party member who is a member of a trade union and emphasized the necessity for each Party member, who is eligible, to join a trade union. This decision of the Eighth Party Convention is of the utmost importance for the strengthening of the Party position in the revolutionary trade unions, independent unions and the A. F. of L. unions. This problem cannot be solved mechanically. In this regard, we must conduct a real ideological campaign in all units, in the fractions, and among the hundreds of thousands of sympathizers in the mass organizations around the Party. Also, we must have continuous articles that will stimulate not only the discussion on this very important problem, but which will make every Party member conscious of this important task.

We propose that an ideological campaign shall be conducted by calling special meetings of Party members, by industries, and discussing and checking up on the activities of the individual Party members in the trade union fields and in the units.

We have no reports on the carrying through of this task from most districts. We urge all districts to send in these reports, and in the next issue we will deal fully with this question.

Are the Control Tasks Being Fulfilled?

THE various Districts at their recent conventions adopted control tasks to be fulfilled in the three month period from May to August. How have the Districts fulfilled these tasks? Are they checking up now to see what portion of them have been carried out, so that they may know where their major efforts have to be directed? We are not in a position to speak about all Districts, but the bulletins received in the National Office from District 18 and District 6 indicate that both are making an effort to carry out and to check up on their control tasks. The Party Life Column in the **Daily Worker** has published both the control task and the check up from District 18. We are printing below the check-up of District 6, as taken from the issue of their May **Organization Bulletin**. It is good example for all Districts.

"Control Task No. 2

"Control task No. 2, adopted at the District Convention reads: **To fulfill the Eighth National Convention task, that within three months, every eligible Party member will be in the union of his or her grade, whether T.U.U.L., A.F. of L. or independent, and the Section Committees to exercise a strict control and be responsible for this.**

"Already a month has past since the convention. Two months are left to complete this task. At the next unit meeting this point should be discussed and the following concrete steps taken:

"1. Every member should be asked where he or she works, what trade he is in, and if he is a member of a union. Those who are not members of a union should be given a definite time in which to join.

"2. Where there is some argument as to which union the comrade should join, it should then be referred to the Section Committee for final decision.

"3. The following meeting this procedure should be repeated for those who have been absent and convince them to join the union.

"4. The unit bureau should arrange to meet during the week with groups of comrades who are to join the union and discuss their tasks with them on the basis of the Party resolution.

"5. Every unit meeting is to devote part of its time to checking up this control task.

"Control Task No. 9

"Control task No. 9: **To recruit at least 75 new members into the existing shop nuclei and issue regularly at least 15 shop papers.**

"In the Fisher Body shop unit this point has already been discussed during the strike together with comrades from the District and Section Committees who are working with this unit. No reports have come in from the other concentration shops. Place this task on the order of business at the next shop nucleus meeting. Remember it must be fulfilled by August First.

The Lessons of the Auto-Parts Strike In Toledo

By JOHN BURNS

THE first strike of the Auto Parts workers started on February 23. This strike resulted in a sell-out by the A. F. of L. leadership, who put the agreement over with voting in the following manner: "All those in favor of the government raise your hands; all those in favor of President Roosevelt raise your hands; all those in favor of the NRA doing good for the workers raise your hands." At the time when the workers had their hands up for the government, etc., the business agent of the Union called for voting for the agreement. The workers, not knowing what the A. F. of L. meant by agreement or which agreement, raised their hands, and the thing went through so smoothly for the A. F. of L. fakers that the result was that the workers did not gain anything.

After this first sell-out, our Party did not make any special effort to come in contact with these workers and build up some sort of an organization. Nor was any effort made to get any of the strikers into the Party.

The workers felt that they were betrayed and the whole plant was seething with anger. On April 13 the strike was called in three shops: the Auto Lite, Bingham Stamping and the Logan Gear.

In the Auto Lite almost the entire plant came out, numbering about 1,800 workers. From the very first day of the strike, the policy of the A. F. of L. was against mass picket-

ing, "violence," and against the participation of "outside" organizations.

Our Party, through the Unemployment Council (because the Unemployment Council was the only organization which was popular in the city) urged mass picketing for the workers and actively participated in the formation of mass picketing.

Ramsey, the business-agent of the Federal Automotive Workers Union (A.F. of L.), pointed out our comrades to the police and many of them were arrested and intimidated. As a result of the consistent policy of the A.F. of L. leadership against mass picketing, the picketing dwindled down to nothing and on some days there was only a sign, nailed on a pole, stating that this shop was on strike. This situation continued till about May 18, with no picketing at all at the three plants.

In the meantime, about 30 workers from Bingham and Auto Lite came to the Party office to ask for help. Our comrades had two meetings with these workers, numbering as high as 60 strikers. Our comrades gave them some idea on how to take the situation into their own hands and the necessity for mass picketing, but did not get the names and addresses of these workers, nor did they issue leaflets appealing to the non-striking workers in the city to help picket the plants. On top of this the Party membership was not mobilized to transform this strike into a militant one, though they had all the opportunities to do so, having as a basis these 60 workers.

Situation of Party Prior to Strike

Prior to the developing strike struggle in Toledo, the Section leadership was in lethargy. Pessimism and passivity was prevalent among the majority of the Party membership. The orientation of the Section was away from trade union work, and very little efforts were made to make some beginnings in this work. The functioning of the Party was in a miserable situation. This situation found the Party unprepared to meet the rising mood of the workers for struggle.

When the injunction was issued against the Unemployment Council, Communist Party and Y.C.L., our comrades instead of utilizing it to arouse the mass sentiment of the workers against it, capitulated to the three Musteites in the city and concluded a United Front with them for an open demonstration against the injunction, with only one speaker, speaking for the U.C. and the Musteites taking the upper hand in formulating and drawing up the resolutions, monopolizing the demonstration, etc. This demonstration was attended by about 150.

About May 16, the situation reached its climax. The strike was almost lost. The M.E.S.A. sent its 62 members back to work and signed a yellow dog contract. The Bingham and Logan Gear plants were working. The Auto Lite Co. had a full crew, mostly strikers who went back to work. The remaining 800 strikers from all three plants, became desperate. The Miniger interests, seeing the situation, were determined to put the finishing touches to the strike with the help of the police. On May 17, wholesale arrests took place in front of the Auto Lite of about 100 and next day of another bunch of 75.

The Musteites, seeing the situation, tried to make capital out of it, in order to put themselves on the map and use Toledo as a stamping ground to establish their A.W.P. Their three members in the city participated in the picketing with their signs. The whole leadership, Muste, Bidenz, Montrose and Cope came to Toledo for the purpose of stopping the influence of the Party and getting the upper hand.

Role of Party In Strike

We, on the other hand, sent a special call to the entire membership of the Party to be on the picket line. Monday, May 21, we had about ten signs of the Communist Party and the Unemployment Councils and other slogans. About 25 C.P. members participated in the picketing. Budenz spoke in front of the shop and urged peaceful picketing and co-operation with the A. F. of L. leadership and said that the NRA gives full rights to organize and join any union of the workers' choice. Our comrades also spoke in front of the shop and urged the worker to mass picket, violation of the injunction and a sympathy strike of all workers.

As a result of the publicity, there were about 2,000 around the plant Monday and some arrests took place. Tuesday it was repeated with more militancy and many scabs were beaten up while leaving the plant. Fifteen cars of scabs were smashed. At this time we issued a leaflet in the name of the Party, urging mass picketing, violation of the injunction and for a general strike. On Wednesday, May 23, as a result of the fighting Tuesday, and because of the leaflet of the Party and the Unemployment Council, about 10,000 workers gathered around the plant.

The Mayor, Sheriff Krieger, Brigadier General Conley, the police lieutenants and captains had a conference on Tuesday, May 22, and worked out a plan of attack for Wednesday—first, to arrest the “agitators,” C.P. members, and later on break up the picket line. This plan was carried into effect Wednesday and five of our leading comrades were arrested.

Budenz, who had been trying hard to be arrested several times earlier, so that he and his Party could get publicity and raise funds, was also arrested.

The entire picket line was led by Comrade Eggert, Section Organizer of the C.P. and other comrades. The gas attack started and the fighting began, with the entire police force and the County Deputies on one hand, and the workers on the other, who by 5 P.M. numbered about 25,000.

The factory was under siege. The scabs remained in the plant. No window of the Auto Lite was left unbroken. No car of scabs passed through without having bricks and stones hurled on it. The police and Deputy Sheriffs were helpless. The entire neighborhood was seized by the workers. The Communist Party and Y.C.L. members played an active part in organizing squads in different streets around the plant and charged the police and the plant and when necessary retreated in an organized way. Hand to hand fighting with police took place, with the workers getting the upper hand. The economic struggle developed into a political struggle, into class war, workers having the upper hand and swelling its ranks to at least 40,000 by 10 P.M. of that day.

The hatred of the masses developed. We could hear shouts among the workers, "if the newspapers say that this is a Communist fight than we are all Communists." The crowd became uncontrollable. There was no A. F. of L. leadership, nor did we establish a leadership. This was primarily because the Party did not organize squads of Communists for every block around the factory, in order to give guidance and leadership to this fight, but individual Communists gave leadership in an unorganized manner in certain sections of the fighting front. This fighting continued all night long, starting at 2:30 P.M. and ending at 6 A.M. the following morning, Thursday, when the National Guard arrived and released the scabs. The rain that morning helped the National Guard carry through their bloody aims. Thousands of workers left because of the rain and if not for the rain, the National Guards could have been disarmed before they came off the busses.

Thursday, 10 A.M. the fighting began anew. The Party issued a leaflet calling upon the workers to demand the immediate withdrawal of the National Guards, the continuation of mass picketing and for an immediate sympathy strike. The Y.C.L. issued a leaflet, calling upon the Guardsmen not to shoot but fraternize with the workers. The fighting continued until Sunday, when it was brought to a halt as a result of the A.F. of L. leadership's bickering with the Arbitration Boards and the local press coming out with misleading headlines of settlement. The Catholic Bishop also

played an important role in making speeches on Sunday and Monday against the strike and picketing.

Slogans of Party Adopted By Workers

This situation demanded quick action on the part of the Party. The Party and the Unemployment Councils during this situation carried out excellent agitation and propaganda work. We issued 16 different leaflets amounting to 105,000. The C.P. called three open air demonstrations and three indoor meetings with about 4,000 workers attending. We sold 450 copies of the Daily Worker a day and distributed 2,000 copies free. About seven factory gate and ten open air meetings were held. Our slogan put forward at these meetings and in our literature was, **an immediate general strike** for:

1. The immediate withdrawal of the National Guards, Deputies and police.
2. For the unconditional release of all arrested workers.
3. For the right to organize and strike.
4. For the support of Auto Parts and other strikers.
5. For the removal of Miniger's man, Sheriff Krieger and his prosecution.
6. For increased wages, for adequate cash relief for all unemployed.
7. For the passage of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill (H.R. 7598).
8. Against the murder of workers—compensation to their families.

These slogans were adopted by the workers and became their slogans. The slogan for an immediate general strike was the talk of all the workers. Over 80 locals of the A. F. of L. and the M.E.S.A. voted for a general strike. But the leadership of the A. F. of L. from the very beginning sabotaged and betrayed it through settlement of the Edison workers and through the continuation of arbitration of the Auto Parts workers.

Through the work that the Party carried out, we were successful in blocking the activities of the Musteites. They categorically refused to participate in the United Front movement on the above demands. Instead they tried to take the upper hand in order to create a foothold here in Toledo, but they failed miserably. No matter what steps we took they tried to block us. When we called a mass meeting, they did likewise, but setting their date a day earlier than ours. The same was true of demonstrations, but they had only one demonstration with 150 attending, while our demonstration, which started right after they got off the platform was attended by 800. They held one mass meeting before Browder's

meeting, issued two leaflets and had an attendance of eight. Browder's meeting was attended by 500. This was the activity of the Musteites during the struggle. Nevertheless, Muste is trying to boast of his great deeds and influence, (outside of Toledo).

Some Outstanding Weaknesses

1. The Party leadership lost its head in this situation. Instead of mobilizing the entire membership politically as well as organizationally and creating committees that could carry out the work, such as defense committees, illegal apparatus, Daily Worker and literature committees, committees for mimeographing and distributing leaflets, committees for recruiting for the Party, etc. they haphazardly mobilized a few members and not only did the leadership have to write leaflets, work out policies, and give leadership to this situation, but they were even forced to run the mimeograph machine day and night. With the arrest of two bureau members and with a warrant for the third bureau member, there was danger of paralysis. In this situation the District reacted very slowly. It is true that one District Rep. was on the spot from the very beginning, nevertheless the situation was so serious that it demanded outside forces in order to cope with the situation. This was corrected later on.

2. We failed to carry out and continue building up of the Unemployment Council and intensify our work for the endorsement of H.R. 7598.

3. Our main concentration was of an agitational and propaganda character. We failed miserably to understand the necessity of organizing those 60 workers who attended our meetings previously. When we made a little effort to get these workers together we were able to get as high as 20 to meetings and achieved more in a week's time than in the whole period of the strike. This small group became a factor in the entire situation. They bitterly fought against the sell-out policies of Ramsey, the business agent, to put through a revised agreement.

4. We failed to understand the necessity of drawing in the women in our opposition group, which played an important role in the settlement.

5. We failed and went about very slowly in the building up of the Party and creating a Communist nucleus that would have carried out our policies.

6. We failed to utilize the situation and immediately get in contact with certain local unions, and influence them through the rank and file, which could have called strikes, that would have been the prelude for a general strike in the

city. Especially is this true of the Edison workers, who were the most important factor in determining a general strike in the city, and we did not make any efforts to get any contacts.

If we had opposition groups in at least ten local unions we could have very easily developed a general strike. This proves once more the underestimation on the part of the Party of the necessity of building up groups in the A. F. of L.

Achievements

1. During this period we have recruited about 50 members for the Party and about 30 for the Y.C.L. Only five were from the Auto Lite, but these were recruited at demonstrations and meeting and not because of the consistent efforts of a single unit of the Party.

2. We have established a rank and file group in the Federal Automotive Union with a possibility of establishing shop units in Auto Lite and Bingham.

3. We obtained contacts from the Edison with possibilities to get a rank and file group organized.

4. We obtained contact with an Independent Trade Union, which has branches on a national scale, with an immediate organization of a shop unit in the plant of this local.

5. The influence and the prestige of the Party has developed tremendously. This can be seen by: a) capturing of the A. F. of L. demonstration, b) workers openly speaking for the Communist Party, c) Committees of strikers from cloak-makers and butchers coming up to the Party office and asking the help of the Party in their strikes, and at present we have organized Rank and File groups in these unions.

The possibilities at present are such that the Party can be built into a mass Party. Now is the time to build up opposition groups in many locals. Now is the time to develop the mass work of the Party in connection with unemployed work and build up the Auto Workers Union in the city. But in order to carry this out, the Section must create workable committees, establish discipline in the units and carry out a campaign exposing those members who are responsible for keeping the Party from its proper orientation. We must bring healthy militant fighting elements who have shown, during the struggle that they are worthy to be members of the Communist Party, and leaders in developing mass struggles of the workers, into the leadership.

The Party at the same time must sharply expose the role of Musteism and this can be done only through the mass activity of the Party. The Party units in their everyday work, must utilize the Daily Worker in order to build up its circulation. The Party must develop an intensive struggle

against the rising fascist organization in the city, the "Square Deal Association," and around this fight, mobilize trade unions and other organizations to smash the attempts of the bosses to introduce fascism. Side by side with this activity, the election campaign must be linked up and made into a real campaign in which we can get the maximum results.

The Role of the Party In the Truck Drivers Strike In Minneapolis

THE resolution adopted by the Eighth National Convention of our Party points out that,

"The resistance of the masses of toilers to capitalist attack is growing in volume and intensity," and "Still imbued with considerable illusions as to Roosevelt, which are being dissipated by the course of the struggle, the workers are developing towards conscious fight against the Capitalist way out of the crisis. The magnitude of the struggle shows that the masses are accumulating enormous revolutionary energy and that big class battles are maturing.

The strike of the truck drivers in Minneapolis has proven the correctness of this analysis.

The truck drivers' strike which started with several hundred members of local 574, rapidly embraced over 7,000 drivers, and practically tied up all commercial transportation in the city. In spite of the official policy of the leadership of the strike to hold back the militancy of the workers and prevent mass picketing and action, the strike from the very beginning resulted in clashes with the police and the formation of mass picket lines embracing tens of thousands of workers. The police attack upon the workers aroused the indignation of Minneapolis workers who either joined in sympathy strike, (building trades workers) or massed on the picket lines and in the strike headquarters. The sentiment for a general strike in Minneapolis became so widespread amongst the workers, that the A.F. of L. Central Labor Union was forced to make gestures in this direction. The accumulation of revolutionary energy among the Minneapolis workers was sharply manifested in the workers' struggle against the armed forces of the employers and the city on Tuesday, when the deputized police were beaten and driven out of the market. On this day the militancy of the workers and their victory was so great, that Olson was forced to drop the Farmer-Labor mask (he had previously stated that as long as he is governor, no troops will move against strikers in

Minnesota). Three companies of National Guard moved into Minneapolis, while the entire militia force was mobilized under arms as a reserve.

Role of C. P. in Developing Militancy of Strike

From the very beginning, the Communist Party succeeded in becoming the organizer and leader of the militancy of the workers on the picket lines:

1. In spite of the planned and organized attempts on the part of the A. F. of L. leaders and the Trotzkyites to keep the Party out of the strike and to slander the Party leadership as disrupters, we succeeded in forcing our way through these misleaders by establishing united action with the strikers from below.

2. Our Party membership and the workers influenced by the Party, the Unemployment Council, Y.C.L., I.L.D were in the front ranks of the picket line leading the workers in the struggle against the police and the deputized thugs.

3. The mass solidarity meeting called by the Party and the mass revolutionary organizations, brought together the strikers and our forces, and the line of the Party was accepted and put into life in the next two days of the strike.

4. Finally, the militant struggles of the unemployed under our leadership especially the CWA fight on "Tear Gas Friday" gave tremendous impetus and enthusiasm to the strikers and set a precedent for the workers defeating the armed forces of the city.

Mistakes of Party in the Strike

1. The general underestimation of work within the A. F. of L., which resulted in our failure to place our forces in the drivers' local, placed us as an outside force in the strike, this in spite of the fact that the Party was aware of the approaching of the strike and the work of the Trotzkyites in this local union.

2. Our failure to take advantage of our favorable position of leadership on the picket line and our influence over the workers, to become a factor in the leadership of the strike. Our comrades were not bold enough to appear before the workers at the strike headquarters and speak in spite of the decision of the strike leadership against it. In some instances where our comrades did get the floor at strike meetings, they failed to expose the maneuvers of the leadership, call upon the workers to dismiss this leadership and to elect rank-and-file militant workers to the strike committee and strike leadership. The Party correctly advanced the slogan of **General Strike**, but failed to make it clear to the workers how a general strike could have materialized. The

Party itself was not in a position to bring about a general strike of the Minneapolis workers and should have proposed concretely how to bring together all labor unions and workers organizations, to call the general strike, to call upon all workers to put pressure on their leadership in the locals for such action. Instead the Party leaflet, printed in 15,000 copies, gives the impression that the Party calls the general strike.

3. While the face of the Party was brought forward in the strike, no energetic recruiting took place and only very few strikers were brought into the Party. Our fraction in the local of the drivers is yet very small. This is greatly due to our failure to activate the two new Section Committees and place sharply enough the question of recruiting.

4. We failed to help the Young Communist League and to guide them correctly in their activities in the strike. So that while the Y.C.L. members were active on the picket lines, the face of the Y.C.L. was not shown. Not a single leaflet was issued by the Y.C.L. to the strikers, and no special youth demands were presented, while a great number of strikers were young workers.

Tasks of the Party

The possibilities of our Party amongst the drivers is great. The dissatisfaction of the truck drivers with the way the strike was ended is growing. There are thousands of blacklisted strikers. The Party must increase its activities amongst these workers and its opposition work in all other A. F. of L. unions. Our fraction in the drivers' local must become the champion of the grievances of the drivers in the local and on the job, and on this basis mobilize hundreds of workers in a conscious opposition to the present leadership, with the aim of developing struggle around the following issues:

1. For a struggle to reinstate all blacklisted workers.
2. To fight for the original demands of \$27.00 minimum for the drivers, unconditional recognition of the union, for a closed shop.
3. For the immediate release of all jailed pickets.
4. To develop the struggle for unemployment insurance, lower dues, trade union democracy, and the other demands we raised in our opposition work within the A. F. of L.

We must steadily expose the role of Olson and the Farmer-Labor Party in the strike, (calling of the National Guard against the strikers) and win the drivers to support the Communist Party election campaign and vote Communist.

We have to carry on a systematic campaign to recruit drivers into the Party, by bringing forward the revolutionary program of our Party.

The District Buro shall undertake a constant check-up on the detailed plan of work adopted by the fraction in the local and make the work in the drivers local an example in our revolutionary opposition work within the A. F. of L.

How We Developed Party Activity In an A. F. of L. Local

By GENE GORDON

THE two A. F. of L. locals, No. 402 Cooks, and No. 500 Waiters, had jointly declared a strike at the Brass Rail although the officials did not remove the card and start picketing until after fully seven weeks. Because of this delay, during which the business agents of the locals collaborated with the owners of the restaurant in an effort to settle without a strike, when the strike call went out, the waiters failed to respond; and the cooks found themselves locked out.

It was at this time while the cooks were timidly picketing, that a Party member in the cook's local informed the Section of the situation. We immediately got busy. In the next week we organized a fraction in the cook's local. This fraction succeeded in a fight to bring the question of the policies of the T.U.U.L. on the floor. We forced the question of militant picketing before the "secret" strike committee; and extended the influence of the fraction among a group of rank-and-file members of the local who came into our fraction meetings.

In the meantime, the business agent of the local made a secret settleemnt with The Brass Rail, although the local met the day before and no indication of a settlement was reported. Nor was the settlement reported to the strike committee the following day. Hearing about the settlement and a special meeting that was called, our fraction met and discussed the matter. We analysed the settlement which did not provide for the return of the cooks. It was decided to issue a rank-and-file bulletin exposing the entire mishandling of the strike. We rushed this bulletin through the mimeograph and distributed it just before the meeting. As we had calculated, an attempt was made to push through the settlement; and our substitute motion, to continue the strike unness the cooks were placed back on the job, lost by only two votes. Our bulletin made a deep impression on the rank and file. We immediately received from the rank-and-file members of the cook's local a \$5 contribution to issue another bulletin. As a result of our exposure and criticism, the president of the federated trades council went before the city council with a request to use placards in picketing.

Rank-and-File Program Presented

Naturally, the "Red scare" issue was raised by the union officials. Our second issue of the bulletin amplified the material in the first issue explaining the question of Communists in the A. F. of L. Our second issue also published a complete rank-and-file program including the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill (H.R. 7598), reduced dues, unemployment exemption stamps, democratic control, etc. As a result of our work, a motion was unanimously passed at the last meeting of the local to declare another strike at The Brass Rail if the place was not 100 percent unionized. The A. F. of L. officials of the two locals, the chairman of the federated trades council, and an International official went into a huddle. But they could find no basis to take action against the rank and file. They had plenty of excuses to explain away the rank-and-file criticism.

The executive committee of the cook's local is now paying a great deal of attention to the rank and file. Our present activity is to extend the rank-and-file control of the local, to push the question of endorsement of H.R. 7598, to broaden out the scope of the bulletins and contact other locals, and to build our fraction by recruiting. Our main weakness has been our failure to recruit since the formation of the fraction.

As a result of these activities, our Party members and the rank-and-file A. F. of L. members in the local, working with the fraction, have developed leadership qualities which will bring good results. We propose to bring the fight against fascism into the A. F. of L. through this local.

Opportunism in Typographical Union

As a result of this example, one of our comrades in a typographical union who has been a Party member for over two years became active in introducing into his local H.R. 7598. At the same meeting, the Wagner company union bill was introduced for adoption. Our members not being familiar with it, failed to take issue. Later, the Wagner-Lewis bill was endorsed. Now this member is organizing a group on the question of the new scale. "This is going to be an opposition group," he told our Section Buro, "but they don't know it yet." This kind of opportunism, of sneaking over the Party line in the A. F. of L., explains the reason why our comrade has failed to recruit a single member into the Party from his local in two years. Also, he depends wholly on Party literature to do the recruiting. I asked him if he had ever explained to a single member in his local how the Party, worked, fractions etc. and he said no. His A. F. of L. work has not borne fruit because he does not show the Party to

the workers as a living fighting thing. He complains that "besides the wage scale, there are no grievances. They are not proletarians; they have homes, cars, radios."

This mechanical approach to A.F. of L. work stands in contrast to our work among the cooks. Our comrades in the cook's local, who are supposed to be politically weak compared to this comrade (who can quote Marx and Lenin), did much better work because they were not sectarian or opportunistic.

One of our comrades introduced a proposal to join the anti-fascist united front before the federated trades council, but the proposal was voted down by the executive body. Although the A.F. of L. officials speak against fascism, they refused to join the united front "because we do not affiliate with Communistic or outside groups." It is up to us to expose these social-fascists in our future work and win over the A.F. of L. workers.

A Reminder On the Thaelmann Campaign

By F. BROWN

THE Thaelmann Liberation Campaign is on its way: workers delegations from unions, factories, docks, mutual-aid and cultural organizations are daily on their way to the German Consulate to present the protests of the masses against the mistreatment and mishandling by the fascist jailers of Comrade Thaelmann, of leaders of the German Communist Party, of six million German workers. In the name of increasing thousands, the delegations are asking the release of Comrade Thaelmann and all other political prisoners suffering in the fascist jails and concentration camps. The picket lines are continuously being held in front of the Consulate. The cry of the American workers: **Free Thaelmann! Free the Political Prisoners!** is being raised higher and higher.

The campaign is well on its way, but we cannot be satisfied. We must raise it to a higher level, drawing in hundreds of thousands—millions. It can be done! It must be done! With little effort we can raise the Thaelmann issue before the American toilers if we understand how to connect this campaign with all the activities of the Party, with the struggles led by the Party. There must not be a mass meeting, a picket line, a strike, a demonstration, where the Communists present shall not raise the question of the liberation of Comrade Thaelmann through speeches, resolutions, electing delegations to the German Consulates. It is the task of

every Party member to bring before his fellow workers in the shops and in the mass organizations, the situation in Germany under the fascist regime, to bring forward the role of the Communist Party of Germany and the figure of Comrade Thaelmann, the old revolutionist who devoted all his life to the cause of the German working class, starting at the age of seventeen to organize his fellow longshoremen in his native city, Hamburg.

Campaign Must Be Means of Strengthening Party

This campaign, while having as its objective the liberation of Comrade Thaelmann, one of the outstanding leaders of the Communist International, of the world proletariat, must have, at the same time as its objective, the strengthening of our Party, the furthering of all activities of the Communists among the masses. This activity must be carried on especially among the longshoremen, the marine workers, among the employed in the basic industries where we concentrate, mobilizing the masses in the Thaelmann Liberation Campaign and connecting this campaign with the every day struggles of the workers, raising their class-consciousness and drawing the best elements into our ranks.

This campaign, like all our campaign, must have as its main objective, the reaching of new masses and in this way building up the Party, strengthening its position in the factories, in the unions, in the mass organizations and in the neighborhoods.

Many times, while conducting a campaign, we forget that our aim is not only to reach the specific objective of the campaign, but to build the Party and to strengthen its position among the masses. In the Thaelmann campaign as in all campaigns, this is part of our daily activity and is connected with the development of the class struggle, with raising the consciousness of the masses and leading them forward to newer and higher struggles.

Those workers who are actively participating in the Thaelmann campaign, who are fighting for the liberation of one of the best leaders of the world Communist Party, who are fighting against German fascism, who are participating in the struggle against the growing fascization in the United States, who understand the role that the Communist Party of Germany plays in the struggle against fascism, against capitalism, are elements that must swell our ranks, that will bring into our movement and influence hundreds and hundreds of their fellow workers.

Build the Party by building the Thaelmann campaign. Connecting it with the daily struggles means developing the

campaign, reaching new masses, raising higher and higher the protest in the factories, in the mills, on the docks and ships. It means enlarging the struggle for the liberation of Comrade Thaelmann and all the victims of German fascism. It means enlarging and strengthening the struggle against our own bourgeoisie, against the capitalist enemies of the American workers at home, which day by day, in the grip of the crisis, are more and more trying to save their profits, shoving the burdens of the crisis on the shoulders of the working class and increasing reaction at the same time by applying fascist methods of oppression against the working class.

Task of the Campaign

Fighting for the liberation of Thaelmann, fighting against German fascism means the development of the struggle against fascism at home. Concretely, every member must see to it that the following decisions of the Party shall be carried out.

1. Every organization to form broad committees on the Thaelmann campaign, drawing in new outside forces.
2. Not a local that does not pass Thaelmann resolutions at its meeting.
3. A campaign for signatures with a goal of two million signatures.
4. A collection of funds in connection with the signature campaign.
5. A Thaelmann corner in every office or hall of union or fraternal organizations (having posters, leaflets, petitions for signatures, information, news reports on developments in the Thaelmann case, etc.).
6. Organization of speakers at every meeting of trade unions, mass, fraternal and cultural organizations for ten minute talks, (outline for them to be drafted), to be followed by the immediate elections of delegations to go to the Consulate to protest, the sending of protest telegram to the Embassy, the sending of a protest letters to Chancellor Hitler in Berlin.
7. Special city-wide delegations to Consulates.
8. Permanent picket lines in front of Consulates.
9. Organization of meetings and Thaelmann committees in each city.
10. Publicity committees to be organized to flood newspapers with a constant stream of protest "letters from readers."
11. The issuance of Thaelmann postcards and Thaelmann petitions.

12. Protest cards and letters to be sent to Hitler in Berlin, to the Germany Embassy in Washington.
13. That a telephone blockade of every German Consulate in the Country be established from organizations, from thousands of individual members of all organizations.
14. Chain letter to be started by every member of the Party and the members of all mass organizations we can reach to be sent to Chancellor Hitler, Reichs Kanzlei, Berlin, Germany. At the same time, send requests to five friends to follow suit, and so on.

August First — International Day of Struggle Against War and Fascism

By G. MAUL

THE struggle against War and Fascism, which the Eighth National Convention of our Party set as the central task of the Party, and which must be an integral part of all of our activities in the shops, the neighborhoods and in the countryside, must receive special emphasis in the preparations for August First, the International Day of Struggle Against War and Fascism, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The preparations for August First, 1934, should be carried out with the fullest consciousness on the part of every Party member that the international stage is set for a new world war, and that fascism, whose bloody rule is already established in a score of European countries, is already preparing to fasten its ruthless dictatorship upon the American masses.

Our Task an Urgent One

The united front conference which will be called in every town and city must not be considered as a part of the usual routine of the Party, but must be organized with a sense of urgency. We must root from our own ranks the defeatist conception of the inevitability of fascism and war, at the same time that we emphasize their rapid development. We must convey to the workers and farmers of America the conviction that the threat of war and fascism is a real and immediate one, explaining this to the workers in the simplest terms of their everyday life, and with a consciousness that only a Bolshevik struggle can avert these two dangers which face the toiling masses of America. We must mobilize them for a great united front struggle against these dangers.

In preparation for these united front conferences, the work of the Party in the mass organizations, particularly in the A.

F. of L. unions, and the organizations under the influence of the Socialist Party must be intensified. The ferment within the Socialist Party, the revolutionary desire of a large section of the rank and file membership of the Socialist Party, must be utilized by us at this time to draw them into the struggle against war and fascism, and into the August First demonstrations.

Bring the August First Campaign Into the Factories

Most important of all, we must at this time, increase and strengthen our work in the factories, particularly in the concentration industries. **The struggle against war and fascism must be brought into the factories**, connecting it with all the activities and struggles of each specific shop. We should especially concentrate our efforts in the war industries,—in the ammunition factories, and those factories which can be easily converted into war industries. In many of these factories large numbers of women workers are employed. A special appeal must be made to them, showing them how women will be utilized in war, and pointing out to them the necessity of preparing now to struggle against it. The campaign among the women should be linked up with the International Women's Anti-War Congress in Paris, and efforts made to elect delegates from the shops, as well as to raise funds to send these delegates. The entire campaign should be utilized to strengthen all the activities in the shops. Special shop gate meetings should be held, special editions of the shop papers issued, and in the many strike struggles which are being waged, the danger of war, and the threat of fascism should be brought to the forefront, showing the workers how even today their most fundamental rights are being brushed aside, troops used against them, workers shot down, etc., and that only the most determined struggle can avert the establishment of a bloody fascist dictatorship in America. In all our agitation in the factories, we should stress the necessity of building groups of the American League Against War and Fascism among the factory workers.

The struggle against war and fascism should be in the very center of the work among the seamen and longshoremen. In the strikes of the longshoremen, in all our agitation and organizational work, the role of the longshoremen and seamen in war should be made clear. We must make sure that the marine workers are well represented at the August First conferences, paying particular attention to those organized in the reformist unions.

The comrades who work in the agrarian districts should make very clear to the farmers the immediate dangers of war and fascism, showing the effects of war, particularly

upon the poor and middle farmers, and connecting the issue with the struggles for the immediate demands of the farmers. Utilize the experiences of Germany to show the effects of fascism upon the countryside, and side by side with the organization of the farmers for the struggle for relief, for the Farmers Emergency Relief Bill, etc., mobilize them in the struggle against war and fascism.

Special leaflets should be issued by every Party unit and every fraction to the workers around whom their activity centers. Leaflets should be issued in the name of the Party, to the neighborhoods, to the farmers, to the regular army, to the National Guard, the veterans, the intellectuals, doctors, nurses. And above all leaflets must be issued in the shops, mines and factories. The issues of war and fascism must be brought to every worker in America.

The August First campaign should be closely linked with the campaign for the freedom of Thaelmann, making it clear to the masses that the struggle for Thaelmann and the anti-fascist fighters of Germany is a struggle against fascism.

We must point out the increasing danger of attack upon the Soviet Union,—the provocative acts of Japan, the expressed designs of Germany against the territory of the Soviet Union, the desire of the British and American imperialists for a war against the U.S.S.R., and the necessity for the workers of the world to defend their fatherland—the Soviet Union. Closely connected with this is the necessity for the defense of the second Soviet power—Soviet China—which is constantly menaced by the Kuomintang, backed by all the force of American, Japanese and British imperialism.

Above all we have the task of making clear to every worker and farmer that the American ruling class is preparing for war, pointing out the mechanization of the army, the naval race which it is entering with Japan and Great Britain, the mobilization and training of the workers in the CCC camps, the preparations for converting factories into munition plants, and the many other war measures which are being taken. We must make them see that the Roosevelt New Deal is in reality a program of fascism and war, pointing out the increased terror used against the striking workers, the Negro masses and the foreign born, showing them how big business is fastening its control over the political and economic life of the country, with a corresponding political oppression and denial of civil rights. In this connection the Manifesto of the Eighth Convention of the C.P.U.S.A. must be popularized and given the widest possible distribution.

The campaign for August First must be utilized to build the American League Against War and Fascism. Wherever sections of the League do not exist they must be built. Where

they are weak they must be strengthened. In those cities where the American League is calling for a demonstration on August 4, the anniversary of the declaration of war, the Party must mobilize all its forces to participate, in addition to the demonstration under Party leadership on August First.

The Revolutionary Way Out

In all our agitation we must very clearly bring before the masses the revolutionary war out of the crisis. We must show them that the only guarantee against war and fascism is a Soviet America, bringing before them the living example of the Soviet Union, the only bulwark of peace, and the unswerving policy of peace which it pursues in the interests of all the workers of the entire world, showing them that "only a Bolshevik struggle before the outbreak of war for the triumph of revolution can assure the victory of revolution that breaks out in connection with war."

Make August First a mighty day of struggle against war and fascism. Let the bourgeois world see the strength of the international proletariat on this day. Every Party member, every sympathizer must work to mobilize the masses of workers and farmers to join in great protest demonstrations in every town and city of America against war and fascism.

Mass Defense Is the Only Answer to Terror

By J. PETERS

THE Thesis of the thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International emphasizes that in the fight against fascism we have to brush aside two tendencies in the Communist Party: (1), the fatalist defeatist line of the inevitability of fascism and imperialist war, and (2), opportunist underestimation of the tempo of fascization and the threat of imperialist war. These opportunist tendencies result in a failure to fight against fascism and war. These tendencies condemn the Communist Party to passivity.

The bourgeoisie of the United States rapidly prepares its apparatus to be ready for the rapidly approaching war and against the revolutionized toiling masses. They no longer attempt to keep up the mask of sham democracy. The rising masses must be terrorized today, otherwise the hinterland can-

not be relied upon tomorrow, when war breaks out. The most vicious attack in every little economic struggle is launched against the workers in order to create a feeling of helplessness when facing the exploiters.

The bloody terror in Ambridge, in New Mexico, in Greensburg, in the strike waves of last year, and the ruthless, terroristic suppression of the strikes in the South; the utilization of the armed forces of the government, National Guard, and the "democratic" cover of fascist forces by deputized business men and rich farmers in Minneapolis and Toledo; the coming to the forefront of the extra legal fascist forces—Ku Klux Klan, White Legion, Vigilantes—in the mine and steel workers' strike in the South, the agricultural strike, and the longshoremen's strike on the West Coast; the brutal provocation of the police in New York, Chicago, Detroit, etc.; the lynch terror against the Negroes and the bombing of houses by agent provocateurs in the South show very clearly what method the bourgeoisie will use against the rising masses.

It is no accident that the American Federation of Labor furnished the government with a special exposure of the Communist Party and the revolutionary unions. It is no accident that Senator Copeland introduced a bill providing for a federal police department (Scotland Yard). It is no accident that Congress appropriated money for the Department of Justice for strengthening the forces of the federal police under the pretext of fighting kidnappers. Nobody will be fooled with believing that armored cars will be used against Dillinger—these are ready for the suppression of the struggles of the fighting masses. It is no accident that 75,000 rifles were given to patriotic organizations for "target practice." The Government very openly arms the fascist organizations against the toiling masses. It is no accident that the Dickstein Committee, which originally was established to investigate Nazi activities, spends most of the appropriated money to gather material on the activities of the Communist Party. It is no accident that Moley, former head of the "brain trust," started a campaign against our Party, calling the Communists gangsters.

Fascist organizations are springing up all over the country. The Nazis in New York already have 14,000 readers of their papers. The Storm Troopers brazenly parade in Yorkville, terrorizing the population. The American fascist organizations are gaining a foothold, especially in the West (Silver Shirts), and growing rapidly in many other states, as in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, etc. There is a special organization of the officers of the army launched on the basis of the Hitler program.

Build Workers' Self-Defense Groups

The fight against terror in the present situation is one of the most important and burning problems facing the Communist Party. It is necessary to develop the broadest possible mass agitation against fascism and to popularize our stand in this respect. But at the same time it is of vital necessity to start energetically building self-defense organizations in all workers' organizations, in the factories, and around the Communist Party. The emphasis on building the defense organizations must be laid on their mass character, on the united front of all workers in the shops or unions or other mass organizations. We have to guard against the tendency of building some secret defense organizations which are nothing but hot-beds of provocation. The experiences in the Red Front, Red Shirt, etc., were a lesson in this respect. The self-defense organizations must be the united front of the workers in the respective shop, organization or territory, openly propagating the necessity of organized resistance of the masses against the terror of the bourgeoisie.

The A. F. of L. bureaucrats and racketeers have no scruples in hiring gangsters to attack the militant rank-and-file members of the locals. Three or four gunmen, as our experience shows, can terrorize a local of three to four hundred and beat up the leaders of the rank and file without any organizational resistance by the members in the local, in spite of the fact that these members are against the bureaucracy, against the racketeers. What splendid opportunity exists in the locals of the A. F. of L. to organize defense groups, agitating among the masses to come to every meeting of the organization ready to defend themselves. The Minneapolis and Toledo workers succeeded in fighting back against forces of the bourgeoisie. What could organized mass defense groups do in a local with these gangsters, if they were prepared to receive them?

Build United Front of Workers For Self Defense

In fighting against the lynch terror, we have to organize a broad united front of Negro and white workers for self defense.

The fight against terror is not an abstract slogan. When we fight for free speech, for free assembly, for the right to organize, for the right to strike, we face in every move the terror of the bourgeoisie. In fighting the terror we can build up a mighty united front of the workers who are involved in these struggles. The heroic struggles of the workers in Minneapolis and Toledo prove that this united front can be established without any difficulties. On the picket lines of Minneapolis and Toledo the striking workers wel-

came the fighting members of the Unemployment Councils and the Communist Party. The united front was built and steeled in the fight against terror without any special conference. The general strike sentiment in Minneapolis and Toledo was a result of the mass reaction of the workers against terror. The vote for solidarity strikes was a highly political act of the workers in this situation. The Toledo experience proves that even when the Communist Party, because of the weaknesses of its work in the A. F. of L., was not entrenched in the locals, the Party can influence and give leadership to the workers with mass agitation and propaganda from outside. The slogan of the general strike in Toledo, for example, was issued by the Communist Party and picked up by the rank and file of the locals with a very large majority of these locals voting for it. Only with painful maneuvers did the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and the bourgeoisie succeed in keeping the workers from striking.

Mobilization of Masses Will Defeat Terror

It is possible to break through the terror of the bourgeoisie with the correct policy and proper mobilization of the masses. The Dearborn experience shows that it is possible. Dearborn, the Ford town where we could not open our mouths, where we could not distribute the Daily Worker or a leaflet, where if three workers were talking together on the sidewalks the police dispersed them, the Party through proper activity, building the united front of the workers, succeeded in breaking through the terror and today the Party is a legal organization there.

In New Mexico we have the same situation. Here the Communist Party was absolutely illegal. In the mining town of Gallup we did not have one Communist Party member before the strike. Our organizers sent down to this town had to work absolutely illegally. We started to prepare the struggles. With proper work we succeeded in mobilizing the workers to such an extent that with the exception of the Chamber of Commerce, the whole town was behind the union and the Communist Party when the strike broke out. The troops of the National Guard could not terrorize the workers. The fifteen hundred miners in this town stood up like one behind their leaders, behind the union and the Communist Party.

There was a situation in Gallup when all the leaders who were developed through the struggle were jailed. But the strike continued with new leaders. The same day that 26 leaders were arrested, a Y.C.L. member took over the leadership. A 13-year old girl, a Pioneer, got the address of the Central Committee from the Daily Worker and sent us a

wire reporting the situation and the arrests. The Pioneers on their own initiative organized a school strike for the support of their parents, to demand the release of the jailed leaders.

Here the bourgeoisie did not succeed in scaring the workers with the bogey of the Reds because the Communist Party was brought forward from the first moment and the workers saw how Communists really fight with them for their interests. The workers saw the Communists in action—saw that they were of their own flesh and blood. The strike was settled only after the demand for the release of all the arrested leaders was granted and the leaders were set free. As a result of this splendid work of the Communist Party more than one hundred miners joined the Party in the small town of five thousand population.

In this period, the political firmness of the Party, the proper application of Bolshevik tactics, the quick utilization of the contradictions in the camp of the bourgeoisie are essential conditions for the effective mobilization of the masses. The bourgeoisie strives to liquidate the influence of our Party among the masses by raising the "Red scare" in all the militant struggles of the toiling masses. The present wave of terror is only a beginning of bloody suppression against the struggles of the workers. This terror and provocation will be increased day by day as the conditions of the workers grow worse, as we come nearer to the imperialist war. The police commissioner of New York issued a statement warning all policemen that they will be brought up on charges if they do not attack mercilessly every demonstration of the unemployed or strikes of the proletariat.

Communist Party Must Take Lead

The Communist Party must be in the forefront in mobilizing the masses against terror. The District and Section Committees, as well as the Party fractions in the various mass organizations, must realize that only with mass agitation and organized self-defense groups can we fight back the attacks of the armed forces of the bourgeoisie, whether they are legal or extra-legal. In the control tasks of the Party organizations and fractions, the building of the self-defense groups must be one of the most important points. Reliable, responsible comrades should be assigned in each fraction and Party organization to start to build this organization.

We repeat again, the self-defense organizations must have a mass character. They cannot be illegal, secret, narrow organizations. They must be a united front of all workers irrespective of their political or union affiliation. The issue is, shall we wait with folded arms until the bosses kill us

or shall we be prepared to defend our lives and the lives of our wives and children?

The work in the National Guard must be intensified to the greatest extent. The opportunistic, subjectively social-democratic conception regarding work in the armed forces must be rooted out from our ranks. The role that the National Guard played in Toledo and in almost every strike struggle of the workers in the past period must make every Party member conscious of the necessity of working in the National Guard. These young workers and farmers in uniform cannot be put in the same category as the policemen. They are workers—they come from the factory—workers who are working day time in the factory or on the farm and during the evenings drill for the purpose of killing their brothers and fathers, who fight for a bigger piece of bread, for better conditions. Thousands of young Party members and Y.C.L.-ers should join the National Guard, work among them, explain to them what roles the bourgeoisie makes them play in the class struggle. Continuous mass agitation, leaflets, copies of the **Daily Worker**, special papers in the armories must come into the hands of the National Guardsmen. We know very well that these young people are ready to receive us. Let us go to them. Work among them and win them over to our side.

The growing activity of the Communist Party in the factories, in the unions, and among the unemployed, increases the possibilities that the bourgeoisie will launch a final attack against the Party in order to cut us off from the masses. The readjustment of our work, taking all necessary measures in the preparation for the time of illegality, coupled with the most energetic fight against the threatening declaration of illegality against us, as well as intensified activity of the Party in the mobilization of the masses, will help us to destroy the plans of the bourgeoisie, to preserve our fighting policy, and to maintain contact with the masses in the transition time and even during the most vicious terror of illegality. The more forceful and intensified is the fight against the terror, against illegality, the more successful will be our fight during the illegal period.

The Meaning of Independence Day and the Task of the Party

THE necessary first step for the establishment of Socialism is the setting up of a revolutionary workers' government. "The capitalists and their agents shriek out that this revolutionary program is un-American. But this expresses not the

truth, but only their own greedy interests. Today, the only party that carries forward the revolutionary traditions of 1776 and 1861, under the present day conditions and relationship of classes, is the Communist Party. Today, only the Communist Party finds it politically expedient and necessary to remind the American working masses of how, in a previous crisis, the way out was found by the path of revolution. Today, only the Communist Party brings sharply forward and applies to the problems of today that old basic document of "Americanism," the Declaration of Independence.

"Applying the Declaration of Independence to present day conditions, the Communist Party points out that never was there such a mass of people so completely deprived of all semblance of "the right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness." Never were there such "destructive" effects upon these rights by "any form of government," as those exerted today by the existing form of government in the United States. Never have the exploited masses suffered such a "long train of abuses" or been so "reduced under absolute despotism" as today under capitalist rule. The "principle" which must provide the foundation of the "new government" mentioned in the Declaration of Independence is, in 1934, the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the new form is the form of the workers' and farmers' councils—the Soviet Power. The "new guards for their future security," which the workers must establish, are the installing of the working class in every position of power, and the dissolution of every institution of capitalist class rule."

From the Manifesto of the Eighth Convention of the C.P.U.S.A.

It is in this spirit that we must take fullest advantage of July Fourth to popularize the slogans for Soviet Power and the revolutionary way out of the capitalist crisis. Every section must take steps to organize meetings in the name of the Communist Party, and must bring forward sharply the solution of the crisis by Proletarian Revolution. We must use these meetings to expose the Socialist Party hypocrisy with regard to the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system brought forward at its recent Detroit Convention.

In addition to open air meeting at central points, special leaflets should be issued in the shops, using concrete issues and the material appearing in the local press as a basis for the exposure of the bourgeois July Fourth propaganda and bringing forward the necessity of Soviet Power. Every effort should be made to hold shop gate meetings on July 3, using these as a mobilization for our July Fourth meeting which will have as their central slogans the struggle for Soviet Power.