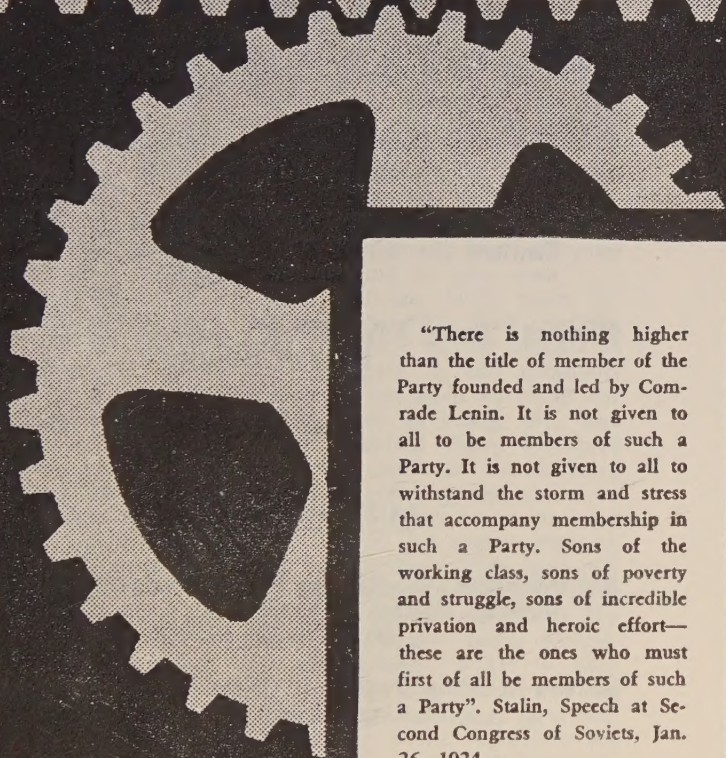


# Party Organizer



"There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party founded and led by Comrade Lenin. It is not given to all to be members of such a Party. It is not given to all to withstand the storm and stress that accompany membership in such a Party. Sons of the working class, sons of poverty and struggle, sons of incredible privation and heroic effort—these are the ones who must first of all be members of such a Party". Stalin, Speech at Second Congress of Soviets, Jan. 26, 1924.

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MAY, 1935

No. 5

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A.

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# PARTY ORGANIZER

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## Organizational Work Decides Everything

**I**N REVIEWING the organizational status of the various Districts on the basis of figures and reports of the leading comrades who visited the Districts, the Org. Commission has drawn the following main conclusions:

1. Recruiting is at a standstill. Moreover, in a few Districts, the figures on recruiting are below last year's monthly average.

2. There has been very little progress in strengthening the existing shop nuclei, or the building of new ones.

3. The street units are still confining their main activity to canvassing with the **Daily Worker**, with leaflets, etc., and are not yet orientated to speak to the masses in their neighborhood, to develop struggles in the neighborhoods around the issues that arise there, such as relief for the unemployed, bad housing, high cost of living, etc., and are not giving guidance to the individual Party members active in the mass organizations. The units do not conceive of themselves as the Party in their territory, and therefore do not use initiative in seizing upon the every-day issues and problems of the neighborhood as a basis for their activities.

4. The life of the units has not fundamentally changed.

5. The units still function mechanically. They do not understand their role as the Party in the shops, in the countryside or in the neighborhoods. Many times assignments are made without any explanation. There is very little discussion on the campaigns which the Party conducts. The poor recruiting is a reflection of this situation. The directives sent at the time of the Recruiting Drive, especially the letter of the Central Committee to the individual Party members, has been forgotten. Only a few Districts have taken energetic steps following the Recruiting Drive, to guide the units and the individual Party members in continuous recruiting as a daily task of the Party in connection with the struggles and campaigns conducted by the Party.

We are calling the attention of the entire Party to these facts.

What are the reasons for this situation? It is not possible to give a new answer to this old question, to find a new magic formula by which this problem will be solved.

The answer to this question is a familiar one, long known to our Party leadership. Its solution lies in the strengthening of the leadership of the lower organizations. This does not mean that we have bad leadership in our lower organizations, but that steps have not been taken to develop and train this leadership. As a result the directives from the Central Committee and the District Committees do not penetrate the membership, the units are still guided by written instructions, and, with a very few exceptions, the unit bureaus are still weak, and often are not composed of the comrades most fitted to give leadership. Because in many instances the Party members are not made to understand the significance, the meaning of their activities, there is a lack of enthusiasm in the units.

Is it possible to completely discontinue the issuance of written directives? To a certain extent this might be achieved in the larger cities, but in those Sections which embrace large territories, this would be impossible. We can, however, make a radical change in the form of the Org. letters. Org. letters which consist of a mere enumeration of tasks, without a political explanation, must be abolished. The directives from the Sections to the units, for example, should deal only with the main problems, which should be presented in a political light, setting forth the object of the campaign, giving suggestions as to how this object can be achieved, but leaving the detailed application to the unit to work out.

Since these Org. letters cannot solve the problem of guiding and developing the forces of the Section Committees, Unit Bureaus, etc., it is necessary that in the main centers, the Org. Departments on a District and Section scale, call regular meetings of the Section and Unit Organizers. These meetings will not only help the lower leading bodies in the carrying out of the set tasks but, become real training schools for our organizers. Instead of making these meetings a verbal repetition of the directive Org. letters, they will become a means of political education, where the principal campaign of the Party is discussed, and where the comrades are trained in the organizational principles of our Party. Such meetings will afford the District leadership an opportunity to come in close contact with the problems facing the Sections and units and enable them to give proper guidance. They will at the same time further the development of the lower cadres. In addition, District functionaries' meetings should be called to discuss every important campaign of the Party. When this procedure is established in every District of our Party, our campaigns will not be carried out mechanically, but will have political content in the smallest and most isolated unit.



Another important means of solving this problem, is the assignment of leading comrades as Org. instructors on a District and Section scale. It is not necessary that these comrades be full-time functionaries, especially in the weaker Districts. Some of the best developed comrades from the District Committee should be sent to the weaker Sections for the purpose of helping them for a specified time (from two to three weeks, depending on the concrete conditions). The same procedure should be followed in the Sections, by appointing some of the best comrades to help the weaker units, particularly those units that are concentrating on important factories.

We have many times emphasized the necessity of checking up on the dues payments by establishing a Special Membership Commission. Yet, from the figures of the last few months, and the reports of the leading comrades who have visited the Districts, it is evident that not all of the Districts have put this into effect. Check-up on dues payments is a political task, because dues payments are a barometer showing the attendance at unit meetings, and consequently an index to the activity of the units. When dues payments are regular, the indication is a well-functioning unit, with good inner life, and political activities. When dues payments decrease, we know that the unit attendance is poor, that activity has slackened, and almost without exception that the life of the unit is on a low political level.

The May First campaign has given us an opportunity of reaching new masses, new organized masses. The individual Party members through their more intensive canvassing of organizations, of neighborhoods, and through their activities in the shops and territories, have not only come in contact with many new workers, but have succeeded in recruiting a large number of them into our ranks. The problem before us is not only to consolidate the achievements of this campaign, but to make new steps forward. Only by correcting the weaknesses enumerated in this article, will we be able not only to intensify recruiting as a daily task, but also to reduce our fluctuation.

Therefore, immediately after May First, District and Section functionaries' meetings should be held to discuss the problem of the life of the units, to be followed by a thorough discussion in each unit. For this purpose the letter of the Central Committee, issued at the beginning of the last Recruiting Drive, should be revived as the basis for the discussion. While orientating the units toward intensive recruiting, the Org. Departments should help the Sections and units to take the necessary measures to retain the new members, and to check up constantly and investigate the reasons for the high fluctuation.

This problem can be solved, if we set ourselves to find the correct solution, and, having found it, to apply it with Bolshevik determination. We must remember in this connection the words of our leader, Comrade Stalin:

"Victory never comes by itself, it has to be dragged by the hand. Good resolutions and declarations in favor of the general line of the Party are only a beginning, they merely express the desire to win, but it is not victory. After the correct line has been given, after a correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on the manner in which the work is organized, on the organization of the struggle for the application of the line of the Party, on the proper selection of workers, on supervising the fulfilment of the decisions of the leading organs. Without this the correct line of the Party and the correct solutions are in danger of being severely damaged. More than that, after the correct political line has been given, **the organizational work decides everything**, including the fate of the political line itself, its success or failure."

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## Build the Party in the Trade Unions

By L. TOTH

**T**HE INFLUX of almost two million workers into the A. F. of L. opens up great possibilities of revolutionary mass work in the local unions and in the shops and factories where these workers are employed.

The big majority of the newly organized workers had never been in the A. F. of L. before. Coming mostly from basic industries, a large number of these militant workers had participated in some struggles led by the Unemployment Councils, or by other unemployed organizations and by the T.U.U.L. unions.

These workers joined the A. F. of L. not because of their sympathy with the reactionary policies of Mr. William Green or of Matthew Woll or of the other top officials of the A. F. of L. They came into the A. F. of L. because they felt the need and desire for a trade union organization to protect their economic interests. Jointly with the old-time members of the A. F. of L., these newly organized workers, through their militant actions, have shaken the whole foundation of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

The General Strike on the West Coast, the Toledo and Minneapolis strike and General Textile strike, the Butte miners' strike, the strike of the building service employees and National Biscuit Co. of New York, and the many



smaller strikes which have taken place in practically every part of the country, were called on the initiative of the rank and file and against the wishes of the top leadership of the A. F. of L. Other big strike movements (auto, rubber, coal and steel) were suppressed by the maneuvers of the top officialdom of the A. F. of L. working in close cooperation with the employers and the government.

The rank and file in the A. F. of L. unions is learning very rapidly. The shameful betrayal of the textile strike last year resulted in a crystallized rank-and-file movement in the United Textile Workers' Union. A number of local unions ousted the reactionary leadership and elected instead militant rank-and-file officers. Rank-and-file committees have been organized on state and district scales to fight against the stretch-out system, against discrimination, and for striking again. As a result of the general strike on the West Coast, a militant West Coast Marine Federation was organized which is challenging the reactionary Scharrenberg-Ryan machine in the Seamen's and Longshoremen's Union. Among the steel workers, under the leadership of the rank and file, a strong movement is developing which will crush the united front of Mike Tighe and the steel trust.

Coal miners, building trades workers, needle workers, and, last but not least, the workers in the federal local unions, are challenging the reactionary Green leadership and are demanding more militant trade union policies, the right to organize a fight against the N.R.A. and against the Roosevelt administration and for genuine unemployment insurance as embodied in the Workers' Bill, H.R. 2827.

When we consider the tremendous changes which have taken place in the A. F. of L. unions we must realize that without building a strong Party we will not be able to take advantage of the objective situation and lead the masses of workers in the coming strike struggles and in the struggles for unemployment insurance and relief.

### **How to Build Fractions**

More than 60 percent of the Party members are in the trade unions. The first task must be to activate these Party members in the locals and in the shops and factories where they work. The District and Section leaderships should consider the fact that a large percentage of our members are new in the Party, not developed politically and inexperienced in trade union work. Special meetings and classes should be organized to explain to the new members the function of Party fractions in trade unions and mass organizations. Very often it is taken for granted that anyone who joins the Party and carries a Party book knows how to work in the trade unions.

Great care should be taken to have Party members attend their union meetings. Less than 50 percent of our Party membership attend their respective local union meetings. As an example we can cite one local union in New York where we have 25 Party members, but not more than 4 or 5 regularly attend the weekly membership meetings. This is not an isolated case.

A properly functioning fraction in the local unions will bring the face of the Party to the entire organization. We must realize that the workers today look upon the Communist Party as a sincere fighting organization which is in the forefront in the struggle for unemployment insurance, against war and fascism, against the N.R.A., for the right to organize, for equal rights for Negro workers, against all kinds of race discrimination. The Communists are the most ardent fighters for the establishment of a united front and for building a genuine Labor Party.

A large number of workers in the local unions are sympathetic to the Party and read the Party press. If properly approached these workers would join the Party.

In many local unions we find that the local leadership is in the hands of honest trade unionists, but who still support the capitalist political parties and who still have illusions about the New Deal and the N.R.A. Because of no organized fractions in these locals and no organized rank-and file group with a concrete program, the local remains in an inactive state, and, at best, becomes a passive opposition local to the reactionary Central Labor Body officials or to the national body.

The Districts and Sections must pay special attention to organizing fractions in all Central Labor Unions, in District Councils, in State Trade organizations and in State Federations of Labor. Remnants of old sectarian and opportunist tendencies still exist among some of our Party members who advance the argument that the Central Labor Unions and State Federations of Labor are tools in the hands of Tammany or Republican politicians, and therefore there is no need to go to the conventions and meetings of these bodies. We will not go into a detailed explanation as to why these views are wrong. We will call to the attention of these comrades that in some Central Labor Unions we have been able to bring the rank-and-file program to the rank-and-file delegates, pass important resolutions and in some places elect rank-and-file officials. The same applies to State Federations of Labor conventions and International conventions.

The Party members in the trade unions, in the shops and on the jobs, must become the most militant fighters for union wages and conditions and for enforcing the agreement on the jobs.



There are some Party members who take an active part at meetings, but keep quiet on the jobs and tolerate non-union conditions or work below the union scale of wages. Such members are not Communists and they do not deserve to carry a Party book and should be eliminated from the organization. I am raising this question for the benefit of some of the building trades workers in New York, some of whom labor under the impression that one can hold a membership book in the Communist Party and yet work below the union scale of wages or work under non-union conditions without putting up a fight to organize the workers on the jobs against these conditions.

The Party fraction must become the political leader in the trade unions. It must take up political problems in addition to the trade union questions in the locals. The Party fraction must plan to sell the **Daily Worker**, bring Party pamphlets to local union meetings and carry on agitational work in the locals as a basic Party task.

Trade union work should not be a substitute for unit work. The two must become one. The comrades in the trade unions cannot bring the Party and the daily issues to the membership unless they participate in the work of the units and Sections.

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## The Life Story of a Communist Party Shop Unit

By BARBARA RAND

**A**LMOST A YEAR AGO, three comrades working in the same shop were gathered from as many street units. Together with one unemployed comrade who had formerly worked in the same industry, although not in the same shop, a new shop unit was formed. When it was a few weeks old, the writer was attached to the unit.

The shop employs over a thousand men and women during rush periods, and around 800 most of the time. Counting the branches throughout the city, the number can be doubled. The Nazis are particularly strong among the German workers in key departments.

The attitude of the three comrades was fairly uniform. They did not want a shop unit. They wanted to go back to their street units and continue "functioning in their mass organizations"—singing and language societies.

The fourth made speeches about the necessity for organizing the shop, but said he had no time because he was working on a language paper. He had little influence on

the others, who rather resented his "lecturing" without ever agreeing to sell **Daily Workers** or distribute leaflets at the shop gate. He was soon transferred out.

The writer, who was told by the Section Organizer, when she was assigned, that this unit was ready to issue a shop paper, raised the question at the first meeting she attended. The response was hostile.

The arguments—drawn out with great difficulty—can be summarized as follows: "The conditions in this plant are better than in any other in the city." "Such a paper would cause us to lose our jobs because each one is already exposed as a 'Red'."

They complained bitterly about the attitude of the Union which had completely neglected a small group of workers previously organized. Because the organizer stopped attending meetings, the men had said that the Union "doesn't give a damn about us" and disbanded. Pressed by work, considered more urgent, the organizer had just dropped the group.

It was difficult to get the comrades to give even this information. They resented the whole business. Opposing the shop paper idea, they said, "Ask the Section for a decision."

Of course, we did not make any "decision". After two months' discussion, the unit got to a point where it agreed to issue a leaflet on condition that it did not sound as though it were issued by anybody inside the plant. They proposed an attack upon the Nazis.

This idea was abandoned only when it was argued that it would be wiser to introduce ourselves with a leaflet that find support among all the workers, instead of one that would immediately divide the shop into two camps—pro and anti-Nazi.

Information was given that workers going on vacation were not replaced by substitutes. Instead, the rest of the department speeded up, worked overtime, etc., to carry the full load. When this point was raised in the meeting, the comrades agreed to issue a leaflet pointing to the danger that such procedure might well result in the dismissal of many workers when vacation time was over. The leaflet attacked the speed-up, overtime without pay and demanded that substitutes be hired.

Finally, opposition to the signature "Communist Party Unit in the —— shop" was also broken.

Unfortunately, the Section fell down at this point. Concentrating on the marine industry, it paid little attention to anything else. Leaflets were given to street units and later found undistributed. A fuss was raised, promises made, but again—nothing done. A resolution adopted by the unit and



sent to the Section Committee resulted in a little more cooperation.

The leaflet was outdated by this time; but since it was signed by the "C. P. Unit in——shop," the comrade who had opposed the idea of a shop paper, now suggested that we make it a two-pager—and call it a shop paper.

Our first shop paper headlined the huge profits made by the company, pointed to the speed-up, low wages, etc., and called for the organization of a union. It also explained who issued the paper and why. From the very first, the program of the C.P. was given on the basis of the situation in the shop, and generalized from this. I will give concrete examples later in this article.

The first paper was written entirely by me. Information was fairly dragged out of the comrades. Then the material was read in the unit meeting, and put on stencils. The comrades did the mimeographing. The first paper was rather a sorry looking affair, just barely legible. The second was far better. Two of the comrades tried their hands at writing.

The response of the workers to the paper revolutionized the unit. A fine enthusiasm developed. The old apathy was gone and, we might add, never returned.

The paper immediately went on the offensive, raising campaigns for small demands, and winning them. A streamer story one month exposing the bad food served employees, was followed the next month by a story recording that better food was won. A sign in the dining room offered substitutes for food that wasn't acceptable.

When the paper exposed the petty racket of fining workers 50c or \$1 for slight infringements, it was almost completely wiped out. After a girl was fired for smiling when the foreman was angry, the paper raised a howl. She was taken back.

Meanwhile the paper appealed to the workers in the shop to contribute both letters and money. We printed an itemized account of what it cost to issue the paper. The result was that one worker, not a Party member, collected six dollars and some-odd cents—**every worker in his department contributing.**

Two workers brought \$5 to the headquarters, and asked that certain information be printed.

A group of Nazis who spoke with hostility of Communists in general, agreed that the paper "told the truth", and since there were not enough to go round, contributed money to make more papers. When our shop paper printed a pay envelope of a sailor on a German ship who was the cousin of a worker in the shop, listing big deductions for various Hitler funds, and telling how the heroic German Communists were fighting these and greater abuses, the Nazis in the

shop were forced to agree that it was "the truth." Important discussions followed, with a whole series of arguments and slogans for and against written on the walls of the shop forum—the toilet.

By this time, practically every member of the unit (now doubled in size) wrote for the paper, which had improved enormously both in content and appearance.

As the unit developed, and its work bore fruit, both Section and union were forced into action. A few of the workers, who had contributed to the paper financially, were drawn into the unit. It became a joint C.P. and Y.C.L. unit. The members discussed various workers and assigned definite comrades to "work on them." Those who couldn't speak English well would feed literature to their contacts and bring them to me for a talk.

The unit had lively discussions on what would go into the paper, how to link up the leading Party campaign with the shop issues, and finally read and criticized articles before the material was turned over to an editorial committee of three.

The comrades did more reading, too. We started by saving a part of each meeting for reading extracts from popularly-written pamphlets, one comrade leading the discussion. Every unit member signed up for a class in the Workers School—the unit discussing and deciding which class would be best.

Meanwhile, the unit members began to build up a union group. One new Party member signed up his whole department within a month. At each unit meeting, he raised his problems.

After persistent argument, the Union finally assigned an organizer who called department meetings. To frighten the workers away from the union, the company fired one man who worked too openly in the shop. Instead the campaign for his reinstatement netted over a hundred members, raising the total to over 200. The company offered a settlement through the N.R.A.—a promise that he would be the first to be rehired in his department. This was rejected. The fight continues.

Difficulty was encountered in organizing the women and Negro workers. After persistent hammering on this point, one woman and one Negro were drawn into the unit.

The woman comrade is doing splendid work in the face of personal difficulty. Her husband opposed her membership in the Party. Although her Party life is barely two months' old, she has already succeeded in forming a union group of women. At the present writing, the unit is preparing to divide in two.

A suggestion that a party be arranged where the union



could be discussed resulted in quick action. Within three days, 12 women and young girls gathered in a private home. They were scared stiff. A couple of the girls were almost hysterical. When they found the "union girl" was just like anybody else, and could laugh, and crack jokes a lively discussion followed and everyone agreed to join the union.

A street unit, assigned to concentrate on this shop, is proving to be very valuable. Its members visit contacts and return from distributing shop papers with enthusiastic reports about their reception.

The comrades no longer sit back and despair if the union or Section fall down on their share of the work. The unit is in the center, pushing the work. The shop paper has proved itself tremendously effective in organizing the shop. In fact, it was the main weapon. It is equally important to note the value of an outside concentration unit in building both Party and Union.

The relation between Union and Party cannot be discussed in this article because of space limitations, but will be dealt with in a future article.

And finally, the political understanding—not only of the original three members, but of the additional dozen later recruited, has matured considerably in the course of planning and executing the steps recorded in this article, in unit discussions and study in the Workers School. These comrades are exercising initiative, winning little victories, making themselves felt as leaders, as the "voice of the Communist Party" in the shop.

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## The Hungarian Language Movement Is Turning Toward the Shops

By JOHN NAGY

THE HUNGARIAN language movement, because of its decades-old tradition, has been isolated, even from the Hungarian speaking masses. These traditions have also isolated it from the American working class and from its struggles and orientations, and have even isolated it from our Party and its struggles.

And so the movement has lived its isolated, narrow, life, between the walls of our Workers Homes. There is some little ideological education. Sometimes the membership supports some of the Party activities, but the main emphasis has been on the "entertainment movement", which has taken up most of the energy of the movement. There has been no mass basis on which to build, because there has been little

or no connection with the current of life outside of these Homes, no connection with the struggles of the working class.

The movement on the whole is not connected with the shops and unions, where the basic struggles are brewing and going on. It is not even connected with the majority of the Hungarian mass organizations. The masses of workers organized in these mass organizations are under the control of bourgeois cliques—Hungarian fascists. Although here some progress was made during the campaign for social insurance, the most important fields, the unions and factories, remained untouched.

The Hungarian movement has now begun to turn its attention towards this basic question, ideologically and organizationally. We made our first experiments, our first steps toward the goal our Party has so many times set for us, in order to break through our isolation, to win the language masses under our influence, to bring them into the fold of the American working class and under the leadership of our Party.

Although we can as yet speak only of weak beginnings, certain definite achievements have been made in breaking through our isolation.

We started with the Cleveland Fisher Body factory, under the guidance of our Party.

Through the **Uj Elore**, the Hungarian organ of the Party, we offered our help to the Fisher Body Local of the United Automobile Workers Union, because there are several hundred Hungarian workers working in that factory. We offered that through the **Uj Elore** and the Hungarian Workers Federation we would call together the Hungarian workers, and we asked them to send speakers from the Union, to speak about the necessity of joining the Union. The Hungarian workers in that factory, because of their isolation, either remained outside of the Union movement or joined the company union.

When the Union agreed to this, and because of their strike preparations, they even welcomed our offer, we proceeded with the preparation of the meeting. These "preparatory" steps were important and educational.

We not only advertised the meeting in the **Uj Elore**, but we also published several articles about the problems of the auto workers and their unions. These articles mainly dealt with the situation and the problems of the Fisher body workers. Our comrades, mobilized for this purpose, distributed these issues of our paper by the hundreds twice a day in front of the factory to Hungarian workers. They sold and distributed them during the morning and in the afternoon shift. On the second day, even American and



other workers received us with the words that, "We know what's in that paper. Interesting stories about our factory. I myself would like to be at that meeting," and they asked hungrily: "Why don't you bring English papers and leaflets also every day?"

With the papers we also distributed leaflets, calling the workers to the meeting. They grabbed it, and they told us that they will give them to Hungarian buddies in the factory. On the third day all over the shop they were speaking about the **Uj Elore**, about leaflets, about strike and about the Union, with the remark that "probably I will join too".

We had four days to prepare the meeting. We held the meeting in the Hungarian neighborhood, where the majority of the Fisher Body workers live. More than 200 Hungarian workers came to the meeting. First hesitatingly, they looked from the street towards the hall. But slowly they came in.

The speakers at the meeting were the president and the vice-president of the Fisher Body local. Also the president of the White Motor (A. F. of L.), and the representative of the Workers Federation and of the **Uj Elore**. They all explained the situation and urged the workers to fight unitedly. And at the end of the meeting, even those who first were afraid to enter the hall, filled out their applications.

Since then we had another meeting after the same preparations, and since then, they all speak about the **Uj Elore** and the Hungarian movement in the factory. We established two stands around the factory and every day more and more papers sell. Since then we see many workers around our Workers Home, who previously didn't dare to come near to our place.

\* \* \* \*

Similar meetings have been held in Detroit and in Flint, with the Ford and Buick workers, with the same results for the paper and for the movement. The understanding for the Union and for the united front is much better.

A similar meeting is in preparation among the rubber workers of Akron, Ohio.

We have to mention another experience we had. This was in South Bend, during the strike of the employees of the Oliver factory, a couple of weeks ago.

Thirty to thirty-five percent of those working in this factory are Hungarians, but they were far from the Union movement and also from our Hungarian movement. The strike movement began. The **Uj Elore** appeared in and around the factory. Leaflets have been distributed amongst the Hungarian workers. They joined the Union and they came in masses to the Workers Home, where they have never been before. The local reactionary Hungarian weekly

stabbed the workers in the back and agitated for the company union. The **Uj Elore** and the Workers Federation called the workers to a mass meeting. Eight hundred workers came. The reactionary Hungarian editor had to flee. So many joined the Union and the strike, that the Hungarian masses became the most active participants and even leaders of the strike. The Hungarian Workers Home became the center of the activities of the masses. Many of them joined the Workers Federation and some joined the I. W. O.

And when the **Uj Elore** sent ten dollars, and a letter of support to the strikers, not only the Hungarian, but all the strikers received it with an enthusiastic outburst. And the ground we broke with these activities also helped us amongst the South Bend Hungarian workers to build a strong united front for the social insurance fight.

These lessons speak for themselves.

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## District "Party Organizers"

By EVA ROBINS

**T**HE DEVELOPMENT of District **Party Organizers** and **Party Builders** is a very encouraging sign. It shows how seriously the entire Party is treating the political-organizational problems of the day to day work. The **District Organizers** will be able to give more direct, and in greater detail, attention and guidance to the concrete problems in the respective shops, units and Sections in their localities. They will be excellent supplements to the **National Party Organizer**, bringing forward the general line and directives given in it for the Party as a whole, and applying these to the concrete situation in their own shops, units and Sections. These publications will be a great source of material for the **National Party Organizer**, enabling it more fully to reflect and guide the life and activities of the entire Party.

We have before us several copies of the **Party Builder** of District 2, New York, and the first number of the **Michigan Party Organizer**, District 7. We will attempt here to review Nos. 3 and 5 of the New York **Party Builder** and No. 1 **Michigan Party Organizer**, evaluate their merits, and touch upon some of their shortcomings, so as to assist the Districts in still further improving this excellent work—in making the **District Party Organizers** real guides in the day-to-day work of the Districts.

Number 3 of the New York **Party Builder** reprints some of the speeches made by comrades involved in shop work, at



the District Shop Conference, held in New York, February 2, 1935. After reading these articles one is convinced of the correctness of the statement made by Comrade Krumbein, District Organizer of New York, now serving an 18-month prison sentence for his revolutionary activities, when he characterized this conference:

"The conference today enthusiastically reflects . . . that we are starting to make some inroads among the basic workers in this District."

The comrades present at the conference represented some of the most important shops and factories in the District. These articles, the speeches at the conference, clearly indicate that the Party membership now understands what the Party has stressed: that the basic task of the Party is to root itself in the factories. The articles in this number bring out most strikingly the possibilities for building our Party in the shops and point out some of the problems confronting the Party in this basic field of work—how some of these problems were solved, by the comrades in the process of work; of others that are in the process of being solved, and the victories of the Party in various shops where Party and Y.C.L. nuclei were built, trade union work improved, and some of the shortcomings in this work.

Gone are the days when comrades working in shops and factories thought and said "there are no issues in the shops around which to develop struggle". Instead of this, the comrades at the conference, as shown by the articles in the **Party Builder**, constantly point out that "there is no lack of economic situations in the shop" around which struggles can be developed. This correct orientation accounts for the much improved shop work and the splendid accomplishments reported at the February conference.

Number 5, **Party Builder**, contains articles dealing with dues and fluctuation of membership, on finances in the Sections, "Checking Control Tasks" in one Section; a continuation of an article from a previous issue on "Work of a Shop in a War Industry"; a letter from a unit enthusiastically accepting one of the control tasks of the District on the establishment of a shop unit in the \_\_\_\_\_ Depot of the Railway Express, and the equally enthusiastic reply from the District and its call to the comrades for the Bolshevik carrying out of this task.

### The Goal of the Michigan "Party Organizer"

The Michigan **Party Organizer**, from the task it has set itself for fulfillment, promises to become a guide and a greater help in the District. Here are the points containing the tasks which the Michigan **Organizer** aims to fulfill:

"1. To make the life of the Party units interesting, and see to it that the units and members carry on mass work and struggles, especially in and around the shops and unions, for the struggle for improved conditions for the workers, for their organization into trade unions, for the fight for unemployment insurance, against war and fascism and for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of Soviet Power.

"2. To educate the Party members more concretely in their assignments, and check and control their work.

"3. To get the Party members into the unions and organize their work through the proper functioning of the fractions.

"4. To reach into mass organizations not under Party influence and try to steer them along the lines of the class struggle.

"5. To increase the recruiting, especially from among workers in the shops and unions and American elements, aiding to realize the slogan that 'Every member get a member'.

"6. To aid in organizing fractions in the unemployed organizations, and through them help build up the fight for unemployment insurance and relief.

"7. To widen the circulation of the **Daily Worker** and increase the sale of Communist literature.

"The **Michigan Organizer**, supplement of the national **Party Organizer**, will aim to teach the Party members the Leninist methods of work described by Comrade Stalin; 'A combination of the revolutionary range of action with American efficiency!'"

The issue contains a number of articles dealing with shop work, Negro work, Party fractions and other org. problems, including dues and fluctuation of the membership. A number of articles, written by comrades involved in various fields of work, are excellent not only because they reflect the very good work being carried on, but because they are very concrete and precise. The articles will also be of great help since they grow out of the comrades' own experiences for improving work in other units and Sections. These include: "The Group System", "Selling Literature", "Financing a Shop Paper", "Methods in Sale of **D. W.**", etc. Some of these articles have been reprinted in the "Party Life" column of the **Daily Worker**.

### "Party Organizers" Must Be More Than Reporters

Generally the New York **Builder** and the Michigan **Party Organizer** are well-prepared magazines in the sense that they reflect the activities going on in the Districts, and bring forward some of the important problems confronting

the comrades in the work. However, both suffer from the shortcoming that the magazines themselves (the numbers under review) are not instrumental in helping the comrades in the shops, units and Sections, in solving the various political-organizational problems that they themselves bring forth.

The District Organizers and Builders have as their task not only to report and reflect the activities going on in the District, but to help the comrades involved in the various fields of work in the District to improve the work; to help overcome the various hardships and obstacles confronting these comrades in the work.

The comrades must feel that the District Organizers and Builders not only give them a place for reporting their work and problems, but are the medium for helping them find solutions to their problems. Therefore, the very letters sent in by the comrades from the field, raising various problems, reporting on activities and shortcomings, must be the source of material for the District Party Organizers and Builders. On the basis of these reports, answers should be given on how to improve the work and how to overcome these very shortcomings. Instead of doing this, these magazines content themselves with merely printing the articles and speeches of the comrades, but do not attempt to help them find solutions to the problems of organization raised in these articles and speeches. They are not performing their all-important task of helping to solve these problems through guiding the comrades in their work.

Let us take concrete examples to illustrate just what we mean:

In No. 3, N. Y. Party Organizer, a comrade states: "On the question of recruiting, we have not been very successful because for a time we did not sufficiently consolidate the influence which we have in the shop."

Here it is necessary for the Party Builder to have an article explaining how we have to "consolidate our influence", how we must carry on the work in this and other factories in connection with recruiting so as to be successful.

Another comrade, in the same number, says: "... We do not have on our active rolls any Negro, colonial, or women workers, though we did have all of these (except women workers), but through certain shortcomings of the unit, they dropped out of activity."

The Party Builder says nothing on this point. Here it was necessary, in order to help improve the work of this unit and others, to analyze these "certain shortcomings", giving an account for the dropping out of these active members, and explain what must be done in this particular case, in order to overcome this situation.

Or such a statement in the same article: "... One of our



failings in this respect is that we have not tried to organize these workers into mass organizations before drawing them into the Party. However, in our shop this cannot work out as mechanically as all that."

It is not only in "our shop", but in any and all shops, we cannot "work out mechanically" any of these problems. It was necessary, therefore, for the **Party Builder** to analyze the problem in this shop and in others, and suggest to the comrades how this problem must be dealt with. The **Party Builder** just lets this point as the others mentioned, stand without comment.

In the Michigan **Party Organizer**, a comrade states: "While the nucleus has progressed in organizing for the immediate needs of the workers, we have much to learn about bringing the Party campaigns into the shop."

In an article in the same number, a comrade says: "A shortcoming of our work here is that the X Party nucleus has functioned almost exclusively as a fraction of the local union. . . This problem of correctly coordinating the double role of the shop nucleus as a nucleus and as a union fraction holds good for our nuclei in the auto plants."

Another comrade discussing the activities in a youth club, states: "Our main shortcoming is that we have no fraction in the club, which makes it harder for us to put the Y.C.L. program across."

### **We Must Show the Comrade How to Correct Mistakes**

Is it necessary for us to point out, as we attempted to do in the case of the N. Y. **Party Builder**, that this number of the Michigan **Party Organizer** should have dealt in particular with these problems brought forth by the comrades from the field? Notwithstanding, however, the excellent program of tasks that the Michigan **Party Organizer** has set itself to fulfil (quoted above), it, as the N. Y. **Party Builder** simply passes up these points without comment.

Space will not permit us to bring in more such concrete examples, showing that the **Party Builder** and the Michigan **Party Organizer** are as yet not instrumental in helping the comrades solve the org. problems confronting them in their work.

However, one more example must be cited: No. 5 of the N. Y. **Party Builder** reprints a letter from Comrade Krumbein analyzing the unsatisfactory condition regarding dues payments and fluctuation of the membership. Statistics are given. While the registered membership in December was 8,422, and new recruits until January were 1,506, the average dues payments since January was not above 7,831. The **Party Builder**, therefore, warns against the threatened loss of 591 Party members. The **Party Builder** points to the

reason for this condition: (1) Lack of contact with Party nuclei; (2) Lack of check-up; (3) Failure of the group system.

After calling upon the Party membership to rectify this condition, the **Party Builder** calls for 11,000 good-standing members by May First. This is very good. Especially is it good that the District warns against a **threatened** loss of membership, and asks to take steps to avoid it, instead of, as has happened in the past and many times still happens, waiting with the alarm until after it is too late, after the threatened loss has already occurred. However, in this situation it is not sufficient. The **Party Builder** points out that the situation is very serious; therefore, more serious steps are necessary to overcome this. It would have been good, for instance, if the District Org. Department would have taken two units or Sections—one a good one regarding dues and fluctuation, and one a weak one on these points; study the methods in both of these units or Sections, work with and give concrete assistance to the weaker one, and report every step in the progress of this work in the **Party Builder**. Doing it in this manner would help the entire District in overcoming the unsatisfactory condition regarding the all-important problems of dues and fluctuation, thus assuring the carrying out of the slogan of 11,000 good-standing members by May First.

#### "Party Organizers" Should Be Guides to Work

The District **Party Builders** and **Organizers** must become organs that will help and guide the work of the comrades in the shops, units and Sections. This can be done if the very material sent in by the comrades from the field is utilized to that end. When the comrades in the various fields of activity will find in the **Organizers** and **Builders** a guide and a help for their work and a solution to their problems, and not a place where they can merely report their troubles, only then will they serve their purpose. To this end our **District Organizers** and **Builders** must direct their attention. More **District Organizers**, better guides and help for our day-to-day work! This is the present need of the entire Party.

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## AGITPROP SECTION

### Examination of Agitation and Propaganda in Akron Rubber Strike Situation

By EVELYN BURNS

**T**HE CONDITIONS of the rubber workers and the stubborn open-shop policy of the rubber barons in their refusal to deal and negotiate with the Rubber Workers Union (A. F. of L.) brought the rubber workers in motion against the employers.

The leaders of the Rubber Workers Union and especially Claherty played around with the National Labor Relations Board, Regional Labor Board for a period of 20 months. But the conditions of the workers remained the same. The N.L.R.B., a few months ago, ordered a vote in the big three, Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone. The companies refused to take a vote and the case was handed over to the Cincinnati courts.

The patience of the workers was exhausted. The union leaders were forced to present an agreement to the big three. The companies flatly refused the agreement. Strike talk began.

The Communist Party immediately reacted to the situation by issuing a leaflet headed, "**Answer the Challenge—Strike.**" In this leaflet the following was advanced, "nothing came of the courts and N.R.A. Boards. A general strike in the rubber industry is the only weapon in your hands to make the rubber barons come across with more pay and recognition. No back-stage wire pulling should be allowed. Now is the time to act."

#### Communist Party Proposes Economic Demands

The demands as presented to the companies in the agreement, lacked economic demands. The following were the demands of the union:

1. Collective bargaining;
2. 30-hour week;
3. Recognition of the United Rubber Workers Union;
4. Company to cease financing the company union.

The Communist Party, knowing full well that such demands



would not rally all workers behind the agreement, issued a leaflet proposing in addition:

1. 15% increase in pay for all rubber workers;
2. Economic demands essential for mobilization of all workers;
3. Broad rank-and-file strike committee;
4. No Arbitration! Direct Negotiations!
5. Unity of action.

The leaflet also dealt with the role of the company union, and the role of the Party. This leaflet was literally grabbed by the workers. It became a guide of action to many workers. Workers gathered in circles to read and discuss the leaflet. It forced certain leaders to change their tone of speech to the rubber workers.

At this time, the forces of the rubber barons were openly being mobilized for strike-breaking duty. Actual war was being prepared against the rubber workers. Factories were barb-wired. Machine guns were placed in the shops. The Sheriff began openly to deputize thugs and gunmen. The fascist Blue Shirts were deputized. The church, radio, women's clubs and press were set against the strike. This situation created among the workers the opposite effect desired by the company. In spite of the provocation and intimidation, the workers began to join and reinstate in the union by the thousands. The mass meetings of the union were crowded. The Union Buyers Club, an organization of wives and sisters of the rubber workers carried on excellent work for the strike. The workers were ready for action! The Communist Party immediately once more reacted with the following leaflet, headed: "Organize and Strike! Allow No Division in Your Ranks! Join the Union! Vote Strike!" The text follows:

"The events of the last few days offer only one conclusion—The rubber workers will strike. Union ranks are growing. Ever larger masses of workers are demanding organized action to answer the threats and provocations of the rubber bosses, to fight for their demands. The rubber barons thought to fool the rubber workers' wives but they now know that the wives of the rubber workers will be with their men and not with the exploiters."

The leaflet further exposed the forces of the capitalist class in Akron as follows:

"The acts of the **Democratic and Republican** politicians in public office, Sheriff Flower and Mayor Myers, arming thugs and gunmen to take away our civil rights to organize, strike and picket must arouse every working man and woman. This action proves that they are the agents of the rubber barons. The nest, called American

Blue Shirts, where a few political racketeers by flag waving, gather to mislead the poor, is also to join the vigilantes, the scab-herders of Akron. Reverend Hender-shot, Dutton and others, who are supposed to be occupied with church affairs, also line up with the rubber barons who wish to struggle against organized labor, for which they are rewarded by the companies with fat checks." (Reference is made here to whole pages of the local press bought by the rubber companies for their attack against the rubber workers and the union.)

The workers were advised:

"No retreat or delay is permissible at this time! An immediate general strike in the rubber industry is the only way to win your demands. Therefore, join your union, set up your organizing committee right on the job and when the call to strike comes, walk out as one solid body—on the picket line!" "Vote for strike! Do not allow any pussy-footing with any arbitration boards!"

#### **Party Leaflets Welcomed by Workers**

This leaflet was welcomed by the workers with enthusiasm. The majority of the union men and women were in agreement with the leaflets. Many of them would not even lend a leaflet to their fellow workers, because they wanted to take it home and study it. It also forced Claherty to come out in the local press with the statement that the union will not battle the Communists, which everyone must agree was a victory for the Party!

In the second leaflet the Party no longer spoke of demands separate from those of the union, but called for support and struggle for these demands. It was correct to propose economic demands in the first leaflet. But as soon as the workers adopted the demands of the union, we had to support them in order to unite and strengthen the ranks of the workers.

The tide was turning. Not among the rubber workers but among the leaders of the A. F. of L. Claherty or Green were to report the situation to Roosevelt. McGrady, assistant Secretary of Labor was reported coming to Akron. Miss Perkins was negotiating with the rubber employers in New York. The strike-breaking forces took on a different face—arbitration. The Party reacted with a leaflet headed,

**"Set Rubber Strike Date! No Arbitration!**

**Direct Negotiations! Don't Rely on Labor Boards or  
Department of Labor Representatives!"**

The contents follow:

"The rubber barons could not intimidate and terrorize the rubber workers with their anti-strike prepara-

tions so they are now bringing Edward F. McGrady. He is known to the workers throughout the country as one who sold out strike after strike. The West Coast Longshoremen refused to deal with McGrady because of his treacherous role in the labor movement. Refuse to negotiate with McGrady or any other representative of the Labor Department or Labor Boards! Only an immediate general strike in the rubber industry, backed by the working class of Akron and the entire country, with mighty mass picketing, will win your demands. The auto workers will support you with strike. The Cleveland Federation of Labor is pledging 100% support. The Unemployment Council is supporting you. **Now is the time to strike!"**

The following slogan was advanced: **Do Not Allow Washington to Settle Things For You!** It goes on to expose Roosevelt's strike-breaking record. "The rubber workers who have voted almost unanimously for strike should have no illusions regarding the stand of President Roosevelt. Every time unions have gone before the President they have lost all their demands and failed to gain recognition. Because the A. F. of L. leaders signed a "truce" in the auto industry with Roosevelt and the manufacturers, and agreed not to strike, the demands were lost and the Company Union was legalized and strengthened. Labor Boards were set up by Roosevelt which are anti-union agents of the employers. The government is controlled by the Lichfields, Firestones, Goodriches, Morgans and Mellons, Fords and Rockefellers. It carries out the wishes and desires of the ruling class—the capitalist class." "Rely on your own strength."

These three leaflets alone, had an enormous effect on the situation. Because the Party correctly, and on time, reacted to the daily events in the situation, the prestige of the Party grew tremendously. The "red scare" was defeated at the time of preparations. The influence of the Party multiplied.

Besides the leaflets we used the **Daily Worker** as a means of influencing the situation. On the day the vote took place on the agreement we distributed hundreds of copies of the **Daily Worker** with Browder's editorial. And we can boldly state that had we not circulated the article of Comrade Browder, the vote against the agreement might have been smaller. As a result of the **Daily Worker** and our general agitation and propaganda, the vote resulted in from 25 to 35% of the workers voting against the agreement.

We issued only one shop paper during this time—**The Goodrich Worker**. This paper was primarily a strike issue.



Even the letters from the shop and our editorials were all strike letters.

### Weaknesses in Agitation and Propaganda

1. We did not link up our agitation with organization sufficiently. We did not utilize the excellent influence of our agitation to crystallize it into broadening the rank and file movement and recruiting into the Party. This situation, however, will be remedied in the future. Steps have been taken to this effect.

2. We did not hold the planned open air meetings and shop gate meetings, primarily due to weather.

3. Most of the agitation was carried on from the top and the units were not directly involved in writing neighborhood leaflets, shop paper, etc.

4. We did not link up our agitation with May First, to involve the rubber workers in preparations for the demonstration and parade.

However, one thing is clear. When our agitation and propaganda is spoken and written in line with the Party policy it penetrates the workers and if utilized to organize the workers, must bring the desired effect.

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## Status of Shop Papers in District Six

By ARNOLD WARNER, Dist. Shop Paper Committee

**A** CHECK-UP today on our shop paper work in District Six brings to the front three points. First, February, 1935, definitely marked the return in some Sections to serious concentration on our shop paper work. Second, on the other hand, there still remains in many strategic Sections an intolerable neglect to stabilize our shop papers and to revive those which died after a short life. Third, those steps which were taken to stabilize and revive our shop papers were the most thoroughgoing ever taken in the District. From this situation we conclude that, although the status of our shop papers is definitely improving, our shop papers are still lagging behind the evergrowing struggles of the workers.

The number of shop papers that appeared in February was larger than the number for any month since last August. Whereas only between two and five were appearing a month at the end of last year, eight appeared in February. The *Red Roller* and the *Goodrich Worker*, both issued in industries the District is concentrating on, appeared again, after unequal relapses.

More significant, however, is the greatly improved condi-

tions under which they were issued. They are expected to appear regularly from now on. It is known at the District office that for at least the majority of them ways of raising money have been found. Collectors for the **Red Diesel** obtained \$3.80 outside the shop gates of the Winton Engine Co. In addition, donations are coming from workers in the shop and non-Party organizations, reached through friends of the shop comrades and without specifying the shop. Affairs are held by the concentrating street unit to finance the **Red Motor**. As for the **Red Roller**, the comrades responsible for it merely declared that the financial nut had been cracked. Similar advances may be pointed out for most of them. Likewise, there is an increase in the technical forces around the shop papers. The **Spark Plug**, for example, has two new comrades capable of first-rate technical work. To continue, the **Red Diesel** has a complete technical staff, including a typist, and artist and two or more comrades capable of running a mimeograph machine. Another typist has been trained to cut stencils for the **Red Signal**. In Section Eleven a comrade with a typewriter has been assigned to build up a technical force for the **Red Roller**. In February, for the first time, the stencils for this shop paper were cut outside the District office. And so on. On the other hand, both the **Red Express** and the **Red Motor** rely upon the District for technical work.

Co-operation between the shop units and the concentrating street units has increased. This is not only an important but a necessary advance towards stabilizing our shop papers. More important examples of this increased co-operation can be given in addition to those above. Between the **Red Express**, the **Red Signal**, the **Red Diesel** and the concentrating street units contracts were drawn up which outlined certain tasks of the shop comrades and those in the concentrating street units in stabilizing these shop papers. These contracts, the first of their kind to be made in the District, show that our comrades are beginning to realize the importance of this question. Among the tasks outlined for the concentrating street units were the following: (1) to do the technical work; (2) to distribute and collect for the shop paper; (3) to raise a certain quota of money for it each month. The street units concentrating on the **Red Express** also agreed to get one letter a month from workers in the shop. All of the contracts were signed by the Section Organizers and provide for combined meetings of the bureaus of the shop unit, the concentrating street unit and the Section to check up on the fulfillment of the contracts. Since the drawing up of the contract the **Red Signal** has been distributed well for the first time. Likewise the distribution of the **Red Express** has improved. And, as provided for in the

contract of the **Red Diesel**, the organizer of the concentrating street unit is being trained to become the associate editor of the shop paper, the comrades in the shop unit being unable to write English. Space does not permit further details. Suffice it to say that similar improvements can be pointed out for most of the other shop papers.

In February the greatest advance yet made in stabilizing and reviving our shop papers is to be noted. Steps were taken from the District down to get more personal leadership and guidance into the shop units. At present our shop units are inexperienced and undeveloped. They are the younger units of the Party. Most of them still need to be taken by the hand and led. As has been pointed out before, the shop paper is only as good as the shop unit which issues it. Well-functioning shop units mean better shop papers. Therefore the problem of getting personal leadership and guidance into the shop units is decisive for the continued existence and progress of our shop papers. Examples to prove this may be found in two reports in the **Shop Paper Editor** covering two shop units, A-5 and A-2, in Section One.

As stated before, this important problem is being tackled by both the Sections and the District, particularly in the concentration industries. In Section Sixteen, a leading comrade was assigned to revive the **Blast**. In Section One another leading comrade was assigned to revive the **Midland Worker**. In Section Fourteen the Section Organizer attends the meetings of a railroad unit. Another comrade has been made responsible for all shop units in the District. Since the question of shop papers is among his tasks, he is part of the Shop Paper Committee, in addition to being in the Organizational Department. Each comrade on the Shop Paper Committee has been assigned to help build certain shop units. It must be noted that throughout the assignments, both in the Sections and the District, concentration is on the steel, auto and rubber industries, as indicated by the fact that the **Blast** and **Midland Worker** are steel papers. That these steps are proving successful is shown by the certainty that the **Blast** and the **Otis Worker**, another steel paper, will appear this month, March.

Our shop papers are developing politically, both in content and responsiveness. As a rule the two go hand in hand—better material, higher responsiveness. Both the **Spark Plug** and the **Red Motor** came out in special editions to expose the extension of the Auto Labor Code. In the case of the **Spark Plug** this exposure was followed up with two more special issues. The first exposed the fake elections at the Fisher Body Company. The second called upon the workers to back up the demands presented to the company by the union by preparing for strike action. February saw



the majority of the shop papers carry shop programs for the first time. All of them have reacted to the Party's change in trade union tactics and called for the building of the A. F. of L. on the basis of class struggle. The **Goodrich Worker** stated: "We Communists say that the present Federal Local Unions organized by the most advanced and militant section of the rubber workers, affiliated with the A. F. of L., should be built up to include every rubber worker, and led and controlled by the rank and file." Similarly, the **Red Roller** called upon the workers to: "**Organize! Join the A.A. lodge in the mill! Build the Amalgamated Association into a powerful mass union! Prepare for strike to enforce the demands of the Fifty-Ninth Convention.**"

Our shop papers are reflecting the life of the specific shop more and more. More use is being made of shop issues. We find them exposing stool pigeons, cheating pay schemes, boss-terror, etc. The **Red Diesel** began a fight for clothes lockers. The **Red Express**, in an excellent issue, campaigned against the Mayor of Euclid Village, one of his "pals" and Councilman Vehovec, fakers and spies who work in the Collinwood Yards of the New York Central, and congratulated the grievance committee for winning back a wage cut for a group of mechanics in the roundhouse. There still remains the neglect to react to larger political issues, such as the activities of the Dickstein committee, the "Furtive Five," the Cleveland Dickstein committee, the recent N.R.A. developments, the achievements of the Soviet Union, etc.

However, the progress so far noted is offset by the decline of our shop papers from nine last May to eight this February and an extreme neglect of our shop papers in many strategic Sections. Shop papers are now being issued mainly in the Cleveland Sections. This situation becomes worse when we consider the fact that since last May about **twenty** different shop papers have appeared. In other words, after subtracting the three shop papers that are reviving this month, at least half of them have died after a short life. Steel, auto and rubber workers are talking strike. But the **Red Billet** of Canton and the **Red Billet** of Massilon, both steel papers, are silent. The **Firestone Worker**, a rubber paper, and the **Gear Shift**, an auto paper, are dead. Certainly, the Canton, Akron and Toledo Sections have some serious explaining to do. Shop papers have passed out of the picture also in the Cincinnati, Dayton and Erie Sections. With one exception, they have yet to answer the letters sent them by the Shop Paper Committee asking for an explanation. This failure to recognize a District committee is nothing short of political irresponsibility.

We can no longer regard this situation as merely alarming. It is intolerable! The question of reviving and stabil-

izing our shop papers must be uppermost in the minds of all leading comrades responsible for work within the shops. It must be one of the first tasks to be achieved in the Section plan of work. Likewise, the shop comrades and those in the concentrating street units must take immediate steps to revive and stabilize the shop papers.

Comrades, all steel, auto and rubber papers out by May First! Sixteen shop papers by May First! That is the quota set in the District control tasks.

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## “Terminal Jack”

BY JOE LESLIE

**S**T. LOUIS, just north of the Mason-Dixon Line, is the meeting place of the railways. Everyone in St. Louis knows the Terminal. It is down close by the river. It was from across the river that the Negroes came who were hunted down during the boss-inspired lynch riots in East St. Louis. Now they live around the Terminal and near the river docks, where they work. White workers, hundreds of them, also earn their living by slaving for the Terminal bosses. It is from the ranks of these workers, Negro and white, that the Communist Party unit, which publishes the **Terminal Jack**, has been built.

The **Terminal Jack** has a great task to fulfill. It must be the instrument for establishing unity among the twenty-odd craft unions in the railway industry. It must help to organize the hundreds of non-union workers in the Terminal. It must establish unity between Negro and white railwaymen. It must bring to the workers the point of view of the Party on all current problems. It must carry on a constant fight for the workers against the bosses and the government, against fascization and war, in order to win the St. Louis railwaymen for our Party.

### Shop Paper Must Have Popular Appeal

The **Terminal Jack** has begun to fulfill these tasks with real success. It is a splendid paper. Each month it deals seriously with these most important problems, attempting to solve them for the workers. The February issue, particularly, is one of which the comrades can be justly proud. This issue contains an article which is a gem, entitled “Life and Limb Cheap on the Terminal System”. I am asking Mike Gold to reprint this article in his column. It is the story of Andy Patton, Vandalier Engine foreman, who lost his legs in an accident, because of an under-manned train—

the victim of the Terminal bosses' greed for profits. This could readily have been the leading article for February. Not that the story of the General Chairmen's Conference isn't also splendid. But the story of Andy Patton will grip the imagination of any railwayman. It has the popular appeal that can make a shop paper effective.

Through such articles as the one on Andy Patton we can bring forward the point of view of the Party on many political questions. The letters from the workers, dealing with the problems of men in the Terminal, are interesting and popularly written. Unfortunately, these letters are not utilized by the **Terminal Jack** to bring forward the position of the Party on the most important political questions. There are articles on Father Coughlin, on the Unemployment Congress, on Lenin, on the Negro question, etc. But none of these are written in the style of the workers' letters, nor do they deal with these problems specifically from the point of view of **Terminal** workers. There are, in other words, two parts to the **Terminal Jack**, the popularly written articles by the workers, and those in heavy language by the editors. This is the chief shortcoming of the **Terminal Jack**.

### **Workers' Correspondence, the Basis of a Shop Paper**

There are several ways of overcoming this weakness of the **Terminal Jack**. The chief one would be to build the paper upon the correspondence. The story of Andy Patton is that of an engine foreman, under capitalism. This immediately brings to mind, what will Soviet Power mean to Terminal men? Will it eliminate accidents? Will there be greater security? Aren't there accidents on the Soviet railways? These questions must be answered to the complete satisfaction of Terminal workers.

None of the correspondence in the **Terminal Jack** carries editorial notes, though much of it calls for such comment. For example, a baggage man writes that the company could save money by permitting the part-time shift to work on Sundays, instead of paying the regular men time and a half. Are we in favor of giving more work to the part-time men because it would save the company money, or would we still be in favor of it even if it meant less profits for the company? Here there should be editorial comment. From a switch-man we hear that what we need is real labor unity. Most workers know this, and would welcome it. But they don't know how to achieve it. This same switch-man tells us that all men over 60 should be pensioned off by the company. Do we agree with this? Why? A white Pullman cleaner tells us to fight against company unions. But do all workers understand why company unions are harmful?



Future issues of the **Terminal Jack** should pay more attention to these concrete problems.

### **Political Articles Must Deal With the Shop**

The article which deals with smashing the blacklist is a splendid example of how to tie up shop problems and the political campaigns of the Party. If it were written in the simple lively manner of the correspondence, this article would be a model. In other political articles, the comrades have not been so skillful in showing the relationship between the political campaigns of the Party and the shop problems. The **Terminal Jack** tells us that "... the most important development in Coughlin's recent activities is his declaration of war against Communism, just at the time when the capitalists are deliberately organizing new attacks against the Communist Party." Although the comrades reacted rapidly to the attacks of Father Coughlin, this article is nevertheless so unrelated to specific shop conditions that it could easily be published in any other shop paper without changing a single word. Yet it would be very simple to make the role of Father Coughlin clear to the workers in the **Terminal** on the basis of their own experience. Are not the **Terminal** bosses also attacking the Communists? They quote further from Father Coughlin, that he favors "a system based on the belief that wealth is created by the union of capital and labor". The **Terminal Jack** says, correctly, "Is this not a tricky and shrewd trap for the workers? What is this divine union of capital and labor? How can there be union between these two mortal enemies?" By explaining here that the railway bosses favor this union of capital and labor, that the railway bosses are attempting to establish company unions, that these are an expression of the "union of capital and labor", our comrades would have made it easier for the workers to see that the programs of Father Coughlin and the **Terminal** bosses coincide at this point.

In like manner the article on the Workers Unemployment Insurance Congress is timely and has a splendidly concrete comparison between the Wagner-Lewis Bill and the Workers' Bill, H.R. 2827. But a few words mentioning the number of railway delegates and St. Louis delegates and Negroes and similar facts concerning **Terminal** workers would readily have convinced them that the Workers Congress was their immediate concern.

### **Negro Question, a Touchstone For the Terminal**

Although in a short review of this nature, it is impossible to deal with an analysis of all the **Terminal** problems, there is one that under no circumstances can be ignored—the

Negro question. Here the main problem is to convince the white workers of the need for unity between black and white. A further problem is to win the Negro workers away from the influence of the reformists. The **Terminal Jack** has made a good beginning in this direction. The **Jack** must continue to present articles on the Negro question, on Scottsboro, Herndon, the Harlem outbreak, the position of national minorities in the Soviet Union, etc. The **Terminal Jack** must work out a series of special demands for the Negro railway men as well as a set of demands for the workers in general and publish these constantly in the paper.

A word on the technical appearance of the **Jack**. Although good on the whole, it could be greatly improved by a few simple considerations, such as the use of a better grade of white paper, a more judicious use of sub-heads, columns, more professional cartoons and carrying an address for correspondence in the masthead.

The **Terminal Jack** has a great task to fulfill. It must be the instrument for establishing the unity of all workers in the Terminal. Such a task is by no means easy. But we feel that if all the problems were as well-handled as the article on Andy Patton, the **Jack** would go a long way towards making itself a powerful influence for the Party program among the Terminal workers.

## Supporting the "Children's Issues"

By MARTHA CAMPION

**H**OLLENBECH HIGH SCHOOL is in the heart of a working-class neighborhood in Los Angeles. About 2,450 children go there, many of them from families on relief. Since it is the only high school within six or seven miles, many children must walk long distances. The cafeteria prices are very high; a decent lunch costs a quarter. 60 or 70 children receive "free" lunches, they are this free,—the children must put in two school periods of work for a 15c lunch ticket.

The Los Angeles Children's Council decided to take up this matter, to demand free lunches for all who needed them, and abolition of the forced labor system.

There are about 20 organized class-conscious children in this school. The Children's Council decided, quite correctly, that the first thing to do was get their parents together. But at the first meeting of these parents, mostly Party members, it was found that they were reluctant to do their part.

A mass meeting of parents was called. There were present only fifty parents, only ten of whom were not previously



sympathetic. Not one Party member from a membership of at least 200 on the East Side was there—not even the 20 Party members whose children go to that school. One Pioneer out of the 20 came to the meeting! Their parents kept them home (to go to sleep early, etc.). The meeting was hardly a huge success.

The next step was a delegation to the Board of Education, who refused to listen to the demands and referred the demand for the use of the school as a meeting place to the principal, who of course refused it.

In the face of the difficulties, and the refusal of the Party and the mass organizations to budge from their inactivity, the Children's Council was about to drop the matter. However, they were spurred on by hearing a report of their mass meeting and delegation over the radio, with the excuses of the administration that they didn't know where they'd get the money, etc. This showed that the administration felt conscious of having been put on the spot, in spite of what seemed to be rather insignificant actions on our part.

The Principal got busy and decided that an easy way out for him would be to organize a parents' organization of his own, a harmless organization what would listen to entertainments given by the kids, etc. One of our mothers went to the first meeting, and took up the question of free lunches, etc. It was suggested that she be secretary of the group. She, because she didn't realize the importance of the work, said she would "consider it"! Here was another chance thrown away.

The Party must get over this passive attitude toward children's issues. There is no such thing as "just a children's issue". Every children's issue is primarily a parents' issue. Many parents will fight for the needs of their children when they won't fight for anything else. And food is the most important need of the child.

Here was a splendid issue for us, one on which we could have won many sympathizers. Through the organization built around this issue we could have built the Women's Councils and the Party.

Let's be alive to these things! Party members and sympathizers should join such Parent Organizations at once. Only if we fight the battles of the workers, side by side with them, will we be able to show them that our program is the only correct one.

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