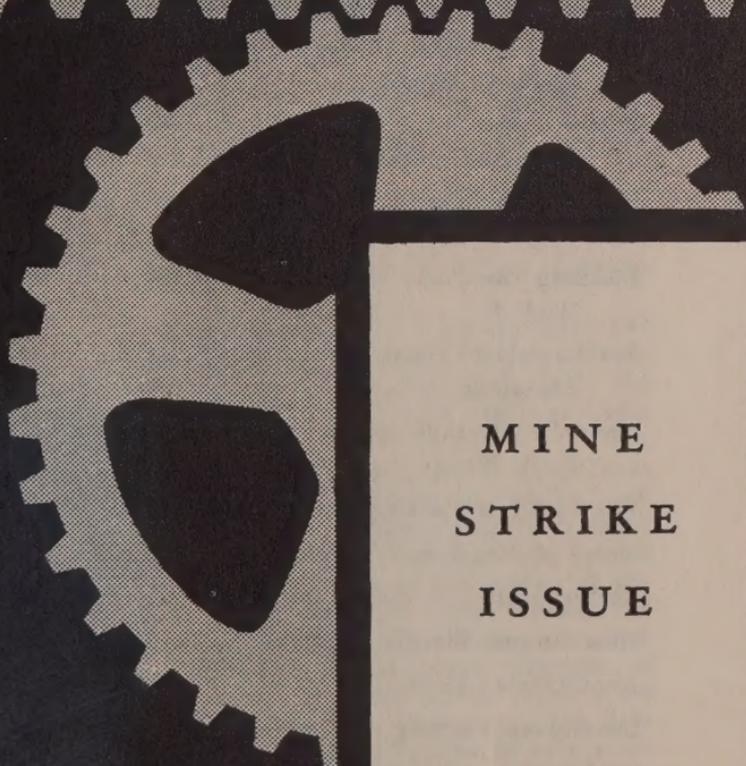


Party Organizer



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The Miners' Strike The Lessons of the Struggle

By EARL BROWDER

ALL advance of the Communist leadership of the working class has its basis in struggle, in the lessons which the Party and its membership learn in the course of struggle.

Most important of all struggles in the United States for many years is the coal miners' strike of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia, which is conducted under the leadership of the National Miners Union and the Communist Party.

It would be a great mistake, however, to think that *only* by direct participation in a particular strike, and *merely*, by such participation, it would be possible to learn all the necessary lessons. Besides participation in the strike, it is necessary to have *study* of the lessons of the strike. Bolshevism differs from all other schools of thought precisely in this, that the Bolshevik always *studies* the most intricate concrete details of every struggle, of every problem, and at the same time brings forth from this study the broad generalizations necessary. The Bolshevik searches for the concrete peculiarities in each situation, and finds within these the expression of the general laws of the class struggle.

This issue of the *Party Organizer* is a serious beginning of study of the problem of how to build the mass organizations and the Party in the midst of struggle. It is based upon the experiences already had in the miners' strike. It makes available for the entire movement, the lessons to be found in the one strike. Properly used, these lessons can raise the entire movement to a new and higher level.

Therefore the Party Organizer must be read with deep seriousness, not merely glanced through and then laid aside. The study of this issue becomes one of the most practical and immediate duties of every active Party member.

How the Present Miners Strike Was Prepared

By FRANK BORICH

SEVERAL months ago the Central Committee of our Party decided to concentrate on four most important districts. The Pittsburgh District was one of the concentration points. The purpose of the concentration was to build the Party and the revolutionary unions, to raise the partial demands of the workers and to develop mass struggles around these demands.

In order to carry out the correct policy of the Central Committee the Pittsburgh District Committee, with the help of the C.C., developed a "Two Months' Plan of Work." The very center of the plan was the concentration on the mining fields of Pennsylvania and Ohio. These fields were selected because of the mass starvation of the miners and their readiness for struggle.

The Party Fraction of the National Miners Union, on the basis of the general Party plan, developed also a two months' plan of action for the Union. At the end of the plan the District Conventions of the Union in Pennsylvania and Ohio were scheduled. The purpose of the Conventions was to broaden the leadership of the Union by drawing in new elements and to prepare the Union organizationally to give leadership to the developing strike struggles of the miners.

Organizational measures were taken at once to put the plan of action into effect. A general Party fraction meeting was held in Pittsburgh with 75 comrades present. A similar meeting was held in Ohio. The plan of action was discussed in detail. A special Convention Arrangements Committee was elected to help the District Committee of the Union to prepare the Convention.

This was followed by section Party membership meet-

ings where a concrete application of the plan to every mine was discussed, including the building of the Union, mine committees, formulating strike demands, etc. A calendar plan of work was adopted for each section. The most active comrades in each section were put in charge of the work, and the Party units were mobilized. Revolutionary competition was developed between the sections. A District representative was assigned to each section. Leading fractions of the Union met every day to check up on every detail of the work and to help the weakest sections.

The Union apparatus was mobilized in the same manner. Many Union members were involved in active participation. The revolutionary enthusiasm was felt throughout the field as soon as the machinery began to move.

In preparing the District Convention of the Union 49 mass meetings were held in Pennsylvania attended by some 15,000 miners. A special leaflet was issued for each meeting dealing with specific conditions in each mine linking them up with the general slogans of the Union: "Organize and strike against wage cuts and speed-up," and "Don't Starve—Fight!" Some 40,000 leaflets were distributed. A detailed speakers' outline was drawn up enabling many new comrades to speak. In every case a less developed comrade spoke together with a more developed one.

The mass meetings were followed up by *organizational meetings the next day*. Non-union miners were invited to these meetings, local unions established and delegates to the Convention elected. These were united front meetings. The same policy was followed up in Ohio.

Work among the unemployed miners was closely linked up with the work among the employed. Three local hunger marches were held. Meanwhile the Pennsylvania and Ohio State Hunger Marches were held. The success of the Hunger Marches had an important effect stimulating all these workers and together with several small successful strikes won the support of the miners for our Union. The Party press played an important role by printing articles daily on various subjects, exposing starvation and presenting our fighting program.

Finally the District Conventions were held—Ohio on

April 17th and Penna. on April 23-24. Both conventions were the best ever held by the Union. 75 delegates and about 100 visitors attended the Ohio Convention and 175 delegates attended the Penna. Convention. At both conventions the question of immediate strike was raised as well as the struggle of the unemployed for immediate relief, of course combining the two. Broad District Committees were elected. The delegates left the conventions clear on the policy and determined to put the policy into effect.

On April 25th the Carnegie Coal Co. announced a wage cut to go into effect on May 1st. The delegates to the Union Convention and the Section Committee got together at once and decided to call a mass meeting to consider the possibility of strike. The meeting was held at only one mine on April 25th and a picket line organized on the morning of the 26th. The mine was shut down 100% and strike committee elected. The next day two additional mines of the same company were shut down 100% by marches of striking miners and strike committees organized.

This was the beginning of the strike of the 40,000 miners.

Where Is the Party in the Miners' Relief Campaign

By ALFRED WAGENKNECHT

STRIKE relief for the miners and their dependents is today a most decisive factor. Information now at hand from the National Miners Union and its relief distributing committee states that it has been possible to place only 20 tents at the disposal of the many hundreds of evicted families and that the food distribution averages only three meals a week per family. The failure of our Party district organizations to initiate broad and efficient relief activities in the cities, large and small, makes our Party responsible to a large degree for the back to work movement that is now developing in every strike section.

The National Miners Union has taken drastic steps to stop this back to work movement. Mine and section strike

committees are being strengthened, picket lines are being reorganized for special concentration upon key mines. This means, in terms of strike relief, that sufficient additional funds will have to be on hand to secure food and tents for the miners in the mines being concentrated upon, so that when they strike, relief will be issued in a measure that will keep them from starving. And sufficient tents will have to be on hand to house all those who are threatened with eviction.

The situation today is that only one-fourth of the necessary funds for relief are forthcoming. What will become of the concentration program to stop the back to work movement if all Party units, sections and districts continue to disregard relief activities for this most important strike the T.U.U.L. has ever led?

In only 35 cities have relief committees been organized and half of these function very poorly because of lack of Party leadership. The immediate task of every Party unit, section and district is to multiply city relief committees within the next few days so that at least 300 cities will be carrying on broad fund and food collections. The masses of workers are responding splendidly wherever we have active committees. The secretary of the New York committee stated that "There are funds and food on every street, all we need is enough collectors to get it." Every Party unit and Party functionary should place "Organizing Miners Relief Committees in all Cities" on the agenda. At the last meeting of the Political Bureau of the Party, miners' relief was the central point.

How the N. M. U. Is Being Built During the Strike

By JACK JOHNSTONE

THE Pennsylvania-Ohio miners' strike, based on the United Front from below, presents problems that our Party will face in all strikes, especially in the basic heavy industries. Here I wish to take up one problem that is of vital importance: the building of the Union, its role and tasks in strike struggles.

The miners strike although involving some 40,000 un-

organized miners, was not a spontaneous strike in which the Party and the National Miners Union assumed leadership after the strike began. Originating in the strike at Atlasburg against a wage-cut, it was rapidly spread by organized marches to other mines. The Union, although leading the strike, had only a few functioning mine locals. Therefore, the task of spreading the strike rapidly depended entirely on the elementary form of organized marches. The building of organized mass rank and file strike committees and the organizing of mine locals was not an easy task, and it is only within the last three weeks that organizational consolidation is being pushed forward. More than 120 local unions have been formed, or reorganized during the strike, although they are not yet functioning as they should.

Among the first organizational instructions sent out by the Central Rank and File Committees to all mines on strike was the following:

"Build the Union. The central organizational task is to build the N.M.U. To accomplish this as speedily as possible the following immediate steps must be taken: Call a meeting of all members of the union immediately to install the mine local, elect officers, present the charter and issue membership books; take up the applications of new membership, and set the date for *regular meetings* of the mine local; initiate the new members.

Tasks of the local union during the strike.

1. Must be the driving force in all the strike machinery.
2. Must be the driving force in all relief activity.
3. Carry on a constant recruitment campaign until every miner has become a member of the union.
4. Lead the educational work during the strike.
5. Build Women's Auxiliaries. Build Youth Sections. Build Negro Department."

The leadership of the strike, of course, is the Rank and File Strike Committee. The union is the driving force that develops this leadership and strengthens it by developing its responsibility and initiative. There is no contradiction in saying that the N.M.U. is the strike leader, and that the broad Rank and File Strike Committee is the leading committee of the strike.

The danger that the Union will liquidate the Strike Committee, or that the Strike Committee will liquidate

the Union must be guarded against. This danger is very real and will be met with in all strikes, the greatest danger being the liquidation of the union.

The Strike Committee is the committee that draws up the plans of work, makes decisions, sees that they are carried out, assigns forces to special tasks, sets up committees to carry out the work. The union strengthens all of this work. The decisions of the Union regarding the strike are placed before the Strike Committee as proposals. The Union works as an organized body within the ranks of the strikers and the strike apparatus on the basis of the United Front, placing all its experiences and understanding and leadership at the disposal of the strike, and, while working as one in the leadership of the strike with the strike committee, retains its independent role, is responsible for the strike program and militancy of the strike, and for drawing in, as rapidly as possible, all strikers as members of the Union.

The Union is the permanent form of organization that brings forward not only the immediate strike demands, but wins the workers for its fuller program, laying the ideological and organizational basis for bigger struggles, for the 6-hour day, 5-day week, which means a national agreement, which in turn means a national strike.

Of course, there are complicated problems and we cannot approach them schematically. The Union builds the United Front rank and file strike committees, also the United Front strike committees organize the union. This seems paradoxical, but it is not. Wherever a mine has been struck and where no union exists, the first organizational step, after setting up the strike committee, and organizing the mass picket line, is to set up a committee to organize the union. This should be done on the first, or at the latest, the second day of the strike.

We must always keep in mind that the United Front strike apparatus disappears with the ending of the strike, and the Union, in order to take its place, must assume a leading role in the strike. The United Front will continue after the strike, but it will continue in a different form. In this instance it will be the *Mine Committee* as the basic form, while on a district and national scale we see being set up "miners unity committees of action" with the N.M.U. as the central leadership, with rank and file rep-

representatives from locals of the U.M.W.A. from minorities in U.M.W.A. locals, from the unemployed, from miners Women's Auxiliaries. The building of the Union in the present strike, extends the scope and power of the Union, which in turn extends the United Front, developing new demands, leading to a national strike. This demands a careful study and application of United Front tactics and the role and tasks of the Union in the United Front, and in strike struggles.

Building the Party in the Mine Strike Area

By A. MARKOFF

A STRIKE situation such as the present coal miners' strike in Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia offers the greatest opportunity for the building of the Communist Party, for a mass recruitment into the Party from the ranks of the striking miners.

While this is clear to the majority of our active Party members, there are wrong tendencies manifesting themselves here and there. One of the tendencies is to wait till the strike is over to build the Party. This tendency is incompatible with the basic functions of the Party and arises only out of lack of understanding of the role of the C. P. in the present strike as well as in all struggles of the working class.

The other tendency is one of extreme cautious approach to the strikers. Some comrades say that we must be very, very careful as to whom we recruit and therefore present an orientation of months of propaganda, of careful selection, etc.

Such a view is a result of bad training, of non-confidence in the masses—we must reject it. In this period of struggles, the Party must be built rapidly.

Here we must guard against the other extremes where comrades working in the field are carried away with enthusiasm and begin wholesale recruiting, without even explaining the difference between the Party and the Union.

One more point in connection with this is the opinion

that a union field organizer during the strike must not build the Party at the same time for fear that he will become known as a Communist and the Union will be branded a Communist union.

To these we can say this: a Communist, a member of a Communist Party is first and foremost a Communist, no matter what work he is engaged in; that the first thing to be considered is the building of the Party. Does that mean that he should build the Party in preference to the Union? No. At this time when the N.M.U. is leading such an important struggle—the building of the Union is of prime and paramount importance. *But one cannot successfully build the N.M.U. or lead the strike without at the same time building the Party nucleus, which is one of the strong pillars of the Union and the strike. The successful building of the Party nuclei in the strike area means the firm consolidation of the strike forces; it means the strengthening of the Union.*

Who is to Build the Party?

To this question there is one categorical answer—the field organizer, and every member of the Party active in the strike must build the Party nuclei. The organizer is the one who is constantly in contact with the striking miners. He is in touch with especially the most developed, the most militant elements, those who are on the various committees,—the strike committee, the relief committee, the picket committee, etc. It is a simple matter to discuss the immediate problems of the strike binding it up with the immediate experiences explaining the role of the state with which every miner is in daily contact in his experience on the picket line, in the brutal attack of the state forces, etc.

Through these simple talks with individual miners, we prepare them, make them ready to accept the Party. When three, four, or five individuals have been thus prepared, they are called together and a talk is given explaining the role of the C. P., in the strike, the relationship between the N.M.U., and the C.P.; the conception of the *class struggle*, etc. This is done in an elementary way, using language which the miner understands. The talk should not be too long, and must be as concrete as possible, always bearing in mind the strike and illustrations arising

from the experiences of the miners. My personal experience was that I find the miners extremely interested; they often show their approval by interjections here and there during the talk.

Questions may and may not follow the talk. The miners, at first, are slow in asking questions. It is up to the speaker then to ask them questions, to make them express themselves as to what is their opinion about the Party, the Union, the strike, etc.

By formulating the questions simply, the workers will be drawn into the discussion.

At this first meeting it is best to sign them up, to fill out the application blanks. It is also advisable to give them literature "Why Every Worker Should Join the Communist Party" or a similar pamphlet.

Unfortunately our Party is poor in such literature. We have many pamphlets published, but the language is inaccessible to the average worker. The day for the next meeting is decided upon and the workers are asked if they think it would be advisable to bring some more active workers, whom they know to be reliable, whom they would like to have in this group.

In every one of my meetings the miners suggested one or another and at the next meeting I had three or four more miners present who joined the Party at that meeting. For example: at one meeting of five miners who were recruited into the Party several days before, five more came invited by the first five and thus a nucleus of ten was formed; at another meeting four miners newly recruited brought three more, and so on.

At the second meeting if new comers are present a short introduction must given explaining what the Party is, what it stands for. These workers have been already talked to by the first group, so the ground is prepared and all that is required is the clarification of some of the problems which are not as yet clear.

At this meeting we also take up the structure of the Party, we explain what the nucleus is, what position it occupies in the strike, in the mine, in the Union, the relation to the higher organs, such as the Section Committee, District Committee, the Central Committee. Something should be said about the Communist International. Then the organizational form of the nucleus is discussed, we

elect a Buro of three consisting of an Organizer, a Secretary and a third comrade who for the time being is charged with taking care of the *Daily Worker* distribution and literature.

We must guard here against formalism. These workers cannot immediately understand such offices as Agitprop Director, Industrial Organizer, etc. The tasks outlined must be simple. The Secretary is told that his duty is to take care of the membership books as far as stamps are concerned, he is to get stamps and supply them to the members; he should keep a record of the decisions (minutes), etc.

Likewise we explain to the Organizer his duties and so on. We must bear in mind that usually the best and most active workers in the strike are the first to join the Party. These workers are already charged with many responsibilities and cannot be over-burdened. Therefore it is necessary to make the organizational structure of the unit simple.

The idea of working as a fraction within the strike committee, the relief committee, etc. can also be explained at this meeting. A regular meeting date must be agreed to. Also the conception of discipline can be introduced. I found that it is very easy for the workers to understand the meaning of discipline. The struggle itself teaches them the necessity for discipline.

Training of the New Members

The training of the new members recruited in the present strike presents a special problem. We cannot apply methods used in units of New York, Chicago, etc. Many of the miners are foreign-born, and do not speak English well; others, born or reared in this country have had little opportunity, if any, for education. We, therefore, must go slowly with the theoretical training. The training, at least for the first two or three months should consist in taking up the current topics and presenting them in the light of the Communist conception, linking up the subject with the immediate struggles of the miners and other workers, using plain workers language.

Should we organize classes for the new members in the strike area? My opinion is that we should not. My experiences in the field convince me that regular classes are

not the thing at the present time in the strike situation. Later, when we have a number of members trained in the units, classes can be and should be established on a section scale, but *at present the training must be done at the unit meetings*. We can also train the workers outside of the units by getting together a large group of striking miners and talking to them on a topic which concerns them or reading aloud articles from the *Daily Worker*. For example, the Lamont Conference in Washington with the mine operators; the Doak Conference with representatives of the U.M.W.A., the war danger, Scottsboro, etc. This paves the way for the organization of a Party unit. The following fact will illustrate this point. I spoke one day to a group of miners in the N.M.U. relief headquarters. I spoke about the strike, the picketing, linked it up with the recent arrest of 230 strikers, where the federal immigration inspectors became active, discussed the oppression of foreign-born workers, the activities of the C. P. against deportations, introduced the war danger and August First. Some comrades warned me not to mention the C. P. My talk where the Party was placed as the leader of all the workers had its effect. Several days later, the Org. Secretary of the Pittsburgh District succeeded in establishing a nucleus of ten members: all these were present at the meeting mentioned above. The striking miners understand and accept our Party if it is placed in the proper light.

Another important method of training our new members is to give them literature and ask them to read it together.

Mine Papers

It is my opinion that we can have a number of mine papers launched shortly. It is necessary to suggest to the nucleus at the third or fourth meeting that a mine paper be started. The members respond readily. Two mine papers are in preparation at the present time. The articles are to be written by the miners themselves. The District should have them mimeographed and give them to the unit for distribution.

In the Pittsburgh District as a result of the strike many nuclei are established. Every week more nuclei are being organized and the membership of these nuclei grows. But these nuclei must receive the closest attention of the

Party leadership. Comrades must be assigned to meet with them regularly at least for the first two or three months. Neglecting these newly formed units of the Party will lead to rapid disintegration.

Building Party Units in the Coal Strike Area

By LEO THOMPSON

THE building of Party units in the coal strike is one of the main tasks of our comrades in the Pittsburgh district. Unfortunately, because this job was sorely neglected until now, the strike had to face tremendous difficulties that would not exist were Party units functioning in the field prior to the strike.

It is no exaggeration to say that the overwhelming majority of the difficulties in the strike are mainly due to the lack of a conscious organized motivating force—the Communist Party units.

In the last two weeks a turn was begun and the District Committee has succeeded in establishing 5 new units in our Cannonsburg-Washington section. In the first period of the strike without Party units and members, it was very difficult for the comrades to systematize our work in the strike. We had no departments in the strike committees, our picket lines were weak and spontaneously formed, our relief work met with numerous complaints, etc.

But with the first beginnings of newly organized Party units, the strike situation itself always reflected improvements in all these different phases of strike activity. Altho we did not have fully developed Party units, we at least had a fresh energetic core of the best fighters among the miners in the Party who could be used to organize and reinforce picket-lines, who are sent out to speak at mass meetings, organize strike committees at various mines, take charge of relief work, organize demonstrations within very short notice, break up the U.M.W.A.'s mass meetings, etc.

For example, in Meadowlands where we have a Party unit of 6 (altho still loosely organized) and where we still

have many obstacles to overcome—the work is much more satisfactory that in those mining camps like Cuddy (near Westland mine) where we have no Party unit. The same is true in Washington, where a small core of 3 Party members is able to push the miners to more consistent activity. In spite of only having 3 comrades there, still the workers realize that the Party is their leader.

How were these units organized? The Party does not repeat the same mistake made in the past, that is, by an indiscriminate mass circulation of application cards. This merely boils down to a mass signature campaign. What we must do (and are trying to do) is to lay the basis for a real mass recruiting drive in the coal fields on the basis of our present contracts in the numerous strike committees. In our section, none of 5 new units have more than six or seven members. But they already are doing considerable good work in pushing and leading the miners in the strike and recruiting new members. In Meadowlands, for example, I sent out a new Party member to Bishop to organize a local union of the N.M.U. and to make connections for the Party. The same comrade organized a Youth Section of 15 and a Miners' Children's Club of 33. In another instance, we learned that the Pittsburgh Coal Company was shipping 300 strike-breakers on a train to Montour mine No. 10. I immediately got in touch with the new Party comrades there who at once organized a strong reception committee, which succeeded in turning back a good percentage. In Washington, where we held a mass hunger march of about 20,000 miners and steel workers, the Party is following up the hunger march by daily house-to-house distributions and sales of 100 *Daily Workers*. At the present time, the main work of the Party units is to push the August First Anti-War Demonstrations, four of which will be held this year in our section, that is, in Washington, Cannonsburg, Hill Station (Montour No. 10) and Cuddy (near Westland mine). All other units get rid of their *Daily Workers*, selling about 75% of them and giving out the rest free. This kind of work lays the basis for mass recruiting to follow.

However, we must give more attention to small details, draw these new Party members into concrete leading work in the strike, raising their prestige among the

miners. These new Party units must be the basis for functioning Party fractions in the N.M.U. that will give daily leadership to the work in the strike and after the strike is over, at the same time steadily recruiting the best miners into the Party.

How the Unemployed Were Drawn into Strike Activity

By R. WOODS

THE strike of the coal miners in Western Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia has shown us in practise how the unemployed workers can be drawn into strike activities and the slogan of unity between the employed and unemployed concretely put into effect. These experiences are of great value to the revolutionary movement, especially in the present crisis with its widespread unemployment, strikes and struggles against starvation.

The Washington, Pennsylvania and the Pittsburgh Hunger Marches are outstanding examples of this. Thousands of unemployed miners and steel workers participated in these marches. This was possible only because of the correct formulation of the demands, presented to the authorities on both occasions. Demands such as free rent and gas, unemployed relief and others were presented side by side with the strikers' demands directly concerning the strike (withdrawal of armed forces, the right to picket, against the injunctions, etc.) But demands alone are insufficient to bring about the complete unity of action. Organization of the unemployed in the Unemployed Branches in mining and steel towns, branches of the unions, in cities, and in neighborhood branches) and carrying on of a consistent campaign, for relief for the needy families, against evictions, and for the participation of the unemployed workers in the mass picketing of the mines, must go hand in hand with the struggle for the demands of all the workers.

More outstanding than even the Hunger Marches, in expressing the solidarity of the striking miners and unemployed workers is the militant struggle, conducted by the Unemployed Council, against the shipping of scabs

to the strike area. Under such slogans as: "Join the fight against starvation!" "Don't Scab!" "Fight for relief from the city!" hundreds of unemployed workers were mobilized for this struggle. Daily picket lines were established at the scab agencies, which kept would-be scabs away from these places. Several times the windows of the agencies were smashed forcing them to close up. Truckloads of scabs were attacked at their place of departure, resulting in pitched battles with the police.

While the unemployed workers, especially in this strike, instinctively feel the close relation between the struggle against wage cuts, speed-up, starvation wages and the fight against unemployment and for relief, it is necessary to organize this feeling into actual expression by action, in order to establish the desired relations between the strikers and the unemployed. Leaflets explaining the significance of the strike for all the workers, were widely distributed, not only at the employment agencies but in the neighborhoods, at the breadlines, etc. Meetings were held at the scab agencies both inside and outside. As a result of one such meeting, the whole crowd of workers at one of the agencies, marched to the office of the "Poor Department" to demand relief.

We must also remember that in order to keep the unemployed workers actively engaged in the support of the strike, including the collecting of relief not only must a consistent struggle be carried on for unemployed relief, but attempts must be made to involve the branches in collecting food for the active members as well as for families in extreme and immediate need. These methods have resulted in Pittsburgh in a complete revival of the unemployed movement, which before was without life or mass character.

The I. L. D. in the Coal Strike

M. STERN

SOME very valuable lessons on the role of the International Labor Defense in mass strikes have been learned during the present strike. The role of the I.L.D. has been misunderstood by many comrades and not until some bitter experience was it possible to correct the wrong

practices. At the same time this strike has demonstrated the correctness of the I.L.D. policies.

Some Wrong Practices

The wrong conceptions which existed at the beginning of the strike were: (1) that the I.L.D. was the independent legal department of the N.M.U. All cases of arrests and persecutions were promptly referred to the I.L.D. in such a manner as to give the impression that the Union had nothing to do with such work and actually did not concern itself about such affairs. An outstanding example in this respect is that when a group of miners came to one of the Section strike organizers reporting arrests and suggesting certain actions, this organizer said, "Don't bother about this. Just call up the I.L.D. and they will take care of it." Actions like these gave the rank and file miners the impression that the I.L.D. was some big office in Pittsburgh, full of attorneys, unlimited forces and money, ready to rush out at a moment's notice whenever necessary. After this illusion was created the miners were greatly disappointed when the I.L.D. could not live up to this reputation. For instance, on the day that the Wildwood mine went on strike and two miners' wives were fined, the miners thought that all they had to do was to send a committee to the I.L.D. and get the money. They could not understand why we could not give it to them.

(2) Only legal matters were referred to the I.L.D. It was very difficult to bring mass defense policies before the miners. Mass protest meetings were arranged with the exclusion of the I.L.D. A protest meeting against the shooting and killing of Comrade Zigaric, under the auspices of the N.M.U. and the I.L.D. was decided upon, but then, leaflets were rushed off, unknown to the I.L.D., calling a meeting under the auspices of the T.U.U.L.

(3) The Union was not involved in the defense in any shape or form. When the attorneys advised getting a transcript of the injunction which served as an excuse for the shooting in Wildwood, the Union refused to have anything to do with the financing of it, on the ground that it was "legal matters."

(4) The I.L.D. was compelled to pay fines. In one case where we were forced to pay fines for two miners, in the Brownsville section, the next day six more miners

were fined ten dollars each; four paid their fines and demanded that the I.L.D. refund the money.

As a result of the wrong conception of the role and policies of the I.L.D., the rank and file miners received the wrong opinion of the I.L.D. also. At the same time those comrades assigned to I.L.D. work were kept busy with purely legal and technical matters that there was little time to carry on any other work. Mass action was badly neglected. Prisoners were not taken care of. The miners' confidence in attorneys was not undermined, nor was the class character of the courts exposed. The payment of fines was not discouraged.

The shortcomings in the defense of the striking miners not only demonstrates the results of wrong conceptions of the role of the I.L.D., but also the weaknesses of the I.L.D. itself. The I.L.D. did not put up a fight against wrong tendencies, nor did it fight sufficiently for a correct understanding of its role. The I.L.D. was slow in spreading its policies and tactics among the miners. It was slow in rooting itself in the ranks of the miners.

Correct Role of the I.L.D.

The disastrous results of the wrong practices forced the I.L.D. and the strike leadership to review and correct the wrong conceptions and practices in defense work. The Union and the strike apparatus were made primarily responsible for the defense of the striking miners and the I.L.D. was charged with the assistance in this work and guidance in establishing a complete defense apparatus in the strike machinery, with the object of directly involving the strikers and the strike committees in defense work.

(1) The defense work has taken on a different form. Defense committees of 3 to 5 have been organized in the majority of the mine strike committees. These defense committees in conjunction with the I.L.D., have been able to raise about one million dollars in bail. Out of approximately nine hundred arrests, about 175 are still in jail. Relief of imprisoned miners and their families has been started. Through the participation of these Defense Committees in hearings and court actions, the miners are getting a clear conception of the role of the courts, and a proper estimation of legal defense as a supplement to mass activity.

(2) The Mine Defense Committees are becoming the connecting links between the Union and the I.L.D. The defense of the miners is becoming more and more the joint affair of the N.M.U., Strike Committees and the I.L.D. The raising of funds for defense is becoming one of the tasks of the Union.

(3) At the same time the basis for the organization of a mass I.L.D. is being prepared, because hundreds of miners are involved in the day to day defense activities of their Defense Committee, under I.L.D. guidance. Miners are now on the District Committee of the I.L.D. The I.L.D. apparatus has been strengthened. The time is already at hand to start building branches in the mines.

Much is yet to be done. Mass action is still insufficient. There is still insufficient understanding by the rank and file miners of I.L.D. policies. Miners still insist on paying fines occasionally. There is not enough relief to prisoners, etc.

Unity of Negro and White Workers in the Strike

THE recent waves of strike movements have demonstrated more than ever the correctness of the Party's line in its struggle for Negro rights. The strikes taking place in the coal industry have shown a high degree of unity of Negro and white workers who are struggling together on the economic field to obtain certain definite demands. In the present strike we witness that Negro workers are among the first to strike, they are among the most militant on the picket lines, they take leading roles in strike committee discussions and readily accept responsible posts in the strike. On the other hand the white strikers accept the active role of Negro strikers with enthusiasm and display no trace of chauvinism or prejudice. This unity, which on the surface appears to be spontaneous is nevertheless a conscious move coming from the masses of workers, which proves that the Party and the T.U.U.L. and its unions and leagues have been the subjective factor through the popularization of their programs in causing the workers to realize that only through joint struggle will they be successful. The Party and the N.M.U. have

steadfastly pointed out to the miners that Negro and white workers join the revolutionary organizations as equals. Negro miners were elected to leading posts and on leading committees of the Union. The program of full equality and struggle for Negro Rights were conducted by the Party on Scottsboro and local issues.

In Harlan, Kentucky, although we were not the subjective factor to the same extent as in Pittsburgh, that is, our activities were mostly agitational through *Daily Worker* and *Southern Worker* distributions, yet the workers there realize that success in their strike could only be attained through the united front of white and Negro miners because of the many bitter and long-drawn out struggles that they have passed through which gave them a degree of class consciousness and class solidarity, which crushed the deep seated and traditional (as far as the South is concerned) white chauvinism.

However, this splendid unity of white and Negro strikers remains on the surface and we must carry it to a higher stage by the conscious development of Negro work in other spheres. Our tasks are to remedy the mistakes made in the striking areas where we did not take advantage of this marked unity by conducting sustained agitation and propaganda as well as struggles on all issues of Negro discrimination through organized Scottsboro campaign and bringing forward our program on the Negro question.

In order to achieve this it is of the utmost importance to set up functioning Negro Departments in the Party and in the N.M.U. and also in the sections of the Strike Committee. It is a task of these departments to bring before the striking workers not only the necessity of joint struggle on the economic field but the popularization of our entire program of struggle for Negro rights and the necessity of the white workers becoming component parts of the struggle.

The Scottsboro campaign and the Camp Hill, Alabama, cases must become nerve centers in all striking areas to build up public indignation and to raise to a higher political level the unity of the Negro and white workers.

It is not a mere accident that rank and file Negro miners are among the best leaders in the coal strike. And that the white workers as well as the Negro workers have

confidence in them and recognize their ability and capacity to become their leaders. This must be capitalized upon and extended to other fields of activity.

All racial barriers and discrimination appearing between native and foreign-born workers must be broken down and they too can most easily be overcome during the course of struggle.

Ex-Servicemen in the Strike

IN the course of the present coal strike the need of organizing the ex-servicemen among the strikers assumes serious importance.

Large numbers of the strikers are foreign-born workers.

The operators and the police lay great emphasis on the prejudices of sections of native born strikers and urge them to repudiate the "foreign agitators and trouble makers." The operators especially appeal to the ex-servicemen in the American Legion and among the strikers to express their patriotism by fighting against the pickets on the grounds that they are "foreigners." The American Legion has been mobilized in several instances to break up the picket lines. The deputy sheriffs and mine guards are constantly boasting of their records in the war and are urged by the operators to use war experiences and methods in fighting the strikers.

On the other hand there are many instances where proletarian members of the American Legion refused to do the bidding of the operators and declared solidarity with the striking miners. Ex-servicemen among the miners of their own accord point out to the strikers that after fighting "over there" for "their" country they now must unite to fight the bosses and their armed forces here.

There are thousands of striking miners who fought in the Imperialist War. They are among the most aggressive and militant fighters. But on the whole they are fighting as individuals. They do not oppose the operators' appeals as organized groups. Their organizational experience is not utilized. Their fighting capacity is not organized and brought forward. Their special interests (bonus, insurance) are not even mentioned in the strike.

What to Do

Existing locals as well as the national committee of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League should send greetings, and where possible representatives, to the strike committees. The Union and the strike committees should endorse the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League. (W. E. S. L.)

Decision should be made to organize locals of W.E.S.L. and striking ex-servicemen into groups to lead picket lines, to raise the grievances of ex-servicemen (Tombstone Bonus, Disability Insurance, etc.) and the general exploitation of ex-servicemen.

The organizational experience and discipline of the ex-servicemen should be consciously utilized by the Union and the strike committee especially in picket lines, marches, and organization of groups of ten.

W.E.S.L. organization shall send further suggestions and literature into the strike field to raise the class-consciousness of the striking ex-servicemen.

Systematic efforts must be made to counteract the American Legion propaganda and to win their proletarian rank and file to support the strike.

When the militia or federal troops are called into the strike area, the organized ex-servicemen can best work among them.

The organized ex-servicemen can be used to effectively raise the issues of war danger, solidarity of Negro and white workers, solidarity of foreign-born and native workers, etc.

The Party units and Section Committees shall pay special attention to this phase of activity by assigning comrades to this task.

How August First Is Organized in the Strike

WHILE the Party is leading a mass strike of 40,000 miners through the Union and the Strike Committees it is relatively easy to involve these masses in our mass campaigns.

How the unemployed and striking miners were united

in this struggle is dealt with in another article which is a splendid example of how to link up two major movements into a united front.

Our Anti-War campaign is also being well linked up with the strike struggle both organizationally and ideologically. And further the Pittsburgh experience illustrates that it is possible to conduct more than one campaign simultaneously with a major mass struggle.

Basis for the preparations for August First were laid by the broad distribution and sale of the *Daily Worker* (every day) in the entire strike area. The *Daily Worker* is very popular among the striking miners and they recognize it as their paper. Our Party comrades who speak at mass meetings of the strikers are given weekly outlines and instructions how to link up the strike issues with the War Danger, Defense of Soviet Union as well as other important campaigns. About a month before August First the Central Strike Committee (with delegates from all struck mines) adopted a resolution to recognize August First as the International Day of Struggle against Imperialist War and instructed all the mine and section strike committees to organize demonstrations on August First. About twenty thousand pieces of war literature were sold and distributed among the strikers in addition to leaflets by the Union, Strike Committees, Party and Units.

The role of our units and Party fractions in such a situation is simple enough after the proper basis has been laid. Our Party comrades on the mine strike committees will make sure that adequate preparations are made for the demonstrations in the field.

No doubt the best and largest August First demonstrations will take place in the strike area because our comrades knew how to utilize a mass movement for economic demands and skilfully link up one of our major campaigns with the struggle.

Similar steps must be taken in all such struggles and link up the Scottsboro, Protection of Foreign-Born, etc., with the strike movements.

About Picket Lines

THE present coal miners' strike teaches us many lessons about mass picket lines. The strike began by throwing a mass picket line at one of the Carnegie Coal Co. mines in Avela (see article by Frank Borich in this issue about preparations for the strike.) The strike was spread by massing the striking miners into picket lines and marching them from mine to mine.

Mass picketing, as against few paid pickets, is one of the basic strike tactics of revolutionary unions which has as its purpose the involving of all strikers into active participation in the strike, and is further extended to include in its ranks the wives and children of miners as well as the unemployed miners.

A well-functioning, organized and properly led picket line is indispensable to the proper conduct and winning of any strike. During the early phase of the strike, while enthusiasm runs high, daily mass picket lines are mobilized with little effort or organization. This generally leads to the underestimation of the need for *organizing* the picket line with the result that after a few weeks the picket line dwindles, loses its enthusiasm and firmness and often crumbles before an attack or in face of other difficulties (shortage of relief, decline of tempo of strike, police terror, etc.)

Importance of Organization

The picket line, like every other part of strike machinery, requires utmost organizational attention. Enthusiasm and spontaneity must supplement organization of the picket line and not take its place. On the other hand, proper organization will fully utilize, sustain and direct the enthusiasm and the militancy of the strikers.

During the course of this strike we witnessed picket lines running into thousands and marching tens of miles from the early hours of the morning. However, after the terror increased and the strike received its first break and relief became inadequate, the picket lines dwindled.

The leading committee of the strike took the following steps to consolidate the picket lines:

1. The strikers were registered and given activity cards. Each morning the cards were punched on the picket line

and only those strikers who showed picket activity were given relief.

2. Strikers were organized into squads of 10-15 and 20 with a captain and assistant who were responsible to mobilize their squads each morning for picket duty unless assigned for gathering relief or other special work. After the gathering of pickets was addressed by the picket line leader the squad captains were given instructions and the squads were called into formation one by one and marched off or loaded into trucks for picket duty.

With the organization of these smaller units the picket lines became firmer, more mobile and more militant. Singing and shouting of slogans was more successful, spirit higher and greater initiative was developed.

The selection of hundreds of captains and assistants for responsibility for their squads and the conduct of these squads resulted in the creation of a larger group of active leaders whose potentialities for leadership were revealed and developed for the first time.

Developing Leaders

THE Pennsylvania-Ohio-West Virginia miners' strike, the developing strike in Harlan, Kentucky, the strikes in the textile industry, the wave of smaller strikes, side by side with the growing unemployment movement, the Scottsboro campaign and the generally increasing activities of the Party and the revolutionary unions raise the problem of forces, organizers and leaders more seriously and sharply than ever before in the history of the Party.

Into the mining strike the Party and the T.U.U.L. have shipped about 25 experienced organizers for strike activity. This drain on our forces is already seriously felt in several districts where strike struggles have developed or are in the process of development.

Important sections and districts send in fervent appeals for forces, promising alluring developments of strikes and struggles in their territories if their requests are granted.

Where to Get New Forces

The shortage of forces is traditional in the revolutionary movement. Lenin as far back as 1905 polemized against committees and organizers who explained their in-

ability to conduct struggles because of absence of forces, who always looked for trained forces to be sent from outside while overlooking the vast reservoir of new fresh potential forces in their own movement.

Systematic and planned development of new forces is one of the weakest points in our present strikes. Our tendency is to have confidence only in our trained and tested leaders and organizers. Responsible posts are given solely to organizers with previous successful experience. New forces are drawn into responsible work only if they show remarkable activity on their own initiative, or if they force their way into front ranks.

During the strike situation the workers develop militancy and class consciousness at a very rapid tempo. The best elements among the workers are brought forward in the picket line, strike committees, mass meetings, etc. The first task of every organizer is to assist in developing the potential capacities of the best strikers, to encourage and cultivate those with organizational and political qualifications and to utilize every possible way to develop the initiative of the foremost elements. Experienced strike organizers must surround themselves with the best elements and teach them how they can combat the leadership of the strike after he leaves.

Committee Work

The tendency of our organizers to work out all proposals and plans alone and present them to large strike meetings in complete form does not contribute to the development of new forces. The inexperienced strikers may marvel at the ability of the organizer but will never realize that they are getting the benefit of the experiences of hundreds of previous struggles of all the workers.

The experienced organizer will discuss all his plans and proposals with the small executives and subcommittees so as to involve the new elements in the development of plans and proposals and make them understand how they are worked out and that they can assist and contribute to the plans. The policy of getting less experienced members of the committees to make proposals already agreed upon will raise the self confidence of the new elements. Responsible tasks are to be given to all members of the committees and the organizer should discuss these tasks with

them, assist in carrying them out and teach the new forces *how they are to be carried out*. While irresponsibility and neglect must be sharply combatted the organizers must differentiate between neglect due to inexperience and difficult obstacles and neglect due to irresponsibility. Mistakes and neglect are more costly during a strike than normally; however, the mistakes of less experienced workers must be treated firmly but constructively, with the aim in view of correcting and developing and not of destroying.

Coal Strike and the Strassburg Resolutions on Problems of Strike Strategy

The successful preparation, organization and conduct of the coal miners' strike by the N.M.U. is not an accident. On the contrary, it is the concrete example of our ability to correctly understand and apply the line and policies of the R.I.L.U., especially as outlined in the resolutions adopted at the International Conference on Strike Strategy held by the R.I.L.U. in Strassburg, Germany in January, 1929.

Already the beginnings of the correct policy and methods were demonstrated in several smaller mine strikes in the Pittsburgh mining district in January of this year and further developed in the Lawrence textile strike, the present miners' strike and, simultaneously, in the Pawtucket and Paterson strikes, not to speak of scores of smaller strikes.

While we must carefully study the experiences of all the strikes, at the same time every Party member should read and study the Strassburg Resolutions as the basic guide to proper preparation and conduct of strikes which are breaking out or are on the verge of breaking out in every District and every important industry.

The Strassburg Resolutions on Problems of Strike Strategy are available in pamphlet form and can be secured from your literature agent or direct from the Workers Library Publishers.

Miners' Relief and the Steel Workers

By EDITH BRISCOL

DURING a strike in one industry, relief can be well used in order to organize workers of another industry. In the case of the present struggle of the miners it has been shown that relief is one of the best issues to be used in the steel towns to organize the steel workers.

In sections where the steel mills are situated right in the striking area, like McKeesport, Cannonsberg, Carnegie, etc., the steel workers are not merely watching the strike, but are taking an active part in it. Many of them are leading the picket lines. Still more are active in collecting relief for the starving miners and their families.

From actual experience it has been shown that the relief campaign in a steel town not only brings food for the starving miners, but it brings hundreds of contacts of steel workers for the M.W.I.L. (Metal Workers Industrial League). It actually helps in the building of the M.W.I.L.

For instance, in one of the steel towns close to the striking area we started the relief campaign in the following way: we rented an empty store, put up a sign outside: "Miners' Relief Station; Support the Miners' Strike Against Starvation." This attracted the attention of many steel workers in the neighborhood. Many of them came inside the store; many brought food and money with them.

Through these contacts we succeeded in building a relief committee. Then we began a systematic relief campaign, every-day collections of food, visiting warehouses, visiting organizations, arranging affairs and picnics for relief, etc. As we went along our relief committee grew larger, more representative.

Most of the members of the committee worked part-time in a steel mill. We called a special meeting of the best elements where we took up the conditions in the steel mills and explained the role of the M.W.I.L., connecting it up with the struggle of the miners. As a result of this meeting everyone present joined the M.W.I.L.. Once the group was established, the members began activities right inside the mill. Again they used relief as the major issue (collecting money inside, recruiting more members

for the relief committee, etc.). Through this they were able to get a number of valuable contacts who were later brought directly into the M.W.I.L.

In steel towns where we already have some organization of the M.W.I.L. the problem is much simpler. There relief should be used to activate our members. They should be the initiators in the campaign and build the group through relief activities. We found that one of the best ways to popularize the issue inside the steel mills is by holding open air shop meetings just before pay day and then follow up this by using collection lists inside.

This struggle of the miners is bringing the steel workers closer to organization. With the growth of the National Miners Union the steel workers are also looking forward to a union of their own. It frequently occurs that delegations of steel workers appear at the meetings of the miners' strike committees, without our union having done anything to induce them to do so. The major reason for this growing militancy of the steel workers and for their quick response to the call for relief is the worsening of conditions among the steel workers. The issue of relief should be raised among the steel workers in connection with their own conditions in the mills. We must connect up the struggle of the miners with their own struggles for better conditions, and for the building of a strong, powerful Union in the steel industry.

Read the August Issue of the Communist

THE August issue of *The Communist*, the central theoretical organ of the Party has been prepared with a view to popularizing the lessons already learned in the course of the present great strike of 40,000 soft-coal miners. An article by Comrade Browder, examines our experiences in this strike, in the light of the decisions of the Eleventh Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Comrade Foster writes an article that deals with some of the fundamental problems in this strike as well as all strikes that take place in the present period. Another article deals with four basic problems of the present moment as discussed by the Communist In-

ternational. In the Marx-Engels-Lenin section, which is a regular feature of the *Communist*, there are reprinted some interesting and important excerpts from Lenin's famous pamphlet "What is to Be Done?" in which he deals with the relation of political activity of Communists to the economic struggles of the workers.

Comrades who fail to read, study and understand the lessons of our struggles; those who do not understand the basis for the policies and tactics which the Party applies in these struggles, cannot properly represent the Party before the workers.

Every Communist and every revolutionary worker should read the *Communist* every month. Be sure to read the August issue and to place it in the hands of as many workers as possible.

On Going to the Soviet Union

OUR Party is engaged in leading more and more important mass struggles of the workers of this country. Unemployment, Scottsboro, strikes are a few of the important mass movements under our leadership. In the course of these struggles the Party is being built up into a mass party and already exercises mass influence.

New forces are constantly coming into our ranks, workers from the heavy industries, native workers and especially Negro workers.

The tasks of individual comrades become greater. Communists today must actively lead these struggles. But here and there we find members of our Party who resist active participation in these struggles. Most of these quietly drop out and the Party proceeds even faster into mass struggles because new healthy proletarian forces join our ranks regularly.

We still have in our ranks comrades who see the solution of their personal problems in the American class struggle by going to the Soviet Union. Often these comrades arrange to secure jobs for themselves in the Soviet Union, buy their steamship tickets and on the day they catch the boat come to the center and ask for a transfer to the C.P.S.U. In all such cases the comrades are refused transfers and if they leave without transfer they desert the Party and the class struggle.

No Communist has the right to leave the country without the permission of the Party. A Communist who goes to the Soviet Union without Party permission deserts the Party.

There are certain conditions under which the Party permits its members to go to the Soviet Union. The rules and regulations are known to the District Committees which pass judgment on all applications. However, no decision is final until the C.C. gives its permission for comrades to leave.

After this has been called to the attention of the Party for over a year no comrade has a right to claim that he was not informed.

Party members cannot arrange for jobs in the Soviet Union without Party permission.

Party members cannot leave the country or make arrangements to leave the country without Party permission.

Dictionary of Abbreviations

We are printing below a list of abbreviations commonly used in the life of the Party with their meanings. This is done for the benefit of the new as well as the old members. It is not done with the idea of encouraging use of these abbreviations. In fact the use of these abbreviations should be discouraged as much as possible particularly when new members are involved.

AAAIL—All-America Anti-Imperialist League.

CC—Central Committee.

CCC—Central Control Commission.

CI—Communist International.

CO—Central Organ—Central Office.

CP—Communist Party.

CPSU—Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

CPUSA—Communist Party of the United States of America.

DB—District Buro.

DC—District Committee.

DCC—District Control Commission.

DO—District Organizer.

DW—Daily Worker.

Comintern—Communist International.

ECCI—Executive Committee of the Communist International.

ICC—International Control Commission.

IKKI—Executive Committee of the Communist International.

ILD—International Labor Defense.

IPC—International Propaganda Committee of the RILU.

IRD—International Red Day—August First.

IWO—International Workers Order.

IYD—International Youth Day.

KIM—See YCI.

LSNR—League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

LSU—Labor Sports Union.

MWIL—Metal Workers Industrial League.

MWIU—Marine Workers Industrial Union.

NB—Nucleus Buro.

NC—National Committee of the YCL.

NMU—National Miners' Union.

NTWIU—Needle Trades Workers' Industrial League.

NTWUNational Textile Workers' Union.

NYD—National Youth Day.

Orgburo—Organizational Buro of the Central Committee.

Polburo—Political Buro of the Central Committee.

Profintern—See RILU.

RILU—Red International of Labor Unions.

SB—Section Buro.

SC—Section Committee.

SO—Section Organizer.

SW—Southern Worker.

TU—Trade Union.

TUUC—Trade Union Unity Council.

TUUL—Trade Union Unity League.

UB—Unemployed Branch.

UC—Unemployed Council.

UF—United Front.

UFL—United Farmers League.

USSR—Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

WESL—Workers Ex-Servicemen's League.

WIR—Workers International Relief.

YCI—Young Communist International.

YCL—Young Communist League.

YPA—Young Pioneers of America.

YW—Young Worker.