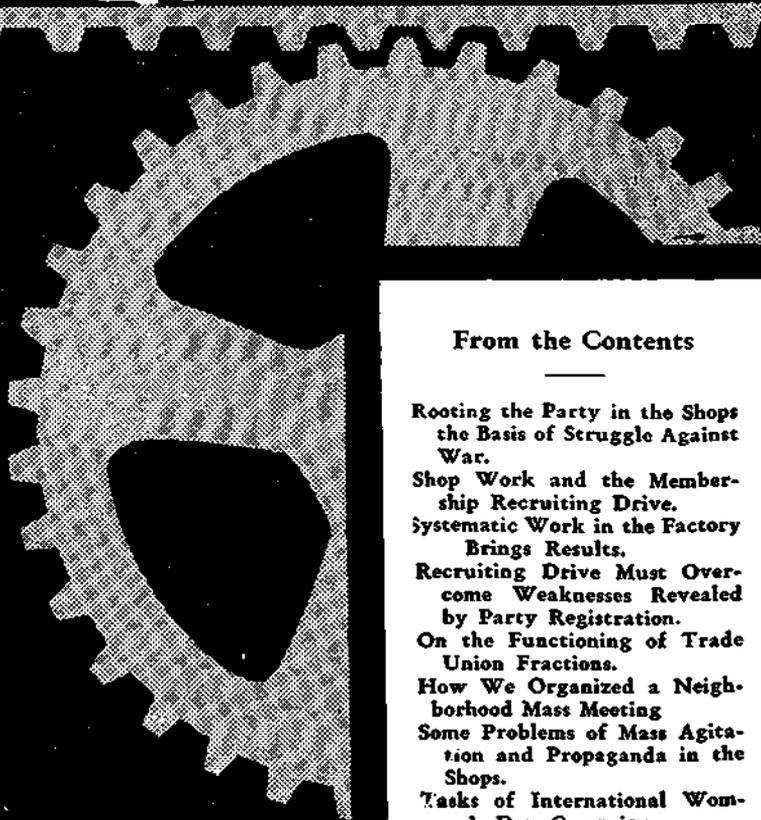


Party Organizer



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Vol. V

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PARTY ORGANIZER

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Rooting the Party in the Shops the Basis of Struggle Against War

"Now a word about the factory circles. They are of extreme importance to us: the main strength of our movement lies in the workers' organizations in the large factories. For in the large factories (and works) are concentrated that section of the working class which is not only predominant in numbers, but still more predominant in influence, development and fighting capacity. Every factory must be our stronghold." (From A Letter to a Comrade on Our Problems of Organization, Lenin; written in September, 1902.)

THE center of mobilization of the workers in the struggle against war is the shop.

Comrade Lenin repeatedly stated that the struggle against war must be carried on not only *after* the war breaks out, but also *before* it breaks out. And that the fight against war must be carried on *daily, hourly*. The shop, the mill, the mine, are the most important places for the carrying on of continuous, organized, daily, hourly struggle against war.

Modern warfare is dependent on the industries. Military strategy today plans its warfare also on the ability of mobilizing the industries for the supply of war materials. There is hardly any large scale factory *today*, that could not in twenty-four hours be turned into a munition plant. Our influence and organization in the factories is of decisive importance in the struggle, against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in its resolution on "The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists" emphasizes a great deal the importance of our work in the factories in connection with our struggle against imperialist war. The resolution states "*Factory and trade union activity must be concentrated primarily in the industries which serve the mobilization for and conduct of war, like the metal industry, the chemical industry and transport.*"

Our anti-war agitation and organization in the factories can be successful only if we become the champions of the economic demands of the workers and link them up with our anti-war activities. This is the key to turning the factories into the very center of struggle against the imperialist war. The various grievance committees and other forms of economic united front shop organizations can and must become important organs of struggle against war within their respective shops.

We cannot however, merely confine ourselves to having the various economic forms of shop organization within the shop carry on the struggle against the war. It is necessary to bear in mind that "it is particularly important to apply the tactics of the proletarian united front and to secure the organizational consolidations of its results, establishment of committees of action against war, etc." (From the Sixth World Congress resolution).

The most decisive point in considering the establishment of broad united front forms of struggle against war within the factories is to develop communist leadership within the shop—to establish *shop nuclei*. Struggle against war without decisive revolutionary leadership is impossible. To make the factory the center of our anti-war activities demands the utmost concentration of the Party in the present recruiting drive in the building of *shop nuclei*, in recruiting workers from the shops, mills and mines.

WAR!

More and better concentration in the war industries! Carry through and double your quotas in steel, transport, chemical and metal! Which is the first district to answer the attack on the Chinese masses and the acute war danger to the Soviet Union with

INCREASED RECRUITING QUOTA!

Shop Work and the Membership Recruiting Drive

THE membership drive is going forward—but it is confronted with the *most serious* weaknesses. If these weaknesses are not corrected immediately, by a *turn to the shops* and the *carrying on of shop work*, then the recruiting drive will not only not have been a success, but the Party will not be able to perform even a small part of its duties in the present period.

We are living in a *war period*. War is on in China, and perhaps before these lines appear, war may have been declared or be on in full swing. What is the Party going to do to fight against war *before* it is in full progress? What is the Party going to do *after* war is declared, if we are not firmly entrenched in the shops of war industry? Do our Party members believe that the slogan of turning imperialist war into class war is the sum total of what we are to do—a *simple, single, act*? This would be folly, and we must wake up to the true situation.

The Party as a *whole* is divorced from the workers in the shops. Not that we have not some nuclei in some of the shops of heavy industry, but the *overwhelming majority* of the Party members are in street units, not because the work of the street units is more interesting or important, but because the Party members have too few connections in the shops—and *do not make it their business to get these contacts, build them up, and establish nuclei in the shops*. Work against the imperialist war, both before and during the war, will have to be done *primarily* in the shops. It is *there above all* that we will be able to carry on *real communist work to obstruct the war machine* of the imperialist government. And it is there that we are *weakest*, and the recruiting campaign is not improving it sufficiently.

We are taking new workers into the Party—but from where? Not that these workers are not welcome. Not that they will not give us a basis for forming shop nuclei. But the very recruitment demonstrates that the instructions that have been issued, the discussions that have been held, have borne little fruit. *The Party members are not awake to the danger of war, the crying need of the Party in face of this danger, and of its fundamental duties: The establishment of the Party in the shops.*

In some of the districts, a great majority of the recruits are from among the unemployed. The unemployed must be recruited, but it must be remembered that the majority of the workers are still working in the shops—most of them part time—and the unemployed will be the first recruits for the imperialist armies. *These workers in the armies plus the workers in the shops must be the ones to carry on the anti-imperialist activities and turn the imperialist war into class war.* The workers in the shops will be able to do the most extensive work—but if the Party is

not there through the efforts of the Party members to build up shop nuclei and shop groups of the unions, then we will be in a serious situation.

The units must check up on each and every Party and Y.C.L. member. The question is not only whether he or she has recruited workers into the Party, but also *where* these recruits have been won. There is absolutely no reason why every Party member who is working should not be able to recruit other workers into the Party and into the revolutionary union of his trade. No reason—except that the Party members either do not understand how to carry on work in the shop, or simply do no communist work in the shop. This is *inexcusable*—and the units and section committees must take up this question very seriously *at once*, while recruiting is possible on the scale on which we can carry it on at the present time. The section bureaus and committees and they together with the unit bureaus must immediately review the recruiting by each member of the unit and check up the method and place of recruiting. The situation in each shop must be discussed and ways be worked out for the Party members. This must be checked up within a specified time.

The same applies to the Party fractions in the unions. The leading fraction must take up this matter most seriously, find out why our Party members are not recruiting into the union by establishing union groups in the shops, and taking the most militant workers in the shop-groups into the Party; why the union fractions are not recruiting rapidly enough into the Party, and thereby establishing contact in the shops, through which we can form shop nuclei; why the recruitment through the language fractions in the mass organizations is not used to establish contact with the shops and thereby lay the basis for the formation of shop nuclei in the shops.

The districts cannot emphasize this most important phase of our work sufficiently. *The Central Committee is sounding the alarm. The Communist International has pointed out this danger. It shows clearly that our Party is not turning to the shops, is not doing shop work.* Failure to do this work is a *serious social democratic opportunist deviation*, which will prevent our Party from growing, will expose it to every kind of right deviation, and make it easy for our enemies to attack us.

An immediate turn to shop work, to building up shop nuclei is the demand of the hour. The Party sections and units must make an immediate check-up on the present state of the recruitment drive, and make the turn to Bolshevik work in the shops.

The March issue of the Party Organizer will be a special SHOP ISSUE. Send in articles at once on your experiences in shop work.

From the Practical Work For the Practical Work

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

Rooting the Party in the Shops Systematic Work in the Factory Brings Results

THIS unit works in a large automobile factory and is comparatively new. A year ago I was the only Party member in this department; today we have ten members. We have tried to work, from the very beginning, planfully and systematically. When another worker became a member of the Party, both he and I talked over every step we did in order to carry out the general Party activity in the department. This work has been kept up as the unit grew.

After attending the unit meeting of the building, the comrades from our department would meet once or twice a week and discuss the work to be done in the department. Our new members were recruited into the Party carefully. Two of our comrades would meet a prospective comrade in their home, once or sometimes more often, to discuss things and problems with him. We would try to find out what his specific grievances were, the kind of an individual he was, his experiences, and how much he knew about the class struggle, and to what extent he was willing to fight. The members would pass their judgment about the prospective comrade, and only if all were of the opinion that he would make a good Party member, he would be asked to join the Party by one of the comrades.

When we began to carry on propaganda and agitation on a wider scale, our first step was to make out a list of *all* the sympathizers from the seven hundred workers in this department. We divided this list into three classes, namely, the first class consisted of those workers whom we considered material for the Party; secondly, of those who were readers of the *Daily Worker* or who could safely be approached to subscribe; and third, of those who would buy tickets, a pamphlet or contribute money for Party affairs. The work of the individual comrades in turn was divided among these three classes of sympathizers according to their ability, which depended upon certain conditions under which they had to work and as to their experiences, etc.

One comrade who could absorb much time during working hours and had possibilities to go around and speak to the workers was very successful in obtaining subscribers for the *Daily Worker*, selling tickets and collecting funds. He could, however, speak to the worker for a short time, but to a great number of them throughout the day. The other comrades spoke to a few workers during the week but were able to carry out more agitational and educational work.

In our meetings we discussed what we did in the last week, what contacts we met, the experiences we had and what successes and mistakes we made. We would discuss the methods of approach and plan our work for the following week. This unit is firmly established in this department and is working steadily. We have gained our sympathizers' confidence who feel that we know what we are doing, and that we take our work seriously, not exposing ourselves or them.

To put our results into actual figures the unit has accomplished during the course of a year the following: \$325.00 was mailed to the *Daily Worker* as subscriptions and donations; \$131.80 to the striking miners, as cash, clothing and food; we have supported our district training school with \$15.00; and have sold over 350 tickets for our affairs, and over a hundred pamphlets.

The unit is in a healthy condition, the comrades come to the meetings regularly and with enthusiasm. To date, we have only lost one member due to the strong opposition of his wife to the Party. We have a well functioning unit buro, which meets every two weeks. Good discussions on all the outstanding problems and campaigns of the Party are taken up and comrades understand them well. Education is also taken up in the unit meetings. All the comrades are regular readers of *The Communist*, *Imprecorr* and the *Party Organizer*.

What is our prospective for the near future? It is therefore most essential that the leading comrades of the shop units in Detroit do their utmost to lay a good foundation for the *Auto Workers Union*. As we go along in the crisis and conditions of the workers in the automobile industry become worse the workers will fight, provided they see responsible leadership. It is very important that in the event of a strike and struggles the *Party* and the *Union* are well entrenched in the the factories.

J. M. (Detroit)

The approach outlined by the comrade is a good example to follow. But what about the economic conditions in the shop and the organization of a struggle against them?—EDITOR.

The Meaning of Concentration

THE idea of storming the factories by our Party sections is a good one. By storming the factories we don't mean storm-

ing it with many internal meetings and many internal noisy talks. In this way we only storm section headquarters. To concentrate on a factory that employs at present 14,000 workers, and when the factory is busy, employs 25,000 workers, to many of our sections would be a problem not merely of one section of the Party, but even more than that. And as a result we would have much talk, plans of action, decisions, complaints, charges—but concentration. It happens that this factory is located in such a place where there is no Party section with 300-400 members. There is hardly any Party unit.

Under these circumstances concentration on this factory was started by two comrades. Two comrades started to storm a factory of thousands. This decision for concentration was taken seriously by these comrades. It was understood by these comrades that a shock troop of two comrades does not mean running out in front of the factory gate once a week and then report to the unit buro that the assignment was carried out, and be done with it.

These comrades used all methods that are well known to most of our Party membership, namely, going to the gate, issuing a shop paper, visiting contacts, organizing open forums near the factory. In checking up on the work done for a period of three weeks the following was accomplished:

A shop nucleus of five entirely new members was established in the factory. One issue of the shop paper was issued during this time, which was greeted very well by the workers. A group of workers are coming together weekly and are conducting a study circle. These new Party members are being activized and taught how to do work in the shop without being exposed. Many contacts are being gotten for a broad grievance committee.

All this work was conducted by two comrades who composed the shock troop for this gigantic factory. In many parts of our district we heard that even leading comrades in the sections came to the conclusion that shock troops for shop work proved to be ineffective.

It is correct that shock troops for internal meetings and concentration at section headquarters will be ineffective even if they are as large as 25-50 comrades. But at the same time, shock troops, no matter how small they will be, if they have as their objective to establish shop organization by all means and who will devote time and effort for this work, will undoubtedly get good results.

—M.

Self-Criticism Must be Followed by Correction

IN ANALYZING our shop activity we must concretely learn from the experience of our comrades inside the factories. Let us therefore take the experience of one shop nucleus—the Fisher

Body nucleus in Cleveland. That nucleus with a membership of 10 was allowed to drop its activity for close to two months when the factory shut down last October. Instead of utilizing the period when the plant was shut down to maintain the nucleus, find methods of reaching the workers at home, distribute the shop papers to them, reach the workers on days when they came to the employment office for a job, this task was totally neglected. With the start of work, the nucleus has again begun activity, but we have not yet found methods of overcoming the difficulties in that factory with the workers employed on different shifts. This lack of response shows an unsystematic study of the conditions in each particular shop and the necessity as pointed out in the Central Committee resolution of adapting our activity to the particular characteristics of each factory.

Outstanding weakness in regards to shop activity is the discontinuance of the Steel Brigade, in Cleveland. This brigade, organized to concentrate our activity in the American Steel and Wire, was allowed by the District Secretariat to dissolve, when some of the comrades, capitulating to difficulties in conducting work at the steel mill, did not respond to the tasks. Instead of constant guidance and careful check-up by the Secretariat of the work in this brigade and as decided, to attach a leading comrade to help in the work, the brigade was permitted to dissolve and our work in that factory stopped.

CLEVELAND.

Direct Leadership Helps in the Growth of S. Nucleus

THE S. plant is of greatest importance to our District, not only because it is a heavy industry plant, but because in time of war, this plant can produce war materials within 24 hours.

At the present time, there are 3,500 workers employed in this plant. We have a shop nucleus in existence for quite a while. However, two months ago the district called a meeting of these comrades and in checking up on their work, we found out that most of the comrades did not think the shop nucleus was the best form of organization because of the fact that they received little concrete guidance and help from the district and from the section and because the comrades did not know just how to begin to work inside the factory. In view of this, they developed theories that the language form of organization was the best for the Party, that the workers in the various departments are dumb and are not ready for struggle and such opportunist tendencies occupied most of that meeting.

The district org. representative was very sharp and persistent in pointing out the importance of shop work and assigned every

comrade to a particular task. It was also decided that the section org. secretary should be assigned to this shop nucleus and help the comrades not only in giving instructions, but in actually putting into effect the decisions made for carrying on the work in the shop.

Now, two months later, we have the following representation in that factory: 4 workers have joined the ranks of the Party and are members of the shop nucleus. We have contacts in 11 departments of the shop, instead of in 2 as we had two months ago. At a meeting that was held 2 weeks ago with the comrades of this nucleus, an entirely different spirit existed. Those who were very much opposed to the shop nucleus form of organization two months ago were now very enthusiastic and showed what can be done in the work.

This experience of the S. nucleus should be an indication to us on how to mobilize the comrades for shop activity. We cannot expect that simply through paper guidance will we be able to convince the comrades of the importance of doing shop work. The leading comrades must be assigned to these shop units and must help the comrades in the daily work with concrete proposals and suggestions to put across the policy of the Party in the shop without endangering the jobs of the comrades and at the same time mobilizing the new elements of workers in the shop into the ranks of our Party.

L. D.

Party Recruitment Drive

Recruiting Drive Must Overcome Weaknesses Revealed by Party Registration

THE recent Party registration is looked upon too much merely as a statistical matter, and since it is completed, is of no further value. This is wrong. The purpose was to equip the Party to better carry out its decisions of mass work and struggle.

Although District 8 comprises four states, which are highly industrial in character, the registration shows that not even one-third of the membership is in the four key industries of mining, steel and metal, railroad and packing.

The registration revealed complete ignorance on four key questions:

(1) *What revolutionary unions are in territory of section.* Only Sections 5 and 6 answered this question.

(2) *What reformist unions are in territory.* Only Section 6 answered this question.

(3) *What fractions exist in mass organizations.* No section answered this based on knowledge of the situation. A few guessed at the answer.

(4) *What large factories in territory.* Only a few sections answered, including Sections 2, 4, Milwaukee and St. Louis.

The collapse of the registration on these four questions is not just a technical oversight but reflects the basic weak spots of the Party in District 8. There is a complete lack of understanding and a great underestimation of trade union work, and while the sections increase the volume of activity, they don't learn to involve non-Party working class organizations, through activity of Party fractions, and consequently, up until now the section committee did not feel responsible, and did not supervise and give guidance to the fractions or check the assignment and activity of Party members in mass organizations.

Chief Shortcomings in District 8 Registration

The registration also exposed some other shortcomings in the composition of the membership, such as:

(1) Out of the 1,700 members registered, only 462 work in shops and of these 242 are in shops with less than 100 workers.

(2) There are 945 members listed as unemployed, but only 462 are recorded as members of the Unemployed Council and we know a much small number actually are in fractions, although the Unemployed Council registrations throughout the district numbers nearly 14,000.

(3) Only 127 Party members belong to the T. U. U. L. and 156 to the A. F. of L.

(4) While 412 Party members are Negro comrades, 75 per cent of these, or 332 are in Chicago, while Calumet, Indianapolis and Milwaukee have a negligible number.

(5) Of the 252 women Party members, only 126 are working women.

(6) The age composition is unsatisfactory. There are just as many Party members over 50 years as under 30 years.

Each of these weaknesses should be thoroughly examined by each section committee and each unit buro, and in the course of all activities, make an organized effort to overcome these weaknesses. If these weaknesses are merely recorded and no steps taken to change the situation, it shows incapacity to give leadership.

Type of Recruiting Reflects Type of Mass Activity

The present recruiting drive follows upon the registration to give the Party the opportunity to correct these shortcomings. The type of members recruited is always a reflection of the

type of mass activity the Party is engaged in. During the period of August, September, October and November, when over 1,300 new members were recruited in District 8, 80 per cent were unemployed, because it was in this field that the Party had conducted and led successful mass struggles. Here was reflected the glaring weakness of shop activity.

Even during November and December we see still too small a percentage of new members from shops of concentration, old or new shop nuclei. The results of concentration on shops of the 2,000 Party members for one month (December) is 22 new members from these shops of concentration. Obviously it is not concentration, but only the work of a few individual comrades. Or in the case of new shop nuclei; we find in two months in the city of Chicago *not a single new shop nucleus*, while outside of the city four were organized. These figures should arouse the section committees to take seriously the question—not only of giving out fine directives—but of organizing the membership down below to carry through these directives.

Coordination of Departments

One of the greatest shortcomings in the approach to recruiting is the lack of coordination between both district and section departments. There is a tendency to view recruiting as merely a matter of figures and relegate it only to the Org. Department to worry about. This shows a complete underestimation of the recruiting being a part of our every campaign. We are also too schematic in our approach to many questions. Without the Agit-Prop Department considering recruiting as one of its central tasks, the recruiting drive will be a failure. The Party must be politically mobilized for the drive; greater attention to explaining the revolutionary role of the Party is necessary; assistance must be given to the shop nuclei in getting facts about their company and also how to conduct work inside shops; better planned methods of speaking to the workers on given issues so as to combat the poison and demagoguery of the bourgeoisie; greater variety and lighter features in agitational work; training new members once they come into the Party. These are just a few of the urgent things which the Agit-Prop Department must contribute if the recruiting drive is to be successful.

J. W.

Open Wide the Door of the Party to the Workers

THE New York District has inaugurated a new method in the recruiting drive that is bearing results. It sent out a letter to the revolutionary unions and revolutionary oppositions, to the clubs and fraternal organizations, asking them to discuss the

Communist Party and its role in the class struggle, and to invite a speaker of the Party to their meeting. It asked them to have their membership select as candidates for the Party, workers who through their activity in the organization of the struggle have come to the front.

This method has borne results. The clubs, unions, etc. have gone into competition with each other. At many of the meetings, the workers have asked why the Party has not come to them before. At others, the workers have stated why they do not yet feel prepared to join the Party. The union where the biggest struggles have been conducted—the needle trades—has been the *slowest* to recruit and yet the workers recognize the leadership of the Party, the leadership of the Party fraction in the union.

Although the results have been good, the meetings show conclusively that we are *too careful* in recruiting into the Party. Only the close sympathizers have been called to the meetings—and this is a serious mistake. *The wider masses are ready for the Party.* These meetings should be broad meetings (as the clubs have arranged them); a thorough discussion should be held, and there is no doubt that many more workers will join the Party.

The doors of the Party must be opened to *all* workers. The struggle is getting keener, the enemies of the Party are uncovering their faces. They are proving to wider masses that they are tools of the bosses. Is it not apparent to the railroad workers that their "leaders" sold them out, and only put up a sham fight, which was called to a halt by the *ultimatum* of Mr. Williard, president of the company-unionized Baltimore and Ohio Railroad? Will it not become clear to the membership of the railroad unions in a short time that their unions have been sold out, in the very statement of Williard that each road will deal with its men? Is it not clear to the needle workers, the shoe and food workers what the role of the leaders of the A. F. of L. is? Do not the unorganized who are led in struggle by the revolutionary unions know that struggle is the method of organization and that their leaders in the main are Communists? Do not the unemployed know that the leaders of the unemployed movement, the policy and strategy, come from the Communists? Do not the Negroes in ever larger numbers know that the Communists are the only ones conducting a struggle in their behalf?

They do—but we do not open the door to them. Therefore this Lenin recruiting drive must *open the doors wide to the workers.* Our Party members must not hesitate: War is on in China—the attack on the Soviet Union is in the offing. Masses will rally to our call. They must be brought into the Party.

I. AMTER.

A Correct Challenge in the Recruiting Drive

The Anthracite Section of Philadelphia District Has Challenged the Baltimore Section in the Membership Drive

Our challenge is:

1. To recruit one miner for every steel wrker recruited in Baltimore the section.
2. To build one mine nucleus for every shop nucleus established in the Baltimore section.
3. To issue regularly one mine paper for every shop paper issued in Baltimore Section.

Our aim in the membership drive is:

1. To double the number of functioning mine nuclei.
2. To double the membership in the existing mine nuclei and the membership in the section.
3. To have six regularly issued mine papers.
4. To have by the end of the drive 10 mine nuclei well functioning.
5. To intensify the work of the Party members in the U. M. W. of A. locals.

Here Is How We Stand Today

Two new mine nuclei have been organized in preparation and during the membership drive. Altogether we have five mine nuclei with 61 members in them.

One new mine paper was started during the drive.

We recruited 46 new members in preparations and during the drive.

From January 1st to January 11th—19 members.

From January 11th to February 2nd—27 members.

44 out of the 46 are miners, only small percentage of them unemployed.

All of the miners are members of the U. M. W. of A.

We have so far accomplished 27 per cent of our quota.

Baltimore, what is your quota? How do you stand today? Have you any objection to our challenge? Can you arrange a meeting of your and our section bureaus to discuss methods used in recruiting new members?

Experience in Party Building Among Kentucky, Tennessee Miners

THERE is hardly a more pointed indicator of the readiness of the workers to join the ranks of the Communist Party than the response shown by the miners of south eastern Kentucky and eastern Tennessee to our initial step in organizing Party units in the mining camps.

In the mountain range of Kentucky and Tennessee we deal with workers of a semi-peasant type who lead a primitive life in a semi-feudal state. They have been kept by the coal operators in dire poverty and ignorance. Family life and church activities were the only "happiness" permitted the miners and the only expression left to them as their social life.

But, starvation broke their isolation. With open arms the miners received the organizers of the National Miners Union although they were "foreigners"—meaning people from the North and West. With the same readiness they listened to the organizers of the Party who were not only "foreigners," but non-miners.

I participated in the organizing of two units, one in Stony-Creek, Bell County, Kentucky, and the second in Peabody, Tennessee. Of course those who had been present were the most active workers in the camp, nevertheless I was impressed by the eagerness with which they accepted the Party.

The constant starvation of the last few years and the short but bitter experiences with the United Mine Workers Union, and their new contact with a militant working class organization has caused a tremendous change in the mental state among the more active miners. When we speak to them about the fundamentals of Communism—the overthrow of the capitalist state—they were not shocked by these "terrible" aims. On the contrary they showed complete understanding. They are so disgusted with their present conditions that a revolutionary change in the present system is welcomed by them.

In Stony Creek, we encountered two stumbling blocks—religion and the Negro question. There is no doubt that these two problems are general in most of the mining camps. A miner present—one of the most active and trusted strike workers—said: "I agree with the principles of the Party, I am ready to join it, but I must tell you beforehand that the belief in a supreme being is with both feet in my head, no one can knock it out." He said this in an apologetic manner. He was eager to join the Party but was afraid that his belief in a supreme being will prevent him from becoming a member. We answered by pointing out again the anti-working class role of the church, with which he and other miners agreed, and then left the "supreme being" aside for the time being with the knowledge that in the course of the class struggle this belief will be knocked out of his head while proletarian ideology will replace it.

The Party's attitude towards the Negro masses was presented very clearly and sharply by us. The reaction of the miners was the following: economic and political equality—YES. Social equality—the Negro is not educated as yet. We were ready for that attitude, having in mind the age-long tradition and race prejudice with which the white workers were imbued. We had to dwell in detail upon the causes of the backwardness

of the Negro masses and the tactics of the bosses in creating a social division on the race line among the workers. We succeeded in overcoming this obstacle. But, this does not mean that we succeeded entirely in eradicating this remnant of race prejudice.

In the second unit—the work progressed more smoothly. We learned from experience and presented the program of the Party in a more simple manner. At the second meeting the unit took in four new members, making a total of fourteen. Six new members were proposed—and passed upon.

Anything we said to the miners was a revelation. They piled questions on us and their eyes sparkled when we told them about the conditions of the miners in the Soviet Union. The meeting took place in a miner's house, the fireplace giving the only light in the room. The coals had to be shoved aside in order to get the light by which we could fill out the C.P. books.

These comrades are all a fine bunch of sturdy workers, eager to know more about the class struggle and the Party which they have joined. They read the *Daily Worker* regularly whenever, received, and they like to receive literature. A few of them should be sent to a training school. Their only handicap is lack of initiative and absence of organization experiences. Both can be overcome if the Party will give them due attention and concentrate on developing leadership amongst them.

These two units mentioned and a third one in Straight Creek, Bell County will serve as a basis for building Party units in all of the mining camps in that territory.

E. P.

Recruiting on the Basis of Participation in Struggles

DURING the Recruiting Drive it was emphasized again and again that we must concentrate on workers from the shops, particularly on workers from basic industries, and that this can best be brought about on the basis of our actual participation in the struggles of the workers.

There is one glaring example before us which shows that we are not utilizing our opportunities to participate in the struggles of the workers and on the basis of this draw the elements into the Party.

The workers of the Artistic Wire Company were out on strike for two weeks. The strike was lost. One of the important reasons for the loss of this strike was that, with the

exception of several leading comrades from the Metal Workers' League, they had no cooperation either in leadership of the strike nor in picketing. Mass picketing was essential in this strike to raise the morale of the workers on strike who had no organizational or strike experience to overcome the organized gangs hired by the boss, and the large police force. And no such mass picketing was possible without the help from outside the shop. Mind you, this is a metal shop, located right in our section. And our section—that is the leadership of the section—knew of this strike from the beginning. Yet we were not able to mobilize the membership for this strike. Appeals were made to the Marine Workers and to the unemployed council but no help came from these organizations either.

The result? The strike is lost. Not a single worker joined the Metal Workers' League. Not a single worker joined the Party.

The lesson is clear. We have failed in our duty to workers in struggle, and, therefore, failed to recruit workers from a basic industry.

We must quickly correct this shortcoming if we really mean to recruit workers from the shops; if we really mean to strengthen the base of the Party; if we really mean to make every factory a fortress of Communism.

L.

Fraction Work

A Turn in Words and Stagnation in Deeds

IT IS now *over 3 months* since the Building and Construction Workers Industrial League fraction has submitted names and addresses of comrades whom we asked to be assigned as their major task work in the Trade Union Unity League and the reformist unions.

The reason for doing this lies in the fact that the District Secretariat of District 2, at a meeting held in September, 1931, with the leading comrades of the building trades, promised that when we will have these names filed for assignment it will be no difficulty on the part of the district to assign these comrades for activity.

Over 3 months have passed since this promise of the district and the leading comrades of the building trades are still on a wild goose chase for functionaries in the various T. U. U. L. groups in existence.

Why are we sending this alarm at this moment? The fact is that in a normal time of the existence of our Leagues we were always short of Party members to be active. At all times

the Party membership in our district were the least active in the T. U. U. L. with the exception of a sprinkling of Party members here and there. We had numerous cases where members of the T. U. U. L., good honest proletarian elements, raised hell with our committee why we are not taking any measures to force the Party membership in the various local unions to attend meetings, to be active and to devote most of their time to T. U. U. L. work. At the present time we have situations where numerous groups of American Federation of Labor workers take the initiative themselves without the least bit of assistance on the part of our League or Party membership in order to organize themselves into an opposition group and come to us for assistance. These groups spring up without our encouragement and if these workers would not take the initiative and come around and inform us about their activity, we would never know of their existence. However, when we begin to check up we find here and there a few Party members carrying a union book and who have not attended their union meetings for ages.

An illustration of this sort can be seen in a local union of painters in Long Island, where we had the names of 2 or 3 Party members, whom we asked time and time again to get busy and organize a group in their local union. But as the matter stands it took a non-Party worker in the leadership, a sympathizer, to organize an opposition group and come to the T. U. U. L. for advice. It was only then that the Party members in that local union decided that they should be members of this opposition group. That is only one case.

We have another case where a non-Party worker from a carpenters' local union has been chasing for months to get a hold of the 2 Party members in the local union in order to organize a group. So far we have not been able to get hold of this Party member in order to be able to build up this group. These Party members in question are very, very busy in the Freiheit Gesang Ferein and the few more of the mass organizations, such as Bronx Workers Club, etc., but never attend their local union. (We will gladly furnish the names and addresses of these comrades to the district upon request.)

We could go on and mention many cases where non-Party workers decided to bring up on charges Party members for non-attendance of local union and group meetings. We believe that the situation mentioned above comes as a result of the failure on the part of the District Org. Department to take up once for all this matter of carrying out the assignments as the district decided.

Of the 300 Party members in the building trades fraction, one-half would give the Building and Construction Workers Industrial League an opportunity to lay the basis for a real mass movement within the A. F. of L. because most of our Party

membership in the building trades of our district are in the A. F. of L., in not less than 50 local unions in this city.

We are writing this not for the sake of simply emphasizing the shortcomings existing in the relation of the Party fraction to the building trade league, but we hope that this will send a warning to the District that the opportunity for organization within the League is slipping by because of the gap that exists between the building trades Party membership and our League.

It is worth while saying that the blame doesn't entirely fall on the Org. Department. Many unit and section organizers overstepped the decision of the Org. Department on these assignments and withheld from the particular comrades assigned, the information that they were assigned to do T. U. U. L. work.

We believe that if the Party will take this question up seriously there will be no need to write about it any more.

L. J. BRAVERMAN.

On the Functioning of Trade Union Fractions

THE Party fraction in the trade unions is the best guarantee for the carrying out of the line of the Party in the trade unions, and for bringing in the campaigns of the Party and thus politicalizing their work. Unless this is done, our unions and leagues cannot grow into weapons of struggle of the revolutionary movement, but instead, will become merely economic organizations that are separate and distinct from the line of the Party. The danger of economism is great. Ideas are springing up of the necessity of separating the trade union work from Party work. These ideas of separatism must be fought, both in the Party proper, and in the Party fractions. The best way to overcome this danger is for the Party to really orientate itself to direct the carrying out of shop work and to give detailed political guidance to our trade union fractions. In the city of New York we have had in the latest period some experiences and some success in trade union work. It was very clearly illustrated that where we had the Party fraction as the guiding and driving force, the trade unions grew and orientated themselves in the direction. I will give just two illustrations:

1. A good functioning fraction—the Shoe Workers fraction.
2. A bad functioning fraction—the Amalgamated fraction.

In the case of the Shoe Workers, the union, after facing the attacks of the bosses, the Labor Department and the company unions, was practically liquidated. The union was only a shell of its former self. The leadership was practically non-existent. At the same time, one attack after the other was carried through

against the workers. The total paper membership was about 300. The comrades in this fraction, however, pulled themselves together, and worked out a program of action based upon shop activities and shop organization. This plan was immediately put into operation, and within a short time a number of strike struggles were carried through in the slipper trade, an auxiliary of the shoe industry. It was pointed out to the comrades that this cannot be their main orientation, and in a collective manner they started to concentrate on the large shoe shops. Today we can record the fact that there are 21 shop groups in the largest shops in the industry in the city of New York. These shop groups are given the main attention by the comrades in the leadership of this union. Instead of theorizing about shop work, they are actually carrying it into life. The greatest portion of the Party membership is involved in the daily work of the union, and in its various departments and committees. Non-Party workers have been drawn into the leadership of the union. Functioning departments have been set up, and are guided by our comrades. In the last six months, the union has grown from a membership approximating 300 to a present membership of 900. Every Party member is assigned definite tasks, for which he is accountable to the leading fraction of the union. No doubt this is one union which shows great possibilities of carrying through struggles of tremendous size within the next period. The short-coming of our Party fraction is the fact that it has not been sufficiently politicalized. The campaigns of the Party are acted upon too slowly. In the Party recruiting drive, there has been very little response in the way of recruiting new members into the ranks of our Party.

In the case of the Amalgamated fraction, our comrades have shown complete bankruptcy, both organizationally and politically. The forces of the fraction do not work as one solid unit to organize and destroy the present leadership of the Amalgamated which is exposed in the eyes of all workers. By the type and character of the work carried on by our comrades, we do not arouse confidence in the workers that we can really organize them into struggle against the machine. No political life exists in the Party fraction. In this situation, where the unemployed funds were given to hired gunmen, and where the conditions of the workers are being lowered week after week with the consent of the officials of the Amalgamated machine, our Party fraction as the leadership of the rank and file movement, plays no part. Unless some immediate steps are taken in the situation, and our Party fraction really orientated towards the shops, towards the shop problems, and taking the initiative in the struggles in the shops, there is a danger that the opposition movement will slip out of our hands.

J. P.



Building a Mass Movement in a Small Industrial Town

GARDNER, Mass., is a small town of some 20,000 population. The factories include the Florence Stove Factory employing about 800 workers, some large furniture factories, small metal shops and one or two shoe factories.

Up to about three months ago our Party had about 15 members, the Young Communist League had about 25 members and the Pioneers about 40 members. The composition was practically all Finnish. Half the Party members could not speak English very well. Most of the Party and Y.C.L. activity was inner work around the hall, in the Finnish Club, the Labor Sports Union, women's clubs, etc. The only mass work carried on consisted of mass meetings, leaflet distribution and to some extent "Daily Worker" distribution.

Today our movement in this town is something that the city authorities have to reckon with. For example, the other day a cop found our comrades distributing leaflets advertising the Lenin meeting. He was going to arrest the comrade, but when he saw that there were 50 or more distributing, he backed out and our comrades continued with their work. These results were achieved in the following way:

About three months ago the Y.C.L. began to develop mass work: house-to-house canvassing, visiting public places where young workers gather, penetrating some of the youth clubs and carrying on a campaign of agitation among the young workers and workers of Gardner, with particular attention to reaching English-speaking and American elements.

The response to the agitation and activities was very satisfactory. Every time the comrades mobilized for house-to-house canvassing, squads were sent out to visit young workers. This brought results. The League began to grow. The Pioneers also reached out among the French children through school activities, and recruited about 40 children of French parentage. A real system of competition developed. Every member was given responsibility to recruit new members. Every affair and meeting was utilized for recruiting. The Y.C.L. reached out among the Young People's Socialist League members and won over a few of their best elements. Within two months the Y.C.L. doubled its membership.

The Lenin-Liebknecht meeting was the biggest ever held in

Gardner by our organization. There were workers of all nationalities, many young people; there was great enthusiasm and great response.

The Y.C.L. now has close to 100 signed up for membership. The Party has only 25, but plans are being worked out for mass recruiting for the Party.

There is a great deal of unemployment in the city. Since Christmas the stove factory shut down and locked out its 800 workers. Last Monday it opened up but refused to take in non-citizens and gives all preference to American born. Anyone connected with our movement is deprived of a job. The same system of discrimination is beginning to be used in all other shops in the city, as well as in aid from the city to the unemployed.

Right now we are taking up the following problems raised by the present situation: 1) keeping, activizing and educating our new recruits; 2) issuing the proper slogans and rallying the masses around these slogans for struggle; 3) winning the American workers; 4) taking immediate precautionary steps against terror, deportation and raids; 5) actually establishing organization in the shops for the unions and Party.

How We Organized a Neighborhood Mass Meeting

MANY comrades in organizing a mass meeting in a neighborhood, especially a new neighborhood, do the following three things:

1. Locate a hall.
2. Print and distribute leaflets.
3. Get to the hall and wait for the workers to show up.

This method of preparing a mass meeting on a neighborhood scale has proven to be wholly inadequate, and in most instances, unfruitful. Many of our failures to have successful turnouts to such meetings have had a demoralizing effect on new comrades who put in work and preparation for the meetings.

During the recruiting drive one of our units in Kansas City decided to hold an unemployed mass meeting in a neighborhood, in which we had carried on no activity, with a view to strengthening the February Fourth campaign and broadening our organizational base. The following steps were taken:

A hall was looked up and the price of renting it for one night was gotten from the agent. Then we received an estimate of the printing. With these figures, so far as the finances were concerned, the comrades immediately made out a petition somewhat on the order of our Unemployment Insurance bill petition, which was circulated house to house in the neighborhood. At each house the workers were told about the meeting, about Unemployment Insurance, about the present condi-

tion of the unemployed, and asked to contribute small sums for taking care of the expense in connection with the meeting. In about two hours of such canvassing the total amount needed for the meeting (\$9.00) had been collected, and the workers who contributed it were listed on the petition list. This method gave us a corps of workers who were already partly organized and in support of our program before the meeting was called. The meeting itself was stopped by the police, who forced the landlord to padlock the hall. When the workers showed up and had explained to them the reason the meeting was not held, they were all the more with us, and determined to see that the meeting went through. We have kept in constant touch with these workers who contributed, both by personal visit and letters. From this neighborhood will come a delegation to our February Fourth demonstration.

As a result of the methods used in arranging the meeting, we are able, despite the police terror, to organize these workers on the basis of their local concrete demands, together with our general program, and to use such organization to break the police terror. (These workers are all basic 100 per cent Americans.) On the other hand, using the old leaflet method, the money would have been wasted on the leaflet, except for what propaganda we would have put out through it, and we would have had no contacts in the neighborhood, after the hall for the meeting was denied us.

Our comrades must in the future pay more attention to carefully planning and arranging mass meetings, so as to get the maximum organizational and political results from them, even in such cases where meetings are broken up or not allowed to be held. We think the above cited method is one with which we can so prepare our meetings.

A. W. B.—Kansas City.

The Political Significance of "Rent Strikes"

THE rent strikes that have been and are organized and led by the Upper Bronx Unemployed Council gives us a treasure of experience. It is worthwhile to analyze these experiences and evaluate the political importance of these rent strikes.

The Rent Problem of the Workers

In organizing House and Block Committees, we found that the rent problem is one of the most burning one the workers are facing at the present time and which most important for the demand to reduce the high rents they *are ready to organize and carry on a struggle*. I think we can state that the Party as a whole up till the present time underestimated the immense possibilities that lays in organizing tens of thousands of workers

through the organization of rent strikes. We also find that these rent strikes are developing not only amongst the poor workers, living in fire traps, paying 20-25 dollars a week, but also amongst the "better paid" workers. Certain comrades—at the beginning—wanted to ridicule the movement, not realizing the fact that these "better paid" workers are members of the American Federation of Labor, many of them working in basic industries, such as railroads, others in the building and other important industries. In other words we can reach good proletarian elements, we can draw them into struggle under our leadership and then recruit them in the unions and shop organizations.

Great Masses are Involved

The rent strikes conducted during the past few weeks in Upper Bronx prove that we were able to draw into the struggle elements, which never before participated in any way or form in the class struggle. We also found that under proper leadership and guidance we can involve them to participate for the immediate demands of lower rent, but also for immediate unemployment relief and unemployment insurance as well. So we found that the working men and working women who won their struggle under our leadership for lower rent participated in our January 30th Hunger March to Boro Hall, demanding immediate relief and unemployment insurance. They have marched with us miles, in spite of the rain for the first time in their life.

Uniting the Employed and Unemployed

Our unemployed movement lacked from the very beginning the unity of the employed and unemployed. This was and is the weakest point in our fight for unemployment insurance. In organizing House and Block Committees for reduction of rents, we succeeded in uniting both employed and unemployed workers for their immediate demands.

Rent Strikes and the Press

Great publicity is given to these rent strikes not only by our press, but also by the capitalist sheets. The workers, who are engaged in the struggle eagerly read these news and convince themselves that only the communist press writes the truth and helps them in the struggle. As a result of this we gained many new readers for the *Daily Worker* and the *Freiheit*.

A Lesson in American "Democracy"

The strikes that are carried on for lower rents by thousands of workers always develops into a political struggle with the interference of the capitalist state apparatus. The courts and police were mobilized to defend the interest of the landlords. Due to this the workers learned from experience the role of the

capitalist state. At one of the open air meetings held after the eviction of some of the rent strikers took place, which was attended by 3,000 people, one of the strikers standing on top of his furniture on the streets, his 13 year old daughter in his hands said the following: "I have told my daughter for years, that there is no democracy in this country for the workers, but she did not believe me. Now she is standing beside me *and she agrees with me.*" After his speech hundreds of school children demonstrated right there against police brutality and a great number have been recruited for the Pioneers.

Building Our Organizations through Rent Strikes

We are reaching out to new and up till now untouched elements through the organization of rent strikes. These elements during the struggle gain class consciousness and a wider outlook. These elements shall and must be approached by us and be convinced to join one of our mass organizations. Our experience shows this can be done. In one of our rent strikes we succeeded in organizing a new English speaking Woman's Council out of the women who joined from one house. We can draw in others to the I.L.D., W.I.R., etc. and transform these organizations into real mass organizations.

But the most important thing is to approach the workers, working in the shops, to join our unions, to form shop committees.

Rent Strikes and the Political Parties

In organizing House Committees and conducting rent strikes we came across houses, where a number of socialists were living. These socialists did everything in their power to break the strike with such arguments as: "The landlords have to pay high taxes, we must pay high rents," etc. The reaction of the workers was always: "If the socialists are against lower rents, we are against the socialists and if the communists are for lower rents, we are with the communists."

Other times, non-Party workers at mass meetings stood up and said:

"Why is it that the Republican and Democratic parties are helping the landlords by mobilizing the police, the courts, the gangsters against us? Why is it that the Socialist Party is not coming to us and organizing us against the landlords? It is because all these parties are parties of the bosses, of the landlords and only the Communist Party is fighting in the interest of the working class."

This proves that in the process of organizing and carrying on militant struggles for the immediate interests of the workers, they learn from experience that the Communist Party is the only Party of their class.

Therefore, it is our duty to pick out the best fighters from amongst the rent strikers *and recruit them for the Party.*

Agit-Prop Work

Some Problems in Mass Agitation and Propaganda in the Shops

OUR mass agitation and propaganda work in the shops must start out from the very conditions of the workers in the shop.

We find comrades even in large districts with a more or less politically developed membership, that the comrades will stick to the old worn-out excuse for not carrying on shop work. "There are no issues in our shop." But when examining the situation closer, we see that these are simply excuses for passivity; that there are plenty of problems confronting the workers and issues around which to develop struggles and build up shop organization. This has been proven time and again.

Use "Little" Grievances for Shop Struggles

The reason that these comrades find "no issues" is because they pay no attention to the "little" things in the shop. They can't see the "small" grievances of the workers. And yet we know that these "small" grievances are precisely the fuel for developing shop struggles and building shop organization.

This has been proven in California on the question of drinking water; in Birmingham, Ala., on the question of winning back an hour from the bosses; the employers of this factory had forced the workers to come in an hour earlier (6:45 A. M.) to work, without of course, any additional pay. Our paper, the *Red Stockham Worker*, has raised a campaign against this, mobilizing the workers to back up this demand, and as a result, the company was forced to withdraw this order, and the workers now come in 7:30 to work *without a loss in pay*.

Not Making Use of Shop Issues

But in too many instances do we see that comrades make very little use of shop issues.

For instance: in another shop in California the workers are forced to pay \$1.50 to \$5.00 a month of their wages to a company fake insurance scheme. A worker has paid in during the year \$50 to this "fund." When he got sick the company gave him \$14. This means that the company has actually robbed this particular worker of \$36. This robbery still goes on not only for this work, but for all the workers in the shop.

And what was the central slogan of our shop paper in this particular case? *Unemployment and Social Insurance Paid by the Bosses and Their Government!*

Was it wrong here to bring in the demand for Unemployment Insurance? No, it was not wrong. In fact, it is proper and cor-

rect to bring in, and link up our fight for social insurance with concrete cases.

Not Linking up Particular Shop Demands with General Struggles

But the trouble here was that the concrete case *was entirely forgotten*. Instead of developing a struggle around this particular case on the basis of concrete demands for this particular worker and the other workers of the shop (adequate compensation for the sick worker; no deductions of the workers' wages for the boss fake fund, etc., etc.) and link this up with our general demand for social insurance, to show these workers the connection between their own shop struggles and the struggle for these general demands, thus furthering the struggle for both, our comrades contented themselves with the "general" slogan for social insurance, not showing any connection of the problems of the workers in the shop and this demand. This meant not mobilizing the shop workers for the particular struggles in the shop, and of course, also not for our demand for social insurance.

Numerous additional such examples could be brought, all of which would show the very same thing: we don't utilize shop issues to develop shop struggles and organization, linking up these struggles with our general campaigns.

Some Methods for Mass Agitation

What methods should be used in this work?

In some shops correct methods were used and brought results. The workers were robbed of a bonus. Our paper has suggested the pasting up of the walls of the shop with: *We Want Our Bonus*. This worked. (See *Shop Paper Manual*, page 12.) Others have pasted up the walls with *We Want Sleeves*. Here too results were gotten. The same thing can be done on general campaigns: *We Want Unemployment Relief*; *No Deductions of Workers' Wages for Bosses' Fake Insurance Schemes*; *Vote Communist*, in time of elections; *All Out on February Fourth*, or any other demonstration that comes along. Paste up with stickers, or paint up the walls of the factory and the surrounding territory (around the factory) with these slogans and calls.

Bringing in leaflets into the shop is a very effective method. Just cover the whole factory with these leaflets. The bringing in of popular pamphlets into the factory is also very important.

Noon-day meetings, shop gate meetings, are very good. These meetings to concentrate mostly around shop problems and issues, linking them up, of course, with our general campaigns and struggles.

Spreading of our Party press is very necessary. The *Daily Worker* especially, and where there are foreign-born workers

who don't read English, bring in foreign language Party press into the shop.

Methods of bringing in leaflets and literature into the shop must be found. It is hard to give a "blue print" of the methods to be used in this work. When the comrades will *start this work*, and *think of methods*, it will be surprising just how many clever schemes can be found.

In some cases, putting leaflets, literature into the coat pockets where the workers keep their clothes will prove (and in some cases has proven) to be successful. Also, nearby grocery stores and restaurants can be used for this purpose. You get a sympathetic grocery store, restaurant or barber shop near the factory where the workers come in, and leave these leaflets and literature, and the workers of the factory will fall into the habit, after a while, always to "drop in" to these places for their literature. Having a corps of comrades near the factory at certain set days, distributing leaflets, selling literature, will prove, and already in cases, has been proven successful. Many more methods and devices will be found by the comrades when this work will be established and thinking, *planning* of methods will be started.

But most important of all things is personal contact—speaking to the workers in the shop personally. Our comrades in the shop should not rely on shop gate meetings alone (when held) to do the trick; should not rely on leaflets, pamphlets and newspapers (when distributed alone), to suffice. Our comrades in the shops should be *the* meetings, *the* literature to the workers in the shop. That means that we should discuss with the workers what has been touched upon at the shop gate meeting; what was said in the particular paper that we distributed in the shop; the leaflet, the pamphlet, etc. In order to be in a position to discuss with the workers this distributed literature, our comrades in the shop must read and absorb this literature.

Another method that has been proven good was issuing of leaflets, short leaflets, on particular problems and grievances in a particular shop or department. (Chicago Screw Company *Oil*.) These methods have proven successful and should be practiced by other comrades in different shops.

In time of a specific big campaign (election, unemployment, etc.), it would be well to have rallies around given (large) shops. In these rallies the use of orchestras, bands, would be a very good means of attracting the attention of the workers.

Leaflets advertising a coming event (issuance of a shop paper, the holding of a shop gate meeting, a rally, etc.) will also prove of great help.

The regular issuance of shop papers will be of the greatest help in carrying on systematic, lasting agitation, propaganda and organizational work.

—E. S.

Double the Circulation of The Communist

A GREATER appreciation for the importance of theory is developing in the Party. There is a greater eagerness for study. But this increase of interest in theory, in study is, so far, by no means general, nor sufficiently related to the *practical* tasks and problems confronting the Party. The greatest existing weakness in relation to the raising of the theoretical political level of the Party membership is demonstrated by the *barren political life of the Party units*, the difficulties in mobilizing the Party membership and functionaries for the mass activities, the inexcusably slow tempo in the development of new forces, the training of the existing cadres, the education of the new members, etc.

We will in connection with the above, examine how the Party is making use of only one of the important weapons in raising the theoretical level of the Party. We refer to *The Communist*.

Let us examine the circulation of the various Districts.

If we take the Philadelphia District the situation is especially bad and *absolutely inexcusable*. For the month of January the Philadelphia District headquarters ordered 85 copies. And this is an increase over previous months! These figures speak for themselves. The Cleveland District for the month of January ordered 60 copies. This is also an increase over previous months. . . . These figures show that not even all the functionaries in the District read *The Communist*, let alone the membership. District 9 took only 30 copies for the current month!

While the relative figures for the other Districts might be slightly better the lessons drawn from the above mentioned Districts absolutely hold good for all other Districts.

The situation is particularly bad with the sections located outside of the District headquarters cities. In many of these "out of town" sections, where important mass struggles took place, for months, there was not a single copy of *The Communist* on sale. This is a clear reflection on the neglect of the districts to bring in political life into the out of town sections.

We are not dealing in this article with the contents and nature of *The Communist*. An improvement of *The Communist* will undoubtedly help to increase the circulation. In connection with the campaign to double the circulation, we urge the comrades to send in suggestions and opinions on how to improve *The Communist*. *The increase of the circulation by 1,500 since last August, show the possibilities for the growth of our theoretical magazine*. A serious appreciation of the role of *The Communist*, the proper organization of the campaign to double the circulation, will undoubtedly realize the aim of the campaign.

Tasks of International Women's Day Campaign

INTERNATIONAL Women's Day, March 8th, this year should mark a real turn in our work among women, first and foremost toward women factory workers, unemployed and Negro women.

The tasks set down in a recent E.C.C.I. letter to the Central Committee of our Party on March 8th, states: "The Polit Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. makes the Central Committee responsible for the carrying through of the campaign on a large scale. March 8th must be observed in all capitalist countries as an international demonstration and fighting day. Its keynote is the struggle against the capitalist offensive and against the threatening war danger, especially the danger of intervention against the Soviet Union and against the fascist reaction." It states further: "We lay stress on the tasks set down by the Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. of 'utilization of the slightest signs of protest of the working class against the exploitation and fascist reaction for work among women. We emphasize that March 8th campaign is the task of the *whole Party*."

Negro Women Most Militant Fighters

The objective conditions for making I.W.D. a mass campaign of struggle against U. S. capitalism are very favorable. The effects of the third year of economic crisis in U. S. has had a great radicalization effect on the Negro and white working-class women. Wherever the Party and the T.U.U.L. made attempts to mobilize women for partial demands affecting their daily lives the results were above expectations. We need only look towards the recent strikes in Lawrence, coal strikes in Pennsylvania, Kentucky; dressmakers' strike in New York. The experiences of struggles against high cost of living, etc., against evictions, for immediate relief for school children showed good examples of united front struggles (small scale), and proved the correctness of struggles for partial demands.

In Cleveland there exist now, as a result of these struggles, well organized unemployed branches which have over 500 women members, the largest number being Negro women, who are the most militant and leading forces in the unemployment activities. Maggie Jones, a Negro women, is the organizer of the largest Unemployed Council in Cleveland.

Bring March 8th into Factories

The tasks confronting the Party in connection with I. W. D. campaign is to develop, broaden out and dramatize the struggles among the masses of women. To utilize the burning issues of the daily demands of the working class women for developing the campaign of I. W. D.

In all activities the Party must consciously direct the work

among factory workers, among unemployed and Negro women, and make every effort to gain members for the Party to better the composition of the Party. We must throughout the campaign arouse the working women to the reality of imperialist war and the war of intervention against the Soviet Union and Soviet China; to counteract the dangerous pacifist and the patriotic influences among the working class women and win them for the class struggle.

We must begin careful work in the factories by taking the very first steps to group our contacts, meet with them, discuss their daily problems in the factories and homes, work out demands, and lay a basis for delegate meetings from factory workers.

International Women's Day—a Party Campaign

In the directives of the Central Committee on International Women's Day, we have tried to give in a concrete and simple form how to conduct I. W. D. campaign, laying the greatest stress on factory activities. It goes without saying that these directives will have to be on district, city and town scale, paying attention to the outlying industrial sections.

We must state frankly that judging from the reports received to date in the Central Committee, there is no indication that the districts plan to make I.W.D. a Party campaign. So far it seems to be a campaign of the Women's Departments only. This impermissible situation has to be remedied at once. There is only one month left, and the District Committees must immediately throw the forces of the Party in the campaign, tighten up the activities. The entire Party must be made conscious of the political significance of the campaign and mobilized for the tasks.

Don't Repeat Past Mistakes

This year the weaknesses of last campaign were forcibly brought out in the I. W. D. preparatory conferences which have been held in Chicago and in New York.

These conferences were supposed to have been *broad united front* conferences around immediate concrete issues, and were to be used as a basis for developing struggles on a larger scale. In reality they were no different from the traditional conferences of the past and did not sufficiently represent women factory workers. We did not get beyond our closest Party and Trade Union Unity League sympathizers.

In Chicago the comrades did succeed in mobilizing the Negro women (out of 110 delegates, 50 were Negro). This is an outstanding achievement.

In the short time left, the Districts, sections and units should without further delay, activate the campaign in line with the E. C. C. I. and Central Committee directives.

Anna Damon.

Material For a Course on Organizational Questions

(Continued from last month)

III

A. How do we organize a factory nucleus?

1. Find out the local conditions in the shops, and the actions and policy of the bosses, the American Federation of Labor, the social-fascists, if they have any connection, etc.

2. Obtain the names of any members of sympathetic mass organizations who work in the factory.

3. Formation of shock troops consisting of *the best comrades* of the street nuclei and under the leadership of a leading comrade of the district (or section) committee.

4. Find out the factory workers in the street nuclei and assign them for building of shop nuclei in their own factories. Formation of building nuclei in the case of small factories.

Methods: Shop-gate meetings when the workers leave work, leaflet and newspaper distribution before the factories; talks with sympathizers, etc., *especially by the Party members who are actually working in the shop; initiation of struggles against grievances by Party members working in the shop.*

2. How should the inner apparatus of a factory nucleus be built up? Unit Buro—its composition. (a) Organizer and financial secretary. (b) Agit-prop and literature. (c) Trade union organizer. (d) Woman, youth or Negro work director where there are large numbers of such working in the factory; its tasks; collective work; apparatus of department organizers in the various departments of the factory where this becomes necessary. (Agrarian nuclei on large plantations, etc., are organized similarly.)

3. What tasks has the Communist factory nucleus in the factory. In mobilizing the workers for the economic struggles, link up all political questions: parliamentary elections, campaign for political prisoners, fight against the police and state apparatus, against social-democracy and fascism. All these questions to be linked up with concrete agitation for the Soviet Union and with it, the proletarian dictatorship. *The main task of the unit is the organization of a branch of our revolutionary union and of an opposition group in the reactionary union.*

4. What are the forms and methods of mass work in the factory nuclei? Verbal agitation, discussion with sympathizers among the shop-mates, organizing and registering the sympathizers in the factories. Issuing of shop papers and other agitational material, campaign for the *Daily Worker* and getting subscribers for the Communist press. Distribution of our Communist literature in the factory, organization of department meetings and full meetings of the entire factory, formation of grievance and shop committees, formation of committees of ac-

tion and strike committees, organization of united action of employed and unemployed, organization of Y.C.L. nuclei, special attention to the winning of Negroes, women and youth, organization of agitational troops for mobilizing workers, organizing courses for sympathizers in the factory, training courses, mobilizing the entire body of workers for demonstrations and mass meetings, etc. The main task of the factory nucleus is the agitation for our Red trade unions, building up the Red trade union organizations in the factory, fighting against the opposing trade unions, recruiting for I.L.D., W.I.R., F.S.U. in the factory. (See *Imprecorr*, Nos. 59 and 60, 1930, *The Work of the Factory Nuclei*.)

B. Street nuclei.

Street nuclei should be composed only of comrades who are not working in shops (unemployed workers should as much as possible be members of the factory nuclei of the factories where they formerly worked). The best possibility for building street nuclei is given by the unemployed struggles, struggles against slum conditions, high rents, police terror, etc. The apparatus and methods if work are in general similar to those of the shop nucleus. The special task of the street nuclei in the present period consists in the organization (through methods of concentration, etc.) of shop nuclei and branches of the unions.

C. How do we organize Communist fractions in the trade unions and other mass organizations?

We must organize fractions in all the mass organizations of the working class and carry on revolutionary war, wherever there are masses of organized workers, including those in the reactionary trade unions, in the openly fascist organizations, and also in our trade unions, in the I.L.D., in the W.I.R., etc.

1. How do we organize a fraction?
2. Which comrades should belong to the leadership of the fraction?
3. What is the relation of the fraction to the factory nucleus and to the Party committee?
4. How do we organize the mass work through fractions (fraction discipline)?
5. Struggle against the false conception that work in the reactionary unions and mass organizations is not "Party" work.

Reference material:

- Decisions of the Second Org. Conference of the C.I.
- Resolution of the Fifth Congress of the C. I. on Shop Nuclei.
- Resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I., January, 1924, on Organization of Shop Nuclei.
- Statutes of the C.I. and of the C.P.U.S.A.
- The Twenty-one Conditions of the Admission to the Communist International.

Resolution of the E.C.C.I., February, 1924, on Fractions.

(To be continued)