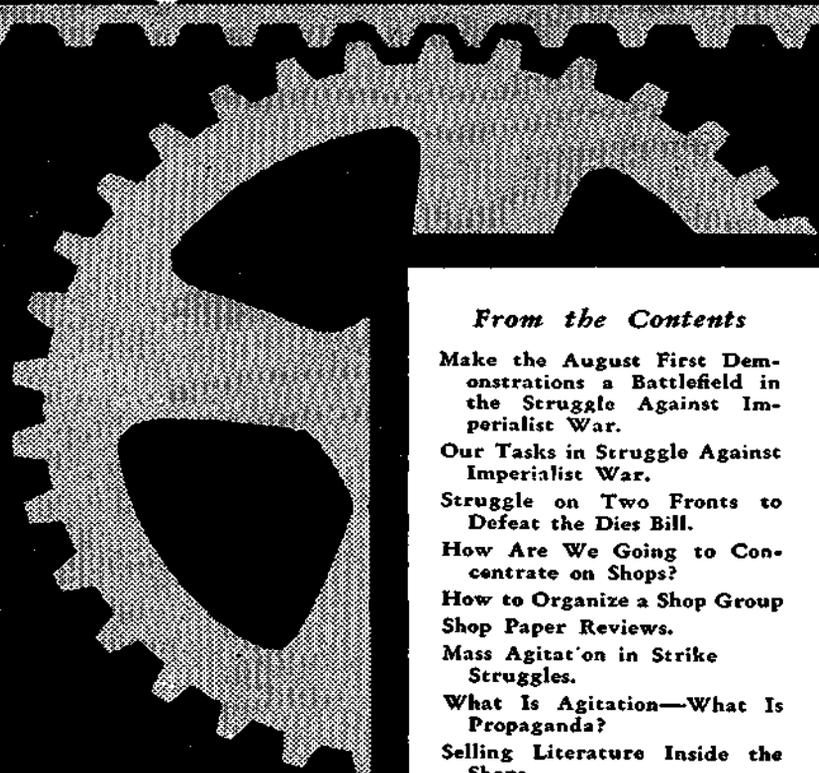


Party Organizer



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Vol. V.

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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. V.

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Make the August First Demonstrations a Battlefield in the Struggle Against Imperialist War

OUR *daily* activities in mobilizing the masses for struggles against imperialist war, in our preparations for *August First*, must be based on the sharpest realization that we *already* are in the midst of an imperialist war against the Chinese people, that any day imperialist war against the Soviet Union may break out, that a new imperialist world war is impending.

A most determined struggle must be carried on against "our own" imperialism and against Japanese imperialism, as the spearhead of world counter-revolution.

In all our anti-war activities we must clearly bear in mind the analysis of the Fourteenth Plenum of our Central Committee, that "the great imperialist powers, especially Japan and the United States, are at present more and more involved in the sharpest conflict for their share in the exploitation and division of China, and concentrating their war forces (navy, air forces, war industry) for an immediate armed struggle in the Pacific. At the same time the feverish efforts of Japan, United States, England and France to come together, arising on the basis of their common hatred of the Soviet Union, their preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union, the movement of the Japanese troops to Northern Manchuria, the feverish activities of the white guards, sharply raise in this situation before the international proletariat above all the greatest danger of common intervention of the imperialist powers against the U.S.S.R., the world proletarian fatherland.

The imperialists, fearing the growing resistance of the masses to capitalist war, are "sneaking" into actual war without official war declarations. We must therefore be alert to react to the slightest manifestation of indirect or direct war preparations. All our activities, our agitation and propaganda should be permeated with the Leninist teaching "that it must be definitely explained how great is the secrecy surrounding the birth of a war—it must be explained over and over again in a thoroughly

concrete manner how the situation was during the last war, and as to the reasons why the situation cannot be otherwise."

The sharpest struggle must be waged against pacifism. No surrender to pacifist illusions and tendencies. Our main fire must be concentrated on social-fascism and through concrete experiences expose the pacifists and social-fascists.

We must particularly carry on a sustained struggle to expose their phrases of friendship to the Soviet Union and their simultaneous attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R.

The refusal to recognize the Soviet Union is part of American imperialism's war policies against the Soviet Union. At the same time we must also expose the pacifist and social fascist maneuvers about the recognition of the Soviet Union.

Especially must we expose the role of the Socialist Party which uses the slogan "Recognition of the Soviet Union" in order to cover up the direct war preparations on the part of American imperialism against the Soviet Union and to cover up the attacks of the Socialist Party on the Soviet Government and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their demand for freedom of political prisoners is for the purpose of giving free play to the counter-revolutionary forces within the Soviet Union and organizing them for carrying out the imperialist intervention policies.

In our struggle against social-fascism we must be guided by the statement of the Fourteenth Plenum which says, "Under the banner of pacifism they (social fascists) are trying to keep the masses from fighting against war, and support the war policy of the Hoover government, League of Nations, disarmament swindle, war debts, Laval visit, etc. The Socialist Party is a bitter enemy of the Soviet Union. It openly supports the counter-revolutionary white guards (Hillquit). Under the guise of sympathy for the Soviet Union, it is attempting to undermine the increasing sympathy of the workers for the Soviet Union by presenting the American bourgeois dictatorship as a real democracy in contrast to the proletarian democracy of the Soviet Union, which it represents as a reign of dictatorship which should be 'democratized,' and in this way they come forward as representatives of those who want the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union."

We must learn to concretely refute and expose the arguments of the bourgeois propagandists that war will bring back prosperity, that war will liquidate unemployment. The myth of high wages, of high standard of living during the last war, must and can be exposed. In connection with this we want to call the attention of the comrades to the various articles and workers correspondence appearing in the *Daily Worker* on this question. Our slogan which gives concentrated expression

against this bourgeois propaganda is "against bread for one and bullets for thousands."

In order to mobilize the Party membership for sustained and heroic struggles against imperialist war, the following two tendencies must be combatted: (1) underestimation of the war danger, the inevitability of imperialist wars; (2) a fatalist left phrase-mongering attitude in our struggle against war, that the working class is no factor in postponing war and turning the imperialist war into a civil war.

Slogans for August First

1. Against imperialist war; for the defense of the Chinese people and the Soviet Union.
2. Stop the shipment of munitions to Japan.
3. Not a cent for war. All war funds for unemployment relief and insurance.
4. Fight against imperialist war and war preparations.
5. Stop the robber war of Japan now being waged against the Chinese people.
6. Make the rich bankers pay the back wages (bonus) to the ex-servicemen.
7. Withdraw the armed forces from Latin America, China, Philippine Islands.
8. Against capitalist terror—part of the war preparations.

Our Tasks in Struggle Against Imperialist War

(Excerpts from Summary of Bill Gebert at District Committee Plenum, May 14-15, 1932)

I DO not think we understand what we mean by the struggle against war. Let us consult the resolution, because I think that some comrades did not place the question correctly. This resolution gives us a line—more than that—practically concretizes how we are going to carry on the struggle against imperialist war:

"The *central task* of the C.P.U.S.A. is to struggle against the new imperialist war and above all to work most devotedly and courageously to mobilize the working class in defense of the Chinese people, and to build an iron wall of defense around the Soviet Union. The struggle against American imperialism, its war preparations and intervention plans must be the center of the everyday work of the Party among

the masses; in the factories, trade unions, in strikes, among the unemployed, Negroes, youth and women. Only by the ability to rally and organize the masses to struggle for their immediate demand and against the war danger, as the most outstanding menace for the working class, can the Party come before the masses, and must come before them as their revolutionary vanguard—the most conscious, most devoted and best organized elements among them.”

When the resolution places *the struggles against war as the central question and task*, it also places before us in the very same breath, so to speak, that *to carry on the struggle against war, it is necessary to organize the struggles of the workers for their immediate demands*. And if we would approach the struggle against war in any other way, we do not understand the meaning of the resolution. This is the basic line in our struggle against war.

. . . There is a specific struggle against war, against American imperialism. Demands like, stop shipment of war material, stop sending of troops to China, are specific struggles against war. And to start this campaign, above all, we must know all the facts. We must know just exactly, comrades, where are the war industries located, and establish personal contact with the workers in these industries. We must know exactly, comrades, from what places the shipment of ammunition will take place. We must not only know in general these things, but have personal contact with the workers in these places, to know the conditions of the workers and how to develop struggles to stop shipments.

We seem to take it for granted that a civil war will break out at the outbreak of a war. But miracles do not happen. It is our task, comrades, the task of every comrade, every Party member, to work to organize struggle against war today, against American imperialism. We must penetrate the armed forces and establish our organization inside. When we speak of war industries and factories, we must also remember the armories, the workers in uniform, and we must carry on work among them.

Work among the ex-soldiers is of tremendous importance, because they will be the nucleus of the army not tomorrow, but today. The Workers Ex-Servicemen's League does not receive sufficient support from us. We will not be able to build the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League on struggle against war merely. We must organize the ex-servicemen on the basis of their demands: bonus, relief, etc. We must tell the workers what they face in war and after war.

There are also other specific phases of struggle against war,

—counteracting the imperialist and pacifist propaganda of the bosses. Mr. Fish made a speech in Chicago and quoted from the resolution of the American Federation of Labor, which declares that with the Soviet Union there can be no peace, and when you take the statement of Admiral Pratt, we have exactly the same statement.

When we speak against war we say “down with the imperialist war — long live the Soviet Union.” These speeches do not mobilize a single worker against the imperialist war — as a matter of fact, sometimes it has the contrary effect. We do not understand how to explain, and our agit-prop work and our whole approach to this question is not proper.

We do not explain the meaning of the war to the workers. Nobody even raised this question at this Plenum. We do not think in the terms of struggle against war. I am somewhat of the impression that we repeat war danger phrases because the *Daily Worker* carries them. One can speak here for an hour, just quoting and stating facts, one after another.

The conscription of industries and putting workers on the same basis as soldiers, making them a part of the entire military machine — did we explain this to the workers? We did not. Why? Because we do not know that such a thing exists and we do not care to know.

In order to carry on a struggle against war it is necessary to explain more in the light of the resolution of the Fourteenth Plenum, in the light of the speech of Comrade Browder. And first of all the question of the war is so intimately linked up with our shop work that it practically represents one unit. We cannot speak of war danger and shop work separately. Therefore, when we speak of concentration around the shops, it means also concentration and struggle against war.

Struggle on Two Fronts to Defeat the Dies Bill

THE organization of mass resistance against the daily increasing deportation raids in the mills and neighborhoods is the key to a successful struggle for the defeat of the anti-labor Dies bill. The temporary united front of local labor and fraternal organizations will withstand the maneuvers of Congress (such as the recent postponement of Senate action under the barrage of protests from 16 states) and will grow even more solid if they will deal with the local deportation atrocities.

From this view the leading slogan in the mobilization of the workers must be: *Stop Deportations; Defeat the Anti-Labor Dies Bill.* Our activities must be organized correspondingly:

1. Organization Action (Defense) Committees of workers

(families) in the mills and neighborhoods where deportation raids are being committed.

The role of these committees should be to mobilize resistance, immediate mass protest and protection against arrests, searches and alleged investigations by federal agents. (Often these raids are practiced under the pretext of looking for booze, gambling joints, etc.) Resist discriminations against foreign-born workers on relief and jobs as practiced by many welfare and company agencies, and expose the role of the stool pigeon.

2. Unions, factory groups, neighborhood unemployed councils and fraternal organizations with influence in their community, must be made the backbone of this activity.

The coordinating organization of the entire struggle must be the I. L. D. and its Foreign Born Protection Committee. Action Committees, unions, etc., must have a strong working relation with the I. L. D. in developing this struggle.

3. Intensify the consolidation of the united front activities. Urge organizations to take immediate and independent steps in their sphere of influence. Have them issue public statements, protests to the Senate, their senators, to the local government (exposing the role of local police in deportation raids) discuss with their membership the anti-labor character of the Dies bill, etc. Challenge *all* political candidates to state their position regarding deportations and the Dies Bill. Utilize all political opposition to the Dies bill (student groups, liberals, A. F. of L., etc.) and make use of all available means of propaganda (press, radio, movies).

4. Prepare for the National (Washington) Conference to be held the last week of September. This conference must be the result of vigorous local activities. In the preparation of local conferences, election of delegates by the signers of the I. L. D. protest lists must be made the most serious objective. Fresh, mobile, active forces will in this way assume responsibility and authority in the united front movement.

P. C.

Out to the Smaller Industrial Towns

THE possibilities of building the Party and Young Communist League in the smaller industrial towns are tremendous. The workers in these towns depend on one or two industries or plants for work. Without organization, the bosses take advantage of this situation generally, and now especially because of the crisis. The workers are unable to move from place to place, for lack of funds. Therefore the workers in the shops have to accept wage cuts, not being organized; the unemployed are the victims of the most miserable charity.

In the smaller towns, the government bureaucracy is well

organized. It is one grant family, with the owners of the big mill ruling over it. The workers, on the other hand, know one another: true they do not know *all* the suckers and stool-pigeons who hold and control the jobs, and squeal on the workers when they show resentment against wage cuts. But there is a *spirit of solidarity* that is not so evident in larger cities where the workers can go to other plants and industries in search of work.

The workers are showing a splendid spirit of struggle. Endicott, owned outright by Endicott & Johnson, only recently witnessed a strike of 6,000 workers.

The manufacturers are following the policy of moving out of the bigger cities to the suburbs and small towns, where labor is plentiful and cheap.

The *war industries* are not concentrated in the big cities. On the contrary, they are scattered over the countryside, where the capitalists hope to obtain cheap, docile, unorganized labor. The war danger, therefore, alone demands that we penetrate the smaller towns, to build up unions, Unemployed Councils and the Party.

In the big cities we have a large percentage of Party and Y. C. L. members who are unemployed. The percentage of them who are engaged in active work unfortunately is not large. They must be *drafted for work* in the smaller towns. A single, live young comrade can build up organization, as experience has shown throughout the Party. This is not a task to be assigned at some future time: it is an *immediate task*, in view of the readiness of the workers to struggle, their willingness to organize, and the war danger.

The Districts must take this up as an *immediate task*. The building of the Party and revolutionary unions in the smaller industrial centers is an imperative task — just as fundamental as building the Party in the District centers. *The forces of the Party must be distributed, material assistance be given to the comrades sent out. But above all, the comrades sent out must be given political guidance.* The problems arising are of the greatest political importance, requiring a clear line. Comrades assigned to work in these towns are not always able to master them and they must be helped.

Finally, the comrades assigned must immediately get familiar with all the details of the situation in their town. Too often, they do not know nor do they make it their business to learn the facts of the situation. This means the selection of proper comrades—not such as will take a vacation, but comrades who recognize their *political responsibility* and be on the job. “Out to the smaller industrial towns” must become a vital slogan and plans must be worked out by the Districts to carry it out without delay.

I. AMTER.

Stop Shipment of War Materials to Japan!
DEMONSTRATE
AGAINST BOSSES' WARS!

Seamen, Longshoremen, Harbor Workers:

The Japanese imperialist government is slaughtering the Chinese people. The whole imperialist world is energetically preparing for war against the Soviet Union. Rockefeller is now organizing the white guards for war against the Soviet Union.

The American bosses are shipping cargoes of war materials to the Far East for war against the Chinese people and the Soviet Union. *These materials will be used for murdering the Chinese workers and peasants and overthrowing the Soviet Government.*

The same American bosses are cutting our wages and speeding us up. They refuse unemployment relief and insurance to the tens of thousands of seamen and longshoremen on the waterfront. Now they are preparing to send us to war.

Ryan and Furuseth of the I.L.A. and I.S.U. are helping the bosses to put across the wage cuts and carrying the war schemes of the shipowners and the government.

We do not want war against the Chinese and Russian workers and peasants. We refuse to shoot down our brothers for the benefit of the bosses.

Seamen, Longshoremen and Harbor Workers:

Remember the Seattle longshoremen, who in 1920 refused to load war materials that were to be used against the Russian workers.

Refuse to handle all war materials to be used in bosses' wars!

Organize and fight against bosses' wars!

Stop the shipment of war munitions to Japan!

Organize dock and ship committees! Strike against wage cuts!

Defend the Chinese people and the Soviet Union!

**MARINE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION,
 140 Broad Street, New York City.**

This is a good example of an anti-war leaflet. Study and compare it with some you have issued and send in your opinions.
 ---EDITORS.

Rooting the Party in the Shops

How Are We Going to Concentrate on Shops?

(From the Discussion at the Chicago District Plenum)

. . . Where did we decide to concentrate? On the packing houses. What does that mean? Food for the army; on the Western Electric — an ammunition plant in case of war; steel industry — war industry; mining — fuel; railroad — transportation of army and ammunition.

How are we going to concentrate? First of all, comrades, we must understand when we speak about concentration — this means to develop struggles of the workers by departments, shops, on the basis of the needs and demands of the workers, *building of the trade unions in the shops, committees of action, etc.* We also shall organize the social life of the workers around the factory — social, cultural and sport life of the workers of that factory. I will take the most typical example — the stockyards. Who live around this great industry? Stockyard workers. You can go from house to house and you will find that nine out of every ten workers work or formerly worked in the stockyards. Around the stockyards there is the social life of the bourgeois organizations and bourgeois political organizations.

On the basis of the conditions in the factories we are to develop a united front movement for struggle, for immediate demands of the workers, against wage cuts, lay-offs, for relief, but this is not sufficient. We must give the workers everything they need. We should not look upon the question that we will give them struggle only, but social life, cultural life, etc. they will get from the bourgeoisie.

Let us say there is a question of a picnic to be arranged. How about a stockyard workers' picnic, and then you have also an opportunity to mingle and speak to these workers.

Around the stockyards organize Pioneer groups, with children of the workers in the stockyards. How about youth, stockyards youth, or the Young Communist League, women, Negroes, Mexicans, mass sale of literature, utilization of the press, Mexican paper, Polish paper, *Daily Worker*, etc.?

When we speak about concentration we do not mean one unit, one individual. *Everything must be entrenched there.* How about the John Reed Club to organize some cultural ac-

tivity of the stockyards workers? How about the Labor Sports Union to win worker sportsmen?

The question of concentration must be considered also from another angle. Why are we pressing so much on the subjective factors — because the *objective conditions in the industries today are such that there is a possibility from small strikes and struggles to develop gigantic mass movements*. The history of our strikes are of this character. The 40,000 miners in Pennsylvania did not strike on one day — one mine struck and it spread. The same is true of Lawrence, etc. When the workers begin to feel they have a chance to fight against the conditions, then they will fight. With the proper approach and understanding of the workers, we can organize struggles on small scales which might spread. But all our struggles must be developed not for the sake of struggles, but *for winning demands of the workers*. While we have this objective, we will not achieve it if we do not revolutionize the workers. Because if we do not we will not consolidate the workers organizationally. And in this situation, we come very close in our struggle against all kinds of reformists, etc. We do not see them today, but once we start struggles, they will be there to mislead the workers. In the stockyards today, we do not see them, but once activities and struggles develop, there will always be Ansbourys types as we have them today in southern Illinois.

How to Organize a Shop Group

HERE is my own experience. I was assigned to concentration in the S— K— mill, where the problem was to get the first contact. It was lunch time. A group of workers stood at the entrance of the building where many other shops are located. I asked them whether the foreman or boss is with them. When I found they were not around, I began to speak about the conditions in the trade and then turned the conversation to the conditions in the shop. The workers spoke up and told of the conditions that prevail in the shop. I gained the confidence of some of the workers right from the start by the fact that I was careful enough not to start a conversation on organization without making certain that the boss or foreman is not around. From the conversation, I noted who the most sympathetic one was, and after working hours, I followed him away from the shop, approached him for direct organization work.

There was resistance on the part of that worker toward our union. He happened to be a right winger. I then turned the

conversation to our political differences, and explained to the worker that no matter what our political differences may be, we must unite so we can fight and win better conditions. The worker agreed on that, and within seven weeks, a shop group was organized. In the beginning the group was very small, it functioned secretly, and was very careful in getting in new members into the group. When, however, it reached a number of one-third of the workers employed in the shop, the shop group was not afraid any more to come out in open fight against a wage cut that took place. The shop committee was recognized by the boss is in constant touch with the union. The shop committees are guided by the union leadership against opportunistic errors and class collaboration policies that the bosses are trying to inject through their shop policies. The workers of that shop who were antagonistic to our movement before the strike are supporting our policies and accept our leadership as a result of the correct application of the united front policy. A similar method of organization must be applied also in company-unionized or in reformist union shops, where we must approach individual workers in the beginning, build up a shop group secretly, until sufficient strength is gained, to develop struggles over the heads of the leaders of the reformist unions.

The Building of the Union

From the strike of the Powell Undergarment Company, we can learn how to coordinate shop work with the mass organizations. The strikers of the Powell Undergarment Company were mostly young and inexperienced girls who were prejudiced against the union. Their parents had bad experience with the leadership of the reformist unions and these youngsters did not have a chance to learn the difference between the A. F. of L. and our revolutionary union.

Within a short period we completely won the confidence of the strikers. The strike was spontaneous, "against discharges and attempt of the concern to change from week-work to piece-work system." When the workers found themselves on the street, they needed support and we offered it to them without asking them for immediate affiliation with the union.

We immediately helped them to obtain a meeting place in a workers club close to the shop. Some of our members were assigned to be with the strikers all the time, helping them to organize the picket line and to chase away the scabs. We called upon the Women's Council and with their aid, we collected some food in the neighborhood, which was given to the strikers free. We arranged an affair, the income of which was used to support some of the strikers.

The strikers were first amazed and later enthused about the support they received from the union. The strike was militant and the ranks of the strikers were solid. Mass demonstrations were arranged in which not only the strikers and the union members participated, but also the workers in the neighborhood.

The strike was settled satisfactorily to the workers. Our union and the Party gained prestige, not only among the strikers, but also among the workers that directly or indirectly knew about the strike.

All the strikers joined the union the very first week after the strike was settled; one joined the League, and the possibilities exist in the very near future to build a League nucleus in the shop of the most militant workers there.

J. RAPAPORT (New York)

Our Party's Task in the Youngstown Steel District

THE Youngstown steel district offers the most excellent opportunity to put into life the main decisions and resolutions of the Fourteenth Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party. Especially must the Party membership establish "solid personal contact."

With the steel mills operating on the stagger hunger system, a series of sweeping wage-cuts in the steel industry, the American Federation of Labor union exposing itself as a company union; mass unemployment and refusal of relief by the employers and city governments — this objective situation offers to our Party the possibility of rallying the workers into a mass campaign against the bosses' hunger and wage-cutting offensive.

But despite the favorable conditions existing we must sharply call the attention of the Party to the fact that today *we are not orientated toward the steel mills, mass work, and the building of the Steel Workers Industrial Union.* This is best shown by the fact that only five out of eighteen units are shop nuclei and these very weak (no nuclei in the pottery industry); that there exists only a few loose groups of the Steel Workers Industrial Union; and that we were totally unable to rally the steel workers into a campaign against the 15 per cent wage-cut.

The main reasons for our shortcomings are the following:

1. Sectarianism:

(a) Lack of personal contact with the steel workers, as evident during our efforts to secure information on the attitude of the non-Party workers on the wage-cut. This brought out how the units (internal life) absorbed the strength, time, and activity of our members with inner work, thus isolating us from the decisive section of the workers in the steel industry.

(b) No functioning fractions in the mass organizations. Therefore, our campaigns and the work of our comrades is orientated toward the problems of their organization only, instead of considering their work as part of the whole work of the Party.

(c) Isolation from the Negro masses leaving them free to the propaganda and influence of the Negro reformists and boss-politicians. With great ideological influence and sympathy amongst the Negro workers we are guilty of "chauvinistic organizational isolation" from the Negro toilers.

(d) No efforts to consolidate organizational results from mass actions and demonstrations. Workers are called to demonstrate, to meetings, to struggle, but very little efforts are made to draw them into our organizations.

2. Bureaucratic methods:

(a) The idea is prevalent that only "good speakers and typists" qualify for leadership not considering workers who have contact and mass influence amongst workers. Sections department heads act too much as "bosses" instead of giving active leadership and personal guidance to the work. The "letter leadership" to out-of-town units still exists.

(b) Unit life is too formal. Collective leadership is lacking and when established in some committees, departments, and units the comrades resent personal responsibility.

(c) Fractions are "one man outfits" as Party decisions are not discussed in the fraction meetings but just railroaded through by the secretaries. As a result of this there is poor response in mass organizations to our campaigns and even petty arguments among the fraction members.

3. Inner orientation:

(a) Party life is evident only in the units. The decisions are not carried into life among the workers and mass organizations.

(b) Serious lack of systematic check-up on decisions and lack of persistent day-to-day work on our campaigns. There exists "jumping-jack" tactics instead of concentrated efforts to carry our Party work.

Our Next Task in Light of Plenum Decisions

Our next task is the *development of struggles among the unemployed and part-time steel workers; struggles in the steel*

industry which will result in the building of the Steel Workers Industrial Union. All of our work must be orientated in this direction. This task must be carried out with active assistance from the district center and guidance from the Central Committee to really concentrate our efforts in building our Party and the Union in the Youngstown Section.

Our work amongst the Negro toilers must not be looked upon as "another task" but with the idea of winning the Negro workers into the struggles of the steel workers and into the Steel Workers Industrial Union. The concentrated attention which we must give to the building of the youth movement must also be guided by turning the face of the Y. C. L. toward the steel industry. Our approach to the mass organizations, whose membership consists of steel workers, must be to win their support organizationally and financially to the task of building the Union. With all phases of our work concentrated on the steel industry we will be able to raise the political level of the Party membership to an understanding of our fundamental task—the building of a mass red trade union and unemployed movement—and the quick application of new decisions arising out of our work among the steel workers.

The development of struggles amongst the unemployed and employed steel workers, the building of the Steel Workers Industrial Union, our Party fighting for equal rights for the Negro workers will establish our political influence and develop a mass election campaign in support of our candidates and program. This is the road to the building of a mass Party "of the steel workers" in this section. Mass influence and organizational strength of our Party and the Union is the most effective weapon in a struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

FRANK ROGERS.

* * *

EDITORIAL NOTE: While Comrade Rogers is making an effort to analyze the situation in Youngstown in light of the Fourteenth Plenum, the proposals on how to overcome the present situation are entirely inadequate. We would like to hear from Youngstown:

1—*What is our plan of concentration?*

2—*How do we carry out the plan?*

3—*What steps have been taken to guarantee the carrying on the plan of concentration? (forces, mobilization of the units, etc.)*

4—*What are the experiences in the carrying out of the plan? ..The Fourteenth Plenum Resolution should serve as a guide in changing out methods of work in order to overcome isolation, with which the article deals. How is it being done?*

Let's hear from Youngstown.

From Reports

Comrade H. from District 9 Writes Us:

THE first step in reorganizing our mining work has been taken. In the city of B—, county seat of G— County, we have organized an unemployed council and are organizing another mass meeting to be held soon on the basis of local relief demands.

So far we have made very few advances in our mining work. This has been due to the fact that most of the time was spent trying to organize the present locals on the basis of mine branches. In this we had several setbacks, because of the small membership and the difficulty of making the comrades understand the new methods of work. In one local we were forced to take a step back and bring the entire membership together before it would even meet in a regular way.

The I. Mine is closing, throwing over 300 workers out of work. In the unit and the mine branch discussions have been held as to what action will be taken. A decision was made that a mass protest meeting will be held on the pay-off day in front of the employment office of the mine. Leaflets will be distributed and the comrades are conducting personal agitation among the miners. Demands will be presented to the company, putting it up to the company to take care of its men, demanding free light, water, rent, and to pay back to the miners the money invested in the club house fund, etc.

The W. Mine is reopening, about 150 miners being given jobs. This mine will not run full time and we believe it will operate only during the summer months.

Another weakness was that although there was a 15 per cent wage-cut last month, we took no action. The comrades in the mines try to tell us that the miners are not grumbling, but it has been the weakness of our section leadership not to get direct information on the situation inside this mine.

Our shop paper did not appear in May. Our reasons for this may be considered excuses. First, we had no finances. Second, and worse, the May issue was left entirely to the section organizer. Though instructions were given to comrades to write articles from the mine, none came. We will get out the shop paper, but it will be late.

On farm work, no mass activity was carried on during the past month, except in I— County. And here we have noticed vacillation and indecision as to the steps to be taken. The township committees are not functioning, although several mass meetings, such as one held last week, show that our Party is

becoming the leader in the farmers' struggles. Good headway is being made among the Germans, who are mainly old Socialists.
—H.

* * * *

Editorial Note: Comrade H. is quite self-critical. He is correct that non-appearance of the shop paper, in view of the conditions described in the report, cannot be justified, no matter what excuses are given. Of course, if the shop paper is to be left to the section organizer — no shop paper will be distributed. It is the task of the unit to have their own editorial board and issue the shop paper on the basis of the news from the mine.

In view of the increased lay-offs, the Party units and mine branches of the union should seriously consider the organization of the unemployed, the developing of struggles for relief, and the election of unemployed committees, which shall lead the unemployed workers.

We will be glad to receive further reports on the development of the work.

Comrade D. from S. Shop Nucleus Writes Us:

WE HAVE contacts in the tin, sheet, bar and open hearth departments. Our unit is divided into two groups due to the fact that the members of the respective groups live some distance from each other. Recently we held a meeting in connection with the lay-off, in which three or four comrades were laid off. We have twenty members in the unit. Some of our activities and struggles have been as follows:

Around the beginning of 1931, one department was talking strike in response to a wage-cut and the introduction of a new speed-up device. A meeting was called of the department but, since we really did not prepare this strike, the company union was successful in getting on the strike committee and demoralizing the ranks of the strikers.

Soon after this, elections took place for representatives to the company union. We issued the slogan *Boycott the Elections*. Some of the workers followed our leadership but the bulk of the workers participated in the elections. These company union representatives work in the usual manner, doing little favors for individual workers. Our action failed in any way to expose these representatives. Had our demands for the election of workers from the bench and the counting of votes by workers themselves been properly explained and popularized, the workers would have supported these demands and we could

have exposed the real role of the company union and its representatives.

We failed also to follow up successful struggles against certain grievances. The workers in the O. Department were successful in defeating a 30 per cent wage-cut. These workers marched down in a body to the superintendent and won their demand. No further meeting of these workers was ever called, nor did we really make a determined effort to popularize this successful struggle, except for an occasional mention of it in our shop bulletin.

Another grievance to which we reacted was the question of pay day. The workers stop work on Friday and return on Tuesday. However, the company compels them to come in on Monday (spending additional 40 cents fare) to get their pay. We issued leaflets calling for the organization of grievance committees and demanding the pay-off to be either Friday or Tuesday. The comrades in the shop reported no reaction among the workers to this demand, but this was mainly due to the fact that we actually did not supply the necessary leadership to the sentiment of the workers.

Two comrades reported the following incidents. One comrade working together with other carpenters has pointed out to the workers time and again the inevitability of a lay-off. One American worker with a family of six, who has his own home, was especially skeptical and claimed that the millionaire owner would never do such a thing. Last week this worker was laid off together with 2,000 other workers, including the bulk of the carpenters. When he received his notice, the worker refused to speak to our comrade.

Another comrade spoke continually to four American workers in the R. Department about the coming wage-cut, before any official notice was published. These four workers jointly owned about 200 shares of stock in the company, which they had bought at the price of \$110 per share—now worth only around \$39. These workers told our comrade: "What do you foreigners know about such things?" However, when the wage-cut came these workers refused to speak to our comrade.

In discussing this matter, our comrades raised the question, why do the workers react this way? We more or less agreed that the explanation is the following. Our comrades who usually read our press, being more class conscious, when learning about coming wage-cuts and lay-offs, do not react the same way as the average worker. Instead of discussing the wage-cut and lay-off from the viewpoint of how they as workers will be affected (by cutting down on necessities of life for themselves and families), simply adopt more or less a wise-guy attitude, and even to some extent a gloating attitude — "Well, we are going to get another wage-cut!" Underlying this attitude is a

feeling among many Party members that "the workers will only fight when they are actually starving and therefore every wage-cut is a blessing for our movement." Naturally such an attitude, even though not expressed in so many words, tends to separate our comrades from the other workers and certainly does not encourage other workers to feel friendly toward our comrades.

In connection with the wage-cut in October our comrades tried to excuse the falling off of activity on the wrong policy, as they claimed, namely, the "strike against wage-cut" slogan. Finally we made the comrades see that while the slogan was absolutely correct, wrong tactics were applied.

At present, with the lay-off, a large number of evictions of workers are expected from company-owned houses. Of course, there is no form of relief whatsoever for workers completely laid off. The struggles along these two fronts can be developed to connect the struggles of those still in the mill, with those laid off.

After the discussion we made decisions as follows:

That the unit buro jointly with the section organizer work out a detailed plan to develop immediate struggles inside the mill against wage-cuts and lay-offs, and against evictions.

That the section develop the unemployed movement in the company-owned towns, demanding relief for laid-off workers from the company.

That the section coordinate the work of the mill unit with the work of the other units in the city; that every unit is to concentrate on the territories where the steel workers live.

—D.

* * * *

Editorial Note: We do not know the exact number of Party members in the different departments, but from the figures mentioned, especially with your earnest effort to start some work inside the mill, it will be necessary to reorganize the unit on a departmental basis. This will help greatly to orientate the comrades on the problems of the workers in the departments, and the raising of these problems in order to develop struggles. From your report it seems to us, that while the unit made some effort in developing struggles against wage cuts, this was done without taking the necessary steps to build up shop organization, and the Metal Workers Industrial League. This should be corrected. The first task of the Party unit is to revive the union group and strengthen the group, which must be developed as an instrument of struggle for the demands of the workers.



Shop Paper Reviews

THE *Gary Steel Worker*. The April issue is the latest one to have reached us. "Wages will be cut again soon. Demonstrate on May 1!" is the headline running over the first page.

Thus the steel workers in Gary may get the idea that we tell them to fight the wage cut by a May First demonstration only.

The paper does not tell them how to develop a real fight against the wage cut, by means of day to day struggles in the mill.

The major questions of interest to all workers are not taken up — war, the fight for unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and the government, and for unemployment relief; the elections, Scottsboro.

The *Gary Steel Worker* publishes a program of demands, but does not tell who puts forth these demands.

In that program of demands, we are glad to see demands for the part-time workers, such as a half day's pay when the workers are sent home without work.

We are glad to see a demand of no discrimination against the Negro steel workers, but see no special demands for the young workers.

The paper publishes one application blank both for the Communist Party and the "Steel Workers Union" (which has not yet been formed, by the way). This is bad. It may lead the workers to think that the union is part of the Party.

The paper does well in taking up such immediate issues as the demand for the return of insurance money, etc.

Although the Metal Workers Industrial League will hold its first convention soon, to organize a Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, this is not mentioned. The convention must be popularized in issues before the convention which takes place in the middle of August. And it must be made sure that issues of the *Gary Steel Worker* are gotten out before the convention.

And that they mention much about the program of the Metal Workers Industrial League.

The *Gary Steel Worker* is very attractively mimeographed.

* * * *

THE WHISTLE. Published by shop nucleus in Southern Pacific Railroad Shops, Oakland, Calif. In the May issue, *The Whistle*, right on the first page, deals with two immediate issues: lunch time and the efficiency experts.

That is the way we will develop big strike struggles—by taking up the smaller issues, conducting local struggles around these grievances.

There are probably mostly members of the shopcraft unions in these Southern Pacific shops and so we think stress should be laid on forming united front committees rather than on the Railroad Industrial League, although the program of the League should be discussed in the shop paper.

The Whistle handles the subject of the elections the way it should be done, connects it up with the lay-offs, wage cuts, etc. in the shops. It says the American Federation of Labor officials, the Republicans, Democrats and Socialists support these attacks on the workers, but does not tell how, does not prove it so well. By taking such examples as the Hoover stagger plan, the Hoover wage-cut-no-strike agreement with the American Federation of Labor, the fact that leading Democrats like Raskob are magnates of big companies that take the lead in the wage cut drive, this can be done.

The issues of the part-time workers and the unemployed on the railroads and in the railroad shops are not raised.

The question of war should not be left for the last page but is a major issue for a shop paper.

There is not enough shop correspondence in the paper.

By the way, shop papers which reach raw workers should not use abbreviations like T.U.U.L. without explaining what the letters stand for.

What Shop Papers Must Emphasize in Coming Issues—And How They Must Do It

SHOP papers must take the issues of the day and not only feature them prominently but must also link them up with the day to day problems in the shop.

This should not be done artificially, by broad, general statements.

For instance, in the election campaign. Show the workers how each point in the Communist platform fits into the conditions right in the shop.

Issues which must be played up in all coming numbers in the shop papers are:

War. Show how it affects the workers. Many of them think it will bring them prosperity. Remind them how prices of food and all necessities soared in the world war — far above the wage increases some groups (and only a privileged handful by the way) received. Show them how it might mean more money for some, but bullets for tens of millions. Show them how suffering arose out of the last war. In writing up, do not mechanically call on the workers to defend the Soviet Union, but tell them why — what kind of a country the Soviet Union is, etc.

Call for the formation of anti-war committees in the shop.

Elections. Take the matter of wage cuts. Show how Hoover was one of the leaders of the wage-cutting campaign, how Hoover really had a big hand in the wage cuts right in your shop. How such prominent Democrats as Raskob, big General Motors man, took the lead in the wage-cutting campaign. How both parties, as well as the Socialists, when they are in office, club the unemployed workers when they seek relief, and the employed when they strike against starvation.

Show how the Communists, as evidenced by their platform, in their leadership in organizing the struggles of the workers, are the only ones fighting wage cuts. It is always good to expose local politicians, and dig up facts to show their connections with the bosses.

Unemployment. Most of the shop papers ignore the problems and struggles of the unemployed and part-time workers. Without solidarity between the employed and unemployed in the struggles of both, there can be no successful strikes. Special demands must be raised for part-time workers. Do not forget, they are the link between the unemployed and those in the shops. The fight for government unemployment insurance and for immediate relief must be emphasized.

Scottsboro. How the attack on the Negro workers is aimed at creating division of the workers' ranks, to make the attacks of the bosses easier to put through. How lynching is part of the general terrorism of the bosses to drive down the living standards of the workers.

The Dies Bill. How this attack, aimed at deporting all militant foreign-born workers, also hits the native-born workers in trying to prevent struggles of the workers against starvation by trying to scare the foreign-born from taking part in these struggles

If the revolutionary union or league in your industry is holding a convention soon make this known to the workers. One of the main shortcomings of the shop papers is that the revolutionary unions are given very little mention, which goes also for their programs.

If your shop paper is issued in a shop where there are American Federation of Labor members, carry on a consistent campaign of exposure of the American Federation of Labor misleaders in the particular union; show how certain bad conditions in the shop are a result of the fakers' collaboration with the company. Call for the formation of militant opposition groups in the American Federation of Labor union.

In the railroad, steel, general metal industries, and many others there have been recent general wage cuts, hitting all workers in the industry. These must be constantly emphasized. Railroad shop papers must point out that the railroad general wage cut is supposed to expire in December. The American Federation of Labor and Brotherhood officials told the workers that the cut would end then. Call their bluff; the cut, of course, will not be taken back, but probably a second general cut will be made.

In connection with the E.C.C.I. resolution demanding that the Party make a definite turn to the shops, the shop papers should run pieces on what a grievance committee is, how it functions, what a shop committee is, what an unemployed branch is. Shop paper editors should read *Labor Unity* for information on these questions.

SPREAD THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN LITERATURE IN THE SHOPS!

Communist Election Platform	1c
The Fight for Bread, by Earl Browder	1c
Who Are the Friends of the Negro People, by C. A. Hathaway	1c
Foster and Ford for Food and Freedom—Acceptance speeches of candidates	2c
The Soviet Union Stands for Peace, by M. Litvinov	1c
Graft and Gangsters, by Harry Gannes	10c
They Shall Not Die—The Story of Scottsboro in Pictures	2c
War in China, by Ray Stewart	10c
Noon-Hour Talk on the Communist Party, by Harrison George	2c

SEE THAT YOUR UNIT IS SUPPLIED WITH LITERATURE!

Agit-Prop Work

Mass Agitation in Strike Struggles

IN THE Kentucky miners' strike we had an excellent example of the combination in the use of the most ruthless brutal terror and demagogy. Prior to the strike, and particularly during the strike the coal operators flooded the mining area with a variety of leaflets attacking the Party and the Union. All the ancient and modern prejudices against Communism, against strike struggles were utilized in the bosses' agitation. The question of religion, the question of home, the government, Constitution, Russia, etc. However, neither the Party nor the Union issued any leaflets exposing the bosses' demagogy and their agitation, refuting the lies contained in their agitational material.

What was true of the Kentucky strike, was also true of every leading strike which took place in the country. It goes without saying that the press, the movies, the pulpit, are all used as the bosses' agitational weapons during strike struggles.

Let us take the recent strike in New York, the strike in one of the I. Miller shoe shops. Here the company engaged the Constitutional Educational League as its weapon of agitation against the strikers and the leadership of the Trade Union Unity League. Leaflets and other material were issued in four languages. A mimeographed letter was sent to every striking worker. Of course, our enemies, attempting to be good agitators, always spoke of "facts," and even offered a thousand-dollar reward to anyone who would deny their supposed facts. Here is a lesson for us: that if we are to be successful in convincing the workers, we must learn to be in a position to answer all the arguments of our enemies with hundreds of facts, and not to be satisfied with mere agitational statements of denunciation.

In all of our strike struggles we must learn to answer the charge that the strike "is a political demonstration rather than one interested in the general welfare of the worker." (From the I. Miller Shoe agitation material.)

We were not quick enough even in this successful strike, to immediately react to the agitational attacks of the shoe bosses. However, as soon as the strike leadership took up in earnest, through its own leaflets and bulletins, to expose the fakery of the agitation of the Constitutional Educational League, the shoe bosses found the services of these patriotic racketeers useless and dismissed them.

A serious weakness in our agitation and strike struggles is the complete absence of literature, and in the literature section of this issue of the *Party Organizer*, this question is discussed in detail.

One of the main problems in carrying through successfully, strike struggles, is the preparation of the strike. The preparatory work of the strike is not a mere organizational routine. It is a political task and problem. We have to convince the workers of the need and possibility of striking. The preparation of our strike struggles also means immediate struggle against the reformists. It also means to defeat the propoganda of the bosses. Without going into detail on this question, it is obvious that agitation to convince the workers of the necessity to strike, agitation to refute the arguments of the reformists about the difficulties and impossibilities of striking, is essential in our preparation of strike struggles. What is true in the course of preparing a strike assumes special importance during the actual strike struggle.

In this article we merely intend to raise the question of agitation in strike struggles. What we said about agitation and strike struggles also applies to all our mass activities, with *particular emphasis in our anti-war activities.*

It is high time to do away with the conception that agit-prop work means merely internal routine propoganda and the issuance of a leaflet now and then. The main emphasis in our agit-prop work must be placed on the development of mass agitation in the preparation, development and leading of mass struggles.

It is therefore also necessary to again emphasize the need of developing closest unity in our org. and agit-prop work. We wish to call the attention of the comrades to the articles which appeared in the last issue of the *Party Organizer* dealing with this question.

—S. D.

What Is Agitation—What Is Propaganda?

A GREAT deal of our agitation and propoganda material is unsatisfactory because we do not make a distinction between agitation and propoganda. For instance, some leaflets which are to be agitational attempt to give a thorough and complete explanation on certain questions. While those that are supposed to be propoganda leaflets, limit themselves to the statement of one or two facts. The same is true of our literature. Some pamphlets are to be agitational for mass distribution in connection with mass struggles, others are to be propa-

ganda pamphlets. The same holds good insofar as agitational and propaganda speeches are concerned.

In order to be able to develop more clarity on this question, we reprint Comrade Lenin's classic definition of agitation and propaganda.

"In a word he (the propagandist) must present many ideas, so many indeed that they will be understood as a whole by a (comparatively) few persons. An agitator, however . . . will direct all his efforts to present a *single* idea to the masses . . . he will strive to *rouse* discontent and indignation amongst the masses and leave a more complete explanation of this contradiction to the *propagandist*. Consequently the propagandist operates chiefly by means of the printed word, the agitator operates with the living word. The qualities required of an agitator are not the same as those required of a propagandist." (From *What Is to Be Done?* by Lenin.)*

In an introduction to a collection of articles by Comrade Lenin on agitation and propaganda published in the German language, we find the following clear explanation of agitation and propaganda.

"While agitation must concentrate itself in a few leading ideas, which will become a lever to action by the masses, and in this way becomes tirelessly impregnated into the consciousness of the revolutionary proletariat in the daily fight, so propaganda has the task of bringing these slogans of action, these watchwords of tactics, into line with the general strategic plan of the Party, to base them on an exhaustive analysis of the political situation as a whole and the tendencies of development arising therefrom.

"Propaganda has the task of linking up the general conditions of struggle and the particular fighting aims of the proletariat with the principles of Marxism. Agitation follows the aim of concentrating these general directives into special centre-points, to hammer them into slogans of action.

"Lenin says somewhere that the revolutionary propagandist has to think in terms of hundreds, the agitator in terms of tens of thousands; the organizer and leader of the revolution in terms of million masses. What must be common to all three is the 'insight into the nature, conditions and general aims, arising out of the struggle conducted by the proletariat.' "

* May be ordered from Workers Library Publishers. Price 50 cents.

Agit-Prop Briefs

IN CONNECTION with the Plenum discussion, it was suggested that special conferences be arranged with comrades active in shop work, special conferences with comrades active in trade union work, etc. Wherever these conferences were held they proved to be very successful. This method of conferences should be still further developed.

In addition to special conferences as mentioned above, it is necessary to develop the system of city- and section-wide functionaries' conferences taking up certain concrete political problems, as for instance, the struggle against war, trade union work, election campaign, etc.

The raising of the political level of the membership, the development of interest for theoretical study and problems will be greatly improved by concrete discussions of the important political problems facing the Party in its mass work. The system therefore of special conferences and general conferences should be taken up in earnest.

* * *

The Minnesota District is ordering only 30 copies of *The Communist*. This is not even sufficient for the district and section functionaries, let alone for really bringing *The Communist* into the hands of the Party members and the militant workers around the Party. We are taking here the example of Minnesota, a leading district, merely to emphasize what is true of the entire Party. While some districts may have larger orders, they by no means correspond with the needs of raising the political and theoretical level of the Party.

Here is another example: we received the following letter from Cleveland:

"We would like to call your attention about rushing in *The Communist*. We were getting 50 copies, then you came along with (pressure!!) to increase, so we did. We made an increase to 75. Now you come along with another 100 per cent increase and send us 150. We have not sold our extra April and May issues. What shall we do?"

The letter speaks for itself. No comments are necessary.

* * *

More care should be taken in following the contents of our various leaflets. For instance, in a leaflet issued by the Dearborn Unemployed Council, we find the following statements:

"The Unemployed Council has secured permission to hold a meeting on a lot at the above address, and so far as we can see, *no interference will occur.*"
Here we see an expression of legalism. Instead of preparing

the workers for the possibility of meetings that have permits, being interfered with, the other line is taken in the leaflets. Of course, in speaking of the possibilities of our meetings being attacked, we must not do it in a hysterical, panicky manner. But this is not an excuse for allowing such legalistic expressions to creep into various leaflets. While we do not know the concrete conditions in the arrangements of the meeting for which the leaflet was issued, we cannot see, however, the need of announcing "the Civil Liberties Union assisted in the arrangement of this meeting. They will also have a speaker."

* * * *

The issuing of important district agit-prop outlines should be the responsibility of the district leadership and not that merely of the agit-prop director. The outline of the Chicago District on our anti-war campaign had some serious errors which we feel could easily have been avoided had it been discussed collectively before it was published. Criticism of this outline appeared in the *Daily Worker* of June 18.

The same holds true of the Chicago District outline on the Fourteenth Plenum. Here are some excerpts from a letter containing criticisms on the Fourteenth Plenum outline:

"The question of our struggle against social-fascism is inseparably linked up with our struggle against isolation and sectarianism. There is no mention at all on this point in your outline. Comrade Williamson in his speech at your Plenum certainly gave many examples and experiences, emphasizing the importance of the fight against social-fascism in your district.

"On the question of our trade union work. You make no mention at all regarding our work in the reformist unions, while of course you correctly raise the question of building the T.U.U.L. unions and leagues. However, I would like to call your attention to the point in which you refer to the need of building the Railroad Workers Industrial Union. We will certainly not be able to build the Railroad Workers Industrial Union if we continue as we have up until now to neglect and forget our work in the Railroad Brotherhoods.

"On the question of our factory concentration. While you correctly state the problem of organizing all of our outside forces for work in the factories, you leave out the most essential point, our work *inside* the factory, the problem of the united front in the factory, the question of demands, grievances, etc."

* * * *

In the last issue of the *Party Organizer* we had a special statement on the establishment of six-weeks training courses

for new Party members. The information we have on hand shows there is a very weak response in the organization of these very important courses. We call the attention of the comrades to the article in the No. 24 issue of the *Inprecor*, "Party Education Work with New Members of the German Communist Party." The experiences of our brother Party in Germany emphasizes the great necessity of developing the six-weeks training courses for new members in our Party as well.

Nor must we neglect the problem of the general political training of the entire Party through our classes in Fundamentals of Communism in the Workers Schools, etc.

The very basis of our political training must be the enrichment of the inner life of the Party units. Here again we wish to refer the comrades to the statement on this question in the last issue of the *Party Organizer*.

An Example to Be Followed

WHEN the workers of Charlotte, N. C., decided they should read some of the more important works on economics, Communism, etc., and finding that they did not have the money to purchase the more expensive books they sought a way to remedy this. Here is how they did it:

A small group of these comrades got together and organized "The Workers Library Circle." Each and every worker who wants to join can do so by paying an initiation of ten cents. The sum collected by initiation fees, donations, etc., is used to purchase books for the library. Such books as *Bimba's History of the American Working Class*, *Stalin's Leninism*, etc., are being purchased for "The Workers Library Circle." Each member of the library can take any book to read, but must pay five cents for reading the book. This goes to the upkeep of the library.

"The Workers Library Circle" is at present a small group, but it is only started. The workers are very enthusiastic over this method of getting books to read. Sympathizers are giving them donations occasionally and it is only a question of time when they will have a splendid library of Marxist-Leninist literature.

Another method of building the library was to write to various radical writers for contributions. Upton Sinclair, Bishop Brown and others sent donations of books.

"The Workers Library Circle" not only acts to educate these workers who are already members of the Party and the Trade Union Unity League, but draws numerous other workers and sympathizers to its circle. Many workers are thus drawn nearer to the movement.

—W. G. BINKLEY.



Selling Inside the Shops

No general directives can be given on the sale of literature by members of a shop unit inside the shop. Just like every other Party activity in the shops, the tactics and methods must be adapted to the situation inside. It would be a good idea if the particular manner of distributing literature inside the shop would be worked out by the unit together with the Section or District Literature Director. The unit knows the conditions inside, and the Section or District Literature Director has the benefit of experiences in other shops. Between the two a working arrangement can be found.

A unit in the P— shop in the New York District, working closely with the District Literature Director, and carefully discussing various methods at the unit meetings, succeeded in selling inside the shops during the month of May, 320 pamphlets, amounting to \$17.14. It is interesting to note that a very popular form of literature among the non-Party workers there was the Marxist Study Courses.

Can literature be sold inside the shops? This is only another proof that it can be done.

August First and May First

How to Use Literature in Mobilizing for August First—

Avoid the Shortcomings of Our May First Experiences

(This article is based on reports on May First experiences from Districts 2, 3, 8 and 9)

THOSE districts which seriously planned the activities for May First with regard to literature, linking up their preparations integrally with the general organizational preparations of the given district for May Day, showed good results. Not only did they sell the literature, and thus reach the workers, but they got some good organizational experiences which gave their general literature work a good stimulus.

District Directives on August First Include Literature

We can learn from these experiences. The directives of the Central Committee on August First have gone out, calling upon

tional contacts at the same time. Chicago writes: "As the literature was sold, the workers were urged to support the campaign and to come to the demonstration with their fellow-workers and families. The same line was followed in the mass organizations." These preparatory methods must be emphasized still more for the August First campaign, especially in our efforts to penetrate the shops with organizational forms for struggling against war.

The Demonstration Itself

District 2 sold literature by comrades mingling with the spectators along the line of march. District 2 did this in a very systematic organized manner. (See *Party Organizer*, May-June issue.) In Chicago, while the plans were well laid, they were very poorly carried out. They write: "The serious mistakes were: (a) insufficient number of comrades assigned, majority with no experience on sale of literature, especially on such occasions; (b) lack of necessary discipline in carrying out given directives; (c) comrades in charge of literature sales repeatedly left sidewalks filled with onlookers and joined the marching line; (d) lack of attractive signs to display literature for sale in the parade.

Probably very few August First demonstrations, if any, will be held indoors. Therefore the bad experiences of the May First indoor meetings, as reported by these districts, need not be described in this particular article. Now how can we use these experiences for our August First plans?

Plan Systematically

Use the Central Committee directives carefully in planning the district directives, using every possible opportunity to utilize literature to mobilize the workers—shop gates meetings, sale of literature inside the shops (it can be done—see article on page 29); all election rallies and other outdoor meetings; united front conferences, where mass organizations will give large quantity orders for anti-war literature which was successfully one in Chicago in the Scottsboro campaign; house to house canvassing; all indoor meetings on whatever subject, etc. In those districts where it has never occurred to the Dist. Org. Departments to include literature directives from an organizational and mobilizational viewpoint, the carefully laid plans may not work out so well in practice for the first time, but they will have a tremendous effect in orientating the Party members toward literature as an organizer and mobilizer. In this respect District 8, after enumerating all its shortcomings in the May First campaign, writes:

"The outstanding successes from a Party point of view,

the districts to work out their detailed plans, and literature must play the same mobilizing role that it does in the Central Committee directives, concretized for district conditions. All District Literature Directors, and all District Org. Departments should therefore bring out the role of literature as an organizer and mobilizer in their directives for the district on August First, learning from the experiences we had in planning the May First campaign.

May First Experiences

Four districts responded to the call of the center to report on their May Day experiences—Districts 2, 3, 8, and 9. The experiences of District 2 were described in the Literature Section of the *May-June Party Organizer* in detail. All four of these districts used May Day literature for mobilization before May Day itself—at open air meetings, at united front conferences, at shop gate meetings, shop gate sales, and at all functionaries' meetings during that period. Some of them used literature in house to house canvassing, thus making organizations being daily expressed, are: (a) the serious realization of the practical importance and gains for the Party and the revolutionary movement in general, from the mass distribution of our literature; (b) the serious approach of our Party membership from top to bottom toward furthering a political orientation toward literature distribution, and the rallying of the organizational abilities of the membership for developing an efficient apparatus to penetrate the shops, mines, unions, and mass organizations with our Party press and Party literature; (c) lessons drawn from mistakes and shortcomings; (d) the education of the working masses on the campaigns, the rallying of them under the ideological leadership of our Party, leading directly to organizational gains."

Unit Literature Directors—Wake Up!

AT A combined meeting of three units in District 2, the comrade in charge of literature for the evening, used the following method to sell the pamphlets, etc.: "We have some very good and new pamphlets. All comrades who want some, please come forward." Of course, a few minutes elapsed and no one came up. One of the comrades of the District Literature Committee, who was present, picked up a pamphlet and spoke one minute on its contents. Then he did likewise with another and another pamphlet. The result was gratifying! The nickels and dimes for these pamphlets actually flowed in. Then this com-

rade explained the necessity of spreading the sale and distribution of our literature to the *outside* workers, to act as an *organizer*, explaining how Litvinoff's *Soviet Union Stands for Peace* would be of extreme interest to such workers at present. There were only forty of these pamphlets and eight comrades took five each, but a few others asked that they also be supplied with some.

This proves that it is merely a question of approach which determines the failure or success of our sales and distribution. No comrade in charge of literature should attempt to distribute any without first making a brief statement on each pamphlet as to its contents, or import, etc., otherwise the titles read off to the workers remain just that—titles.

(From the *Literature Builder*, New York, June, 1932.)

Don't Let the Question of Lack of Credits Stop You.

Start from the bottom up. That's how we have to begin the tremendous job of starting real mass literature distribution. No credits and no money — that is considered an insuperable stumbling block—but only by comrades not genuinely interested in getting started.

Get a unit literature fund started. Every comrade in the unit who is employed, should be asked to advance a certain amount for literature. This money is used to buy the literature at a discount. The quarters, half-dollars and dollars that were advanced will be repaid to the comrades in the form of literature at the selling price. The profit remains in the unit—not the general treasury, to be eaten up by expenses connected with other Party activities—but in a separate literature account, to be used solely for further promotion of literature. Gradually a good stock of literature will develop, and a good mass sale to workers outside this unit can be developed.

Get a comrade in charge who is interested in the work of literature distribution, who can mobilize other comrades to be active in this work, and who can keep careful accounts and use the money for more literature.

Workers' Libraries Give Workers an Opportunity to Read

On page 28, in the Agit-Prop section of this number of the *Party Organizer*, comrades will find an account of how our books and pamphlets were made available to unemployed and penniless workers in Charlotte, N. C.