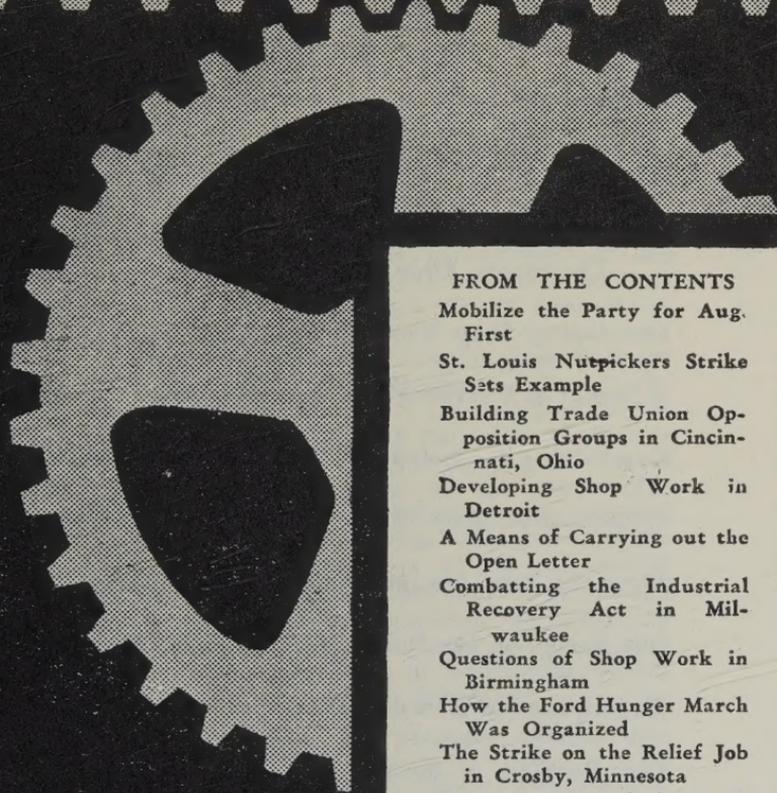


Party Organizer



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Factory Papers of the C. P. of the United States

Vol. VI.

July, 1933

No.7

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U S. A

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Mobilize the Party for August First

The Party, in preparing for August First this year, is faced with more vital and insistent tasks than ever before in its history. Ever deepening crisis, economic chaos, grips the capitalist world. Mass unemployment and wholesale degradation of their conditions of life are the lot of the workers and farmers. War, the inevitable result of the effort to find the capitalist way out of the crisis, is daily being prepared. Faced with the glowing achievements of the Soviet Union, confronted with the menace to the capitalist world of exploitation in the very existence of the Soviet Union; gripped with deathly fear of the splendid example and leadership of the Soviet Union to the workers of the world to take the revolutionary way out of the crisis; the bourgeois world with all haste prepares a war of intervention against the workers' fatherland.

The World Economic Conference in London exposed more than anything else the efforts of capitalism to "solve" the crisis at the expense of the workers. The conflict of the imperialist powers for the redivision of the world market is leading to real armed conflict. Each country seeks for a way out of the crisis at the expense of the other. The advent of fascism in Germany further intensifies the conflicts for the redivision of the world markets, and provides the bourgeoisie with a concrete example as to how to enforce the iron fist of dictatorship over the working class and its revolutionary organizations in order to unload the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the workers. At the same time, concrete preparations intensify for an armed bloc against the Soviet Union. War is the order of the day.

Build the Party in the Shops in the Struggle Against War

In this situation class lines become clearer and sharper. The Industrial Recovery Act proves to the workers that the capitalist way out of the crisis means the lowest destitution, the meanest degradation of the whole working class—that only by means of the most vicious attack against the workers and their revolutionary organizations can the bourgeoisie even attempt to save its profits. In order to effect this the bourgeois State is even more closely welded to finance capital than ever before. More clearly and openly than ever does

the State come forward as the instrument and central committee of finance capital. The betrayers of the working class within the ranks of labor—the Socialist Party and the American Federation of Labor continue and carry still further their deception and treachery in the service of capitalism. Slashed wages, increased speed-up, unemployment—this is the program of Industrial Recovery Act and the whole Roosevelt regime.

In this situation, the development and growth of the Party is the all important factor. The workers can take the revolutionary way out of the crisis only when the Communist Party confidently, unhesitatingly, leads it in every phase of its struggle. The question of building the Party, developing every phase of its activities is therefore the decisive question. Furthermore the Party can only be built as a real leader of the masses, if it is built in the shops. The main instrument for carrying on the struggles of the workers and building the Party in the shops are the revolutionary unions. These tasks cannot be viewed separately. They are all interrelated. Without building the Party in the shops, the Unions cannot grow. Detroit, Pittsburgh and other places are concrete examples of this. Without building the Union in the shops the Party cannot win the workers under its leadership.

The struggle against war must have as its main arena—the shops. In taking up the demands and issues facing the workers, in exposing the Industrial Recovery Act before the workers, the immediate burning issue of the war and the defense of the Soviet Union must be raised. Every action of the capitalists in preparation for the war should be exposed. The Public Works Program can be exposed through our daily shop activity as mainly an instrument to be used for the building of war materiel. The entire program of the Roosevelt regime, particularly the Industrial Recovery Act is to be concretely shown to the workers as definite preparation for war, as creating a machinery to prepare war.

The Party Nucleus as the Leader in its Shop and Territory in the Struggle Against War

The principal guarantee for the development of a real struggle against war is the activity and initiative to be developed by every Party nucleus and unit in raising issues to expose and fight against the war preparations of the bourgeoisie. While showing the workers concretely how to fight against the war, how they defend the Soviet Union, the Party develops its leadership on the concrete basis of the workers in each department, in the union locals, in the mass

organizations of the working class, among the farmers. The struggle of the workers for their economic conditions, for unemployment insurance and on every front of the class battle, can and must be linked up with the struggle against war.

Win the Forces for the Fight Against War

The concrete activities of the Party against war must with all speed be developed within the actual war apparatus of the bourgeoisie. On the basis of the struggle for their conditions and taking up their needs in their daily life, the Party must really begin its work among the armed forces. The work among the ex-servicemen must receive a real impetus in the struggle against war connecting up their demands with the general demands of the whole working class. At the same time of the utmost importance is the work of the Party on the waterfront, where a strategic section of the working class are centered, especially in the struggle against war.

Build the Party in the Struggle Against War

In the struggle against war and for the defense of the Soviet Union, the Party brings its program before all sections of the working class. The Young Communist League especially is the organization which reaches and should receive all the assistance of the Party and its mass organizations in reaching those young workers which will be and are today the backbone of the preparations for war. The struggle for Negro rights, the work among women and children,—all these are specific struggles among certain decisive sections of the working class which must receive the full support and assistance of the Party and all its organizations in the struggle against the coming war.

Throughout all the activities on this front of the utmost importance is that the Party build itself and recruit new members for its ranks. On the basis of its program and on the basis of organizing and leading struggles for the workers in the shops, among the unemployed and in the armed forces, the Party builds itself and strengthens its leadership over the masses. These are the tasks of every Party unit, every nucleus, and must be viewed in the light of concretely preparing the Party for the coming war.

The center of gravity of Party work must be shifted to the development of the lower organizations, the factory nuclei, local organizations and street nuclei.

—From The "Open Letter To Party Members"

St. Louis Nutpickers' Strike Sets Example

This strike is a splendid example of Party leadership and initiative in organizing workers for struggle. The nut picking industry in the St. Louis territory consists of 16 factories, employing about 3,000 women, 90% Negro. Working hours are 9 per day, five and a half days per week. In the past two years they received two wage cuts. Negro women earned from \$1.80 to \$3.00 per week; while white girls, from \$3.00 up. 60% were on the relief roll. Many grievances existed, and slight attempts were made to organize these workers in the last two years. But the assignments were made to "concentrate" and that was all.

How the Strike was Organized

Actual organization of the strike took two months. One of our comrades was assigned to the factory where he had connections. Since the largest factory in the city was hard to penetrate due to an unsuccessful strike in 1927, we decided to start in a smaller plant and use it as a wedge for getting into the others. The first meeting of the shop group consisted of three Negro women. We showed them how to select the best contacts in the shop. We explained the lessons of the Scottsboro case, dealt with the unity of Negro and white workers. The shop group steadily grew and when the number reached 20 we discussed the concrete demands to be raised, not yet, however, for a strike. The question of connection with other shops was taken up. The women finally decided to demand an increase of 4 cents to 10 cents per pound for halves and from 2 cents to 4 cents for pieces. Their demand became a famous slogan. "We want 10 and 4" was shouted and sung on the streets of St. Louis during the ten day strike.

Finally the shop group extended to three factories belonging to the largest company. At a meeting which we organized of the workers, they decided to put their demands up to the boss and if he didn't agree, they would call a strike. The workers also decided to test their strength in the west end factory where the union had 100 members out of 200 in the shop. A committee of 12 was organized to make the demands upon the boss, and we arranged that the rest of the workers were to stop working and to go to the office to hear what the answer would be. Not only did the 100 in the union stop working, but every worker but seven came to support the demands.

For May First we issued leaflets to the nut pickers, asking them to join the demonstration. This actually agitated the

whole plant so that part of them were ready to walk out and the Executive Committee of the Food Workers Union local had to issue a special leaflet on the morning of May First, calling on the women not to walk out, but to stand ready when called later. In the meantime we spread our organization to other factories in order to defeat the plans of the company to isolate one factory, because it was not a busy season.

Workers Decide on Action

The next two meetings were concentrated on the main plant in the city employing 700 white and Negro women. In another two weeks we had 15 women enrolled from the main factory into the union. By this time the workers had been waiting 3 weeks for an answer to their demands by the boss. That night the women decided that they could not wait any longer. They felt that any further delay would give the bosses a chance to split their forces by shutting down temporarily some of the shops and scaring the others. Therefore, it was decided to call an open mass meeting at which an open vote for a strike would be taken. The strike was voted on.

The workers arranged the original committee from the west-end plant would go to the boss and demand an answer to their demands. If they were granted they would stay in the shop and notify other shops that the demand was granted. If not, they would all walk out and march to the largest shop, giving the shop group in the plant a signal for a walk-out. On that day, we had machines and trucks outside the plant in readiness. The women began to walk out. The trucks were loaded and before the boss knew what happened, the women were brought to the doors of the largest plant, hailing the other workers and signaling the shop committee inside to call out all workers. The first day 900 workers walked out. The second day two other shops and two small factories walked out, totalling 1,400 women. At the same time, the white women walked out in solidarity with the Negro women.

How the Leadership of the Strike Was Organized

Three days after the strike was declared, all shops were striking, except one. This was done, not by a general strike call, but by pulling out one shop after another. In order to properly control the activities and lead the strike, each shop elected its own strike committee, and captains on the picket line. At the same time a central strike committee was organized. Each day, in addition to the meetings of the shop in the morning, general strike meetings were held to advise and let the strikers know of the developments. The Central Strike Committee met before and after each negotiation with the

bosses Every step was thoroly gone over and every trick of the bosses exposed at each meeting of the strikers. Relief was organized and about 1200 women were fed each day. While poor preparations were made for feeding, the women strikers responded to the collection of food, funds, etc. The strikers actually carried on the main burden of relief.

Every day mass picketing was organized. The leadership of the Communist Party and the unemployed councils worked closely with the strikers. On the third day of the strike came the offer of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % increase in wages. This offer was flatly rejected. The capitalist press then tried to turn the sentiment of the St. Louis workers against the strikers by saying: "the offer of increase was rejected because the Communists are leading the strike and simply want trouble." The answer of the workers was: "The Communists are our friends." To defeat the bosses propoganda the Central Strike Committee decided to open fire against the City government. Since 60% of the women were on the city relief roll, the city government was supporting the big bosses in the nut industry to maintain bad conditions. A mass demonstration was organized before the City Hall, and a demand was made for release of the arrested strikers. The demand was won; the workers sticking to their posts until the organizer of the Food Workers Industrial Union had spoken. Only thru close contact and attention to every form of demagogy or attack was it possible for the revolutionary leadership to defeat the attempts of the bosses and the government to split the ranks of the workers. Each of these issues was brought to the Central Strike meeting where the women themselves exposed the maneuvers of the bosses.

Force Bosses to Concede Demands

On the seventh day of the strike, the General Strike Committee served notice to the City Government, that other shops would be closed if the demands were not met. Also preparations were made for another demonstration. In the meantime, sentiment spread among the laundry, shoe and needle trades workers. The bosses tried another trick, offering what looked like a concession, but which was exposed as an actual wage cut. Despite all efforts of the bosses to inject the issue of Communism, the workers stuck and demanded that the TUUL organizer be present at the negotiations. Finally the company offered concessions and agreed almost entirely to grant the demands of the workers. The strike committee told the company they would report to the strikers and vote on the proposal.

Build the Union

A vote was taken on the proposal of the company, the revolutionary union and the strike committee explaining the offer of the bosses and the question of the recognition of the union. Eleven locals of the Food Workers' Industrial Union have been organized and solidified in the course of the strike and since the strike. There are 1400 regular members of the union and about 50 unemployed members who have joined in support of the strike and are part of the union. Also, organization of the locals is progressing fast in East St. Louis, where 900 women are employed in three plants of the same company

How Organizational Consolidation Was Achieved

While a great part of the consolidation of the union was conducted during the strike, on the picket line, at meetings and in explaining the union, the main organizational consolidation came after the strike, in the following way:

1. Immediately after the settlement, the locals of each shop met, checked the leadership, strengthened it where it was necessary, elected its shop committees from the best fighters on the picket line and on the strike committee and made rules how to examine each member as to union card, etc., before entering the shop.

2. Duty of the shop committees in each department or floor was explained and strict maintenance of agreement in the shop. Dealing with the boss thru the shop committee.

3. One man, a TUUL comrade, was assigned as organizer to each local to help and advise the members from day to day. Organizer joined the Food Workers Union and was voted upon as a member in that capacity.

4. Each day organizers made contact with the shop committee inside to find out how things are and to advise or help in solving any grievances that may arise. In this way we are in constant contact with the developments and conditions in the shop.

5. Establishment of City Control Board of the Union, with representatives from each local union, which meets every week, decides on policies and brings them to each local union.

6. Educational and social activities. 40% of the women are youth. They are already organizing baseball teams and will compete with each other. Picnics, outings, etc., are organized.

7. Headquarters of the Union are being established close to each shop. Small locals go together to one place, while big locals have their own headquarters.

Strict Party Control—But Building Party Still Main Task

The following steps are taken in order to assure that the Union and Party grow:

1. Assigned organizers to each local have become members of the Union and actually steps are taken to make them responsible to the point of forfeiting their membership in the Party for laxity. Each organizer is present at the shop in the morning when the plant opens, at noon and at night. At each of these three appearances at the shop, the organizer speaks with the shop chairlady and inquires if all is OK in the shop. In case something goes wrong or any problems arise that the women cannot solve themselves they consult the organizer and he helps. When grievances arise we settle them right on the spot and try to solve them at once, also at the same time we carry on ideological campaign against bosses' influence.

2. Definite assignment and responsibility of each organizer for all work, also for building the Party unit in the shop. Organizers and leadership of the union are so linked that we know every few hours what goes on in the shop as well as out. The Party is brought sharply to the front from day to day. The Communist Party and Young Communist League were not only recognized as leaders of the struggle, but part and parcel of every action.

3. Letters to each local are sent by the executive (City Central) of decisions each week, and are acted upon by each local. The union leadership in the shop is strengthened by enlarging the executives and electing several more officers of the union.

4. Altho the Party led this entire movement, altogether 200 have made applications to the Party. Out of 9 locals, 8 have shop nuclei, but no steps were taken to consolidate the units and such simple organizational questions as issuing membership books have not been taken up. This question was raised very sharply.

The news of these experiences has spread throughout the whole section. The influence of the strike has spread to the southern belt of which this city is a gateway. The influence of it upon the rank and file of the AFL Amalgamated Food Workers is tremendous. Workers in the Amalgamated here openly admit that their strike was misled by the fakers of the AFL and that they "need leadership like the nutpickers". Members of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union are also coming closer as a result of this splendid example of Party leadership and initiative.

R. S., St. Louis.

Building Trade Union Opposition Groups In Cincinnati, Ohio

Cincinnati is traditionally a city of trade union struggle. However, up until a few weeks ago there was no trade union work done by the Party in this section. Prior to that time, several half-hearted attempts were made by the units but they were so weak that it was sure to fail. For a long time there was one trade union member in the Party and this member was convinced that nothing could be done because "all members of the A. F. of L. are reactionary."

Finally we quit the discussion as to whether or not we had forces enough and started with the forces which were at our disposal. A responsible trade union committee has been established which worked out a concrete plan of work and actually began this work. We are not perfect, we make mistakes, but we learn through the work.

We Go Into Action

In a period of four weeks we were able to build a group in one industry of 25 members. These were in an established reactionary union. However, we did not take the time to go over in detail the functions of the group and the role they should play in the struggles with their reactionary officialdom. Also we failed to definitely establish a fraction in the group and to establish the fraction as the leadership of the group. There was also the inexperience of one of our comrades who was so cocksure as to his position of safety in his local that when the election of an officer of the union came up and altho this comrade was elected, he was ruled off the slate because of arrears in his dues!

We Build More Opposition Groups

In another organized industry, controlled by the A. F. of L., we succeeded in building a group of about a dozen only but it is holding together and has already taken up tasks within the local it represents. This group already has succeeded to force the officialdom of three locals of the same industry to come out against forced labor and elected delegates to go to the welfare department and protest against forced labor and demand trade union rates. We built our group from a small start. Three of us submitted names of trusted and honest workers, and discussed them before inviting them to the group meeting. Then we started to raise certain of the above issues.

In the third industry we succeeded in getting together about

25 members, also of a graft ridden outfit. Here we are taking up the task of building groups on the basis of the shops and yards they work in.

Possibilities for Work Great

These successes in building opposition groups must serve the Party as examples of what tremendous possibilities we have in A. F. of L. unions, and if the Party members will understand this, then the work will go on much faster. In every local revolts are taking place. The only thing we have to do is to utilize the grievances of the workers against the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. and their program and build up opposition groups in every local. We want to say that the old bugaboo about "no forces" can't go any more. We do have enough forces to get started, and must continue to build up our forces through the work. We are started, and the old idea that it "takes an army to build a hamlet" is out.

E. H., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Developing Shop Work in Detroit

At the District Convention of the Party in Detroit, held in October 1932, the fact that the Party had not succeeded in making the turn to the shops was sounded very sharply and the whole center of the discussion and reports at this conference was how to penetrate the shops, build the Union and root the Party in the shops. Following the convention, the District leadership called a meeting of all comrades engaged in shop work and those employed in the shops, together with the District Bureau.

At the Party convention it was emphasized that while the District leadership previously had made progress toward developing collective leadership and that the District leadership in general reacted to political problems, the leadership had not succeeded in making a clear analysis of the situation in the auto industry, had not succeeded in bringing to the functionaries and members of the units the policies and programs of the Bureau, had not been able to show the comrades in the units how to work and penetrate the shops. The problem presented itself—how would it be possible to bring this to the Party membership as a whole and plunge the Party into shop work?

It was decided that a conference would be called by the Auto Workers Union to organize the sentiment that existed in the shops for struggle, and in the building of the conference reach new groups inside of the shops and build the

Union. A commission was set up of members of the District Bureau and the comrades in the Union to work out a plan for building this conference. The conference and shop work were linked up very closely with the building of the Lenin Memorial Celebration, and the slogan of "Every factory a Communist fortress" was made our central slogan. A city functionaries meeting was called at which each point of the outline for this work was discussed. In addition to this the leading comrades of the District were assigned to work in the sections and units. These comrades including the District Organizer and Org. Secretary went out to hold meetings with groups of shop workers which our comrades in the units had contacted and called together to elect delegates to the conference and to discuss their problems in the shops. It was possible to give some of these groups a permanent character and many members were recruited for the Union on the basis of this activity.

Due to this activity in preparing the conference the organizational basis was laid in the shops for the strike struggles that developed in this period. At the time when the conference took place, on January 22, two strikes had already been successfully conducted and on the day of the conference a delegation of workers from the Briggs Highland Park plant came to the conference after they had walked out of the plant against Sunday work and wage-cuts, and asked that the Auto Workers Union give leadership to the strike.

By the time the conference was held, shop locals of the Union had been established in the Briggs Waterloo Plant and the Motor Products Corporation, definitely out of the struggles conducted in those plants. Also 23 loose groups had been established in the Ford River Rouge Plant — our main concentration point.

How the Union Was Built

The Union was brought to the forefront in the Briggs Waterloo and Motor Products strikes. During the entire period of this strike more or less systematic recruiting was conducted. At the close of these strikes, the organization of the Union as the only guarantee for holding what had been gained through the struggle was sharply emphasized. At this time practically every worker in both these plants joined the Union. In the Briggs Waterloo Plant approximately 350 workers out of a total of 550 on strike joined the Union. In Motor Products about 1500 joined the Union out of 3000 on strike. Here the Union was established on a departmental basis.

In Briggs Highland Park and Briggs Mack Avenue strikes, however, due to the line carried on by the comrades in the

leadership of the strike, the Union was not brought forward sufficiently. The individual comrades acted in the strike merely as individuals "from outside". The Union as the organizer of the strike from the inside of the shop was not continuously brought forward. While recruiting for the Union was conducted regularly and many hundreds of workers were signed up for the Union, the leadership of the strike was put out because of the line followed by the comrades, and following this, the failure of our Union to continue working in these strikes caused the loss of practically all those we had signed up, with the exception of very few.

In the Hudson Jefferson and Hudson Gratiot Plant strikes, the leadership applied the line of the Party correctly and here it was possible to gain victories and build the Union. Approximately 350 men and women were recruited for the Union. These locals were also established on a departmental basis.

Consolidation of the Union

While we can register at the present time approximately 1500 members in the Union, and have shop locals established in the Briggs Waterloo, Motor Products, Hudson Jefferson, Hudson Gratiot, Ford, Murray Body, Dodge Chrysler, Chrysler Jefferson and 22 territorial branches, our task now is to build and consolidate our forces. However, during the strikes 4,000 workers were recruited for the Union. We did not succeed in building the Union to the extent of the possibilities. This was due to the fact that the line of our comrades in the Union during the strikes was not corrected after the strikes and we were not able to meet such questions as "the Union is a Communist union."

The comrades of the Union leadership failed to work with the Union comrades in the branches and locals. Most important of all, they did not develop and conduct continuous struggles around the daily grievances and needs of the workers and conduct genuine serious education, despite the fact that certain lectures and classes were conducted in the locals.

As a result, the Union has declined in membership since the strike. However, our work in preparing and building up the May Day demonstration helped to a certain extent to check the decline in the Union. How was this done? The May Day campaign was brought to the Party members as a continuation of the campaign for the building of the Lenin Memorial meeting and the Auto Workers Conference, and was carried to a certain extent to the shop gates and shops. The work in preparing the May Day demonstration was carried on from below—in the sections and neighborhoods and inside of the shops. The comrades of the sections and units

together with the workers took the initiative in preparing the meetings, leaflets, etc. To some extent, the development of the neighborhood and small shop struggles succeeded in checking the decline in the Union.

We can say that despite the shortcomings noted above, that at the time of the Auto Workers Convention, June 24th and 25th, we were able to register an Auto Workers Union built on a shop basis. New workers were drawn from the shops into the leadership of the Union, and a program and constitution worked out and adopted by the delegates from the shops.

Application of the Tactics of the United Front

We believe that the correct application of the tactics of the United Front was made during the strikes and after. The Union did not stand aside as separated from the unorganized workers but involved the unorganized and Union members and in some instances the A. F. of L. groups, as for instance, the Metal Finishers Union, the Dingmen's Club, and the I. M. A. in the Briggs Waterloo Plant.

On the unity of employed and unemployed, much more must be said. During the strikes, the policy of the District Bureau was to unite the struggles of the employed and unemployed and to some extent we succeeded. However, some serious mistakes were made.

In the Briggs Waterloo strike, the unemployed were drawn in. But here there was objection on the part of the strikers and when the unemployed came on the picket lines, they met with the opposition on the part of the strikers. Our comrades in the strike did not take up decisively the question of unity on the picket line. Unity of struggle for joint demands was not sufficiently brought out and not even unemployment insurance was brought forward. In this strike, the enemies of the workers succeeded in injecting the idea that only strikers with the shop badges should be permitted on the picket line. And we did not succeed in breaking down this idea which was introduced by the I.W.W. and the agents of the company for the purpose of breaking down the unity of employed and unemployed on the picket line.

In the other strikes, similar tactics were followed. However, in the Motor Products strike we succeeded in uniting the forces on the picket line. In the Briggs Mack Ave. this became a big issue, and our failure to take this issue up permitted such a situation to develop where the unemployed marched on one side of the street and the employed on the other.

Since the strike, the union has not taken up in a practical way the struggle for relief of the unemployed auto workers.

has not raised sharply enough the demands of unemployment and social insurance. However, the feeling of solidarity between the employed and unemployed was strengthened tremendously through the strike activity and the Ford hunger march recently conducted under the leadership of the Auto Workers Union, and the Unemployed Councils were a great step forward in building the Union.

Recruiting for the Party from the Shops

The figures of the initiations and dues payments during the strike struggles up to the period following the strikes indicate a very sharp decline from the figures preceding the strikes and were far below the monthly average for the year of 1932. During the month of May there were only 15 members recruited for the Party. This was because of the lack of continuous day to day recruiting from the struggles and the failure to bring the Party forward at all times.

During the strikes it was the policy of the comrades in the leadership of the strikes to keep the face of the Party covered and at many of the meetings, those comrades selling the **Daily Worker** were told to leave. The whole atmosphere in the strike was one of "Don't mention the Party".

Since the strikes, many of the workers involved have been drawn into the Party and shop units have been established. Certainly not to the extent it was possible. But we can register units in nine shops. These units average from 5 to 15 members each. Where these units were established and took the leadership in the shop and Union, our Union locals have not declined as in the other shops.

A Means of Carrying Out the Open Letter

(Proposals of Comrade H. S.)

Following the Extraordinary Party Conference of the Party on July 7-10 many comrades left with a far better understanding of what making the turn to mass work really means. Both the report and summary of Comrade Browder as well as the discussion made all comrades think deeply how in the shortest possible time to put the Open Letter into effect. Many comrades, even within a very short time after the conference came forward with suggestions for improving the work of the Party in all directions. Typical of this and containing many excellent points for our work, is the letter of Comrade H. S. of the T.U.U. who wrote the following proposals for immediate consideration.

1. In submitting the following proposal for the serious

consideration of the Party. It is my opinion that the adoption of this proposal will help break down the isolation from the masses from which our Party is suffering. I do not propose that the carrying through of this proposal shall be done in a mechanical manner, but that each Party comrade shall be convinced and *obligated* to consider it his Party duty to surround himself with a close circle of workers. Let us say that the minimum such a circle should comprise shall be ten workers.

"The Party comrade shall carefully train and develop the class consciousness of the workers in this circle. The workers comprising the circle shall be systematically drawn into, all the struggles led by the Party through convincing them of their interest in participating in such struggles. The unit of the Party shall check up on the activity of each of its members and help them to develop and draw these workers into the daily struggles of the working class.

"The unit should require the Party comrade to list the names of all such groups of workers with the unit. The aim of the Party comrade is to develop, to train through struggle, and to recruit these workers into the Party, trade unions, and mass organizations. I propose that every Party comrade become a captain of such non-Party workers. In order to carry this into effect not only as a propaganda slogan or as something merely *desirable* I propose the following concrete steps:

"1. That the Party comrade shall be held responsible for the training and development of these workers by the Party nucleus.

"2. That a check-up be made at each meeting of the nucleus on the progress of the work and the development of these circles.

"3. That definite Party work shall be assigned the Party comrade to involve these circles in.

"4. That the Central Committee check up on the Districts as to the development of this work, the check-up to be carried through every three months.

"5. That a simple manual be prepared by the Central Committee for the training and political development of these circles of workers."

This can easily be carried through as part of the regular work of the Party nucleus or unit. It is sufficient to say that were even these things carried out, our Party would very shortly grow many times its present strength. This example of one comrade's initiative in considering seriously the problem of how to carry out the Open Letter and the line of the Extraordinary Conference should be followed by

each member of the Party Each comrade must consider it his own responsibility to make proposals, to make criticisms of the work of the Party, to control the work of the Party, and to demand of every other comrade that daily work and check-up be carried on to assure that the turn be made to real mass work Each comrade must take up this as well as other proposals for the work of the Party in their nucleus and neighborhood territory as a means of involving the workers in their territory in struggles and recruiting them for the Party and trade unions.

Combatting the Industrial Recovery Act in Milwaukee

The Milwaukee Party organization has started some activity in combatting the Industrial Recovery Act. A membership meeting was organized where the Party was mobilized for intensive activity in the shops unions, etc. The units have been mobilized to carry on discussions on the Roosevelt measures and how to mobilize the working class on the fight for conditions. We are holding shop gate meetings every day and the various sections as well as the T.U.U.L. have issued and are issuing leaflets linking up concrete issues in the shop with the Act.

Most of the shops in Milwaukee have hired extra workers. They have also cut the hours. In Pressed Steel Corporation they reduced the number of hours from 12 to 8 and raised wages 5 cents per hour. But in reality, the men are making \$1.20 a day less, with the wage increase. The same is true in other factories. The International Harvester Co. has the schedule so worked out that they do not permit their men to make more than \$12 per week. On top of that they deduct 10% for relief. There is great discontent in many places. A number of spontaneous departmental strikes lately took place, the workers winning increases.

Some of the big corporations like the Allis Chalmers Co. have taken steps to head off the favorable sentiment for organization by the workers by organizing company unions. We exposed this scheme through shop gate meetings and leaflets and mobilizing our comrades and sympathizers inside the shop for the same end and to build a union under our leadership.

Main Task — Building Party and Union in Shops

In one shop, the Marquardt Bedding Co., where we led a strike a number of weeks ago we succeeded in building our union so that today 160 workers are regular dues-paying members. Last week the company tried to maneuver on the basis of the Industrial Recovery Act so that they can outlaw the union and establish a company union, or else the A. F. of L. If it were not for our prompt mobilization of the workers they might have succeeded. Our experiences have further shown that in spite of many illusions on the part of the workers, we can through our activity expose the Roosevelt measures and organize the workers. Our chief task right now is to get the Party membership to realize the past weaknesses of shop and trade union work and to really begin this work in earnest.

Questions of Shop Work In Birmingham

We have not been, in reference to shop work, applying the line of the Party correctly. As we know, or should know, rather, the basis of all our unit work should be in basic industries, shops, mines and other heavy industries, and industries producing war munitions. Let us take the district headquarters here in Birmingham, where we have coal mines and steel mills. Not only one or two of them, but quite a number

Now let's see just how the Party stands in reference to these basic industries. On paper we have 6 shop units, but unfortunately there are only 3 of this number that are meeting each week. And what kind of work have these 3 units done in the past four months? We are forced to admit that there has been nothing done—or what little there was done is negligible, which was only the distribution of a few leaflets, and 99% of these leaflets were mostly unemployed, I.L.D. or some other leaflet. To my knowledge in the past four months there has been but one mine and shop leaflet distributed. And the leaflet that was distributed in the shop was very, very inadequate. Just a plain leaflet telling the workers that their conditions are miserable. Nothing organizational to it, consequently no gain was made in this shop. I believe in the past there has been too much stress put in the organizing of street units, and only bringing up shop units in a mild manner. It is very good to build street units, but not at the expense of our really basic work—shop and mill work.

Our Sectarian Approach

To give the comrades an idea how sectarian we have been in the past in regards to shop and mill work, the following will suffice. In the weekly letter shop and mill work was brought out something like this: "Comrades, we must build shop units." Of course, not exactly this way, but nearly so. Certainly it is correct to say that the above will be meaningless, unless we work with the comrades and help them to apply the "formula" so to speak, as we have brought it out in the past. The question will be raised immediately in regard to the lack of forces to do this work, but in my opinion this is no excuse, because if we expect to bring the unemployed and employed together for struggles—how will we be able to do this if we are not rooted in some of the basic industries? Surely the workers in industries are ready and willing to struggle as well as are the unemployed workers, and I should imagine even more so, for they see themselves on the verge of losing their jobs, whereas the unemployed workers have no jobs to lose. But the question is not which is more willing, but what has been our approach, and have we had constant connection with them. In our shop and mill work not only one particular comrade is responsible for our weaknesses, but the whole district leadership. For the solution of these shortcomings I have the following suggestions to offer.

1. That some comrade be responsible to get *specific information* on just how many heavy industries, mines and mills that are within the boundaries of the city of Birmingham. After this is done, divide them, at least try to divide them equally, between sections X and Y.

2. That the District Buro pick out the most important of these industries, and assign some leading and responsible comrade to concentrate in this shop, of course with the strictest of check-ups, and a week by week report made to the District Buro on the progress.

3. That we invite the shop unit organizers to attend the District Buro and discuss with them in the minutest detail their work in the shops, and in connection with this that all the members of the shop units be paid a visit by a member of the District Buro, and of course this comrade must make a concrete report to the District Buro the following week.

I am sure that if we carry out this work we will see an immediate change for the best in our shop and mill work. This work has been left too much up to the unit organizers to do. We ourselves as leaders of this district must take a firmer hand in developing this work, which in my opinion is one of the most important in the district.

E. S., Birmingham.

How the Ford Hunger March Was Organized

The effect of the Ford Hunger March is far greater than many of the comrades realize. Among the workers there is a tremendous increase in confidence in our movement, as a result of the fact that we were able to successfully defeat the attempt of provocation, on the part of the Ford Motor Co., and expose to the satisfaction of many backward workers that it was Ford who was prepared to repeat the massacre of last year. The Party proved to the workers that we were not interested in having bloody battles which many of them believed, but in securing relief.

The core of the march was the mobilization which took place in Dearborn. This movement took place around the relief question—complaints on the nature of relief, of the rotten distribution of food, and around this we began to develop a movement, drawing in all kinds of workers with whom we did not have contact before. We did this first through the building up of the Dearborn conference which has 22 organizations affiliated, and then gradually drawing in such organizations as the United Voters Progressive League, and others. The opposition to the system of welfare, the fight for free speech, and the opposition to the control of the Ford Motor Co. of Dearborn were the issues with which we succeeded in getting a delegation to go to Lansing, completely accepting the Party Program. We gained the leadership of the whole anti-Ford movement in the city. In Southern Dearborn, where our Party received more votes in two precincts than the Republican Party, we gained tremendous influence.

After the return of our delegation to the State Welfare Department and the Attorney General in Lansing, we heard that there was fighting in the Roumanian Political Club by the membership, as to why the officials refused to go to Lansing with our delegation. They stated they did not care if the leadership of the delegation were Communists. And this was formerly a Ford Motor Co. supporter. This was the general atmosphere that led to the good response that we got from Dearborn in the march. Everybody knows about the march. Everybody is talking about it.

At this time we had to face a strong question. The Safety Commission stated they would grant a permit for a march to the Dearborn Communists, but they would not permit anyone outside of Dearborn to parade. We made some efforts to overcome this. Two mass meetings were held before the march. They were not so big, one of 400 and the other of 200, but nevertheless they had tremendous influence. The workers

went out of these meetings determined that the march was going to go through.

The next best center of mobilization was Martin Hall, where the comrades utilized the shootings of the police, etc. in the preparation for the hunger march. However we showed many weaknesses in failing to develop real activities in such places as Delray, Lincoln Park, Ecorse, and a complete failure to make any attempts in Inkster and Melvindale. In the other sections of the city, there was participation in the march, but no real efforts were made to bring in the Ford workers from their sections, especially from North Detroit and Hamtramck.

Preparations for March

There were more than 300,000 leaflets printed. There were also many gotten out by the sections that we still don't know about. 10,000 stickers were gotten out. There were a considerable number of signs and posters. The sidewalks were stencilled in Dearborn as well as in Detroit. The leaflets were well distributed. One walked a long Dearborn road in Delray and saw signs strung up on the telephone wires.

In Dearborn proper the city was covered with signs. But these were subsequently covered up with black paint. However, the workers knew what the black paint covered. So far we have been able to check up on over three hundred preparatory meetings, street meetings and mass meetings.

Along with the development of the work for the hunger march we succeeded in rebuilding the branch of the Auto Workers Union in the south end of Dearborn, and building a strong branch of the union in the central part of Dearborn. These branches played an important role in the development of this movement. We drew in sections of workers that we never had before.

Main Weaknesses—Shop Work and Work Among the Negroes

The first and most glaring weakness was our work in the shops. We had distributed leaflets to the workers in the shops on the Friday before the march and on Monday morning. The response of the workers indicated that had we carried on any systematic work in the shop, had we really been active in the shop, it would have tremendously raised the importance of the march to a much higher level. In this connection, the failure to get out the **Ford Worker** was a glaring weakness.

One of our greatest weaknesses was our failure to bring the Negro workers into the march and make their participation in the march a real outstanding event in the march itself. This is of the utmost importance since the number of Negroes coming to the city the last years for jobs is larger than any

other group, and it was our task to expose the extra discrimination against the Negro workers, nature of work, etc. We can see this weakness in Inkster and Ecorse, where the Negro workers live in compact groups.

Our Next Tasks

The first task must be the penetration of the shop and the development of the Union in the shop. Our methods of work in this connection must be much more careful so as not to expose the comrades working inside the shops. Much more intensive work must be carried out to connect the struggles of the unemployed workers with every demand and issue of those inside the shops. The united front movement in Dearborn must be raised to a much higher plane. The fight for relief must be linked up with the struggle to force the Ford Motor Co. to give relief, and also with the development of the election campaign movement. Certain responsible forces must be assigned to the Negro section of the city where the Ford workers live, giving special attention to Inkster, as well as to Central Detroit and North Detroit.

The Hunger March itself presents us the opportunity of developing a movement in all sections of the city. We must consider the question of how the Union and the Party must be built in all sections of the city. The Union has established its prestige among the workers, especially during the January strikes. This prestige has been extended by the Ford hunger march. The question of other marches to other plants, such as Chrysler's, Briggs' in order to utilize the sentiment among the workers for the movement of relief.

This march raised the fighting capacity of the workers, forced concessions from the Ford Motor Co. (The Commissary store has been abolished in Dearborn. The Webster State welfare director has been removed head of welfare in Dearborn), and increased confidence from the larger sections of the workers. It now depends upon the Party to really entrench itself and build itself through developing these struggles still further

The Strike on the Relief Job in Crosby, Minnesota

The sentiment for a strike in this section arose spontaneously and seemed widespread. Just as soon as the forced labor system under the State authority was put into effect the workers replied "We don't want that!"

The Party decided for a strike, and as a fraction in the Unemployed Council they took the initiative to call a mass meeting of all workers. Before the call for the mass meeting was out, some of our Party comrades were approached by members of Workers' Club an organization of Finnish workers connected with the I W W. These members of the Club pledged their support to the strike movement. Several of our Party members did not like the idea of a united front with the "wobblies" saying that the latter had some scheme to discredit the Unemployed Council. The fact, however, that the members of the Workers Club came to our comrades shows that even they recognized our leadership among the workers. Since the strike we have been invited by some of the members to present the Communist position on mass organizations and mass struggles to the Club.

The first strike meeting was attended by about 200 workers. After a long discussion 105 voted for a strike and one against. Many present abstained from voting. A strike committee of nine was elected to organize picketing and to conduct the strike. This Committee consisted of one member from the Workers Club, the other eight from the Unemployed Council, three being Party members. Picketing was organized and the jobs stopped. Our Communist Mayor, Comrade Nygard, took an active part in these activities.

But we had failed to draw in the unorganized elements. The first meeting was composed almost entirely of members of the Workers Club and the Unemployed Council. Therefore we decided to call another mass meeting to draw in broader sections of the workers of Crosby and of the entire Cayuga Range.

Communist Mayor Leads Struggle

Meanwhile the relief administrator appointed by Farmer Labor Governor Olson, became alarmed. The rate of pay was at once raised from 25 cents to 37½ cents per hour. At the same time they started a campaign of intimidation. The threat was broadcast that anyone who would not work would be

cut off from relief. Deputies from the outside were brought into Crosby. And here is where a big mistake was made by us. Some of the members of the strike committee, Party members at that, including Mayor Comrade Nygard, were asked to go over to the Armory for a conference with the local big men and with Rarig, the State Relief Administrator. As a result of this, the Party members invited Rarig to attend the workers' mass meeting to present the administration side of the case.

First of all, the enemy of the workers, against whom we were striking, was called into the workers' camp and given the opportunity to befuddle the issues and reiterate the threat that relief would be withdrawn from Crosby entirely if the strike continued. Secondly, a few members of the strike committee acted individually without consulting the entire committee. This mass meeting was a disappointment. Fewer responded than at the first meeting. There was little spirit and it took the character of a squabble over petty things between individuals and the relief administration.

At this time the strike committee decided to call off the strike, having made several gains, such as a raise in the rate of hourly pay, the right to get relief orders at any store and relief given to the needy at once without having to wait for an investigator to come around. While many weaknesses were shown throughout the strike and the activities for it, the workers realize that these small gains came as a result of the struggle. The Unemployed Council increased its prestige. The task of the Party is to continue increasingly to take up all issues and to build itself in the course of such struggles.

S. T.

Experiences in Recruiting

Although the question of recruiting has been discussed innumerable times, still in this work we are weakest, particularly in our shop work.

In Section 2, of the New York District where the majority of nuclei in the district are concentrated, great advances have been made in many phases of Party work, but with the exception of one group of comrades, little effort has been made to recruit new members.

In this nucleus organized in a government shop with many branches in New York City, and throughout the country, the comrades have taken this problem with great seriousness and have made such progress that it is important to bring to the attention of the Party generally their methods of work, and particularly their methods of recruiting.

A nucleus in one branch was organized about 14 months ago with one new Party member, just transferred from the Y.C.L. and two new comrades just entering the movement. Within two months recruits were brought in from another branch and a few weeks later there was the basis for the organization of the nucleus there.

Shortly after this an independent union was formed under the leadership of our comrades which in addition to serving the purpose of organizing and improving the conditions of the workers, now also serves as a recruiting ground for the Party

Organize Educational Work

The workers in these various branches, although their work necessitates much studying and preparation before they are hired, get far from a living wage. This is because of the fact that they are only employed part time. Because of the education necessary for their work, they are mostly of an intellectual type of worker. For this reason the comrades have found it possible to organize regular weekly discussion groups to which they invite both union and non-union workers. Here they discuss various current topics arranged in advance, with one of the group leading the discussion. In this way it is possible for the Party members to introduce important political current topics to which they can easily give the Communist viewpoint. Through these discussions the comrades are able to pick out immediately those who tend toward a radical viewpoint, and follow up this activity through closer personal contact. Among the most advanced of these workers are picked a few to attend open meetings of the nucleus where they listen to the work discussed by the Party, and also participate in the discussion.

Although this method is very simple, there is not another nucleus in Sector 2 that goes about it systematically, step by step, as do the comrades in these shops. They do not think it sufficient to talk to a worker on the job, but because they wait some hours in the shop for work every week, they use this time to begin the first contact with new workers, and then follow this up by going out with him, by participating in these groups, etc.

There is, however, one danger in the work of the nucleus, which if not curbed at once may prove disastrous not only to our Party work there, but to our union work as well. Many of the comrades tend toward legalism in the union and sectarianism in the Party. In their union work they have to a great extent handled the request for granting of partial demands in a very "nice" manner — sent a representative or small delegation to the boss to request these demands, without any action taking place in the shop to support them.

In the Party work they have the attitude that only the type of worker that they are, can approach the workers in their shop—that is well-schooled, intellectual types. Also, that they must be very careful about the introduction of the Party into the shop. While it is correct that we must be cautious at all times, nevertheless, we cannot afford to wait indefinitely. Particularly in view of the fact that it is a government shop shou'd it be easy to bring in more political issues than we do in the average shops.

Particularly has this been noticeable in that many of the comrades refuse to bring any other issue before the union membership. This was proved by the fact that they were afraid to introduce the question of supporting the conference for the defense of our trade unions, or the Tom Mooney conference for fear of exposing themselves or bringing too radical issues before the membership.

The comrades working in these shops must begin to realize these questions are particularly important for the organization of a basis for their further work in the shop. And while we must commend them for their excellent recruiting, this sectarianism and their fear of looking too "red" must be immediately overcome.

H. A.

Our Problem of Forces

With the growth of strike struggles the cry for forces is heard louder than ever. Too often do we look for a solution of this problem by writing or wiring to the Center with a demand for more forces. This same demand is being made of the District Centers from the Sections and units. The Center in turn, is expected to open up one of its little vest pockets, pull out a force and ship it C.O.D. to the respective District or Section.

Tremendous Strike Wave

In Buffalo, the first strike of 450 foundry workers, under our leadership was successfully terminated two weeks ago. This served as a signal for struggle in practically all other shops in that locality. We can see an actual onrush of strikes in the Buffalo District in the coming weeks. *Who will lead these strikes? Who will remain to work with the unions that we are building up now and those which sprang up as a result of the strikes?*

Make Every Party Member A Leader

We called a functionaries' meeting in preparation for 2 membership meetings. At the 2 meetings we discussed one point, namely, experiences and lessons of the recent strikes in the District and tasks facing our Party. The 2 reporters at these meetings emphasized sharply that every C.P. member must become a leader. At the meeting at which I reported,

28 were present. In this report a check-up was made of what contact our membership has with the factory workers. The following was "discovered" Nearly all of these 28 members knew workers employed in the six steel and metal shops located in that Section. One C.P. member knew a worker employed in the foundry where the strike was won, who is ready to join our Party. A woman comrade knew friends of her husband who work in this foundry. Each of these comrades was given the following tasks: 1) to personally *they* be responsible to meet with the workers knew; 2) To arrange with the aid of these workers group meetings in private homes; 3) To bring down as many of these contacts as possible to the shop conference of steel and metal workers; 4) To remain working with these individual workers they know, become their leaders, learn from them and at the same time teach them; 5) The C.P. member who knows the worker is ready for the Party, to be responsible to sign him up and make him part of the shop unit in the foundry. With this point the meeting took on a different character. Our comrades felt that responsible work had been undertaken by each and every one of them. They are becoming leaders in shop and trade union work.

Leaders Among the Workers

But our own ranks within the Party are not the only course of leadership. The working class in the course of its struggles opens up splendid material. Who leads the spontaneous strikes taking place all over the country? Who led the 450 foundry workers? We had no Party nor T.U.U.L. members inside them. True we had a group of former members of the Unemployed Council. Militant, courageous and intelligent workers took the initiative to walk from department to department and pull the men out on strike. 3 of these already joined our Party. It is not enough to have them sign application blanks. It is necessary to train these 3 workers and the others who will come in very soon, so that gradually they will assume responsibility for work in this shop. It is these three workers who are already beginning to replace our two outside leaders we sent in. These

outside comrades can already be involved in another shop where the work is not as yet developed to the level that it is in this foundry. Training these workers who come to the leadership from the ranks of the masses, whether it be in the shop committee, in the union, in the Unemployed Council, or any of the mass organizations—this, in my opinion, will be the ultimate solution to the problem of forces.

Agit-Prop Work

Education Through Struggle

(The experiences of the State Hunger Marchers to
Columbia, Ohio)

One of the most important aspects of any workingclass struggle is the development of the class consciousness of the workers through political education. This general rule is specifically applicable to the People's State Relief March of Ohio in that the political education of the marchers was advanced not only through the daily struggle of the march but also through a cultural program administered by an education committee which dramatized the struggles of the march to a higher political level.

All the columns upon arrival in a town on the line of march held mass meetings. At these meetings the marchers spoke about the conditions that had forced them to march, and also about the purposes of the march itself. Pamphlets concerning the unemployed were sold and given away at all the meetings. During the meeting the marchers would mix with the crowds and in this way numerous contacts for future Unemployed Councils were obtained. And also in this way new marchers were drawn in. For example in Marion, Ohio, such a meeting was held. We learned from the people present that not only did the Marion unemployed get only \$1.25 per week relief but that they also worked for this relief for a private railroad, and further than the A. F. of L. had an unemployed union that had done nothing to better the conditions of the unemployed of Marion. After our meeting in that town we obtained numerous contacts for a militant unemployed council and also some new marchers.

Another feature of all the columns was the spirited singing and cheering. Slogans such as "Tax the rich and feed the poor", "We demand unemployed insurance", were continuously shouted along the line of march. These cheers would sometime draw applause from sympathetic onlookers.

The Toledo column held a different type of meeting with the people of the various towns. This column would hold an informal meetings with a discussion participated in by everyone, marchers and outsiders alike, on the activities of the day. At this meeting such things as police provocations in order to smash the march were pointed out. At the end of the meeting one of the leaders of the column would

analyze the political significance of the day's events. In this way not only the marchers but also the outsiders obtained a practical political discussion that was linked up with the struggles of that day.

Plays Teach Organization

In the Cleveland column a special feature of the mass meetings was the daily plays composed and performed on the experiences of the day. The chief aim of these plays was analytical clarification of the events that the marchers had participated in that day. The plays were prepared only on the basis of an outline of the event that had taken place. No words or speeches were prepared beforehand. This method was of course necessary because of the limited time available for the preparation by the actors. Usually only an hour or two was open to rehearsals and therefore the actors were allowed to develop their own speeches in accordance with the progress of the play, which, as I have mentioned before, was based upon a struggle with the police or some other struggle that had taken place that day.

Beside the mass meetings already mentioned other types of meetings were held. Numerous lectures on subjects such as "Reforestation Camps", "Industrial Control Bill", "Role of Women in Industry" and "Workingclass Youth", were held and discussions followed in which the visitors participated as well as the relief marchers. And there were also health talks concerning poison-ivy, snakes, etc.

A great deal of publicity was obtained by the "March". Elected publicity committees visited newspapers in the towns along the route of the march. For the most part favorable publicity was the result. One of the Columbus papers devoted its "Enquiring Reporter Column" to the "March".

Effective distribution of leaflets popularizing the relief march was carried out throughout the entire state. This passing of leaflets and selling of the *Daily Worker* was done by a committee that would precede the march a few blocks. Thus territories were reached that had never seen a *Daily Worker*.

The educational activity of the columns did not differ much after their arrival in Columbus. The marchers camped in Columbus for about four days and during this time many neighborhood meetings were held. A truck would take some marchers into the neighborhoods where small mass meetings would be held. From five to ten meetings would be held in this fashion every night. Speakers were also sent to other unemployed organizations. At a meeting of a Musteite Council, 19 members voted to join the united front of unemployed in spite of sabotage of their leaders. In this way the ad-

vantage of militant action was brought to the pacifist unemployed leagues.

As for the marchers themselves, a program was given every night until the convention opened. At these programs, plays, singing of folk and revolutionary songs by national groups, as well as movies of unemployed struggles, and of Soviet Russia, were featured.

The march concluded with a convention at which reports of past activity and future plans for State organization of the Unemployed Councils were given. The youth and women had their own convention modeled after the main convention, except their demands dealt specifically with the youth and the women.

I have outlined briefly the educational activity of the People's Relief March. The success or failure of the march from a political standpoint depends largely upon the educational activity among the masses of people as well as among the marchers. There are two things that will have to be emphasized for future marches. First, larger mass meetings in the towns along the route of march so that a greater mass basis can be established, and second, a better politicalization of the marchers themselves by a daily connecting up of theory and the struggle such as police terror, etc. As for the first part; larger mass meetings can only be obtained by the establishment of local unemployed councils. And this shall have to be the principal activity of the Unemployed Councils of Ohio in their fight for unemployment insurance.

By E. T. C. (Toledo)

Factory Papers of the C.P. of the United States

(By Mova, from the Inprecorr.)

The papers give sufficient space to the conditions of work in the factories, and to the partial demands of the workers. Factory papers are comparatively rare which, like the *Stewart Warner Worker*, contain only political material of a general character. There are a certain number of concrete, living articles on local subjects in the *Ford Worker* the *Crane Worker*, for example. But the general fault of the papers is that there is an incapacity to choose, from among the various questions, the most important, principal and vital questions, and to carry on a fight on these. One article speaks of reduction of the hours of work, another of overalls for the workers, a third of the necessity of kicking a spy out of the works. But one does not know by which means the paper

proposes to begin the fight. The demands for the fight are not formulated, and this prevents the papers from becoming the organizers of the fight of the workers in the factories for their demands and daily needs.

On the other hand, the papers appearing in the name of the Communist cell usually do not know how to link up the partial demands with the general tasks of the working class. They do not explain sufficiently to their readers, what is Communism, nor do they indicate clearly enough the objectives for which the Communist Party is struggling, only very rarely do they mention the final aim of the working class. In general, they speak only of partial demands, although the title of the paper is followed by the indication that it is "Organ of such and such a cell of the Communist Party", the text gives only detached, scattered and accidental explanations concerning such and such demands as are fought for by the Communists. Thus the *Headlight* on the elections indicates that the Communist Party is the only party which does not fear to struggle for better conditions of labor in the factories. The *Railroad Worker* explains that the Communist Party is for payment in full of the war veterans' pensions. This is correct in itself but the tasks of the Communist Party are not limited to this.

The *A.B.C. Paperworker* in an article on the youth, writes: "Young Communists have no other interests than those of the young workers." The paper forgets to add that the interests of young workers are indissolubly bound up with those of the working class as a whole. In short, the non-Party worker or reformist worker who reads ten or fifteen different factory papers will not have gotten an exact idea of the tasks of the Party, still less will he know that this Party fights in practice as much for the partial demands as for the final objective of the working class, while subordinating the former to the latter.

The papers of the factory cells reflected the Communist Party's campaign at the time of the Presidential elections. A number of mistakes were shown therein. The papers set forth without any comment the six points of the Communist Party's election platform, for instance, the *Crane Worker* did this. With regard to the capitalist candidates, the factory papers confined themselves to general statements explaining that there was no difference in essence between the Republicans, Democrats and Socialists. (*Tinplate Worker*, *Stewar*

Warner Worker). The papers made no attempt during the elections to bring out the position of the Communists as opposed to bourgeois democracy and the aim that the Party

pursued by taking part in the elections. One of the rare examples of a good electoral agitation is furnished by the *Railroad Worker*, which makes use of Roosevelt's intervention in favor of a cut in the wages of the railwaymen to show the policy that this candidate would apply if elected President.

Many factory papers are not edited by the workers themselves and are not even made at the factory; whence a number of mistakes appear as a result of the lack of knowledge of factory conditions. A lack of initiative as regards demands that there is a chance of putting in each given case; abstract formulas about the need of organization. Sometimes the factory papers ask worker correspondents for articles to be sent to such and such an address—which from a conspirative point of view is absolutely impermissible.

The question of organization of the workers' press, of joining the Party and the trade unions is not put clearly. As a rule, there are simple appeals: "Organize, organize immediately," without indicating how it is to be done.

As for the trade union factory papers there is scarcely any difference from the Party papers, and in general, it is only from the heading that you can know who publishes the paper.

The question of forming various committees of action is put forward only in a very abstract manner in the various papers. But who should take part in these and what their tasks should be remains unknown. Sometimes the papers call on the workers to create at one and at the same time several different committees. *The Deckert Worker*, for example, proposes the creation of shop groups, of anti-wage-cut committees, of anti-war committees, in such a way that the worker reader does not gain an exact idea of what has to be done first of all. As an exception to this may be mentioned the *Illinois Steel Worker*, which gives some practical indications as to the way in which a grievance committee can be organized in the factory.

The struggle against imperialist war and the popularization of socialist construction takes the form, in the majority of the papers, of small articles of a rather schematic kind ending with a long list of slogans; very rarely are these questions linked up with the life and struggle of the workers of each given factory. Some papers give good examples of this work. *The Crane Worker* publishes an article on social insurance in the U.S.S.R., and besides it a note about a Crane factory worker who lost his sight and a limb at his work without receiving any compensation. There we have a concrete example which shows up the profound difference between the U.S.S.R. and capitalist countries. The *Illinois Steel Worker*, points out the part that the Illinois Steel Co. shop will play in the next war, and puts forward the follow-

ing demands:— "The war budget should be made into a fund for the unemployed." In this way the paper shows the worker the manner in which the war danger concerns workers directly.

The *Armour Worker* publishes a dialogue which looks very popular. It is between workers, one of whom wants to know what the Communists are, the other replies: "Tomorrow I'll bring you their program, and if you do not see me tomorrow, get the program from the *Daily Worker* seller at the factory gate." For the Communist worker this dialogue is not at all a model of the way in which to approach a non-Party worker, and the non-Party worker, too, can get nothing from it.

There is no rhyme nor reason in inserting, as the *Armour Worker* does, a blank to be filled up by name and address and the words: "I should like to be sent information about the Communist Party." information on what the Party is and does ought to be found in the paper itself. Sometimes the papers insert workers' letters without reply or any explanation.

The question of National Minorities in the midst of the working class, and particularly the policy of the Communist Party on the national question, are left unexplained in the factory papers. And it is the same with the situation of the Negro workers. Many papers appearing in factories employing Negroes do not mention them, and in the election articles do not even point out that the Communist Party's candidate for the Vice-Presidency is a Negro worker. The papers do not put forward demands looking to an amelioration of the situation of the Negroes, equal rights and equal wages with those of the white workers, comradely relations between white and Negro workers, questions of organizing the mass of Negro workers, etc.

To overcome this big lack, Negro worker correspondents must be induced to take an active part in the factory papers.

The *Daily Worker* can help in the factory papers very much. On the one hand the factory papers can carry on propaganda and win readers for it in the factories. On the other hand, the *Daily Worker* could from time to time, print fundamental articles showing how both general political questions and local questions should be dealt with in the factory paper. It should also publish reviews of the factory papers, reprint articles and the most characteristic letters and set forth the experience of this work, both good and bad.