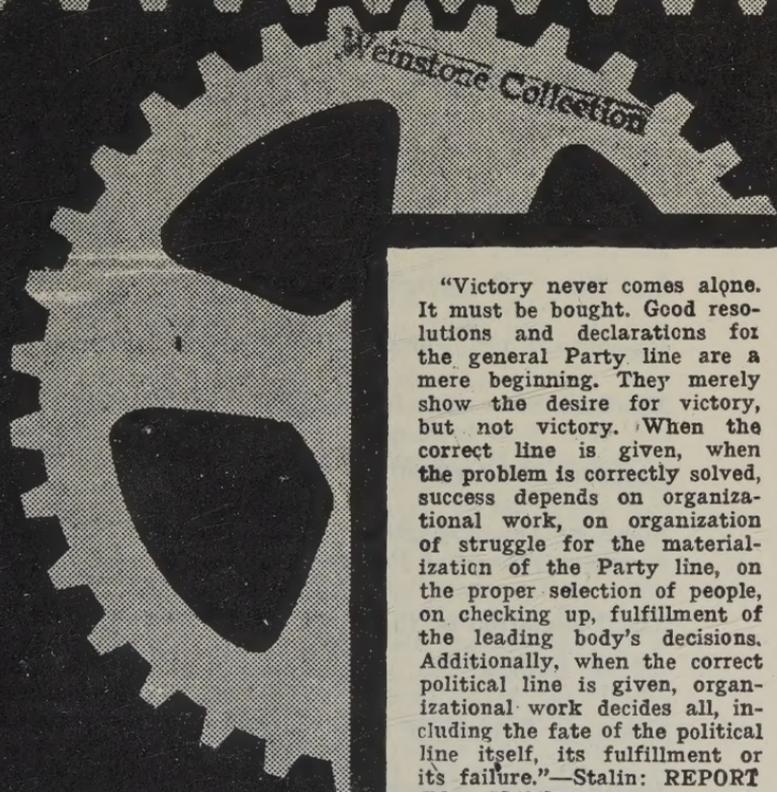


Party Organizer



"Victory never comes alone. It must be bought. Good resolutions and declarations for the general Party line are a mere beginning. They merely show the desire for victory, but not victory. When the correct line is given, when the problem is correctly solved, success depends on organizational work, on organization of struggle for the materialization of the Party line, on the proper selection of people, on checking up, fulfillment of the leading body's decisions. Additionally, when the correct political line is given, organizational work decides all, including the fate of the political line itself, its fulfillment or its failure."—Stalin: REPORT TO SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS OF C. P. S. U.

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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. VII.

February, 1934

No. 2

The Eighth National Convention of the C.P.U.S.A.

THE Eighth Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. will be held in Cleveland April 3rd to 8th. The discussion period in preparation for the convention has already begun. Every Wednesday the **Daily Worker** will carry a special "discussion supplement", which will form the basis for this discussion in the districts, sections and units. In addition, some districts will issue a special district discussion bulletin, in which the discussion is concretized and applied to the particular problems and tasks of each district.

This discussion, beginning with the 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I., must very concretely review the entire work of the Party, with the whole membership. We must ask the questions: "How much of our concrete tasks have we carried out? Why have we failed to carry out certain tasks? Who is responsible for not carrying out these tasks?" And in finding the answers to these questions we must, not bureaucratically, but in a planned, organized way, draw the entire Party membership into the discussion. We must make every Party member, from the members of the Central Committee down to the newest member in the units, feel individual responsibility for carrying out these tasks.

The discussion of the resolution of the 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I. must be organized and developed in every organization of the Party, particularly in the shop and street nuclei. This must be done in order that the membership of the Party will gain an understanding, not only of the immediate problems, of the routine questions of the Party, but a political understanding of the whole situation, internationally as well as nationally; in order that they will understand the tactics and strategy of the Party, the trade union policy of the Party, as well as all of the problems connected with the approaching war.

The discussion should not be confined to the Section and District Conventions, but should begin at once in the units, and should be led in the units by leading comrades from the sections and districts.

Character of New Leading Committees

The National Convention, as well as the District and

Section Conventions will have the task of selecting the leadership for the coming period. Unit buros, unit officers, section committees, district committees, and buros as well as the Central Committee and Political Buro will be elected at these conventions. The Open Letter has given us guidance both as to the character of the delegates to be elected to the conventions and the new leading committees. The Open Letter states:

As delegates to all Party conferences, section and district conferences, and above all to the Party Congress, there must be selected comrades who carry on active mass work and who have distinguished themselves in struggles.

"Every Party member, and especially every Party functionary, must be a real organizer of mass struggles in his particular sphere of work. From this standpoint, the Party must judge the activity of its functionaries and must choose its leading bodies. All leading bodies, especially those in the sections, must reorganize their work on the basis of the carrying out of the revolutionary mass work."

It is with this understanding and this approach that we must face the question of the renewal of the cadres and the question of the election of leading bodies. But in addition to this there are certain further specifications. This applies particularly to those sections where there still exists a division between those engaged in Party work and those engaged in mass and trade union work. This division must be overcome. We must elect on the section and district committees, as well as on the Central Committee, those comrades who are real links to the masses, who have real connections with the factory and street nuclei, comrades who as collective bodies will understand and fuse the general work of the Party with mass work, who will establish the leadership of the Party in this mass work.

Aim of Convention

If we succeed in carrying out these two tasks; if we succeed in our discussion in connecting the 13th Plenum Resolution with the Open Letter and our control tasks, and thus make the Resolution understandable to all the workers; if we succeed in bringing to the workers a real understanding of war and fascism, and connect these problems up with our own trade union questions and all the tasks of the Party; if we succeed in drawing in the wide sections of the Party to solve the many problems which are indicated in the Resolution for the United States, and if we are able at these

Conventions to strengthen our leadership, in accordance with the directives in the Open Letter, the Convention will achieve the end stated by Comrade Browder at the 18th Central Committee Meeting:

“...the carrying through of the decisive turn to the development of a mass movement, mass organization and mass struggles in the United States under the leadership of the Communist Party, to consolidate a strong mass Bolshevik Party in the United States, to face the tasks which arise in this country, and to prepare the American workers for the seizure of power.”

Too Many Campaigns

(Excerpt from speech of a leading comrade at the Central Committee meeting.)

PROTESTS are frequently received from the districts, which bitterly complain about their great difficulties because the Central Committee gives orders for central campaigns. They tell us that it is a burden on them, and prevents them from carrying out their work. To some extent these complaints are justified. But let us examine the situation and see what central political campaigns have been carried on during the past months.

There was a big campaign for the **Daily Worker**. It is true that this is a tremendous “burden” for the Party. But there is nothing more important than to make the **Daily Worker** financially secure. We have to carry this burden as long as it is necessary. Without a central organ we would not be a revolutionary Party. But if the **Daily Worker** had 100,000 readers, it would be a much better kind of a burden, and it would not be necessary to have a financial campaign twice a year to raise this money for the **Daily Worker**. Since we do not have so many readers, we must accept this burden. We can solve this problem. Let us secure 100,000 readers for the **Daily Worker**, and then we can make a concentrated financial drive for the **Daily**, which will not occupy the Party's attention for months and months. Let us use the same energy in the drive for circulation as we do in a drive for money, and we can soon eliminate this burden and use the efforts and the time which we have expended on this campaign for work which will be more effective politically.

What Is Wrong With Campaigns?

There is, however, something wrong with our national

campaigns. It is not that we have too many campaigns. What is wrong? Our method of carrying on these campaigns is what creates difficulties in our districts. How do we lead such campaigns? The District Committee gets directives. They organize one or two big meetings or demonstrations, and that is usually the end of the campaign. This is typical of all districts. We have not yet learned that these various campaigns should be made a part of the regular activity of every section and unit, adapted to their particular territory and translated into action. The districts should utilize these campaigns to help the units and sections to develop initiative. For example, in Pittsburgh, where the Party has been concentrating for six months on the Jones and Laughlin plant, why could not the anti-Nazi campaign have been brought into this plant, connected with the struggle against the "Hitler" terror in the plant, as a part of the daily activity of the Party concentrating there? Or, in the mines, where we have been concentrating, or in the Ford factory, against Ford, who has financially supported Hitler and who rules his plant in fascist fashion? Why should it be so difficult to develop a campaign in these points of concentration, without groaning in despair over "another campaign"?

It is often necessary to organize special campaigns, as well as national actions, on the German question, on Cuba, on many questions. But we must learn how to coordinate these campaigns and make them an integral part of our every day work in the factories, in the A. F. of L. unions, in the mass organizations, in the neighborhoods, on the docks, on the ships, and wherever we have groups of Communists and sympathizers working.

Develop Initiative of Lower Bodies

Our comrades, not only in the District leadership, but the comrades in the units and in the sections must learn to take their directives from the **Daily Worker** and to use their initiative in developing these actions. When the German campaign was initiated, a circular letter was sent to the Districts by the Central Committee. Then the **Daily Worker** appeared with an appeal to the districts, particularly calling upon the units and sections to initiate actions. This was not merely a polite plea. It was a directive from the Central Committee. The **Daily Worker** is the Central Organ of the Party, and when directives appear there, it is an order, and the comrades must carry it out. The district leadership must improve its work with the lower organizations, explain this to them, teach them not to wait for special directives from the District, but to immediately translate into concrete actions the directives in the **Daily Worker**. If we do not systematically educate the units now, we may find our-

selves in a more difficult situation, where the **Daily Worker** or perhaps only a leaflet, will be the only connection we have with the units. We must therefore have a guarantee that our comrades in the units and fractions will carry out the line of the Party by developing systematic activity on their own initiative. This is a difficult task, but in a time of increased struggles, in a time when we speak about approaching war and revolution, when we will have to meet increased attacks upon the Party, we must develop this kind of activity in connection with the general campaigns of the Party, as well as with special actions and struggles. Without developing firmness, and initiative in the lower units we are not building on firm ground.

If we carry on our campaigns, our whole activity, in this manner, if we help to develop the lower units, if all leading comrades are integral parts of the units, the comrades in the districts will not complain about too many campaigns, but will eagerly utilize each new campaign as a means of further developing the work which they have undertaken.

Lessons of the Gloversville Tannery Strike

By L. LEWIS

THE successful strike of the 2,000 leather workers in Gloversville offers important lessons for our Party. This struggle was led and organized by Party members. Its victory was only possible because the line of the Open Letter was actually put into practice, although some serious mistakes were made at the beginning, which were corrected in time.

The tanning of leather is the basic industry in the glove cities. The 2,000 workers employed in the industry perform the fundamental operation in the manufacture of leather gloves. It therefore affects 8,000 other workers in that community. The tannery owners are the actual political and economic rulers of Fulton County, which is known as the nest of the K.K.K. and other forces of fascism.

There are only about 10 Negroes in the trade. There is a vicious discrimination against the Negroes. Nevertheless, this chauvinism was broken down during the struggle, and one Negro worker was elected to the union's Executive Board.

The economic conditions of these workers were bad. Wages averaged around \$10 a week with a constant fear of being fired and no organization whatsoever.

The party unit which "existed" was practically isolated

from the leather and glove makers in spite of the resolutions and attempts made by the section leadership. Some of the leather workers belonged to an A. F. of L. union in 1920, but were sold out during a strike and the organizer broke the union by provoking discrimination of native workers against the Slovakian workers.

The glove manufacturing industry is organized into an A. F. of L. union with about 2,500 of the 4,000 in the trade. There was only one militant local union in the community, the Rabbit Dressers of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. These workers produce the skins for the fur-lined gloves in the county. This inspired a section of the glove industry, those cutting and making the fur linings, to seek organization for the improvement of their conditions. They looked up the N.T.W.I.U. local rather than the A. F. of L.

The fur workers were organized within one week and prepared for a strike. After four weeks of struggle, the 150 fur workers were victorious. They won a 50% increase in wages, union recognition, recognition of shop committees and equal division of work.

Although only 150 were involved in the strike (this is practically the lightest section of the glove industry), it had a tremendous effect on the leather workers. During the fur liners' strike contacts with leather workers were established through a C.P. member, a native-born leather worker who has prestige among the workers.

Methods of Approach

Our contacts were mostly gained by personal friendship. We often had friendly chats (even with single workers) over a glass of beer, and at the same time discussed conditions of their respective shops.

These contacts were organized into shop groups, based on concrete issues of the shops or departments. Each group functioned without knowing of the existence of the others. After having established fourteen shop groups out of 36 mills, an open meeting was called, to which about 300 workers responded. These workers were mainly skilled and represented about 20 mills.

An A. F. of L. organizer came to the meeting and tried to hamstring the workers into the A. F. of L. However, this was successfully counteracted due to the preparatory work in the groups.

Officially, the work was carried on by the native comrade who was given personal guidance on how to carry out the policy for a class struggle union. His program was always enthusiastically accepted by the workers and he

gained high prestige. He was unanimously elected president of the union.

Underestimation of the Readiness for Struggle on the Part of the Workers

The union grew rapidly. Four hundred members joined within one week, with committees established in 26 shops. In some shops the workers began to talk strike. However, the Section Conference held on Aug. 26th, in its resolutions, did not foresee the possibilities for struggle within the near future, but only the possibility of organization. I also shared this view.

On Oct. 3rd the workers of a department were discriminated against in an important shop. The spokesman of the shop committee in that mill was fired. All the workers of that mill struck in protest. The bosses of the other mills prepared for a lock-out for Monday, Oct. 9th. We counteracted these plans and called a meeting of all shop committees for Oct. 5th. The plans of the lock-out were exposed and we drew up demands to be presented to the employers.

The following morning committees were stationed at every mill to call the workers to a mass meeting. At this meeting the workers accepted the demands drawn up by the shop committees and unanimously voted to strike for these demands and thus counteract the plans for the lock-out.

We elected a strike committee of 120, representing every mill and department. However, these workers were totally inexperienced, as they had never participated in any previous struggles. The top leadership consisted of 11 members, who proved to be quite capable; but 6 of them were influenced by the priests and the N.R.A. and were extremely conservative. One of them proved to be a stool-pigeon.

The local N.R.A. stepped in. We were able to expose it because of its composition. Most of the members of the Compliance Board were directly connected with the tannery employers. However, I failed to convince the workers of the character of the National Labor Board, which is in no way different from the local one, and thereby helped to continue the illusions about the N.R.A. This was the worst opportunist mistake in the strike.

Bringing the Party Forward and Combatting the Red Scare

It is true that the time was short to enable us to prepare the workers ideologically against the red scare. Nevertheless, even this was not utilized enough and the Party was not brought forward, with the exception of 2 leaflets

issued by the section and the distribution of some **Daily Workers** in an ineffective way.

As a matter of fact, when Ben Gold came to speak, he did not speak in his own name, hiding the revolutionary significance of his name.

The N.R.A. mediator, assisted by the Labor Board, opened a vicious attack on the outsiders, mobilized the local press, met with the owners, told them that shop committees was a Russian method, plotted with the Mayor and Chief of Police to take the representative of the N.T.W.I.U. for a ride and destroyed the youth group which was organized. The local press viciously started a campaign that the strike would be settled within 24 hours, if the outsiders leave. This campaign penetrated and influenced part of the workers and especially part of the leadership. The top leadership, by a majority of one, decided that we leave town. They threatened a split in the union.

Before we withdrew, we made clear to the workers that the bosses are using this issue merely as an excuse to eliminate leaders and to break the strike.

I was forced to carry on the work underground in a neighboring town through the connection of the party member and the militant group which was organized. Workers fought militantly for rank and file committees and mass picketing. Our organized group was able to expose the lies of the bosses and the N.R.A. and after 2 weeks, putting up a militant fight, a campaign was created in the union by the rank and file for my return.

Bringing Forward the Party

After my return to town, in spite of the terror, the workers destroyed the red scare, because the Party was brought forward by explaining the role of the Party in the struggles of the workers. The workers convinced themselves why the N.R.A. and the employers fought against the Communists. It was then that the militancy of the workers intensified in a great fight against the terror. The workers disarmed the Burns detectives, the deputy sheriffs, smashed the windows in the mills, broke the injunction by tremendous mass picketing and went in mass delegations to the Mayor and Chief of Police, warning them that they will be held responsible for my safety, after my life was threatened. Also, we succeeded in establishing a united front with the A. F. of L. glove workers who adopted resolutions for the strike.

Thus, after 7 weeks of militant struggle, the workers won the following:

1. Recognition of the Union;

2. Recognition of shop committees;
3. Increases in wages of between 20 and 30%;
4. The organization grew from 600 members before the strike to 1,700 members after the strike.

This victory of the workers was made possible because of the following reasons:

1. Because the strike was organized and not spontaneous; we were thus able to eliminate A. F. of L. forces which came in during the early stage of the strike.

2. The organization of mass committees, based on the shops and the free, unbureaucratic approach.

3. The thorough exposure of the N.R.A. and meeting the red scare by discussing openly the role of the Party in the latter part of the strike.

4. Building the Party through individual contacts in the strike which served as a group to carry out the strike policy, although these workers were not taken into the Party at that time, but joined the Party right after the strike.

While there were only 2 Party members before the strike, there are 12 now. From 5 readers of the **Daily Worker**, there are 60 steady readers in the mills. These numbers are growing. The papers are coming directly to workers employed in the mills.

5. By establishing a real united front with the workers on the basis of concrete issues and grievances in the mills, notwithstanding the fact that most of these workers were members of the American Legion, and some ex-members of the K.K.K., religious, or belonging to other organizations of a fascist character.

The same workers who were ready to lynch a Communist before the strike, were ready now to defend the Communist leaders, even with their rifles, against any attack. As one of these workers said, "If we want to have a strong union, we must have at least five Communists in every mill."

6. The drawing in of the women into the strike by establishing a women's auxiliary of the wives and daughters of the strikers.

Communists Can Lead Struggles of the Workers

1. The strike also proved that Communists can lead strikes.

2. That we have underestimated the readiness of the masses to struggle, that, we did not believe that these backward workers will stay on strike for seven weeks. This resulted in going to the N.R.A. and other opportunistic tendencies.

There are big perspectives for the building of the Party, and the life of the union will depend on how strongly we build the Party in that region. The strike has also awakened the political consciousness of the workers and they are now speaking of an independent ticket in the next elections. Our orientation must be to prepare for a real political campaign.

Our immediate steps must be the cementing of the united front with the glove workers A. F. of L. union, the N.T.W. I.U. and the Rabbit Dressers union to build a Labor Council in the county. This must be closely watched and opportunist mistakes must be guarded against. We must draw the most militant elements into the leadership of this body with a strong organized Party fraction that will give leadership to the coming struggles of the workers in this community.

Political Education In Mass Organizations

By SIDNEY BLOOMFIELD

THE value of political education is greatly underestimated by the leading comrades in the revolutionary trade unions. Some of them are so inattentive to the need for education that any kind or number of appeals for action affect them in the same way as water on a duck's back.

Our organizations are constantly involved in struggles and are forced to smash through the many traps set for the workers. Our leaders are forced to overcome all sorts of misleaders and demagogues in the labor movement. Shop problems, unemployment, social, cultural and general problems in the life of the workers call for attention and solution.

Even the purely trade and economic questions require a wide range of understanding and ability on the part of our leaders. As the class struggle sharpens the problems multiply. Yet, what are the functionaries doing to prepare the rank and file to become leaders of the working class? The usual method is that of going along the purely "practical" activity. Workers are appointed on all kinds of committees, which in itself is very good and basically necessary. In most cases committees are left to flounder about with little guidance and training. The result is that they either "sink or swim". Many good workers "crack up" under the strain and confusion because they lack a firm sense of essential and basic revolutionary theory. Many serious and costly mistakes are made in the course of the "practical" bitter experience, simply because the leading functionaries

are involved in more than is humanly possible to handle.

As for the wide masses of workers, the nearest they get to enlightenment is in an occasional mass meeting. A still smaller proportion read revolutionary literature and attend union meetings. The top layers of active workers get almost no time to study and prepare themselves for better leadership, while the wide masses are neglected almost completely in so far as reaching them with political education.

What does such a situation lead to? Backwardness, dragging behind events, and inability to maintain ideological and organizational influence and leadership over wider sections of the masses. Such conditions leave us to the destinies of the blind and spontaneous though militant actions of the masses. Hence in many cases the workers fall victims of the vilest demagoguery of the agents of the capitalist class. To continue such relations with the masses is not a fulfillment of our responsibilities as class (political) leaders of the working class, because we do not help the masses to become class (politically) conscious. This is what Lenin called Economism, Tail-endism, which gives way to the spontaneous, un-planned, un-directed and non-conscious actions of the masses.

Lenin never tired of fighting such attitudes in the working class movement, because he saw the danger for the working class in such theories and practices. As far back as 1902, in his book **What Is To Be Done?** Lenin pointed out that such attitudes towards the workers merely abandon the masses to the capitalist ideological poison that is dished out to the proletariat through all avenues of information and culture of the ruling class.

"But why," writes Lenin, "the reader will ask, does the spontaneous movement, the movement along the line of least resistance, lead to the domination of bourgeois ideology? For the simple reason that bourgeois ideology is more fully developed and because it possesses **immeasurably** more opportunities for becoming widespread. And the younger the Socialist [at that time there was not yet a Communist movement.—S.B.] movement is in any given country, the more vigorously must it fight against all attempts to entrench non-Socialist ideology, and the more strongly must it warn the workers against those bad counsellors who shout against 'exaggerating the conscious elements', etc."

Replying to the Economists who could not stand Lenin's withering attacks upon their "practicalness", Lenin continued:

"The authors of the Economic Letter, in unison with **Rabocheye Dyelo**, [the paper of the Economists.—S.B.] declaim against the intolerance that is characteristic of the

infancy of the movement. To this we reply: yes, our movement is indeed in its infancy, and in order that it may grow up the quicker, it must become infected with intolerance against all those who retard its growth by subservience to spontaneity. Nothing is so ridiculous and harmful as pretending that we are 'old hands' who have long ago experienced all the decisive episodes of the struggle!"

Educational Work Neglected By Trade Unions

Some of the examples of the Economist attitude on the part of our functionaries in the trade union and other mass organizations in New York can be seen from the following: After much prodding to get action from the leadership of the Food Workers Industrial Union to organize the education of its members, the Workers School arranged with their educational director and sent credentials for them, so they would be enabled to go to the Workers School on reduced rates. This was done many weeks before the school term started.

Time went on and we kept inquiring at the union about the delayed action. About four days before school started, their educational director asked at the school why we did nothing to aid the union membership to go to the Workers School. Upon hearing this we called up the union and spoke to the General Secretary. His reply was that the credentials were received but due to the pressure of "practical" activities nothing was done.

When I asked him why the credentials were not turned over to the educational committee, he replied that "this is not a communications union," whatever that means. About four weeks before the present (Winter) term, we visited the office of the Food Workers Industrial Union and raised the question again, but this time, both comrades—— and —— of the Cafeteria Section merely shrugged their shoulders and gave a similar excuse as at the previous term—"Practical" work!

About two and a half weeks before the present term, long after credentials had been sent to them, I appeared before the fraction of the Shoe Workers Union. This was after many rank and file shoe workers were being propagandized by us to raise the question of workers' education in the union. At the fraction meeting with more than a hundred Party members of the union present, I proposed, in behalf of the Workers School, that the fraction should arrange to have the union elect a committee for the purpose of meeting with the Workers School administration to devise ways and means to facilitate enrollment of union members for important courses at extremely low rates,

out of consideration of the fact that many shoe workers have been in many struggles and are not able to pay the full fee.

The amalgamation of the Shoe and Leather Workers Industrial Union with a group of other such unions makes it necessary for us to give leadership to the new members as well as to the shoe workers in the industry as a whole. The proposals were enthusiastically received by the meetings, yet in spite of the repeated insistence upon my part, the chairman, a Party member of long standing, refused to put the question before the fraction for a vote. A comrade (member of the union) confirmed my suspicion when later he told me that the reason the chairman refused to put the matter to a vote at the fraction meeting was because he feared it would entail some activity upon the part of the functionaries to carry out the decision. And yet no one got up to criticize such arbitrary and bureaucratic action of the chairman.

In the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, the officials were besieged by young workers, who begged their help to get into the Workers School for the Fall term, only to be discouraged. It was only after writing several articles in the *Daily Worker* mentioning this situation, and after sending a sharp letter to the leadership of the union that a little action was obtained. Three classes were later organized by the union with the aid of the Workers School as a result of this prodding.

“Practical” Work Prevents Training of Cadres

Such instances can be multiplied and practically every union and league comes within the scope of this criticism. The rank and file are anxious for revolutionary education but many of the functionaries are so much concerned about the “practical” work that they cannot see the practicality of carrying on one of the most practical forms of activity, which is education and training the rank and file to rise to leadership of the working class.

Many of our leading functionaries who cannot see the practical importance of revolutionary education should ponder over these words written by Frederick Engels in his preface to his book, *The Peasant Wars In Germany*:

“Without a sense for theory, scientific Socialism would have never become blood and tissue of the workers . . . It is the specified duty of the leaders to gain an ever-clearer understanding of the theoretical problems, to free themselves more and more from the influence of traditional phrases inherited from the old conception of the world, and constantly to keep in mind that Social-

ism, having become a science, demands the same treatment as every other science—it must be studied. The task of the leaders will be to bring understanding, thus acquired and clarified, to the working masses, to spread it with increased enthusiasm, to close the ranks of the party organizations and of the labor unions with ever-greater energy...”

The Central Council of the R.I.L.U., in recognizing the conditions of backwardness in our trade union movement in respect to the problem of theoretical development of the rank and file and promoting them to positions of leadership, went so far as to call for removal from position of responsibility of those who stood in the way or could not fulfill the requirements of leadership, a great part of which is also the problem of self re-education, the organization of schools, classes, etc.

The barriers set up in the mass organizations by the functionaries must be broken down. These organizations must be reached even if it has to be done through the rank and file by insisting that this problem be raised in the membership meetings. The attitude of Economism must be burned out of our organizations with a hot iron. We must make our leading functionaries understand fully what Lenin meant when he wrote that “without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement”, and understanding this we must demand action for mass education in the mass organizations.

Building the Opposition In the U.M.W.A.

By TONY ———

THE organization of the opposition in the United Mine Workers in Westmoreland County has lessons for the other counties and districts. Here, by picking out one of the grievances in a mine, the miners turned this into a broad opposition to the operators and the Lewis machine.

Under the NRA the Westmoreland Coal Company decided not to pay for dead work (extra work) in their mines. At the same time they did pay for this in some of the mines. In order to bring this condition about in all the mines, a meeting of the bosses was held. They decided to take away all conditions from the miners.

The company then told the miners at the Biddle mine of the Westmoreland Coal Co., that they would no longer pay for putting up cross bars. This was taken up at the

meeting of the U.M.W.A. local. The pit committee was instructed to fight for pay for this work. The committee then went to visit the leaders of the U.M.W.A. in that district. But these leaders would not help them fight for their grievance.

The local union then decided that the pit committee visit the other locals of the Westmoreland Coal Company mines, and call a meeting of delegates of these locals to discuss this and other grievances. This was done. In doing this, the conditions of mines of other companies were also taken up. At this meeting the action of the U.M.W.A. leaders was discussed, connected with the actions of Lewis and the NRA.

The miners decided to call another meeting of delegates or officers of the other local unions. This meeting was held and many of the locals in the district were represented. There most of the problems of the miners were taken up. They also decided to hold two meetings a month at which they would take up the conditions and problems of the miners. The meetings were to be held in different mining towns, so that all of the locals would be represented. They also broadened out their discussions.

The coming convention of the U.M.W.A. was taken up. Resolutions were introduced and adopted. They embodied all of the points in the fight against Lewis, the coal operators and the NRA. The delegates were also instructed by this conference to support all of these resolutions. This has now become the opposition conference for Westmoreland County.

While the left-wing miners were not instrumental in organizing this, they had a correct approach to these meetings from the first. Now they are organizing their forces to bring greater clarity and understanding to these miners on all problems against Lewis, the operators and the NRA.

At one time in the organization of this opposition movement the left-wing miners were making a big mistake. They called a meeting of oppositional miners to take up a program for the opposition conference. This would have been a big mistake. The miners would not have understood the need and purposes of such a meeting.

They would have raised the question that someone was calling a meeting to "put something over on them." This would have isolated the left wingers from the broad movement against Lewis.

The correct way to work is to recognize the broad movement as one against Lewis, to keep raising the conditions of the miners and to connect this with the conditions in the other fields and industries. At the same time the Communists and close sympathizers should get together and discuss the program for these meetings and give it the necessary leadership. This is now being done. This is especially

necessary because some of the would-be leaders of this opposition are in reality for Lewis.

The organization of this movement in Westmoreland County should be a lesson for the Communist and left-wing miners in the other districts. They should take steps to organize similar movements.

Some of the Aspects of Our Financial System and Our Financial Policies

By W. WEINER

WE have had in the past a sort of contempt for the question of finances and we have regarded the matter as unimportant and non-political. At the Extraordinary Party Conference this question was taken up quite seriously in a special section of the document issued by the Conference and also in the report of Comrade Browder. At the last Plenum this matter was again in some respect mentioned. Let us examine briefly how, in the light of the report of Comrade Browder at the Extraordinary Party Conference, as well as in the light of the document issued by the Conference, this phase of the work has been carried out and the outstanding weaknesses corrected.

In the Center we have meagre information upon which we can base this report. We still treat the question of finances in our Party as something separate and apart from the basic work in the districts and in the Party generally. We still treat the question of finances as a matter of getting a dollar, five dollars or a hundred dollars to meet certain emergencies, and we do not yet sufficiently realize that this question of finances affects our mass work, our mass agitation and educational work, our developing and preservation of cadres. I can illustrate with a few examples, how it really affects every phase of our work.

Comrade Browder in his report at the Extraordinary Party Conference laid down certain basic lines along which we can solve some of these problems. What are they? The most important were the following: first, a real attempt to overcome the financial laxness in our Party by a more responsible attitude to the finances of our mass organizations, as well as the finances of our Party; second, to bring about a situation in which the main bulk of our money is spent for mass work, for educational work, and not for maintaining apparatuses; third, to broaden out the financial base of our Party in the course of extending our mass work; fourth, to establish a properly functioning financial apparatus—a small one—a comrade, a trustworthy, tried comrade, who will be in

charge with a small, very responsible committee to take care of this work; and last, but not least, a strict system of accounting.

Financial Integrity Increasing

Now, in the light of this line, what has been done? From my observation, I may state that as far as our attitude to the financial integrity of our mass organizations, there has been a marked improvement. There is a better relationship now between many sections of our Party districts and the mass organizations. Everything is not yet perfect. There still is friction here and there, there are still attempts in some cases to fleece these mass organizations, but on the whole, considerable improvements have been made. There is more responsibility on the question of money that belongs to the **Daily Worker** or to literature, but I must also make the statement that here and there we meet resentment on the part of leading comrades when we tell them that they have to pay for bundle orders of the **Daily Worker**, or any other money belonging to the paper, or money they owe for literature. However, there is an improvement also in this.

Small Mass Base for Finances

However, when we come to the question of broadening the mass base of getting finances, we find we have made hardly any progress. We have not received financial reports from all districts. But we have some financial reports from some districts and what do they show? First of all, they show that the income of our districts is very small. If you take a district like Buffalo, which has grown in membership in the last few months, which has developed considerable mass work, etc., you see that they operate on a budget of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars a month for the maintenance of all the functionaries they have in the District Office, for developing mass work, for issuing mass literature, etc. You have a district like Minnesota, where they operate on as narrow a basis with an income of one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars a month.

Even if you take Chicago, one of our largest districts, you find that it is one of the few districts that at the beginning of the year 1933 attempted to work out a budget, and plan its finances. However, the income does not come up to the expectations and they must cut certain expenses that they have allotted to certain mass activities. And Chicago is not the worst district. I take this because it is one of the best examples. In the month of September the budget called for an expenditure of one hundred twenty-five dollars for printing. I presume printing of leaflets to the workers, etc. Well,

they had to save, so they cut out printing altogether. They had an item in the budget, a subsidy to the YCL, twenty dollars. They did not have enough maney so they cut out this. Then they had another item, a subsidy to the most important concentration points in the Chicago district, Southern Illinois and the stock yards. This should have amounted to one hundred dollars. They gave Southern Illinois sixteen dollars and fifteen cents and two dollars to the stockyards. Forty dollars was supposed to go to the T. U. U. L. but they did not get a cent.

Concentration Work Weakened by Bad Financial Situation

What does this show? It shows that it is impossible to carry out our policy of concentration, our policy with regard to entrenching ourselves in the basic industries, to a satisfactory degree, without at the same time solving this financial problem. We cannot blame the district. They did not have the money. But the fact of the matter is that the concentration work—the work in the stock yards and Southern Illinois suffers. If we examine some of the other districts with respect to mass agitation, we find the same thing. For instance, Buffalo in October did not spend a single nickel for printing, and wherever there is printing it is in connection with some affair. tickets, announcements, etc. There was no money spent on the printing of mass literature. We may say some of the responsibility of this mass agitation has been shifted to the sections recently, but the sections are still woefully weak and do not issue sufficient mass agitational literature; and when the districts send in report after report without anything listed as expenditures for printing, it is evident that our mass agitation, the explaining of our program and policies to the workers, which is impossible without printed material, is very weak.

Or, let us look at Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh is the only district that sent a report to the Center at our request, at the beginning of December, for the last eight months of 1933, giving the comparative expenses on the last three months of the year, together with some orientation on the budget for 1934, and we find that most of the money collected is spent on the maintaining of the apparatus, rent, postage, etc., and very little on agitational expenses. In comparison with the other districts, Pittsburgh is one of the best in this respect. However, for 9 months they spent only eighty-nine dollars for agitational expenses. This is a very serious situation which can be corrected only on the basis of really broadening out the financial base of our Party, of finding new methods of raising finances and methods of going to the workers and appealing for money.

This bad financial situation not only leads to a weakening of the concentration work but in some respects destroys our cadres.

We know of many instances where organizers take sick because they have no money to live on. We have also had some occasions recently of what we might call petty-larceny, where comrades are forced to take a few dollars from literature or other funds in order to live and we have had some expulsions in this regard in order to instill financial responsibility. But what is really responsible for this situation? The fact that the comrades cannot live. The district is primarily responsible, but the center must also take some of this blame, because no steps are taken to create the financial basis for the comrades to live. In this respect we also fail in the organization of schools, section and even unit schools.

With respect to accounting, we do not get reports from all districts, but it is very doubtful whether the financial system of reporting which was taken up and outlined so well in the Extraordinary Conference is being put into effect. We examined Buffalo and Boston, to which our accountants went. A very bad situation existed in these districts in respect to accounting and control. In Boston, for instance, the accountant tells us that until September 16th, no attempt at all was made to keep books on the **Daily Worker** and no record of expenditures or receipts was kept. With respect to the Party office itself, the accountant said the following:

"The bookkeeping system in the **District Office** was not satisfactorily maintained. This inefficiency is primarily due to the fact that the leading comrades underestimate the importance of keeping financial records in perfect order."

They do not think it political enough, important enough, to keep financial records and account for every cent taken in. Also, in Boston, out of an income of \$1400, the I.L.D. spent \$1180 for administrative expenses. In order to spend so much money for administrative expenses they had to use money collected for prisoners' relief, anti-deportation campaign, money collected for a special fund and, yes, for Scottsboro!

More System and Planning Needed

There is no cure-all remedy as to how to broaden out our very narrow financial base, but there are some things which the districts fail to do. Literature, apart from its financial income, has a tremendous agitational and political value for the Party. But even from the point of view of finances, the district should be interested in this also. New York has

developed this to the extent that it subsidizes all sorts of Party work with this method. Literature departments and book stores have been established out of the profits in various sections. New York has sold \$6500 worth of literature, in comparison with Chicago, which sold only \$405 worth, and, naturally, there cannot be any money out of this for other work. On the contrary, they had to borrow money to pay a bill to the Workers Library Publishers. Is it so difficult to develop a mass sale of literature?

Another instance—there is a special film agency organized to supply our districts and organizations with Soviet movies, which also are of great propoganda value for our movement in the United States. At the same time it can bring in money. What do we find? The districts wake up to the existence of this agency only when they send a protest about the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites getting pictures. The fact of the matter is that all kinds of organizations avail themselves of this opportunity of making money. The S.P. and the S.L.P. locals do it. But our Party is not doing it. The P.M.A. in Illinois made from \$100 to \$150 a week for several weeks from showing these films.

The most important thing is that we can build up a very large sustaining fund for the Party. We must learn from the last **Daily Worker** drive. The **Daily Worker** at the conclusion of the drive, announced that from eighteen to nineteen thousand workers participated in this campaign. This is incorrect. At least from sixty to eighty thousand either participated actively or gave funds to help the **Daily Worker**. What does this mean? It means that there are thousands of workers who are not in our Party or even in our mass organizations, but who are sufficiently sympathetic to support our press, and support our Party financially. In August the center sent out directives with regard to the establishing of a sustaining fund. Most of the districts not only forgot about this document but never even read it. It is true that the Center is responsible for not explaining it and not pushing it. We can reach tens of thousands of workers and sympathizers who will donate regularly and who will help the Party to carry out its mass work. We must have more system and planning in the matter of finances.

The Utilization of the Party Press— The Development of Cadres

*(Excerpts from speech of Comrade Peters,
to Central Committee Meeting.)*

THE directives of the Central Committee today to the lower organizations, to the districts, sections and units, are

given through the **Daily Worker**. The editorials and articles in the **Daily Worker** are the editorials and the articles of the Central Committee. If Comrade Amter writes an article about the C.W.A., this is not Comrade Amter's articles, it is the PolBuro's article. If Comrade Hathaway writes an article, it is not Comrade Hathaway's personal article, it is an article expressing the opinion of the PolBuro, and giving the leadership of the PolBuro to the Party.

How do we utilize the **Daily Worker** today? To a large extent, our membership is not aware of the fact that through the **Daily Worker**, the Central Committee gives daily political guidance and even organizational directives. Many of these articles, many of these editorials, are simply shelved and filed, without being considered, and sometimes not even being read, not only by the unit and section leadership, but even by the district leadership. That is why it is possible to have inquiries from certain districts, three months after the Anti-War Congress, asking, "What kind of a committee is this anti-war committee? We do not know anything about it. You did not send any directives."

A situation may arise when the Central Committee can speak to the membership only through the press, when the political line can be given only through the press. If the comrades do not learn to use the press today, then, in such a situation, the membership will be disconnected politically from the leadership of the Party.

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Reserve Cadres Must Be Prepared

The Open Letter and the control tasks dealing with concentration say: "We have to strengthen the leading cadres in these plants and guarantee capable leadership of these selected units and sections." In another place the Open Letter says: "It is necessary to develop a strong corps of proletarian cadres experienced in mass work and establish collective leadership of sections and tried secretaries in the units."

Let us consider what it means to lack forces and to lack cadres. In Germany thousands of our functionaries are in concentration camps, hundreds were executed, tortured, taken away from the Party. If the German Party had not been able to replace these leaders, if it had not already prepared in advance reserve cadres, it would not be able now to carry on its heroic struggle, and to give leadership to the German working class. But the German Communist Party, because it understood in advance what it means to develop its forces, had thousands and thousands of comrades who were ready to step into the place of the arrested comrades.

Let us examine our own situation in regard to our cadres today. We can state that in the recent period we have

succeeded in stabilizing our forces to some extent. There is less shifting of our cadres from one place to another. In certain districts and sections we have established leaders who have grown up in the struggles, and we do not, as in the past, take them from this place, where they are known, and where they have developed, and send them to some other place. We have more local leaders in the unions. In the textile, marine and mining conferences we saw how the new forces are coming forward, how they are really developing leadership in the basic industries all over the country. The same is true in the unemployed movement.

Bad Practices

However, in some districts and even in the center we have examples which show that we have not entirely overcome our bad practices. For example, a comrade is removed from a certain post because he failed on the job, or made certain political blunders which could not be corrected. What do we do with this comrade? He is placed in another post almost as responsible as the one from which he was removed.

The second weakness, which is one of the main problems before the Party, is that we place in responsible work forces which are not sufficiently proved and tried. We do not check up sufficiently when we assign comrades to work,—where he came from, who he is, how did he carry on the work previously. He becomes a leader, and often we do not know whether he is a tried and reliable comrade who should be leading responsible work.

We have experiences where in important Party offices, we place technical forces without any discrimination.

We have examples where spies can come into such offices and get the addresses of the members of the organization easily. For instance, someone volunteered his services to the W.I.R. The comrades were very glad to accept the offer of voluntary work, without investigation. Within two or three weeks a couple of hundred dollars were stolen from the envelopes that came into this office, by this willing volunteer. Many of our offices are careless in this respect. Anyone who is willing to work without pay, can work in many of our organizations.

The third basic weakness of the Party in respect to cadres is the demoralization of our forces because of the lack of support from the Party committee which assigns him to work. Every district can offer examples to prove this point. In one particular case a comrade was assigned to carry on certain work. He did his work, and then because he was starving, he asked to be released. The leading comrades quoted Lenin on Bolshevik discipline and forced him to remain. As a result this comrade deserted his post and was expelled

from the Party as a deserter. Now, this comrade was not a steeled Bolshevik. He was weak. But if the District at the first sign of demoralization had considered the problem, and had permitted him to go to work, this comrade would have been saved for the Party.

No Time Can Be Lost!

We must bear in mind that our time is very short. We cannot lose a minute in developing the new forces. Comrade Lenin says:

“Revolutionary epochs are to the social-democrats the same as wartime to the army. We must expand the cadres of our army, from peace contingents the reserve forces must be mobilized, the men on furlough must be called to the colors, new auxiliary corps, detachments and services must be set up. One must not forget that in wartime it is inevitable and necessary to replenish one's ranks by raw recruits, frequently replace officers by rank and file soldiers, accelerate and simplify the promotion of soldiers to officers' ranks.”

We have to very boldly bring forward the best elements in the Party to leadership, and no time can be lost. We must organize schools,—not only full time schools where we take the workers out of the factories, but evening schools, where after work they can come to school, learn, and then go back to the factory and be the leaders of the workers in the factory. We must train forces from the unions and mass organizations, and first and foremost from the native-born elements. Especially must we train forces from among the women. The Thesis of the 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I. points out the importance of developing women cadres, because of the approaching war. When the men are sent to the front, the women will remain here, and will have to carry much of the responsibility. We must develop forces among the Negroes, among the youth and among the colonial workers in America. These are the categories on which we have to concentrate in the shortest possible time.

It is necessary to pay more attention to the comrades who have already received training, and who are engaged in work. They must be supplied with all the literature of our Party. We must follow their activity, watch their development, give them guidance and assistance, and help them really to develop into mass leaders.

Training Forces In the Chicago District

By BEATRICE SHIELDS

LENIN stated that some comrades do not see the forest for the trees, referring to the question of forces. The constant refrain at all Plenums and meetings is, "We have no forces." This comes from the sections and leadership in the mass organizations—from all directions.

It is about time this refrain is changed. What is the good of constant complaint if opportunities and facilities to develop and train cadres are not utilized?

There are plenty of forces in the ranks of the Party and mass organizations, in the working class. In times of struggle we have seen leaders arise from among the workers, and in places where attention is paid to this problem good results are obtained. Generally speaking, what do we do with new workers who come into our ranks? Do we consciously concentrate on each individual in an effort to build, develop and strengthen these potential leaders? As a rule, we don't. We rely too much on spontaneity. There is a deep division between theory and practice. Workers will of themselves want and desire to fight. The deepening of the crisis has radicalized them and they are ready for action. Workers will organize into trade unions, but cannot of themselves develop class consciousness or become Communist leaders. Leaders must be built, trained and armed with revolutionary theory and experiences of the international working class movement.

We hear very frequent complaints that the reason for the lack of sufficient work in the trade unions and shops is due to the low political level of our units, that our units do not understand the Open Letter. But merely recognizing the fact does not change the situation. We cannot continue to treat our Party membership as a mass—as backward. The workers joined our Party because they were ready to participate in its life and struggles and desired to carry out its program. The duty of the Party is to make Communists of them—to teach them our program and how to carry it out. Our duty is to give leadership and guidance in their daily work in order to improve our basic work of the Party.

How to solve this problem is the burning issue before us. The Party will not move forward quickly enough unless every Communist becomes a conscious moving force among the masses. Too few of our comrades can convincingly bring the line of the Party before the workers. Every Party member among the masses should be so trained that he will be able to spread the influence of the Party, to gain

the confidence of the masses, to develop and lead struggles for their demands.

Repeated decisions have been made to change the life of the units, to organize the agendas so as to have weekly discussion, politicalizing the tasks and break the deadly routine and mechanical procedure. With reference to unit discussions, for instance, decisions have been made to have section supplements to District outlines which will focus the attention and make the connection between the general tasks and political explanations with the concrete work of concentration facing the sections and units. These decisions were carried out in some sections with great results, but as yet the decisions have not affected the lives of every unit.

Lack of Systematic Leadership

Why were the decisions not carried out by all sections? The leadership in few sections remained stable. Every few weeks there are changes in the sections. New agitprop directors are always starting from the beginning. By the time the comrade gets some work started, he is withdrawn for something else. The result of this shifting is that the leadership in the sections is narrow, mostly confined to the Section Organizer alone. How can one expect a Section Agitprop Director, who is not given an opportunity to carry out his own decisions, to improve the life of the units? In some cases the Section Agitprop Director does not function as an agitprop director at all. He is a sort of general technical worker and completes details that the organizer leaves undone. The life of the units will be improved only with systematic follow-up of decisions and constant attention. The duty of an Agitprop Director is to concentrate his work in line with the general plan of concentration, on the agitation-propaganda work of the sections and units and all assistance must be given him by the Section Committee to carry out this work properly.

Schools

The response of the mass organizations to the winter term of the Chicago Workers School is an outstanding example that our leading comrades still indulge in words about forces, but take little steps to develop them. The splendid opportunity given by the Chicago Workers School was not utilized. The schedule of the winter term was so organized as to fit into the program of work of the sections and mass organizations. The courses were designed to give immediate assistance to the units, sections and fractions.

No effort was spared to popularize the school and the courses in the mass organizations and Party. Detailed booklets, describing each course, were issued. Special meetings with the agitprop directors of the sections and special

letters to the units explaining the connection of the courses with the Open Letter and their basic tasks were sent out. In spite of all this, the weakest registration comes from the trade unions and the Party.

Is the lack of response due to the lack of interest on the part of the Party and trade union membership? We must emphatically reject such an idea. The fault lies with the leadership. There is still too much talk of "our membership is no good", "we cannot do anything with them", etc. This attitude attempts to sidetrack the responsibility and tasks of improving the life of the Party and its membership. Good or bad, this is the Party that will have to make the turn—good or bad, the present Party membership will have to be trained to "root our Party among the decisive sections of the American working class". It is important to state here that the majority of registrations at the school this winter are young workers, Negro and white, which shows the tremendous desire among the workers to learn about Communism. In this important task, as part and parcel of our plan of concentration, we must remember the words of the Open Letter: "Not to be carried away by events." Our basic task is to train and educate forces for work in the concentration sections and shops.

Trade Union Fractions

The worst offenders are the comrades in the leading fractions of the T.U.U.L. and opposition groups in the A. P. of L. In spite of the fact that special provisions were made for three classes in Trade Unionism and other courses to draw workers in the unions closer to us and develop them for future leadership, the T.U.U.L. leadership completely neglected to utilize the opportunity. The basic task of the T.U.U.L. was to intensify the concentration on heavy industry and consolidate the existing unions. Can this be done through professional organizers who come once a week or so to a meeting? No. To do this, the leadership must be broadened and must come from the workers in the unions themselves.

In spite of this urgent need for forces, the members of the T.U.U.L. are conspicuously absent at the school. No campaign was conducted among them for the school. The excuse was that the letters were sent out too early. The leading comrades state that we bother the workers too much—we don't let them concentrate. And what does he say we bother them with? Precisely too much demand for them to go to school and conduct discussions. This is the crassest expression of the gross underestimation of training forces. There is no guarantee that those workers who follow our militant struggle program during the strikes automatically are ready to adopt our entire program. The experience in

the Coleman Bronze strike, where the workers left the T.U.U.L. and formed an independent union, shows that we did not do sufficient work to explain and convince the workers of the meaning of our revolutionary program.

Fractions in Mass Organizations

In the other mass organizations some educational work is being conducted. Some classes are organized. There also, however, is no consistent training of new forces. For instance, the I.W.O., the largest revolutionary mass organization in Chicago, undertook to conduct a class in the Chicago Workers School in "Social Insurance and the Workers' Fraternal Organizations". All arrangements were made to help the I.W.O. develop fresh forces for the growing movement. The result, after six weeks of preparation, is that four workers registered for the course. This again is definitely due to the lack of campaign on the part of the leadership of this organization. The same goes for the I.L.D., which had a special class in "Labor Defense". Last semester, with a little work, a very popular and successful class was conducted. This time, no work was done and the result is only seven workers registered. As for "Principles of Communism" and other subjects of vital importance to draw the workers of the mass organizations closer to the Party and into the Party, this is entirely out of the question.

Shop Units — Shop Papers

Generally speaking, there is a great improvement in the quality and quantity of our shop papers in recent months. Especially important is the issuance of two mine bulletins which are already taking a prominent place in bringing the Party to the miners. There is a conscious effort by the editors and comrades in charge to secure shop stories from the departments, to raise the union and Party prominently. However, the papers are still sort of small newspapers. The role and program of the Party are not brought forward boldly enough through the articles and editorials. The bulletin must be the voice of the Party in the shop, bringing forward its program, and its proposed solution to every problem raised in the shop letters. Every occurrence must be carefully linked up with the nature of capitalism, the revolutionary way out of the crisis and the ultimate goal, the overthrow of capitalism. Our bulletins only speak of the Soviet Union during the time of anniversaries. The achievements of the workers in the U. S. S. R. must be utilized as a constant contrast to the conditions of the shops, and as the best weapon to rally the workers to struggle for the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

On the whole it can be said that there is an improvement in the life of the sections and units. Discussions are being

conducted more or less regularly in most of the sections. The sections are all working for the opening of weekend schools during the winter. Last year every section conducted a school with excellent results. Systematic classes have been organized in the coal fields, two new schools were opened in the Calumet steel region. There is a monthly publication as a guide to speakers, and the quality of our leaflets and agitation has improved. But these achievements are only beginnings of what must be done to awaken the entire Party to the very bottom with new political life and vigor.

The problem of training cadres for our Party and the mass organizations cannot remain the problem of one department alone. It is the problem for the entire movement to solve. The leadership in the mass organizations must change their orientation to this question. A coordinated, systematic approach must be developed in order to solve the problem. We must stop crying and complaining—pick out our forces, concentrate on them, and utilize every facility and possibility to train and develop them.

International Women's Day

By ANNA DAMON

THE Thirteenth ECCI Plenum estimated the present period as one of "revolutions and wars", and directed the Communist Parties to increase the tempo of work in order to win the majority of the working class for the final struggle for power.

To speak of accomplishing the task of winning the majority of the working class, without giving special attention to the particular needs of the various categories which make up the working class, would be idle chatter.

The crisis has dealt heavy blows to and has lowered the standard of living of the working and farm women. The meagre labor legislation, won through decades of struggle, has been wiped out by the NRA. Industries are now organized on war basis so that women can run the factories at a 24-hour stretch. The U. S. government has officially sanctioned lower wages for women in the industrial codes of the NRA. Meanwhile tens of thousands of Negro and married women have been thrown out of industry into domestic service, in many instances working for room and board without any wages whatsoever.

Jim-crowism and discrimination against Negro women, in their jobs and in relief distribution, have increased.

The increased misery of working and farm women has resulted in their greater readiness to fight the bosses' and

government offensive. This has been exemplified in the numerous strikes against the NRA and in unemployment struggles, where the women were found in the front ranks.

While gains can be recorded in the growth of the number of women in the Party and the T.U.U.L. industrial unions, it does not measure up with possibilities. Above all, it is not a result of specific work among the masses of women in leading their fight on the job and among the unemployed. Nor is it a result of our agitation for particular women's demands in addition to the general demands of the workers.

The ECCI has time and again pointed out, at the 6th World Congress and in the 12th ECCI Plenum resolution, the need for special work among women, and the need for putting a stop to the under-estimation of the importance of this work.

The 13th ECCI Plenum Resolution on fascism and the danger of war and the tasks of the Communist Parties points to the immediate necessity of broadening our work among women:

"Increasing the mass work among **women**, at the same time promoting and training even now a body of active Party women who, during the war, could in a number of cases replace mobilized comrades."

International Women's Day Campaign, March 8th, 1934, gives our Party the best opportunity to arouse masses of women against Roosevelt's New Deal, against fascism and war, in defense of the Soviet Union. To accomplish this task the Party and the T.U.U.L. must become politically conscious of its importance and proceed to an immediate plan of action. This plan must be based on realistic possibilities in given industries, cities, towns and farm regions. This will mean that district and section leadership will have to find forces and give more than formal patronage to the I. W. D. campaign. It will mean leading and organizing struggles against the NRA for equal pay for equal work in the factories; leading struggles in the neighborhoods against the high cost of living resulting from inflation; taking the initiative in organizing the unemployed single women in their struggle for relief; becoming acquainted with the problems and daily needs of the Negro women and leading them in united action with the white workers in the struggle against discrimination.

Character of I.W.D. Campaign

The campaign for International Women's Day should have the broadest possible united front character around the immediate issues of working class women in shops, factories, neighborhoods, and among unemployed women, we should

rally the women around the issues of wages, speed-up, high cost of living, social insurance and immediate relief, connecting these economic issues with the struggle against the NRA, and against fascism and war.

Appropriate concrete local slogans should be issued in addition to the general I. W. D. slogans. The agitation and propaganda should be in simple and direct language. The activities should terminate in factory and street demonstrations and indoor mass meetings on March 8th.

Working Woman

Throughout the campaign the **Working Woman** should be brought forward. **Working Woman** clubs should be built around the paper, and an endeavor made to increase the circulation from 8,000 to 12,000.

Immediate Organizational Steps

Special meetings of the District Departments for Work Among Women should be held with representatives from the fractions in all trade unions and mass organizations, at which concrete plans for International Women's Day will be formed. The Districts should arrange for discussions in the units on work among women, at which the special importance of this work is stressed in view of the present situation of approaching war. The district functionaries' meetings in Feb. should also consider this question.

Special factory gates meetings at the concentration factories, where women are employed, should be held in the period prior to March 8th, as well as special women's meetings in the Unemployed Block Committees and branches and councils of the unemployed.

At least one open meeting should be organized in the unions, women's organizations, mass and fraternal organizations, where the workers in the trade and neighborhood will be invited by the organization to listen to a talk on the programs of the working class women in connection with International Women's Day.

Section demonstrations and open air rallies around concrete issues should be held throughout the month of February, culminating wherever possible in central open air demonstrations on March 8th. Where it is not possible to arrange open air demonstrations, indoor meetings should be held under the auspices of the Party with prominent Party speakers.

Utilize March 8th to make a real beginning in organizing the working women of America.

Shop Papers and Concentration

By Agit Prop Dept.

"It is idle chatter to talk about the revolutionizing of the working class by the Party unless the Party conquers a firm basis for itself among the miners, metal and steel workers, railroad workers, auto, marine, and textile workers."

"Talk about defense of the Soviet Union and struggle against imperialist war is nothing but empty phrases unless systematic work is carried out in the war industry plants and in the ports." (From the Open Letter.)

WITHOUT a doubt, one of the best criteria for examining the Party work in the shops is to compare the number and quality of shop papers issued. The shop paper is the basic Party organ in the shop, mines, docks and factories. We can truthfully say that to the extent that we systematically issue and circulate our shop papers, shall we be carrying out the Open Letter, and conquering a firm base for the Party among decisive strata of the workers.

What is the situation with regard to Party shop papers? By no means is sufficient work in this regard being done. Chicago, the best of the concentration districts in this regard, has only 12 shop papers. Important concentration districts like Cleveland and Pittsburgh report few or no shop papers. The comparison between the number of shop nuclei and the number of shop papers issued in given districts bears out our contention that wholly insufficient attention is being paid to this most important phase of our work. New York, Dist. No. 2, with 65 shop nuclei, issues only 8 Party shop papers. And where are these issued? Mostly in the lighter industries: needle, light metal, etc. Not a single Party shop paper in its basic industry—**marine**. It is not possible for us to speak seriously of carrying on effective struggle against war if on the docks and ships we do not have the basic Party organs.

District 8, with 45 shop nuclei, has 12 shop papers, the largest proportion and a better composition. Papers have been issued for some time in steel and packing, and recently mine papers have been established. These must be continued and strengthened. The other concentration districts present a much weaker picture, and undoubtedly require a great deal of intensive work to establish shop papers in the key industries.

Shop Paper Must Be Party Paper

One of the incorrect tendencies which has become apparent on a wide scale is the tendency to issue union or group

papers instead of Party shop papers. Without doubt, this tendency is greatly responsible for the lack of Party shop papers, particularly in the concentration districts. This has been seen in the "Hot Billet" of Pittsburgh, the "Ground Hog" of the Gillespie, Ill., coal mines, and in many other points. In one case, this takes the form of an openly issued union paper, with no Party paper issued; while in the other, the paper is issued in the name of the Party, but in character and content is actually a union or left group paper. Of course, we support union and opposition group papers. But it is clear that the primary and basic paper in the shop must be the Party paper, to revolutionize the workers, to raise their political understanding.

Further, the importance of shop papers is increasing rapidly, as the N.R.A. drive toward fascization of the bourgeois state increases in tempo. As the most important phase of our struggle against fascism, it is necessary for us to more boldly bring forward the face of the Party, to establish the Party as the political leader of the workers.

The shop paper is normally a semi-illegal or completely illegal organ; and the experience gained in composing and distributing it are invaluable in preparation for the probable underground illegal state into which we may be forced.

The experiences of our heroic German Communist Party in this respect are instructive. Within a very short period after the suppression of **Die Rote Fahne** and the rest of the Party legal press, the shop papers had taken their place in the workers' hands, with a total circulation of more than ten times that of the former legal press.

The experiences which the Party had gained prior to illegality through the issuance of shop papers are today enabling our brother Party to distribute tons of illegal agitational material, to the acute discomfiture of Herr Hitler. It is necessary that the comrades in the districts, particularly the concentration districts, and in these, the concentration industries, mining, steel, metal, packing, railroads, auto, marine and textile, should clearly understand the importance of shop papers as the basic Party organ in the industry.

Let the comrades make the turn to the shops called for in the Open Letter by building more and better shop papers. Less talk about carrying out the Open Letter and more work, more shop papers.