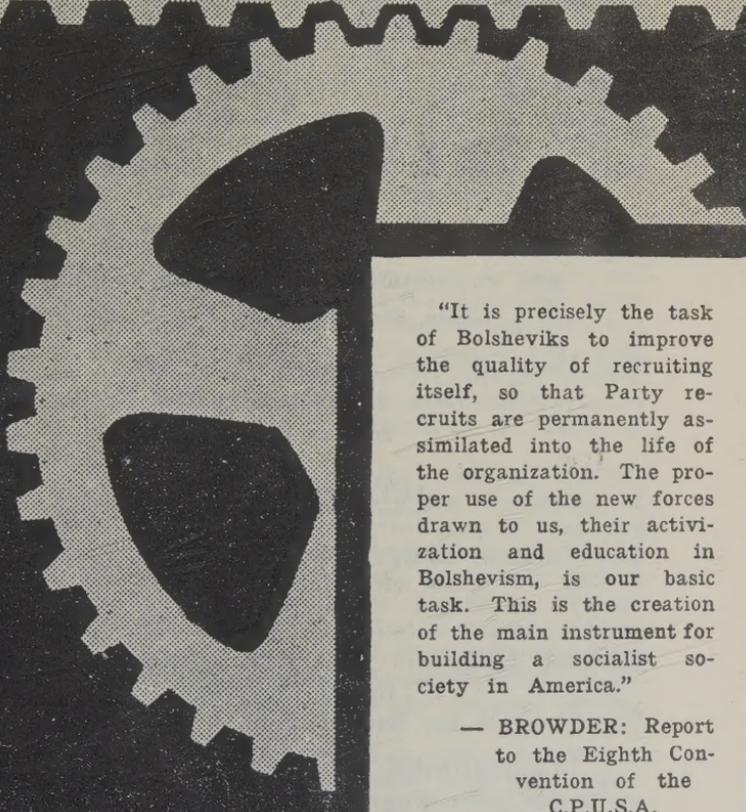


Party Organizer



"It is precisely the task of Bolsheviks to improve the quality of recruiting itself, so that Party recruits are permanently assimilated into the life of the organization. The proper use of the new forces drawn to us, their activation and education in Bolshevism, is our basic task. This is the creation of the main instrument for building a socialist society in America."

— BROWDER: Report to the Eighth Convention of the C.P.U.S.A.

Vol. VII

DECEMBER, 1934

No. 12

Issued by

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY U. S. A.

CONTENTS

●

The Recruiting Drive	1
By F. Brown	
The Recruiting Campaign in Cleveland District	3
By Phil Bart, Org. Secretary, District 6	
Some Experiences in Recruiting to the Party.....	6
By Jim Allander, Org. Sec'y District 5	
Personal Contact in the Election Campaign.....	9
By S. Voros	
Important Lessons of the Shipyard Strike and Organization of the Shop Nucleus.....	11
By L. Lewis, Sec. Organizer, Staten Island, N.Y.	
The Phila. District Plenum Gives New Perspectives and Tasks to the Party.....	14
By Frank Hellman	

AGIT-PROP SECTION

The National Agitprop Conference	17
(Plan of Preparation)	
By V. J. Jerome	
Building Literature Apparatus in the Party.....	21
By Robert Franklin	
The Struggle for Shop Papers in a Concentration Section	24
By Joe Leslie, Shop Paper Committee, Sec. 7, District 2	
Experiences of a Cleveland Section in Building Literature Sales	29
By G. Ellison, Literature Director, Sec. 3, Dist. 6	

●

PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. VII

DECEMBER, 1934

No. 12

The Recruiting Drive

By F. BROWN

WHAT IS the situation in the Recruiting Drive? While, on the one hand, it appears from the reports that the Recruiting Drive has been taken up, on the other hand, if we judge from the material that reaches the **Daily Worker**, and the figures on recruiting during the past few weeks, we must come to the conclusion that as yet we cannot speak of a real drive. There is no evidence that the Recruiting Drive has been taken up with the necessary determination.

Yes, some of the Districts worked out their plans and have mobilized the units and fractions to some extent for the Drive. In other Districts, however, we have evidence, not only that the directives of the C.C. on the Recruiting Drive have not passed beyond the stage of reading material, but that the C.C. letter was not properly discussed in the units. Many reasons are given: i.e., because of the crowded agenda, or because of the election campaign, etc. The fact remains that the C.C. letter and directives remained at the status of half ignored directives.

The fact that very little discussion material,—articles bringing forward the experiences in the Drive, declarations of new Party members, etc., has reached the **Daily Worker**, and that the present figures on recruiting do not indicate an increase over the average recruiting, are more than evident signs that the Drive has not been taken up properly. We are confronted with a certain apathy, which expresses itself in the theory that, "because we are too busy, with so many activities, we cannot tackle properly the fundamental organizational problems before the Party—the building of the Party".

In this drive, there can be no excuse that there was a lack of directives or concrete suggestions from the Center. Where the units took up the letter of the C.C., the comrades greeted the document with enthusiasm. It is in the leading committees that the weaknesses lie. It is the leading committees who have not brought forward the Drive; who have not supervised properly the activities of the units and fractions, who have not developed the competition between sections, units, and individual Party members; who have not gathered the experiences, which, if published in the **Daily**

Worker, in **The Party Organizer**, would act as an important stimulus in the Drive.

Such a situation must be changed immediately. We call upon the whole Party, from the leading committees down to each individual Party member, to follow up the appeal of the C.C. on the Recruiting Drive with Bolshevik determination. The leading committees, from the District Bureaus down to the Unit Bureaus, must take immediate steps to bring about a drastic turn, upon which depends the success of the drive.

We propose:

1. That the Districts, Sections and Unit Bureaus immediately check up on the activities in the Drive.
2. That the leading comrades, members of District and Section Committees, be assigned to assist the units in their activities during the Drive.
3. That immediate steps be taken by the District Org. Depts., Section Org. Depts., to supply the **Daily Worker** and the **Party Organizer** with the best experiences in the Drive; experiences of the units, fractions, individual Party members, etc.
4. That the shop nuclei invite to their meetings the best workers in their shops, sympathetic and militant workers, with the purpose of bringing them into our ranks.
5. That the leading committees see to it that the fractions in the mass organizations be mobilized to call special meet-

WE HAD expected to have in this issue of **THE PARTY ORGANIZER** recruiting experiences from all of the concentration Districts. In spite of letters and numerous wires, no experiences were obtainable from Districts 7 and 8. An assignment was also given to the Section Organizer of Section 1, New York, where we understand that the comrades have succeeded in reducing fluctuation, but apparently Comrade Brandt wishes to keep the experiences of Section 1 within the Section, because, despite letters and wires, he has sent us no article.

Certainly it would be incorrect to assume that Districts 7 and 8 are not carrying on a recruiting campaign and therefore have no experiences. But the fact that these are two of the most important concentration Districts in the country, makes their experiences valuable to the entire Party, and therefore an obligation rests upon these Districts to make their experiences available. We expect therefore that the January **PARTY ORGANIZER** will be lively with recruiting experiences, not only from Districts 7 and 8, but from every District in the country—The Editor

ings of sympathizers, militant workers of their particular union and other mass organization, at which leading comrades will speak about the role of the Party and appeal to the non-Party workers to join forces with us for the building of the only Party of the working class.

6. That each District utilize its **Org. Bulletin** as one of the main instruments for conducting the Drive, or take advantage of the Recruiting Drive to establish an **Org. Bulletin**, which shall not become the organ only of reports of the organizational activities going on, but shall be developed as a guide on a district scale on how to build shop nuclei, how to improve the life of the shop nuclei and of the units in general, taking up all the organizational problems. The District **Org. Bulletins** should become one of the main educators on the organizational principles and problems of our Party.

The Recruiting Campaign in Cleveland District

By PHIL BART, Org. Secretary, District 6

AN EXAMINATION of the recruiting in District 6 for the month of October indicates that the Central Committee letter to the Party membership has not yet penetrated to the lower units and reached the membership. During that month, we recruited 156 into our Party. This is only a slight increase over the previous months. Durnig September, 114 joined the Party and in August, 126.

The Central Committee letter addressed to every Party member was very timely. It reached us in the period when we were involved in intense election activity. During the campaign, literally hundreds of house meetings took place. These were attended by new sections of workers who had previously no contact with the revolutionary movement. It is from these sources, that many of our recruits should have come. Yet the results for the month show only a slight increase.

If we further examine the character of this recruiting, we find that the point in the letter "to strengthen the Party, in the first place among the workers in the large factories and trade unions, in the basic industries of steel, mining, marine, railroad, and auto", has not taken place. During the month of October, four steel workers were recruited into the Party. District 6 has six shops of concentration. Four of them are

steel plants with existing shop units which have shown no increase during October.

In drawing in workers from the unions, some slight improvement can be noted. From A. F. of L. unions, 23 have joined the Party; 7 from T.U.U.L. and 4 from independent unions. This is not due yet to a conscious recruiting activity inside of the unions but reflects the general recruiting. How much more could have been done if, through the conscious effort of our work inside these unions, steps were taken to draw the most active into our Party?

But the most burning problem we are faced with is that of Party fluctuation. The Central Committee, addressing itself to every Party member, reminds everyone of the "problem of a tremendous fluctuation (turn-over) of the Party membership". When we add the number recruited into the Party from January to August with the average dues payment in the District, we should have a membership today of 2,589. To this figure, we can add those recruited during September and October which should bring our membership to 2,859.

However, a wide gap exists between the average dues payment and the number recruited. During this whole period, our average dues payment has not passed the 1,700 mark. This means that some 1,100 members cannot be accounted for. Non-appreciation of this question exists in many of the sections where the Party leaders do not see these problems as one of the major means in building the Party. There is still a distorted understanding between the organization of the Party, constant recruiting, and the building of the unit as a means of improving the mass work. Let us cite an example: We received a letter from the section organizer of Akron, which states:

"After assigning the best possible forces for trade union work, which I am personally responsible for, and after assigning others for unemployed work, we find ourselves in a situation of needing a new Organizational Secretary. Therefore, a motion was adopted by the Section Committee that we ask the District Committee for a suitable comrade for at least three months to take charge of this work and enable us to go out and do mass work."

It is such distortion that results in neglect of organization of the Party unit, of the constant attention to building a leadership and thereby making these units instruments for mass work. It is well for the Section Organizer to take responsibility for trade union work, but only by developing the unit as an instrument in this work can we assure its success.

With the decision of the Central Committee to extend the

recruiting drive until the Lenin Memorial (January 21, 1935), steps are being taken to correct this situation, improving the recruiting and cutting down this tremendous fluctuation. For this purpose, a functionaries' conference has already taken place in Cleveland, where the Central Committee letter was the only point on the order of business for discussion. The Organization Commission has called a special meeting of all Section Organizers throughout the District, where recruiting, fluctuation, dues payment and exchange of Party membership books are the points on the agenda.

In Cleveland, the regular shop unit conference, consisting of unit organizers from all shop units, is being devoted to a discussion of the Central Committee letter. In the A. F. of L. fraction, this question has been placed on the order of business. The District meeting of Section Organizers, in discussing this problem, will also outline a program similar to that of the Cleveland program; that is, holding of functionaries' conferences and shop unit meetings to take up this question.

Basing ourselves on the proposals made in the Central Committee letter, the main attention is being directed towards individual attention to groups of comrades. While calling functionaries' conferences and various other meetings, the leading comrades are responsible to select some specific group, hold discussions with them and draw them into the Party. From the slight beginning made in this direction, we have met some excellent results. During the election campaign a group of workers were called together in one small town in Ohio, where a shop unit of three in a large steel mill was organized; one of them a leader of the Central Labor Union of the town, another one the executive of his union and the third, an active member. Similar examples, even if only few can be cited in other places.

The letter of the Central Committee is not a document to be read once and laid aside. In the whole drive from now until the Lenin Memorial, it should be the guide for every Party member. In this way, it will be possible to carry out the decision of putting an end to this terrible disease of fluctuation which results in constant recruiting, but a loss of as many as are gained each time.

Some Experiences in Recruiting to the Party

By JIM ALLANDER, *Org. Sec'y., District 5*

AT A RECENT meeting of the District Bureau the problem of recruiting was taken up in line with the general mass work of the Party. The report of the Org. Dept. showed that 364 members had been recruited since March, while we have the task of raising our dues-paying membership to 2,000 before January 21.

Recruitment for the period of a year (August, 1933 to August, 1934) shows a total of 863 recruits or an average of 71 per month, yet recruitment for July, August and September shows the lowest average for the entire year. This would indicate that the activity of the Party was on a low ebb during this period, which was not the case, as we were engaged in a number of very important campaigns such as the Party Anniversary, Election Campaign, etc. The most important was our campaign for the election of a Left wing slate in the U.M.W.A. in coal and the A.A. in steel. With proper methods and attention to recruitment we should have recruited a minimum of 500 new members to the Party during this period.

The discussion of the District Bureau revealed that our leading Party comrades engaged in mass work, as well as our functionaries, had not given the question of recruitment any serious attention, but regarded it as a routine matter.

During the course of the election campaign, more than 100 meetings were held, and in most cases there were never application cards present, no preparations were made beforehand for recruitment into the Party. Our Party units where the meetings took place, were not mobilized for this important work among the workers who attended these meetings.

In places where proper attention was given to the problem of recruitment at the meetings and in our mass work around the elections, good results were obtained, as, for example, in a local steel town with a good Unemployment Council the face of the Party was brought forward and our comrades openly asked workers to join the Party at their mass meetings. One new unit has been established and the membership more than doubled. Today we have 31 members in this place. Six months ago we had none. Another example is X——, where we have had only five members for over a year. They did not ask workers to join the Party. At their

first meeting for the election campaign the whole unit was mobilized. 2,000 leaflets were distributed and, to the surprise of our comrades, it turned out to be the biggest political mass meeting held in the City Hall auditorium attracting more workers than any of the other Parties. 250 attended the meeting. Four workers openly joined the Party and a number have since turned in their applications to individual comrades. The Party is now brought forward in all the activities locally and respected by the workers.

Another example of good recruiting during the Election Campaign is the work of two units in the 5th Ward of the Hill Section, which were the only units that were successful in involving non-Party workers to a large extent in the election campaign and work of the unit. Their work was not scattered over the entire ward, but in a selected section. At the end of the campaign this precinct showed the highest vote percentage compared with the entire Communist vote in the Hill. The unit was able to estimate the vote received approximately before the election. Out of the group of non-Party workers active in the election campaign 10 have been recruited to the Party through one unit and eight through the second unit.

Recruiting in Mining and Steel

In mining we have succeeded in building a fair Left wing opposition. The leadership of this opposition assumes a broad character which is directly connected with the different locals of the U.M.W.A. It has established a functioning apparatus with a regular schedule of meetings, program, etc. In this work a number of our most active Party members were active, but, during this campaign our most important mine units stopped functioning. Recruitment of miners to the Party also stopped. The fraction leading the work, within the opposition had no plan for recruitment. The District Bureau, in discussing this work, pointed out quite sharply that every comrade in mass work understood that this had been pointed out in previous resolutions of the District, that such mass work without building the Party and Y.C.L. was doomed to crash, endangering the whole Left wing movement.

In our Left wing work in steel and aluminum we had a somewhat similar situation with favorable opportunities for recruitment. Yet our leading comrades overlooked this possibility or hesitated to recruit these new workers to the Party.

After criticizing this failure and weakness the District Bureau set a recruitment quota of 50 employed miners and 25 steel workers for the period of a month. We also assigned

each Bureau member the task of reporting at the end of the month how many non-Party workers he spoke to and recruited to the Party. In the application of this plan for recruitment in mining and steel we have already built two new mine units. In addition a unit of seven in an important mine was established, recruiting several individuals who are leaders of their local unions and committees. Our quota will be fulfilled by the end of the month in mining. However, there still remains a weakness in steel and also aluminum. That is, we are not recruiting employed steel workers, members of the A.A., into the Party fast enough to make our quota for the month, while the possibilities are before us for such recruitment.

A Non-Political Method of Recruiting

In analyzing the recent recruitment to the Party throughout the District, the biggest percentage of recruits are listed as unemployed, but upon close examination, when taking up the applicants individually, it was revealed that many of the applicants were employed workers or working part time. Under such circumstances when the applicant was informed that the employed initiation was 50c he in most cases replied, "I was only asked for 10c". This reveals that many of our comrades do not recruit in a political way. They approach the worker from the point of view that he is doing us a favor by joining the Party. This kind of recruitment is an insult to the worker. Many times this same method is carried right into the unit in the payment of dues when they know the worker is employed. Still the dues secretaries in some cases hesitate to ask for the additional dues. Such methods as this disgust the new workers, when we handle them in this manner.

Our experiences of the recent period, have raised the problem of our Org. Dept. paying much closer attention to the methods applied to recruiting, and particularly to the individuals and fractions engaged in mass work, to struggle against the failure and "fear" of bringing forward the face of the Party, asking for new recruits; in this manner combating the idea, that "first we build the opposition or council then the Party".

Personal Contact in the Election Campaign

By S. VOROS

IN ORDER to involve non-Party workers actively in our election campaign we set as our first task the building of broad committees of workers around each candidate. We discussed with them how many workers they knew and set the task for them to visit as many of these as possible, enlisting their aid.

Those candidates who took this task seriously found a far better response than expected. According to reports, on an average of six out of fifteen non-Party workers expressed their willingness to cooperate in every way possible. They were willing to take out collection lists and raise the necessary funds to enlist other workers—to distribute literature—and to do active campaigning in behalf of our candidates.

These comrades, in the majority of cases, did splendid work. As a matter of fact, it has to be recorded that it was mainly due to them that the campaign got into swing long before the Party apparatus proper did. They arranged house meetings which proved to be of immeasurable value in bringing our platform to the masses. In my estimation, the increase in our votes to more than double of last year was, to a great extent, due to these house meetings. At these meetings, the candidates had a chance to explain the Party's position convincingly on questions around which the greatest misunderstandings existed. A surprisingly large number of questions dealt with our stand on religion, "why do we always cause trouble by demonstrating," "why we demand instead of asking", "why we fight the Socialists", "will we confiscate the homes and private property, bank accounts, grocery stores, etc., of the little fellows", and so on.

The intimate contacts established at these meetings with the workers made it possible for us to arrange larger meetings and also enlarge our group of non-Party actives. Needless to say, it helped recruiting and gave us very valuable contacts with shops where we had no previous connections. The contacts thus made, if followed up, will not only help us in our trade union work, but also help to increase the membership of our Party.

While building these groups around our candidates, we found out how hopelessly isolated many of our Party functionaries and so-called leaders of mass organizations are. For instance, one of our candidates for State Senator, who at the same time is the full-time secretary of one of our largest dues-paying mass organizations, was unable to build even a

committee of five non-Party workers around himself. Perhaps he didn't try hard enough—but the fact remains that out of an organization of about 2,800 dues-paying members, very close to the Party, he didn't or couldn't enlist even five to help his campaign.

On the other hand, some of the candidates had committees of fifty, a hundred, or, in one instance, a couple of hundred, non-Party workers. It must be noted here, that Party members enrolled through the personal efforts of the candidates in these committees, did far more and better active work in the elections than those who were drawn in through the units and Sections.

The members of these committees played a decisive role in manning the booths on election day. Without them it would have been impossible to cover practically all the 763 precinct booths with watchers, challengers, and election workers, and prevent wholesale stealing of our votes. Without them, it would have been impossible to build up an election machine, getting our own results far into the night on election day, a machine that surprised the election apparatus of the major parties and forced recognition by them.

In closing, let us deal briefly with the organization of house meetings. A candidate would ask one or more workers on his committee to call his neighbors together to a meeting at his house telling them that a candidate will be there to speak to them. These workers would go from house to house in that block and invite all the neighbors. We found that the real successful meetings were the ones where the neighborhood was canvassed twice or three times. Sometimes out of fifty families visited, ten or twelve or even twenty people may come—other times, only four or five. As a general rule, however, if the same people were visited two days in succession and also at the night of the meeting, a very successful meeting was the result. Owing to the fact that most of the active candidates were overworked, three or four house meetings had to be arranged close to each other so that the same candidate could attend them all the same night. Unfortunately, most of these house meetings were not attended by Party members and thereby could not be fully utilized. These Party members, however, who did go to these meetings, were amply repaid for their trouble. At one of these meetings, after the candidate got through, a Party member who had come partly prepared, sold 15 copies of the **Daily Worker**, 12 tickets to the Fifteenth Anniversary celebration of our Party, a couple of our election pamphlets, **Program of Action** and he was also asked for other basic literature, but had none with him.

Our election campaign has again proved that the best work of our Party can only be done if we break through

our sectarian isolation and establish day-to-day, living personal contact with the masses. The workers are now more than ever ready to follow us, if we only take the trouble to contact them. By using our personal contacts, by following them up, we'll find not only that our tasks can be achieved quicker, but that we'll be able to double our Party membership before January 1, as the Central Committee asked us.

Important Lessons of the Shipyard Strike and Organization of the Shop Nucleus

By L. LEWIS, *Sec. Organizer, Staten Island, N. Y.*

THE first membership meeting to establish Section 19, Staten Island, was held on August 10, 1934. We then had about 30 members, most of whom, although good, loyal and willing comrades, were completely isolated from the workers. The Section was torn by petty squabbles, because of the lack of political activity.

Some important struggles had been carried on here by the Unemployment Council and the Home Owners Defense League, but these organizations disintegrated because of the fact that no Party fraction functioned, and also because of the lack of political understanding. There was complete isolation from the factory workers.

The basic factories in Staten Island are:

1. The Shipyards, with about 1,500 workers.
2. The Proctor and Gamble Soap Factory, with 1,200 workers.

In addition there are about 400 workers in the transit service, the ferry-boat workers, and some factories of minor importance.

Position Changed From "Outside" to "Inside"

The main question at our first meeting was how to transform our position from the "outside" to the "inside". Some comrades, particularly the "old timers" developed a "theory" that this is impossible, that "Staten Island is not Manhattan, the workers here have a different psychology", etc.

We can now report a membership of 50, with a shop nucleus in the Shipyards, which has already played an important role in the strike of the welders in the shipyard. In addition there is a shop nucleus in the Proctor and Gamble Factory, which has already issued a shop paper, which

was very well received by the workers. The Shipyards nucleus will also issue its first paper this month. In addition we have made contacts with the A. F. of L. painters local.

How did we organize the Shipyards unit, and what was its role in the strike?

The Shipyard unit was born and baptized in the strike. It began immediately to play an important role in this struggle.

At the beginning of September our Committee approached the Welders Union, an independent organization in the yard, asking them to endorse the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill. We then established personal contacts with some leading members of that union, on the basis of their favorable attitude toward the bill. After one week, one joined the Party, and he recruited one more. Two weeks later a strike sentiment developed in the yard among the welders against the rotten working conditions and for higher wages. On the first day of the strike, the Relief Workers Union, through the fraction, adopted a resolution of sympathy and support, and sent a Committee to the headquarters, offering assistance. The reformist leaders politely rejected this offer. The "Red scare" was immediately brought to the fore, but in spite of this our two comrades were able, three days later, to get together a group of eight to discuss the strike situation. The representative of the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, which has a small group in the yard, met with this group, and, as a result of the meeting, two more members were recruited into the Party. This was done without the disclosure of the comrades to the other members of the group.

Party Unit is Formed

At the same time our newly recruited comrades met. Without waiting for their books, we formed the unit, elected a secretary and explained the functions of a Communist shop nucleus. Two days later the unit issued a leaflet on the strike in the name of the Communist unit in the Shipyard.

We warned the workers against relying on the National Labor Board, brought forward the program of united committees with the rest of the workers in the yard, of spreading the strike, of mass picketing, etc.

The workers accepted this leaflet very favorably, and it caused considerable worry for the management.

This leaflet and the influence of the nucleus caused the calling of an emergency relief conference, where we had representatives of the Relief Workers Union, the Unemployment Council, the Union of the Proctor and Gamble Factory, and the Newspaper Guild. The A. F. of L. stayed away from this Conference, but it brought us closer to the strike, and the fear of the "Reds" waned.

After eight weeks' strike, the National Labor Board ruled

that these 118 welders, who are in key positions in the yard on the construction of two destroyers, do not have the right to collective bargaining, but are under the jurisdiction of the A. F. of L. Marine Trades Council, or the employees' representative plan—the company union.

By that time the Party had already succeeded in exposing the N.R.A. and the policy of the leaders. The Women's Council had also provided food to the welders, and the Relief Workers Union had obtained immediate relief for some strikers from the Home Relief Bureau. The workers realized that we are a Party of action.

On the night when the decision of the National Labor Board was made public, the welders met, and our representatives went to the meeting. Our speakers were received with great enthusiasm. "If we had not been made scared of the Reds by the bosses, we would have won the strike", said one. Another worker wanted information about joining the Communist Party. Many workers expressed interest and sympathy with the Party.

Lessons of the Strike

The strike was very important in character.

1. It proved to the workers that the N.R.A. is for company unions.
2. It also proved that craft unionism cannot win any strike, even though this craft may be very strategic.
3. It raised the prestige of the Party.
4. It proved to the Party members that we can get on the inside from the outside if we only apply the line and program of the Party, laid down in the Open Letter and in the Eighth Convention, namely, to make personal contacts, to be on the alert, realizing the readiness of the workers to struggle, and not hiding the face of the Party, to counteract the Red scare, and last, but by no means least, self-confidence that the Communists are able to lead the struggles of the workers. The comrades realize now that had we had a Communist nucleus at least three months prior to the strike the results of the strike would have been entirely different.

Our main shortcomings in the strike were lack of **Daily Worker** sales, no political discussion with the workers, and only a few leading comrades were drawn into strike activity.

With these lessons we expect our Party to be an important factor in the coming struggle which is brewing in the shipyard.

How we organized the P. & G. unit, the effect of the first shop paper, and the difference in the life of an old street unit and the new shop unit will be told in another article.

The Phila. District Plenum Gives New Perspectives and New Tasks to the Party

By FRANK HELLMAN

THE DISTRICT COMMITTEE of the Phila. District brought together Party representatives from the steel, marine, mining, textile, food, furniture, needle, agriculture and other industries. These representatives came together to discuss the most vital problems confronting the Party and the working class of this District. The major point on the agenda was: Trade Union Work.

In addition to this the **Daily Worker**, work among the unemployed, and organizational problems of the Party were taken up.

Comrade Stachel, in reporting for the Central Committee, analyzed the developments taking place in the trade union movement and the trade union tactics applied by the Party at various stages since its existence in the period of relative stabilization as well as under conditions of the general crisis of capitalism. (See article by Jack Stachel in November issue of **The Communist**.)

The discussion, in which many comrades from shops and members of trade unions took part, confirmed the correctness of the analysis of the Central Committee and clarified the necessity of shifting the center of gravity to working within the American Federation of Labor.

Second, struggle for trade union unity along the lines of the letter by the Trade Union Unity League to the 54th Convention of the A. F. of L. Furthermore, the strengthening of T.U.U.L. unions in the marine, metal, food, fur, furniture and agricultural industries.

How are These Tactics to be Applied Concretely in Our District?

In the textile industry, where the masses are organized in the United Textile Workers Union, our line shall be to merge the National Textile Workers local in Easton with the American Federation of Silk Workers, on the basis of certain demands agreed to by both unions before the merger takes place. (This merger has already been carried through, following united front actions of the National Textile Workers Union and the American Federation of Silk Workers, an affiliate of the U.T.W., during the textile strike.)

By the time of the Convention of the Federation of Silk Workers, two former members of the National Textile Workers Union will be delegates to the Convention. A number of the members of the former executive of the N.T.W.U. will be

part of the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Silk Workers. The former organizer of the N.T.W.U. has been made the organizer of the U.T.W. in the Easton area.

In steel, where we have organization, a similar line is being pursued. In places where neither the A. F. of L. nor the T.U.U.L. has any organization, the Party shall take the initiative to organize locals of the American Federation of Silk Workers or the Amalgamated Association.

In mining we must entrench ourselves in both unions. We shall attempt to bring together miners of both unions, beginning at least in one mine, work out a concrete program of struggle on the basis of the grievances and demands of the miners of both unions, develop a fight both against Boylan as well as Maloney and their machine, and in the course of struggle lay the basis for one union of all the miners to be decided by the miners themselves.

In marine, we shall continue to build the Marine Workers Industrial Union among the seamen, to organize opposition groups within the International Seamen's Union and opposition groups within the I.L.A.

In agriculture, food, furniture, we continue to build the unions affiliated to the T.U.U.L. Similar methods are to be adopted in connection with other unions under similar conditions.

What Organizational Measures Will be Necessary to Carry Out This Line?

First of all, the Party must place itself at the head of the struggles of the workers in all industries in this District. The Party must still more deeply root itself among the basic sections of the proletariat in the factories and trade unions. The Party must extend its ideological influence among the broad masses of workers.

This can best be done by building the circulation of the **Daily Worker** in the factories and trade unions, without which the winning of the masses for a revolutionary program is impossible. New Party members must be recruited from the shops and trade unions, more shop nuclei must be organized, more shop papers must be published by the shop nuclei already in existence. The political level of the whole Party membership must be raised to a higher stage, with leading comrades paying more personal attention to the lower Party apparatus. The distribution of work must be organized in a carefully planned manner, making it possible for the comrades working in shops and trade unions to spend more time with the workers and less time in inner meetings.

Preparations have already been made by the District Committee for a district circuit School. An org. instructor is to be sent into the field, paying special attention to the most important sections. A District Training School is being

prepared, starting the first of February, to develop new cadres for the Party. Much more attention must be paid to recruit Negro workers into the Party and the building of the Y.C.L. A thorough check up is being carried through, on the basis of the registration of the Party membership, to make every Party member a member of a trade union. (Members of leading Party committees were given one month to join a trade union.)

A Party trade union committee is to be established in the District, guiding the work of all the trade union fractions.

Concentration

The discussion at the Plenum has clearly brought forward a number of political and organizational weaknesses of the Party. The Party has not yet mastered a correct policy of concentration. There is still about 100 percent fluctuation in the Party. New cadres are not being developed and real collective leadership and coordination of work is unsatisfactory.

Above all, however, the key to the solution of most of the problems is concentration, in certain basic shops or industries and trade unions. Therefore, in order to make the necessary changes, the following organizational measures are to be adopted, in addition to those enumerated above:

Special units are to be organized in certain places, which will have as their only task to work among the workers of a certain shop, such as: Philco, waterfront, textile, mill, one mine, one steel mill, etc. This unit, with the help of the section, will be responsible to build the **Daily Worker**, to recruit for the Party, to work in the neighborhood and among the language organizations, to bring all forces at the disposal of the Party into play, in order to penetrate into this place of concentration.

The District Committee will have to plan and organize methods of recruiting, analyze the causes of fluctuation and overcome them, give leadership to the organization of a broad opposition movement within the A. F. of L., and, although there is no basis at the present time for the formation of an Independent Federation of Labor, independent unions existing at the present time should be united by the formation of a local committee in which the T.U.U.L. unions should be represented.

On the basis of this understanding, combined with the necessary organizational measures, we will recruit 500 Party members by January 20th. The Party will become a powerful factor in the development of struggles of the workers against the N.R.A. Hunger Deal of Roosevelt, for the organization of a broad united front of the working class on a class struggle program, in the course of which we will build a powerful Communist Party.

AGIT-PROP SECTION

The National Agit-Prop Conference

PLAN OF PREPARATION

By V. J. JEROME

AT ITS session of November 14, the National Agitprop Commission discussed as the principal item on its agenda the preparation for an Agitprop Conference to take place in the very near future.

On the basis of a report submitted by Comrade Bittelman, the Agitprop Commission mapped out the following proposals for the Conference to be submitted to the districts for consideration:

The agenda shall be divided into three main parts: Agitation, Propaganda, and Agitprop apparatus.

1. Agitation.

It is the opinion of the Commission that the discussion of our agitation work should consist of a survey of the Agitprop activity of our Party in connection with promoting and popularizing our theses and slogans in (1) the struggle against fascism and imperialist war, and (2) for effecting the United Front. Our agitational activity in this respect can best be evaluated in examining the manner in which we conducted the campaigns in connection with the strike wave, Unemployment and Social Insurance, the Party Anniversary, the Elections, Thaelmann defence, Scottsboro-Herndon, and farmers' struggles. The analysis should be, not only of publicized forms of agitation, but also of oral agitation (indoor and outdoor meetings, individual agitation, house-to-house canvassing, etc.).

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in line with its declaration that the revolutionary crisis is fast maturing throughout the capitalist world, made it mandatory upon every Communist Party to make its agitation ring with a broad, compelling mass appeal. The heightened forms of class struggle call for ever newer and more popular modes of agitation. "This means," the E.C.C.I. Thesis states, "that the content and language of agitation and the press must henceforth be addressed to the broadest strata of the proletariat and the toilers, showing the face of the Communist Parties in both agitation and in mass actions (demonstrations, strikes and other mass actions)." In this connection, the Conference will examine the ways in which our agitation has tended to become

more popular and, on the basis of the generalized experience presented by the comrades from the districts, to formulate definite methods of making our agitation, in the genuine sense, mass agitation.

The Conference will discuss, in relation to the question of mass agitation, the adequate and inadequate features of our literature publications and methods of distribution. Particularly important, we shall find, is the question of planning our distribution in line with our task for winning over in every locality the decisive sections of the workers; for example, the question of where we sell our literature, whether mostly in a random manner or through planned contactings in places of work and residence. As forms of mass agitation, the Conference will examine our output of pamphlets, leaflets, bulletins, wall-papers, posters, stickers, etc., especially new forms and methods that help effectively to sloganize and dramatize our issues. We know that in a number of districts some of these new methods were very effectively used in the election and the Party Anniversary campaigns. The reports from the comrades in those districts will undoubtedly help to stimulate the other districts to these and similar new forms of mass agitation.

The role of our press in mass agitation should be discussed, the Agitprop Commission proposes, through analyzing (1) our shop paper work in one of our concentration districts; (2) our district Party papers; (3) our language press; (4) one important trade union paper. Sub-committees have been assigned to make a study of the language press and a designated trade union paper for the Conference. Likewise, the comrades of a specified concentration district have been assigned to prepare a report on shop paper work in their district.

II. Propaganda.

The discussion of our propaganda work should begin with an examination of our progress in developing cadres for our Party and for our mass organizations. This will necessitate a survey of

1. **Our inner Party education:** (a) classes for new Party members; (b) classes for Party members generally; (c) discussions in the Party units; (d) section training schools; (e) district training schools; (f) the national training school; (g) circuit schools.

2. **General workers' education:** Workers' schools: (a) for workers generally; (b) for Party and Y.C.L. members; (c) for members of trade unions.

Particular emphasis will be placed in the discussion on the necessity for improving generally the selection of training-school students. Despite the noticeable increase in the number and frequency of training schools in the districts and

sections, the full value of such schools is not extracted, largely because the district, section, and unit bureaus are often disinclined to recommend the most suitable students but send those whom they feel they can best spare. The result is that the training schools do not yield the maximum product of cadres for our Party. It will be the purpose of the Conference to impress upon the responsible Party committees that studying in the training school is not a loss to activity but an intensified preparation for greater activity and that, therefore, the very best and most promising proletarian elements should be sent to these schools. Furthermore, the question of adequately placing these students when their training period is over will be discussed, to avoid the frequent practice of loosely planned assignments.

3. Literature. The Commission proposes that the discussion on literature shall consist of an analysis of our publications of (a) the classics of Marxism-Leninism; (b) general propaganda pamphlets; (c) periodicals.

As regards point "c", time limitations will, of course, not permit an examination of all our periodicals. The plan is, therefore, to organize a discussion of **The Communist** and **The Communist International** on the basis of a report by a leading comrade from one of the districts, who has been assigned the task of making an analysis of the two central theoretical organs.

The examination of our literature should include our output in foreign languages. The sub-committee assigned to report on the foreign-language press will also include in its report an analysis of foreign-language books and pamphlet publications.

An important part of this discussion will be devoted to the question of the formation of unit libraries. A check-up will be made on the extent to which the districts have carried out the directives submitted by the Agitprop Commission along with the Party Anniversary discussion outline for the formation of such libraries.

III. Agitprop Apparatus.

It is a well-known fact that the question of personnel is still a stumbling block to the effective carrying on of Agitprop activity. There is still a tendency in many places to be indiscriminate in assigning comrades to Agitprop work. While it is necessary to draw in new Party comrades into Agitprop activity, we find that Agitprop leadership in units is often given to brand new members, mostly non-proletarians, solely because they can "best be spared." Because of such an attitude, we find that there are sections, (even districts) that are totally without an Agitprop apparatus; and this is, of course, far more the case with units. The Conference

will investigate the question with the aim of ending this state of affairs and bringing about a condition where all the Party bureaus, district, section, and unit, shall recognize the indispensability of Agitprop work as inalienable from organizational work and the necessity for developing qualified Agitprop directors and committees.

We know too that there are frequently cases where Agitprop directors and committees are not drawn into the thick of the work, where there is no Agitprop participation in the planning of campaigns, so that the tasks of the Agitprop are parcelled out mechanically to the director, with the result that the work becomes lifeless and detached. The Conference will therefore discuss ways of drawing the Agitprop directors and committees organically into the activity of the district, section, and unit.

The discussion of Agitprop apparatus will also include the question of Agitprop bulletins. Only in a few districts and sections, to our knowledge, are there special Agitprop bulletins. In some cases, Agitprop activity and announcements are included in the general Party organs and bulletins. In many instances, even this is not the case. It is the opinion of the Commission that the Conference should discuss the advisability of increasing the publication of special Agitprop bulletins with adequate propaganda and agitation material, for the districts and, as far as possible, also for the sections and units.

We turn now to the tasks of the districts.

There will be but a short time in which to prepare for the Conference. The question of the Conference should, therefore, be placed on the agenda of the very next meeting of the District Agitprop Committee, following which, it should be submitted, with the Committee's report and recommendations, to the District Bureau for endorsement. Immediately thereafter, Section Agitprop conferences should be called to discuss the question and to submit their reports. It is absolutely essential that the reports and recommendations of the District Agitprop Committees be submitted to the National Agitprop Commission without delay, as also those of the concentration sections.

We urge the comrades from the Districts to write to us regarding any question on which they may need information in preparing their reports. The National Agitprop Commission is arranging for the publication of a series of guiding articles on the **Daily Worker**, **The Communist**, and the **Party Organizer**.

In conclusion, we stress the important fact that the Conference can be successful only if adequate preparations are made for it by the District Agitprop directors and committees with the close cooperation of the Bureaus.

Building Literature Apparatus in the Party

By ROBERT FRANKLIN

IN PLANNING literature distribution within the Party itself, we must plan to develop an orientation for mass distribution in the minds of the comrades taking part in the work. Some comrades think that it is not necessary to give the same detailed attention towards the distribution of our pamphlets in the Party as to distribution outside. Just as it is important to acquaint outside workers with our campaigns, it is doubly important that our Party members know everything there is to be known about given campaigns. Just as it is important to raise the political level of workers outside the movement it is far more important to raise the political level of the comrades in the Party. first. Without a trained Party membership able to go out amongst the masses with a knowledge of what the Party is, what the Party stands for, and without a knowledge of correct work amongst the masses wherever they be (in the shops, factories, homes, etc.), we will never be able to organize the masses correctly.

1. The District Committee and all the District functionaries must become so thoroughly saturated with the understanding of the importance of literature distribution **that no part of their work should be planned without considering our books and pamphlets.** This is basic.

2. There must be established in the District a Literature Department whose activities are a part of the movement as a whole. The District Literature Committee is to guide and be responsible for the work.

3. No District Literature apparatus can function correctly without the closest cooperation of the Agitprop Department.

4. The funds of the Literature Department are not to be used for any other purpose but to replace literature. The profit, less the amount necessary for the extension of the Department, should then be turned over to the District.

The Section appoints a Section Literature Agent who should become a member of the Agitprop Department. A committee must be appointed to work with him. One member of this committee is attached to the Org. Department. The Literature Agent comes once or twice a week, picks out his assortment of literature and periodicals. (This is only possible in larger cities—will speak of outlying section later.) A regular meeting of these section literature agents is held every two weeks.

The central problem of mass distribution of literature in the Party is found right at this point. A Section Literature Agent comes in. He is shown a pamphlet, say, either Stalin's or Browder's Report, and the Literature Agent will say, "Well, I'll try 25 of these." (Incidentally, we understand that this Section Literature Agent may have from 25 to 60 units, from 300 to 900 members, in his territory.) Instead of the Section Literature Agent basing himself upon the number of units and the membership in each unit and figuring that at least one out of two members in the unit will want the pamphlet and order this way he will "try 25."

A few of the units will come in and take up this total 25 and the balance of the units in the section are left without any until one, two or three weeks later. And then, when they finally see the pamphlet again, it is an "old" pamphlet, they have seen it a few weeks ago and they don't want to order any. It is "old" stuff.

The Section Literature Agent is the first problem in mass distribution. Then comes the next, a much bigger problem, the Unit Literature Agent. The Unit Literature Agent comes to the Section, will say "Give me 5 of these penny pamphlets, 5 of these 2c ones and one each of these others," like the Plenum series, "I'll get orders for these." The Unit Literature Agent will then come to his unit meeting and say "Here we have a new and important pamphlet. You should read it. But I don't know if you want to buy it. It's 10c." Then the Literature Agent will take the 1 or 2c pamphlet and say "Every Party member should buy this pamphlet. It's only 2c." Then there will come the distribution of maybe one or two **Communists**, maybe one **C.I.** and one **Inprecor**. (Of course, this does not apply to all units. There are some that pursue the correct policy.)

The work of the Unit Literature Agent which is after all the foundation for all Party distribution should be carried on in the following manner:

1. Every member of the Unit to be thoroughly canvassed by the Unit Literature Agent to become a regular reader of the **Communist**, **C.I.**, **Inprecor** and **Party Organizer**. These comrades to understand that they will receive these periodicals regularly.
2. Find out those comrades who are unemployed and therefore cannot buy our literature. Means to be arranged by the Unit to raise money to purchase literature for these unemployed comrades. The Unit library is the means for that.
3. The Unit Literature Agent is to see to it that there is a regular report at every Unit meeting by the individual comrades as to whether they sold literature or not and where

and to whom. This will tend to involve more and more comrades in the distribution to outside workers.

4. The Unit Literature Agent is to see to it that every member of his Unit should become acquainted with every new pamphlet dealing with inner Party matters such as the Plenum material, Congresses, information of the Party, etc.

5. The display of literature must be attractive not only at regular larger meetings but in the Unit meeting itself, and some method should be figured out to take care of this problem. Literature at unit meetings should not be displayed until announced. When displayed at the beginning of the meeting, or before actually announced, it distracts attention from what is going on and also when literature is finally announced, the comrades feel they already know all there is to know about it and won't give the attention needed to understand what the Literature Agent is trying to convey to them. In addition, if literature is kept out of sight until announced, this has the psychological effect of increasing the importance attached to this item on the Agenda.

6. While the above points are mainly for inner Party consumption the Unit Literature Agent must know what kind of work each Party member does for a living, what type of workers he comes in contact with, what Union or mass organization he is a member of. Based on these points the Literature Agent should give each member of his Unit a quantity of our agitational pamphlets retailing at one to five cents, for distribution to outside workers.

7. Another very important thing that must be accomplished regardless of all cost and difficulties that the Unit may go through is the establishment of a Unit Library of Marxist-Leninists works to be used at present and as a reserve for the time when open distribution will not be possible.

8. Placing of literature on Agenda of Unit meetings as a **separate item** from dues so as not to confuse the two and to get the best results. When Literature and Dues are together, this is invariably used as a sort of intermission—comrades talk, get up, pass money back and forth. In all this noise and confusion how can the Literature Agent properly explain the literature he has, its importance, timeliness, need, etc.? What happens is that he must ask each one individually "Do you want this or that pamphlet?" And no one listens because no one can hear. Not only can the Literature Agent not do this work under these circumstances but this deprives the Unit from gaining the correct understanding of this particular branch of our work. It is therefore essential that Literature be separate from Dues and not just before or after it, since this will result in the same confusion as before.

The Struggle For Shop Papers in a Concentration Section

By JOE LESLIE, *Shop Paper Committee, Sec. 7, Dist. 2*

ABOUT a year ago, our Section seriously began to make provisions to fulfill the tasks outlined by the Open Letter. At that time the street units in the Section outnumbered the shop nuclei by about two to one. We therefore set out to transform the base of our party and to root it firmly in the shops of the territory. Advances in this direction were made. Today, although we have more street units than a year ago, our shop nuclei are in the majority. But perhaps our biggest advance is in the publication of a number of shop papers.

Realizing the need for the development of factory papers, the Section placed a comrade in charge of that phase of work. The first task undertaken was to issue a paper in the concentration shop of the Section— a huge war plant. With the experiences gained in issuing this paper, it became less difficult to develop papers in the other factories. So that when a nucleus formed in B——, a power plant, only three weeks later, a publication appeared. We now have papers in our five most important shops—in the war plant, the shipyard, the power house, and the shoe and light metal factories. About 5,000 copies are issued each month, and reach shops employing 14,000 workers.

Three of the papers (shipyard, power, war) are of a high technical quality, produced by offset printing. Some comrades have felt that it would be better to mimeograph these papers in order better to prepare these nuclei for the continued publication of these papers, under conditions of terror, if necessary. Although we must attempt to make each unit self-sufficient, even to the extent of developing within and about the unit all the technical forces necessary to insure publication of the papers, there is no need at the present time to give up the printed papers. One cannot stress too much the necessity of making the units entirely self-sufficient, with a minimum of direct guidance from the higher bodies in the Party. This becomes one of the basic tasks, not only of our Section, but in all sections where shop papers are issued. Nevertheless, legible, attractive papers are one of the best weapons for mobilizing a mass support, with which to fight the illegality of the Party in the shops.

The attractiveness of the papers produced by offset printing, which is relatively cheap, has been a great factor both in raising the prestige of our Party in the shops and in

developing enthusiasm of our Party membership itself. For example, in the war plant, when we came to the men with mimeographed leaflets, we found that after distribution, the pathway to the gate of the shop was paved with paper. But when we appeared with our printed shop paper, the men readily accepted these papers, generally folding them neatly, placing them into their pockets and carrying them into the shop. In another instance, the higher-salaried mechanics at the production branch of the power plant asked our comrades to come into the shop and distribute the papers inside.

These papers have had an equally good effect on our Party membership. It is not difficult to rally our members for distribution. Last winter, in bitter cold weather, about a dozen comrades were up at 6 a. m. to distribute at the war plant. Even before May First and before Election Day, when we had thousands of **Daily Workers**, leaflets, and other material to distribute, we had no lack of comrades to do the work. A year ago we conducted very little factory mass agitation; but now, with the continued publication of these papers, about \$50 a month is raised for this purpose in the Section, the major portion of which is raised among the workers in the shops.

Shop Paper Aids Recruiting

Directly after the first issue in the power plant, we doubled the size of the nucleus. In the shipyards, where our nucleus had done little or no recruiting over a period of many months, directly after we began to issue the shop paper, two machinists joined the Party. We cannot say that this recruiting was entirely the result of issuing the paper, but we can say that they were a real positive factor. In the war plant, after the workers received a wage increase, and our comrades became somewhat discouraged because they felt the workers would be less eager to struggle, it was the shop paper that held the unit together, in that it was one of the best weapons they had at this time, to make it possible to combat the illusions built up in the workers' minds. It was also instrumental in aiding in building an opposition in the existing A. F. of L. local.

The shop papers have served to clarify to the comrades themselves the Party policies and program. It was not until the paper was issued in the power plant where a company union exists, that the comrades found it necessary to hammer out a clear line on this question. It was when the comrades had to express themselves and state clearly to the workers what our position was on company unions that our comrades discovered that they themselves really did not know. Again, on other occasions, papers in other plants were held up from publication for two or three days till our com-

rades could formulate the particular slogans to be raised and special unit meetings were convened for this purpose, since these political discussions had not taken place in the units previously.

Shop Papers Do Not Yet Play Leading Role

In trying to give an estimate of what role our papers play in the shops, we may say that they are a real factor, but not yet the leading factor. The workers do not yet look to our papers for direct leadership in their struggles. Nonetheless, the factory papers are a tremendous educational factor, and in a number of instances have been the means for developing minor struggles.

On occasions the president of the Independent Union in the power plant and non-Communist members of the shop committee of the metal factory came to our Section Headquarters to discuss the material in our papers. It is clear that, were the workers not deeply influenced by our papers, the reformist union leaders would not come to us to make efforts to get us to change the material in them.

Resistance to Issuance of Shop Papers

The greatest resistance we met in issuing the papers came often from our oldest Party comrades. In one clothing shop of 400 workers we were not able to persuade our comrades to issue a shop paper. They argued that two of them were known as Communists by everyone, including the boss, and that if a paper appeared they would be fired. After much discussion we were able to convince the comrades that a publication was necessary. But they were willing to issue the paper in the name of the Party Section or in the name of the opposition union local—any name, but not in the name of the Party nucleus in the shop. The paper was not published. Two months later when the rush season ended, the two comrades were fired. The remaining comrades now want to issue a paper in order to strengthen the position of the Left-Wing group in the shop and to secure their jobs.

On the other hand, there is no difficulty in convincing our new recruits to the Party of the value and effectiveness of shop papers.

The chief reason that our papers are not yet the leading factors in the life of the shop is that our papers are politically weak. At best they are trade union papers, not Communist Party organs. Very often the Party is the tail-end of the trade union, or the shop committee, in the shop. In the metal shop where our industrial union is strong, when we discussed with the comrades what slogans we were to raise in the leading article in one issue, they all had one

reply—"Why, naturally, those adopted by the shop committee." We suggested that they raise the slogan of union recognition; they protested that the workers might be roused to struggle by such a slogan, and that the union was not in a position to lead the struggle at that time. This would embarrass the union. We assured the comrades that if the workers were ready to struggle for union recognition, and the union could not lead the struggle, the Party would lead it.

Political Questions Must Be Raised

Although our papers correctly begin with the most immediate economic problems of the workers, they generally do not raise these problems to a higher level. We must never permit any opportunity to pass to bring forward in our agitation the program of the Party—centrally, the struggle against fascism and imperialist war.

In the power plant there exists a company union. Although we mentioned the company union in passing, in many articles we do not link it up consistently with the development of fascism, and the drive towards imperialist war. Likewise, although we have separate articles quite often, dealing with the war danger in the N—— paper, rarely in the articles dealing with the economic grievances of the workers, do we bring forward our position on imperialist war. Another aspect of this weakness in our agitation is our failure to conduct systematic campaigns. In one issue of the paper we may deal at length with Unemployment Insurance, but several issues may go by before it is even mentioned again in any article.

It is not necessary to devote full articles to every Party campaign as some comrades believe. In the Shoe Shop, when the unit outlined the contents for the first issue of its paper, it read as follows:

1. Election Campaign. 2. Who are the Communists? 3. What is the shop paper? 4. The **Daily Worker**. 5. The **Unita Operaia**. 6. The Young Communist League, etc.

They saw no need to raise shop problems—for them, the Union and the shop committee take care of these things. To bring the Party campaigns into the shops, in this way, is equally as wrong as not to bring them at all—because when the campaigns are isolated from the life of the workers, from their shop problems and their economic demands, they are almost meaningless, or at best, confusing.

Shop Papers Must Be News-Papers

Connected with the political weakness, and contributing towards it, is the fact that our papers are not yet the life and breath of the shop. The workers do not see in our organs, shop newspapers. Where we have made real efforts to bring

the life of the shop into the papers, the papers have become quite effective. After exposing a stool pigeon in the war plant, we were able to isolate him from the men to such an extent, that he attempted through one of the A. F. of L. officials to get his union to appropriate \$1,000 to ferret out the Communists. He was practically the only one that favored this proposal when it came up on the union floor. This exposure led to deep-going interest in our organ and to the reading of the other articles more intently. Even marriages, births, deaths, etc., have a place in our shop papers.

In the development of our papers, the Section Agit-prop committee also played a significant part. Two broad conferences on shop papers were carried through, where the work was analyzed and proposals were adopted for carrying the work forward. The District has also been a help in this direction, having published reviews of two of the papers, and discussed personally the problems of the papers with two of the units.

Every Unit Must Be Self-Sufficient

In conclusion, we may say that the immediate problem facing us in this work is the necessity of making every unit a self-sufficient organ of the Party, developing its ability and initiative to the utmost. We can say that this has already been accomplished to some degree in about half of our units issuing papers. The Section Shop Paper Committee, while numerically small, has a perspective of broadening out; it has been able to build around it a staff of technical workers of Party sympathizers. This staff, and all technical assistants, must be decentralized, and each unit must be able to mobilize its own technical workers, and fully prepare itself to be able to issue papers under conditions of terror.

At present our task is not primarily to increase the number of shop papers, but rather to develop the quality of the content of the already existing papers. This can be accomplished by training our comrades in revolutionary journalism, at the same time strengthening them politically. We must in our paper, start out with the most elementary economic issues of the workers, and develop these problems to their proper political level, as the central aim in the consciousness of the units must be the struggle against fascism and war, and the development of the united front. Through these factory papers, we must convince the workers, by our correct presentation of the program and policies of the Party, that we are the only Party to lead them in their struggles. And we must not rely on their own initiative to build our Party but to urge them to join our ranks.

Experiences of a Cleveland Section in Building Literature Sales

By G. ELLISON, *Literature Director, Sec. 3, Dist. 6*

OUR COMRADES who are responsible for the activity of the units in the neighborhoods have paid scant attention to one of the most important weapons our Party has in winning over large masses of workers, namely literature.

Literature has been considered (especially our theoretical organs) as something put out solely for our own membership and close sympathizers. Too many of our comrades put themselves above the workers, and not as part of the working class. A total lack of faith in the workers on the part of some of our comrades can be gauged by the answers we got on "Why is so little literature sold?" For instance, "The workers are too dumb to understand our literature." "They won't spend money for literature, as they would sooner go to a movie." "Wait until they starve a little more, then they will come to us".

And when we look at the literature sales of the units, we are faced with the fact that we have done very little to combat this underestimation on the part of our comrades, of the ability and willingness of the workers to read our literature and follow our leadership in struggle.

There must be a continuous agitational campaign carried on by the District and Section agitprop depts., together with the literature departments, to make our units "literature conscious".

In our Section we have started on such a campaign, and in the following lines intend to show what we have so far accomplished and how this was accomplished.

At the February (1934) Plenum of our District the literature figures submitted for our Section showed that \$67.40 worth was sold for the second half of 1933, and that this average of \$11.00 a month had dropped to \$5.99 for the first month of 1934. We had a membership at the time of 220.

The figures submitted for the other four Cleveland Sections showed an even worse situation. With a combined membership of 536, these Sections sold together a total of \$123.46 worth of literature for the seven-month period.

Added to this report was also a notation that various comrades of our Section, who had taken literature for their units on credit from the District, had piled up bills totalling \$47.72. (Most of these were considered uncollectable.)

Literature Departments Established

The first step towards a change was in setting up Section literature departments, so that units could get needed literature from their sections instead of having to travel downtown to the District Book Shop.

In our Section a meeting was called of all unit literature agents. Those units without any, were instructed to appoint a comrade to act as a literature agent for his unit. Of the 18 units in the Section, 14 were represented at the first meeting. We discussed all our shortcomings. It was brought out that, (1) not a unit had a literature fund; (2) unit members expected the literature agent to do all the selling; (3) money for literature was used for other unit purposes, bills accumulated, with the result that units stopped bringing literature into their meetings; (4) no efforts made by the units to get literature suitable for their neighborhood needs, and (5) comrades insisted that English literature could not be sold in territory where there were foreign populations.

Our meeting decided on the following: (1) make the unit, and not the individual responsible for literature sales; (2) carry on a campaign to liquidate all old debts; (3) have the units set aside at least \$2.00 as a start towards a literature fund; (4) all current bills to be paid up within two weeks; (5) set aside Tuesday night when all agents would get their literature from a centrally located place, and (6) that the Section would carry on an educational campaign to wake up the comrades to the importance of literature in the class struggle.

The Section Literature Agent initiated a weekly letter to the unit bureaus, stressing the various points raised at our agents' meeting. We asked that literature be made a regular point on the agenda, that they get after those individuals who had allowed their unit to get a bad name, by accumulating debts in the name of their unit, that every comrade possible was to be urged to take at least a dime's worth of literature with them from the unit meeting. We urged the agitprop to link up literature with the weekly discussion that took place in the units. To keep all meetings that took place in their unit territory covered with our literature; that every "Red Sunday" conducted by our Party, was to have timely literature with their other material.

To the unit literature agents we have urged that they keep in stock timely literature; also literature suitable for their unit territory. All agents should find out what literature their members can sell best. For instance, if one of their unit members works in a steel mill, secure literature dealing with the lives of steel workers under capitalism and contrast it with how steel workers live in the U.S.S.R., if a

member belongs to an A. F. of L. union get literature dealing with A. F. of L. questions. If a unit has Jewish territory, get "Lenin on the Jewish Question", etc.

Literature Sales Increased

The results of the first month (February, 1934) showed literature sales amounting to \$30.80. On the basis of this another literature agents meeting was called. Here we discussed further plans for increasing our sales. The comrades were enthusiastic over the increase, but reported a resistance on the part of most comrades to the idea that **they themselves must sell literature**. Also that language literature only could be sold in their respective territory.

We have been hammering away against such ideas by pointing out that the capitalist class sells millions of English newspapers and magazines in the same foreign territories; that although the older folks might be unable to read English there are thousands of children and young people who are going to English schools, and are being brought up as Americans; also the Section has taken literature to mass meetings in these territories, and has proved that English literature can be sold to these "non-English" speaking workers. Also on house-to-house canvasses there was no objection to having both English and language literature according to the need.

The second month, not only did we increase sales to \$55.18, but through constant "push", reduced our old District bill from \$47.72 down to \$30.51.

These two months activities, where we sold more literature than in the previous seven months, proved to our comrades that, with literature given the proper place on the unit agenda, we could achieve sales that were previously thought impossible.

In the past seven months, in order to promote literature sales, we have carried on a constant campaign, consisting of weekly letters, reviews of the different periodicals and pamphlets that run in the **Daily Worker**, have issued a 19-page **Daily Worker and Literature Manual** for the units, promoted socialist competition among the units, by issuing monthly literature statements. These statements show just how much literature each unit has sold. It points out the weak spots, encourages those units not doing so well, and gives praise to exceptionally good work by some unit, etc. We are pushing sales through the few mass organizations that we are in contact with (only Jewish).

When unit literature agents don't show up on Tuesday nights to get new literature or exchange their old, we make

up a package and deliver it, so that the unit does not suffer through the neglect of their literature agent.

Literature that fits in with unit territory is secured from the District and passed on to that certain unit. Literature for Party campaigns is secured at least a month ahead of time for the units, and special drives are made to get it in the neighborhoods, so that workers will know beforehand what we are demonstrating about, etc. Whenever the **Daily Worker** publishes experiences in literature selling by other Sections, we clip these and send a copy to each unit bureau. Everything is done to make them literature conscious.

In this Section we have accomplished (through using the above methods) the following results (for the seven month period since we were reduced to about 75 members): \$183.78 worth of literature sold; every unit has a literature fund used solely for buying new literature; every unit has the start of a unit library; all old bills have been liquidated, except for a matter of 85c; we have a sale of 20 of **The Communist International** every issue; 45-50 **Party Organizers** are sold every month; comrades are beginning to carry literature with them to their union meetings, mass organizations. (We find comrades are actually carrying literature with them at all times) and to the shops where they work; the Section itself has built up a literature fund of over \$60.00, and comrades are beginning to cover the meetings held in their neighborhoods.

We have to reach large masses of workers with our literature, and cannot wait until the workers decide to come to us. Then it might be too late. The fascist forces at work are utilizing every means at their disposal to reach these same workers. They are not waiting for the workers to accept fascism, but are propagandizing them every minute of the day through their press, radio, churches and movies. We must reach these same workers through our literature, and the units have the responsibility for this, preparing the workers in their neighborhoods to fight against the menace of fascism, to participate in the coming struggles that will take place, and to follow the **Communist Party** leadership in the fight to overthrow capitalism.

**New Pamphlets on Burning
Issues — Spread Them**

The Most Burning Question

UNITY OF ACTION

By Bela Kun

10 cents

•

**The Great San Francisco
General Strike**

By Wm. F. Dunne

Includes C.C. Resolution on Lessons
of Recent Strike Struggles

10 cents

•

**Permanent Counter-
Revolution**

By Wm. F. Dunne and Morris Childs

The Role of the Trotzkyites in the Minneapolis Strikes

10 cents

•

**Fighting Fascism in the
Factories**

How the Young Communist League of Germany Fights
in the Factories to Overthrow the Fascist Dictatorship

5 cents

•

**An American Boy in the
Soviet Union**

By Harry Eisman

10 cents

Order Your Literature Through Regular Channels

Are You Reading and Building

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

New York increased its order from 900 of No. 19 to 2,200 of No. 21. Are you selling more copies in your Section and Unit?

The Seventh World Congress Discussion which started in No. 20 continues in Nos. 21, 22 and succeeding issues.

Start socialist competition between sections and units for increasing your circulation. Increase your order for each succeeding issue.

CONTENTS OF NO. 21

1. Three Lessons of the October Victory for the International Proletariat—Bela Kun
2. Appeal of the Communist International on the Seventeenth Anniversary of the October Revolution
3. The Work of the C.P.G.B. Since the Sixth World Congress of the C.I.—Harry Pollitt
4. The Historic Path of the First International Discussion for the Seventh Congress of the C.I.
5. The Question of Fascism—L. Madyar
6. The Proposal of the Communist Party for United Front with the Socialist Party in the U.S.A.—Sam Brown
7. The Latest Maneuvers of the French Trotzkyites—A. Boreau
8. The Struggle Against Unemployment and Starvation—J. Davis

No. 22 will have discussion articles
by Piatnitsky, Madyar, and Safarov

Order Your Literature Through Regular Channels