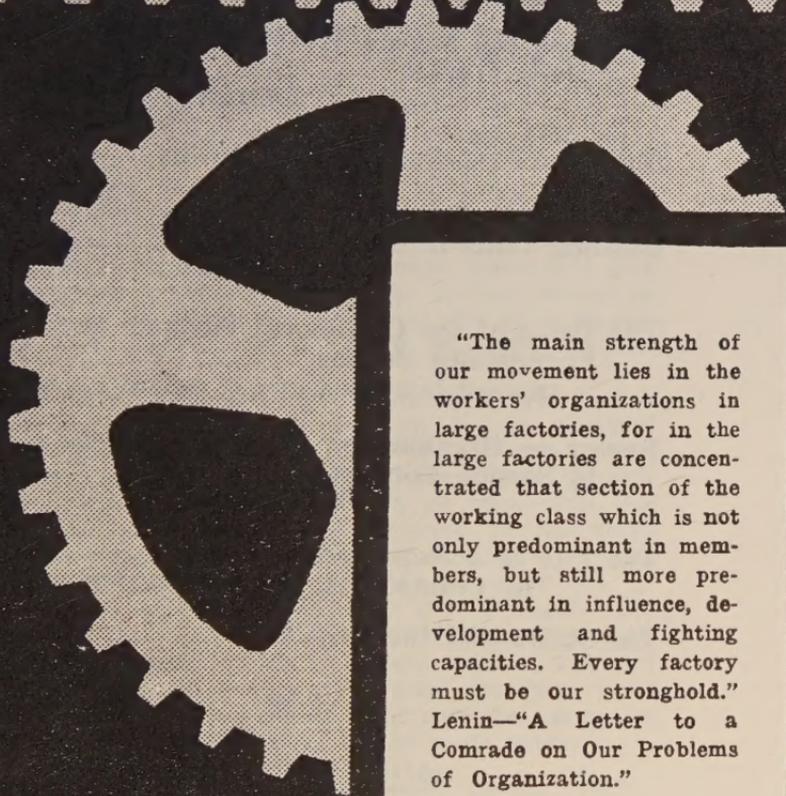


Party Organizer



"The main strength of our movement lies in the workers' organizations in large factories, for in the large factories are concentrated that section of the working class which is not only predominant in members, but still more predominant in influence, development and fighting capacities. Every factory must be our stronghold." Lenin—"A Letter to a Comrade on Our Problems of Organization."

Vol. VIII

APRIL, 1935

No. 4

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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. VIII

APRIL, 1935

No. 4

For a Mighty United May Day

OUR DAILY activities in connection with the present struggles of the workers and in preparation for the new wave of gigantic struggles in which our Party will have to play a definite leading role, must be intimately connected with the preparations for **May Day**. May Day, 1935, must be the rallying point of the widest masses in the struggle against the attacks of the N.R.A.; for workers' rights; for the Workers' Unemployment, Old Age, and Social Insurance Bill, H. R. 2827; against war and fascism, and in defense of the Soviet Union. The May First campaign, which will give political expression to the struggles of the workers, should be a mobilization of the broadest united front, for an anti-capitalist mass Labor Party; for a United May Day Demonstration.

Into this united front we must, more than ever in the past, strive by planned efforts to draw in the Socialist workers, the trade unions of the A. F. of L., Negro toilers, farmers, youth, women, etc. Through our press, through leaflets and pamphlets, we must reach at once with our slogans the widest masses in the factories, in the trade unions, in the fraternal organizations, in the Negro organizations, etc. We must make more intensive efforts to broaden out the united front around the Workers' Bill, against the attacks of the N.R.A., against injunctions and the company-union policy of the New Deal, against war and fascism. **Each unit of the Party, each fraction, must be orientated to build such a united front with the masses in the factories, in the neighborhoods, in the trade unions.**

Into the A. F. of L. Unions; Broaden the United Front

The center of the campaign at this time must be in the trade union field. We must strive to involve the masses of the A. F. of L. in all the struggles which we are conducting. The First of May, 1935, must see the masses of the A. F. of L. unions marching under the banner of class struggle. We must make this a tremendous United Front May Day demonstration. To achieve this aim, each unit, each fraction of the Party, each and every Party member must be made conscious of the necessity of approaching his fellow workers of the A. F. of L. unions and the Socialist workers,

of convincing them that if there are programmatic differences between us, Communists, and the workers influenced by the Socialists, the reformists and the church, we have, nonetheless, an interest in common—the struggle centering around the Workers' Bill; for the defense of the workers' rights; against the attacks of the N.R.A., and the standards of living of the masses; against the growing attacks of fascism; against the attempts to outlaw and suppress the Communist Party and all working-class organizations; against bosses' war; in defense of the only country where the workers rule.

Reach the Masses by Personal Contact

We must reach the masses. We must reach primarily the rank-and-file membership and following of the Socialist Party, the masses in the A. F. of L. unions, fraternal organizations, the youth, the masses of working women—not only by intensifying our personal connection with the masses, but by bringing to them our program day by day. This means that we must intensify the issuing of shop papers, neighborhood papers, leaflets, etc. We should utilize the May First campaign to achieve the regular issuance of a shop or neighborhood paper by every unit of the Party. In this manner we will succeed in speaking to millions of workers, to counteract the attacks of the enemies and to broadcast our slogans to wider masses.

While doing this we must strengthen the personal connections, visit unions and mass organizations, ask the members of these organizations to endorse our united front platform, and prepare successful united front conferences. We must be able to develop such a campaign, to penetrate so deeply the organized masses, especially the A. F. of L. unions, by concretely showing them how to withstand the attacks of the enemies and how to lead the daily struggles, that there will be no union, no mass organization, where the masses will not discuss the May First campaign, and will not come to the point of deciding that their place should be out on the streets in order to raise demands for a united front struggle.

Mass Distribution of Manifesto and Leaflets

The Manifesto of the Central Committee, which was published in the **Daily Worker** on March 16, should be reprinted in leaflet form by the Districts and Sections, in the shop and neighborhood papers, in leaflets issued by the units. This Manifesto should be connected with the daily struggles of the workers, and with the local and shop problems. In the course of the campaign, other leaflets will be issued and it will be the task of the lower organizations to reprint

them. In this way we shall have a real mass distribution of agitational material, and will reach millions with our slogans. Every activity of the Party in the trade union field, in the neighborhoods and in the shops, must from now on be linked with the May First campaign. In this connection, the campaign to increase the **Daily Worker** circulation must be an integral part of the May First campaign.

Technical Preparations for May Day

Every unit, Section and District must begin now to make all technical preparations for May Day. There should not be a factory, or a prominent space in the proletarian thoroughfares of cities, without our May First slogans. Especially where the situation is tense, where the struggle is sharpest, where the workers are preparing for struggle, special means must be found to dramatize the campaign—particularly in those Districts where the reactionary forces are trying to suppress the Party. There we must show that the Party is alive, active, vitally connected with the masses. Besides rallying the masses to resist the attacks, we must also give concrete expression of our activities by displaying placards and slogans, by painting sidewalks, pasting stickers, etc., to such an extent that the whole population of the cities and of the industrial towns will see our slogans and discuss them.

Each Section, each mass organization, each Party unit must begin now to prepare its material—banners, streamers, stencils for painting slogans, etc. The lower organizations should not wait for directives from the Districts, but must begin now making their preparations.

Down Tools May First!

The realization of the **Down Tools** slogan must be considered by us as a practical objective to be achieved wherever it is possible. Where a full-day strike cannot be called, efforts should be made to call partial strikes, because the **Down Tools May Day** is a political strike, and our agitation for it helps to raise the fighting forms of the American workers to higher political levels.

The slogan "**Down Tools May First!**" must not remain only an agitational slogan. It will depend on the extent to which we succeed in penetrating the unions and mass organizations, on the extent to which we mobilize the masses in the factories how well we will be able to concretize this slogan. The extent to which we take leadership of the masses in the economic struggles now in progress, in preparation or in prospect, will determine whether or not we will be able to make a reality of the **Down Tools May First** slogan.

In the light of the tradition of May First, which was

begun in the United States as a day of launching one of the most significant strikes in the history of the world working class, every May First and particularly this May First should be utilized by every District and Section with a view to the heightening of the significance of existing strikes, as well as the launching of new strike struggles, thus bringing about the correct Leninist relationship between the economic struggles and the raising of these economic struggles to a higher political level on May First. The place of honor in the march should be given to strikers with their banners.

In connection with our general Party campaign to emphasize and dramatize the revolutionary traditions of the American toilers, we should, in the preparations for this May First, explain through our press, in speeches, leaflets, through personal contacts, etc., that May First had its birth in the United States; that it was the revolutionary contribution of the American workers to the proletariat of the world.

To Reach the Masses We Must Build The "Daily Worker"

By G. WISHNAK

"If we believe that the central organ of the Party is the instrument through which we must guide the Party in its activities day by day, that through the **Daily** we must influence and reach the largest masses, then we must get active and build the **Daily Worker**, which is one of the prerequisites for the building of the Party. The key to the solution of this vital problem is organization." (F. Brown: Report to C. C. Plenum, January, 1935.)

THE CIRCULATION campaign of the **Daily Worker** began January 5. It is noteworthy that the decisions of the Central Committee on the Labor Party, the United Front and the Trade Unions came hardly two weeks after. If ever any Party member failed to realize the political magnitude of the **Daily Worker** campaigns, the issue was clear now. It was not for rhetoric that the Central Committee ended its resolution with the statement that the **Daily Worker** had to "reach hundreds of thousands of readers". The Communist Party had taken a decisive step; nothing

can better bring the questions raised by the Party to the American workers, than the **Daily Worker**.

The present drive is far easier to carry to a successful conclusion than any previous one. The period is opportune, as never before. The American working class is swinging to the Left; class-consciousness is growing; organization sentiment is becoming prevalent; the influence of the capitalist parties is declining; a mass Labor Party looms on the horizon. These are the themes, and the news growing out of them, that the **Daily Worker** deals with; its authority and logic are proved every day.

To help make the drive successful, the Management Committee is offering such rewards to workers who get subscriptions as it has never offered before—the free trip to the Soviet Union; cash prizes; weeks in camps; prizes to every worker who secures five or more yearly subscriptions or their equivalent. The special edition of Jacob Burck's **Hunger and Revolt**, published only for **Daily** readers, is being offered to new subscribers and those who renew their subscriptions. The **Daily Worker** has provided attractive material for canvassing. It is offering special short-term subscriptions.

What is needed is the proper organization of the campaign, the proper push, publicity, check-up, encouragement, advice.

Examples of Good Work

The Youngstown Section is an example of the initiative that can be applied. It was, in the beginning, pretty far down among the Cleveland Sections; it is now running fast for the lead. The District Bureau took hold, and John Steuben, the Section Organizer, was put in direct charge of the drive. A **Daily Worker** Shock Troop was started, with Steuben as captain, with the aim of getting 50 workers specially to sell the paper. The 50 workers have been signed; they regularly issue their own bulletin—a highly attractive, intimate, newsy, critical, but cheerful organ. It contains instructions for Shock Troop work. It contains Youngstown's standing among other Sections, the standings of individual Shock Troopers. These 50 workers are getting subscriptions. Cleveland has nothing better in this line in the circulation campaign.

The Chicago District, too, issues a regular bulletin—with humorous, yet pointed, drawings, with information and scores. From few other Districts does the **Daily** receive regular reports. Action on the part of the Districts and Sections would soon provide interesting and abundant news.

It may be well to emphasize here that such Districts as Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh and Cleveland have not yet

concretized their plans for getting mass organizations, trade unions, workers' clubs, youth groups into the drive. These we need paramountly if a real Labor Party, real trade union unity is to be achieved.

100,000 Readers by July First

We have made advances. The **Daily Worker** circulation was on the downgrade at the beginning of this year; today it has increased. We have jumped, approximately, from below 40,000 to near 50,000. New York alone has gained over five thousand new daily readers since January. We have increased our subscriptions by nearly 2,000.

Under ordinary circumstances this would be quite a step. But the objective conditions today are such—with the **Daily Worker** the only daily working-class newspaper in English—that it is expecting little to hope to reach the goal we have set by July 1. One hundred thousand readers—10,000 subscriptions—we must, as Comrade Brown says, “get active”.

Build the Party in the Small Towns

By F. BROWN

TODAY there is not a town, not a village in the United States where workers, farmers, tenant farmers, agrarian workers, do not know about the existence of the Communist Party, do not speak about our Party. Letters reach the Central Committee daily from the remotest towns of the Middle West, of the West, in which workers, farmers, ask for advice on how to start a movement, ask for speakers, literature, leaflets. Similar letters come to the various Districts. There are cases where workers who leave the industrial cities to go back to their home towns, and having been influenced by our movement, bring back to their towns our campaigns, our slogans, our program. This fact shows that there are tremendous possibilities for spreading the Party in the hundreds of small industrial towns, hundreds of farming towns. Yet, because they are not connected directly with the Party, because of lack of organizational abilities, lack of knowledge of our movement, organization, after a while, remains at a standstill or subsides.

The problem before us is to find the way to reach these towns; how to help such groups of workers and farmers springing up everywhere, and build the Party. While our main task is to direct all our energies in the concentration Districts, in the most important industrial centers in the

basic industries—we cannot neglect the numerous Sections where conditions are favorable for the building of the Party. We must find a method by which we can pay attention also to the small towns without deviating from the main concentration tasks, without diverting the forces from the concentration points.

Is there such a method? Yes. Especially now with the coming of the favorable seasons which permit freer moving around, traveling, there is the possibility for our Party to reach the many towns where the workers and farmers are interested not only in being concretely informed about our program of the way out of the crisis, but who want to come into direct contact with Communists, the Communist Party. To achieve this aim, we should begin to prepare now in each of the larger Districts, special Sunday groups of rank-and-file comrades who should be trained for this work. For example, it would be very easy for the N. Y. District, on the basis of a plan, to select from 50 to 100 comrades, divide them into a few groups, train them for their specific task in visiting small towns Sunday after Sunday in the area of the N. Y. District. In New York, there is no problem of finding comrades who will not only volunteer for this work, but who will also contribute the means of transportation—cars, gasoline—for the trips. In four to five months' time, through such work, we will be able to reach many towns, to make hundreds of connections, to spread our program among masses that are waiting for us, to make known our press, to penetrate these areas with the **Daily Worker**, with our literature, etc.

After a few months of this work, our Party organization will come into existence in many, many more towns and villages. The comrades who will volunteer for this work, or who will be assigned, must be trained not only to have the correct approach to the workers, to the farmers of the towns which they will cover, but should be able to present the Party program in the most simple manner. Sunday groups should become a real institution in the larger Districts and also in some of the strongest Sections where the Sections embrace a large territory. If we succeed in the next few months in establishing such groups at least in the ten major Districts—we are certain that in five to six months' time we will be able to report real success along this line in hundreds of new towns.

Building Units in the Countryside

By J. BARNETT

PARTY NUCLEI called "farm units" have grown up in this country. Only recently has the Party begun to give some serious attention to what these so-called farm units are. They are composed of farmers scattered in the rural areas, disconnected from the regular life of the Party and concern themselves almost exclusively with farmer problems. An idea seems to prevail that Communist farmers are a peculiar kind of Communists who should have their own special units dealing only with farmer questions.

"Farm Units"

Party campaigns do not become a real part of unit activity and are not brought to the countryside and adapted to the local situation except in a very fragmentary and inadequate way. These campaigns are apparently only for the city. Generally no efforts are made by the Districts to apply them to the rural regions, or to give special, simple directives and help in the planning of control tasks for the rural units. Some written communication once in a while may be the only connection the District or Section has with the "farm units" for months.

Usually these units maintain little or no connection with the workers or Party members in the rural towns, even though they are close by. I have been in such units where some members were apologetic for having done some work among the workers in a small town factory on the basis that they were taking time from farm tasks.

The members of these units have never been given any adequate instruction about the daily work of the Party. They have an insufficient knowledge of how units and the Party are organized and how they should work. They are confused about the difference between the functions of the unit and of the fraction, since frequently both carry on the same tasks and are composed of the same comrades with the members belonging to both the militant farmers' organization and the unit. Thus, on the one hand, some units are very dry and given over to reading some directives prepared for city workers, to technical, uninteresting routine business with little political content, and the actual conditions and problems of the farmers are discussed outside the unit meeting; while other units will consider little else except the work in the mass organization, neglecting other phases of Party work.

Frequently the only direction and leadership come through the state or national fraction leaders, and this does not help to clarify the role of the Party centers—as the guides in deciding policies and the role of the fractions in carrying out these policies.

These units, organized and led by farm organizers in such a manner, tend to develop a sort of farmers' party alongside but within the Party—the first stages of an agrarian party. Workers and other elements are strange to the units, and too often the farmers are also strange to the workers in the community.

It is not the task here to go into a discussion of all the dangers, petty-bourgeois deviations and confusion to which such a separation leads, but many of these dangers will be readily apparent.

It is only as we correct this situation that we can begin to make real progress in developing the Party as the genuine leader in the countryside.

Community or Township Units Instead of "Farm Units"

This conception which has been held regarding farm units should be abandoned. Even the name should be dropped and the units called by the name of the community, the township or rural town, where they are.

Such community units have the task of leading the whole work of the Party in their territory. They should print leaflets on local issues. They must win the workers in the small towns, the farm hands and other exploited sections of the population to support the campaigns of the Party and the revolutionary way out. Recruits from all of these elements must be drawn into the Party and into the rural units. Naturally, since these are rural units working in farming territory, a main part of their work must be to carry out the tasks set by the Party among the farming masses, leading them in their struggles and organizations. But this does not mean the neglect of other tasks.

Recruiting Workers Into Units of the Rural Community

Getting workers of the small towns, the rural workers and farm hands into these units with the farmers is a basic task for us. It will also have an excellent effect upon the political life of the units and the work in the countryside. In the South, in the rural Black Belt territory, they are taking steps to establish such a base among the workers of the small towns and cities. Of course, after we have won several workers from one rural factory they should be put into a shop unit under close direction and guidance from the Section. Or if we get a group of Party members all working on one farm, they should be joined together in a farm,

plantation or ranch unit. This would be a real farm unit. Sometimes it may be desirable, even though these farm hands do not work on one farm, to put them together with the special task of setting up a ranch unit and building up the union there.

Section Leadership a Key Question

And the Section should bring all of these various worker and farmer elements together in Section meetings, on the Section committees, and Section Bureaus, so that these rural Sections will be better able to become real leaders of all exploited in the territory. In such instances as we now have where a rural Section does not include the small towns, but only farm territory with farmer members, steps should be taken to concentrate on these towns.

The organization of the rural community units is necessarily flexible. Distances are great and gas costly. Too many meetings are held only at the expense of mass work or of the farmers' crops. The unit meetings can be held every two weeks. In some cases regular unit bureau meetings have been impractical, and the unit organizer acts directly as leader of the unit. In some cases a joint bureau for two or more units in one area can be formed to plan the work, where a representative of each unit will be present.

The Section leadership needs to keep regular and personal contact with all units. It has been found desirable where distances are great, for the Section Bureau to have two representatives from each locality who can alternate. Thus travel, time and expense will not fall continually or too heavily on one comrade. These organizational questions should be settled in each Section in such a way as to take into consideration peculiar conditions of travel, rush seasons, the press of other meetings, etc.

District Leadership

Lines of communication must be opened up between the District committees, the Section committees and the rural units. The District committees must become real leaders of the Party work in the countryside, working out simple directives and giving concrete guidance in policies, and plans of work. Campaigns need to be specially adapted to the rural situation and their problems, and steps taken to educate the rural Party members in Communist principles and methods of work in simple understandable language. Much good can be accomplished by organizing regular visits and work of city workers in the country. City Sections can take patronage over certain rural areas.

It is necessary for the Districts to appoint a comrade or a small commission responsible to the District bureau for the rural work.

Fractions and Leadership of Mass Work

Where the Party leadership is established in this manner the relation becomes clear between the tasks of the fundamental Party organization, the units, the Sections, and the District, and the work of the fractions. The Party units and centers decide the policies and guide the work on all fronts, while the fractions carry out these decisions in their particular organization. Wherever there are Communists in an organization, they form a fraction.

The Section decides to build up influence in a Farmers Union local, for example. Plans are made. The Party members who belong to that local are the means of carrying out these plans. Party members who belong to the U. F. L. will carry out work in that organization. Or, among the agricultural workers, the task will be to organize their unions and lead them through our members in that union. Party members in the Unemployment Councils will help to lead them in the struggle for relief and unemployment insurance.

It is only by establishing the Party leadership and building up the fractions that we can really develop and guide the work in the reformist organizations, in the unions, the militant farmers' organizations, and the united front struggles.

These rural Sections and community units must begin to move ahead on their own feet, they must become the Party of the working class in the rural areas led by the Districts.

The Tasks of the Communist Party in the Youngstown Section

(Extract from Resolution of Section Plenum)

SINCE OUR Section Conference we can record serious steps forward in breaking our past isolation, extending the influence of the Party, broadening out our work by reaching new sections of workers and middle-class elements. Especially have we made great headway in the steel industry. If during the summer events we were not in a position to steer and influence the course of the steel workers, today we are on the road to becoming such a factor.

The United Front movements that we initiated in Trumbull County with the S.P., in Columbianna County with the O.U.L., the activities in connection with the Chicago and

Washington Congresses, our work among the unemployed in Youngstown, Farrell, Newcastle and Struthers and our election campaign which was by far the best we ever organized, resulting in doubled vote—all these are positive examples of **revolutionary mass work**.

It is precisely the mass work of the Party that is responsible for the extension of our influence among the workers in our Section. Only in those places where our Party failed to develop any kind of mass work did we fail to grow and even become weaker.

While the Section was correctly orientated towards mass work, at the same time, however, we failed to build the Party anything like in proportion to the developed mass activity. The control task of 400 dues-paying members by Lenin Memorial was not fulfilled.

Another weakness in our work was the failure to mobilize the units for active participation in the mass work. Most of our activity was conducted from the top. This is especially true of our work in steel.

This failure contributed to another outstanding weakness—the tendency to start important activity and then, instead of extending it and consolidating our positions, to allow these movements to go down with the same rapidity with which we built them up (United Front in Columbianna, United Front with S.P. in Trumbull, and the League Against War in Youngstown).

Another serious example of our poor methods of work is the situation in regards to concentration on Republic in Youngstown. How else can we explain the fact that we **did** increase our influence among the steel workers, but made no headway at all as far as our concentration point goes?

This hectic method of work shows that we did not master the Bolshevik method of **constantly struggling for the fulfilment of decisions**—not to allow the daily routine or other problems to sidetrack us from the **main** tasks of the Party. If we had worked in the spirit of Comrade Stalin's slogan "There are no fortresses that Bolsheviks cannot conquer" we would be today in a position to record greater progress, and above all to show real organizational growth of the Party.

The Section Committee from today on must declare war against all tendencies to work in spasms, according to "moods" and "personal inclinations". This we must start **first** with the leadership itself where such tendencies strongly exist. The whole situation in our Section demands the sharpest struggle against looseness and unsystematic methods of work. **Functioning** units and unit bureaus, **functioning** fractions in A. F. of L. locals and other mass organizations—these are the need of the day. Our organizing

work must therefore be directed to accomplishing this task.

The results of the registration show the extreme weakness in the composition of the Party. The percentage of comrades working inside the steel mills is small, the number of Negro workers in the Party is extremely unsatisfactory, and while there is an improvement in the number of A. F. of L. members, it is yet far from satisfactory.

The improvement in the composition of our membership must come about through the units involving themselves in mass work, building the A.A., the Unemployment Councils, the fraternal organizations, penetrating the mass organizations of the Negroes, etc. As a result of such mass work, led and initiated by the units, new forces will be drawn into the Party and in this way we will basically change the present composition.

The Y.C.L. has lately shown signs of growth. But basically the Y.C.L. still remains isolated from the young steel workers and from the mass organizations of the youth. The whole work of the Y.C.L. must be changed and the main work of the League must be among the steel youth, helping in recruiting and activizing them in the A.A. Point "D" in the A.A.'s organization program should receive the strongest support from the Y.C.L. and Party members in the union. The Party has up to now failed to give the necessary guidance and leadership to the Y.C.L. This must be immediately corrected.

Our Central Tasks

In view of the fact that some of the basic tasks outlined in our previous Plan of Work were not carried out, these remain in full force today and must be completed by May First. In addition to the fulfilled tasks, we herewith adopt the following key tasks that are to be carried out by the units and fractions by May First:

I. Work in the Steel Industry: Our major time and work must be devoted to the steel industry, with the aim of carrying through all our tasks among the steel workers. The whole Party and all fraternal organizations under our influence must be mobilized to help the steel workers build the A.A. **The Communists must prove themselves to be the best union organizers. . . .** The Party will not be able to play a decisive role unless we establish Party nuclei inside the mills, and Party fractions inside the A.A. lodges. This means a two-fold task—to unionize completely our present membership, and sympathizers, and to recruit the best union workers into the Party.

The Party must also play a leading role in mobilizing other A. F. of L. unions, fraternal organizations as well as middle-class elements in support of the steel workers' drive.

The orientation of every Party unit, fraction and member is to help prepare and organize the coming steel strike.

II. Work Among the Unemployed: . . . The struggle against the Work Relief Program, for increased relief, for cash relief, as well as to broaden out the movement for the Workers' Unemployment, Old Age, and Social Insurance Bill, H. R. 2827, must remain the control tasks.

The preparation for the steel strike makes it doubly important to mobilize the unemployed steel workers in support of the unemployed. This can best be accomplished through the building of powerful locals of the Unemployment Council (and powerful rank-and-file movements in the other unemployed organizations in the steel towns).

The Party units are not yet mobilized in support of the Unemployment Councils, with the results that the fractions are very loose and in some places don't exist. The decisions of the District Plenum said:

"Every Party unit must consider it a main task to build a mass Unemployment Council in its territory, with special attention to winning the Negro workers."

III. The United Front: The united front tactic of the Party must be energetically and skillfully applied in every phase of our mass work. The good beginnings made by us in Youngstown, Farrell, Trumbull and Columbianna Counties make it possible for us to extend and develop mass united front movements. . . . In connection with and also in addition to all these local united front movements we must initiate a broad united front movement in support of the coming struggles of the steel workers.

IV. Labor Party: The decision of the C.C. in support of a Labor Party flows out of the various developments within the ranks of the American working class. We, of course, do not support just "any" kind of Labor Party. The only type of Labor Party we support is one based on the class struggle. In several parts of our Section we have the possibility of taking the initiative in establishing a broad Labor Party. . . . In approaching the Labor Party question we must remember that the steel workers, their union and their fraternal organizations must become the basis of such a party.

V. Work Among the Negro Masses: The Plenum records that our position among the Negro masses has not been strengthened. This is mainly due to the fact that up to now we have failed to develop any struggles in defense of Negro rights, because we have been isolated from the Negro mass organizations and because of strong tendencies of white chauvinism that are very prevalent in our Section. We must initiate the sharpest struggle against white chau-

vinism and against all tendencies of petty-bourgeois nationalism, which hinders the fight against white chauvinism. In developing mass work among the Negroes we must help first of all to recruit them into the A.A., to establish the unity between the Negro and white steel workers. If we don't accomplish this there is the danger that the steel trust may be able to use the Negro workers against the white workers in the coming strike. This can be accomplished only if our fractions in the A.A. will conduct a struggle there against white chauvinism and for the raising of special demands for the Negro workers.

We must overcome our sectarian approach to the Negro organizations. Instead of building small "revolutionary" organizations, we should rather penetrate the existing mass organizations and establish our influence there. The Negro mass organizations must also become an important factor in developing the Labor Party movement in this Section. This can be accomplished only if our Party comrades will belong to and work systematically in those organizations. The white Party comrades must actively participate in the struggles for Negro rights and in recruiting Negro workers into the Party.

VI. The "Daily Worker": We cannot talk seriously about the building of a mass Party with real influence among the steel workers without making a **revolutionary change**, in the circulation of our **Central Organ, the Daily Worker**. This Plenum instructs every Communist that he has a share in the responsibility for increasing the **D.W.** circulation. Furthermore, this Plenum must take some **extraordinary measures** to guarantee an immediate and constantly growing increase in the circulation of the **D.W.**

Report on Organization of Party Nucleus in Section Concentration Plant

By D. W. S. (Cleveland District)

Background and Methods of Work

IN SECTION —, last May, the — plant of a basic heavy metal industry was named a concentration plant. This was on the basis of one active comrade employed there. Street unit 3 was assigned to concentrate on the plant, but never functioned. The comrade in the plant was left entirely without help for six weeks after the plan was adopted.

In this plant, the molders did not know their piece-work rate and are never allowed to see their scrap. The result

is they cannot check up on their wages and cannot raise their wages no matter how fast the speed-up. The iron carriers must come in and wait till the heat is ready to pour before they ring in. After the furnace is poured, they must ring out and wait for the next heat before ringing in again. Hour rates were far below any former time, 40 cents where they used to be 90 cents, etc. The Negroes and the Italians are played off against each other by the bosses to create suspicion between the races, to increase speed-up, and to prevent unity.

The Section Committee in June assigned the writer to the outside work on the plant. From that time till now, two comrades carried on the task of organizing the Section concentration plant, a Negro worker, Comrade Y., on the inside and a white woman, Comrade Z., on the outside. We issued a leaflet on the unknown piece rates. At once, the bosses announced the piece rates. As we continued to issue leaflets (which were distributed with the aid of volunteers from Unit 2) the talk of forming a union spread. The workers seemed ready to organize, so we called a mass meeting. This was an incorrect analysis which lost several months' time. The boss sent spies to this meeting and mass lay-offs followed, in which Y. lost his job. There was also terrorization of the workers on the job. Workers cannot talk with each other in the plant without foremen or stool pigeons trying to find out what they talk about. The boss refuses to hire men who admit belonging to a union. Speed-up increases all the time. Plant output is greater than ever before with less than half the men formerly employed when the plant was running at full capacity.

We carried on work outside. We identified, and isolated for the workers two stool pigeons not known before. In repeatedly asking for his job back, Comrade Y. finally succeeded in throwing off suspicion while resisting attempts to make him a stool-pigeon. In this situation, the plan of work was changed by Section Committee action to a strictly illegal basis, with organization of a Party nucleus to come first, in order to have a base for union organization. During two months of unemployment, Y. did regular daily work selecting Party prospects and laying a basis for the later recruiting. After Y. got back his job in the plant, he had to carry the work alone for the most part for three months. The bosses were still suspicious of him. Bosses and stool-pigeons watched him all of the time. In spite of these handicaps, Y. succeeded in selecting more prospects, making new contacts, and recruited the first C.P. member in the plant.

When Z. was allowed to return to this work, two months ago, Y. and Z. talked over the prospects in detail. We

made selection of those to recruit first on the basis of militancy and influence among the workers. We chose them from all three shifts and all departments. Z. visited them at their homes.

The line of approach used for the recruiting was: organization has begun in the plant; all workers are being protected against bosses and stool-pigeons by this outside contacting; the miserable conditions of the job, the class lines in the plant are shown. Conditions in the plant are then linked up with those in industry as a whole. The general economic conditions are then stated politically and the line of class struggle shown. The condition of workers in the Soviet Union, the results of the overthrow of capitalism and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat are contrasted with our conditions. We point out then what the worker himself can do about conditions here—join the C.P. and work to form strong class struggle organization in the plant. Thus he is organizing to better conditions at once and also as preparation towards winning a Soviet America.

This is not done in one visit. Often it takes several visits with literature. We have a considerable amount of literature among these workers and it is passed around. Some workers we decide it is safe for Y. to visit, all others Z. first visits alone. On later visits, we often go together. Always the effort is to lead the workers to see that the C.P. line of class struggle and equality of nationalities is correct, and that a Soviet America will be made by the working class led by the C.P.

We have never met antagonism. A few are afraid. A number want to read and hear more before they join the Party. All are for a union that has a class struggle, equality of nationalities line. As workers join us, we keep talking over the Party prospects. All our members and prospects are men of influence with the workers in their departments.

We now have a regularly organized unit of ten, of whom eight are employed in the plant. All shifts and almost all departments are represented. One weakness is that we have not yet recruited any of our Italian prospects, chiefly because of the language difficulty. We are concentrating our recruiting efforts on key men among the Italians who speak both languages. One member of our unit is a worker in an R.R. shop. With the unit, he is studying Party Principles and illegal methods of work. He is also starting to talk on class struggle lines with his fellow workers in his shop. This will lead to selection of first prospects for recruiting to form an R.R. shop nucleus.

Perspectives

1. Continued active recruiting to the unit, to build

as soon as possible a unit in each of the three shifts.

2. A regular monthly shop paper, to begin the first week in March.

3. Building a union in the plant. We are discussing the Party Trade Union policy in the unit and preparing for militant class struggle policy in the A. F. of L.

4. Every unit member a reader of the **Daily Worker**.

5. Five recruits have been added to the Section, not into this unit, but through it. These are friends or wives who are not employed in the plant. Our perspective here is the building through the shop unit, of a street unit which will concentrate on the plant and a Y.C.L. unit.

6. We expect to build a women's auxiliary alongside the union, recognizing the added strength the union will have through the organized solidarity of the women.

7. Through the street unit and the women's auxiliary, to build a U.C. in this territory, where live mostly employed and unemployed workers of this and other steel and metal plants.

We are working with the definite aim of involving entire families in Party and coordinated fields of work. This will create more activity, broader understanding, greater forces, prevent fluctuation, and root the Party solidly in this industrial area.

The Life of a New York Unit

By Organizer, Unit 32, Section 1

ON THE BASIS of seven months' experience as a unit organizer, I wish to give the following discussion on unit life for the purpose of exchange of experience with other unit organizers:

Unit 32 had done some very good work in its concentration task, unemployment work in Little Italy. It had established a workers' club and an Unemployment Council Local. But at the time I became organizer, the unit was in a rather bad condition. Our best forces had been taken out to form a waterfront concentration unit. A short time before that, there had been a bad inner situation which had left unhealthy after-effects, and the comrades were quite demoralized. Out of a membership of 35, only 8 showed up at a unit meeting the first week. The club meeting scheduled for that week did not take place, nor did the Unemployment Council meeting, because the attendance was so poor. In general, there was a slump in all the activity in the neighborhood.

On analyzing the situation we concluded that the general activity in the neighborhood had fallen down due to the demoralized condition of the unit which should be the driving force in the neighborhood activity. Our first task therefore was to consolidate the forces and the work of the unit. For this we needed, first, a full bureau composed of active, responsible comrades. We therefore called an "enlarged" bureau meeting with several of the more responsible comrades present. Together we discussed the situation and put these comrades on the bureau.

Our Shortcomings

We found that our chief defects were:

1. **Lack of systematic planning.** The bureau meetings were neither thorough nor frequent enough. Assignments were made haphazardly without picking the best-suited person for each job. One week's work seemed to have little to do with the previous or following week's work.

2. **Lack of political clarity.** The comrades did not understand the importance of their assignments, and the work seemed mechanical and meaningless. For these reasons, too, unit meetings were long and boring.

What Kind of a Unit Do We Want?

After determining the defects of our unit, we discussed what a unit should be and these are the conclusions we came to: A unit should be:

1. The organizational center of activity in the concentration territory; the place where you get assignments and instructions.
2. A class-room where you get organizational information and political guidance; the place where you learn the historical function of the movement in general and your unit in particular.
3. A source of enthusiasm.

How did we go about accomplishing these aims?

To make the unit the organizational center of the neighborhood activity, we assigned certain comrades to have the Club as their main work, and others to have the Unemployment Council Local as their main work. This was done with the cooperation of the Italian District Bureau and the Section Bureau. They helped us both in selecting comrades and in laying down the policy. In this way the two mass organizations built up by our unit were getting Party guidance through the unit and yet the whole unit was not acting as the fraction of both organizations as it had been doing. This left the unit time and forces to carry through other activities.

As for making the unit a class-room, here we are

just beginning to make headway. Agitprop work as we see it, consists of the following:

1. **Political discussions in the unit.** Through these discussions we can broaden and extend the political vision of our Party members so that they can see their day-to-day work as part of a tremendous world historic movement.

2. **Politicalizing assignments.** No matter what assignment is given, whether it is visiting a Socialist Party branch for the united front, or distributing leaflets for a mass meeting, the significance of the task is pointed out. Therefore, the comrades feel that they have a responsible task to carry out instead of feeling that they are doing something because they must.

Our agitprop work on the whole is not very good. Our more advanced comrades have not yet reached the point where they can help the more backward comrades in their development. The result is that discussions are usually left to a few comrades. This is bad, first, because we are not developing new forces to take initiative, and second, because even our more advanced comrades are not sufficiently developed to lead a really good discussion. This lack of theoretical development is at the basis of every weakness in all our work.

What are we doing to remedy this situation?

1. Three of our comrades attended the last term of the Section functionaries' class.

2. This term we plan to send two comrades to the Section functionaries' class, and two rank-and-file comrades to a beginners' class at the Workers School.

3. In the unit we hold political discussions every week, calling in comrades from the outside when advisable. For example, we had a comrade from the Italian Bureau discuss Italian fascism at one unit meeting. Another time we had a comrade from a shop unit in our territory discuss shop work. Another time we plan to have a comrade from a waterfront concentration unit lead a discussion on marine concentration.

4. We are establishing the practice of holding political discussions not only in the unit, but at the bureau meetings. The second half of each bureau meeting is a study circle.

Now as for making the unit a source of enthusiasm—this is very important. Too often our comrades take their assignments, carry them out most of the time, do their work dutifully but with no enthusiasm. They seem to understand the necessity for Party work, but they are not aware of the power that belongs to them as organized, class-conscious workers. And here, we, the unit functionaries, must understand that it is not enough to make the

comrades understand the necessity for every-day routine work, not enough even to make them realize the political significance of this work, but we must dramatize this work so that the comrades will not carry out their work mechanically, but like proud leaders heading for victory. We must make the comrades see the colorful, dramatic aspects of their routine duties. For example, not long ago we elected a new bureau. Instead of going about it in a matter-of-fact way, we spoke of it for two weeks in advance, regarding the matter of elections as a rallying point for future work. When the election meeting came, the bureau did not simply bring in its proposals, but came prepared with an analytical report of the unit's work for the past six months, pointed out the shortcomings and the lessons, and discussed the perspectives for the next six months' work. We endeavored to make the comrades see that the work of our unit is important work, and to make them approach it as seriously as the leading comrades approach the preparations for a Party Convention or a Plenum. In this way everything we undertake can be dramatized. The workers in every unit, in everything they do should be made to realize that when they are doing routine duties, they are making history.

Our Accomplishments and Methods of Work

In this manner we have tried to work. It goes without saying that we have made many mistakes, but we are learning from them. These are our accomplishments:

1. We have organized a youth club of some 35 members.
2. We are in the process of organizing a children's group. We now have about 16 youngsters who come every Saturday.
3. We have drawn a large number of Italian women into the Unemployment Council.
4. We are publishing a street paper, with some articles in Italian.
5. We carried through an active election campaign, where in spite of the many shortcomings, we more than doubled the Red vote in our district.
6. We recruited about 20 workers in the last two weeks of the Drive.

Now, what are the specific methods we used in tackling our organizational problems?

1. A well organized, loyal, conscientious bureau that meets regularly and takes up unit problems in detail, plans assignments in advance, selecting the proper comrade for each assignment, instead of depending on volunteers and wasting time at unit meetings.

2. A knowledge of the unit membership. A new mem-

ber is asked to remain after his first meeting in the unit, the organizer interviews him, finds out what his occupation is, what are his inclinations, his mass organization activities, how much time he can give to unit work, etc.

3. Systematic planning. This means not only planned unit meetings, but also a complete plan of work with control tasks for every campaign; an analysis of the work after the campaign is ended; and a careful check on the plan of work during the course of the campaign.

4. Attention to the comrades active in mass organizations. In every unit there are several comrades whose main work is in mass organizations outside the unit territory. Because these comrades usually take very few unit assignments, the other comrades are inclined to feel hostile toward them. And the mass organization comrades, for their part, are practically divorced from the life of the unit and do not feel themselves part of it. We are remedying this situation to some extent by calling these comrades into the bureau, discussing their work with them, and having them report at the unit meeting on their mass organization work. By doing this we accomplish the following:

- a. We check up on these comrades.
- b. We break down the antagonistic feeling because we all realize that these comrades are doing Party work, even though not directly through the unit.
- c. We broaden the political understanding of the comrades by this exchange of experience.

We consider this very important because we understand the importance of healthy fractions in mass organizations, and we as the organizational and political leaders of our unit know that it is up to us to help these comrades to coordinate their activities rather than to load them with extra assignments that they cannot adequately carry out.

The Radio and the Movies

IN the February issue of the **Party Organizer** we raised the question of the development of a campaign to open the radio to working-class organizations, and cited the example of the California District, where the **Western Worker** broadcasts every Wednesday night, giving a resume of important world events.

If this achievement can be obtained in San Francisco, where the drive against the Party and against all working-

class organizations is particularly severe, it should be possible to duplicate it in other large cities.

Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and all of the agents and servants of Hearst fill the air daily with their poisonous propaganda. Millions of workers listen to lies against the Soviet Union and against the revolutionary working-class movement. Millions listen to distorted interpretations of the daily news. It is not enough to counteract this fascist-inspired propaganda through the columns of the **Daily Worker**. The revolutionary working class must get on the air. We also must speak to the radio audience to tell them of the achievements of the Soviet Union. We must have an opportunity to interpret the news to them from a working-class point of view. We must answer, on the air, the Longs and the Coughlins, and all their lesser imitators, with an anti-fascist challenge.

Let us develop a mighty campaign in every District, demanding that the air shall be free. Flood the radio stations, locally and nationally with demands for lower rates, for an opportunity for our representatives to speak to the radio audiences. In connection with May Day preparations, try to get on the air to call the workers to a united May Day demonstration. This is not an impossible task. The radio audience is composed largely of workers. Mobilize them to demand their own speakers. If this demand is insistent enough the radio stations will be forced to grant it. Let us hear what you are doing about this in your District.

* * * *

It is not only through the newspapers and the radio that Hearst spreads his vicious propaganda. There is still another potent channel, through which he reaches millions of workers daily. Disguised as "news", he sends out his poison through the movies. It is not enough that we should carry on a boycott of the Hearst press. This boycott should be extended also to the movies. Flood your neighborhood movie house with protests against the showing of Hearst news-reels. Let your indignation be heard when these news-reels appear on the screen. Stage demonstrations against the Hearst news-reels at every movie theatre where they are shown. Make Hearst feel the disgust and anger of the working class.

AGITPROP SECTION

Agit-Prop Work in the Akron Section

IN THE first week of January, decisions were adopted by the Section Committee in connection with Agit-prop work:

1. The Section Agit-prop, literature and **Daily Worker** agents to constitute the Agitprop Department of the Section.

2. A class to be organized with selected comrades from all units and compulsory for new members.

3. Unit Agit-prop Directors to meet once a week with the Section Agit-prop and besides the business problems to have a class for one hour.

4. The Unit Organizers' meeting also to take up one hour and a half for a class on principles of organization.

5. In each shop unit a class to be instituted to be led by leading comrades assigned to these units, at each unit meeting.

6. We should institute political discussions in the units each week.

7. Once a month all units shall have open unit meetings where sympathizers and others are invited for the purpose of convincing them to join the Party.

8. The Y.C.L. class to continue.

9. A special class to be organized to train comrades for leaflets, resolution and letter writing as well as public speaking.

10. We should have the perspective of organizing a class for Unemployment Council members

11. To issue the shop papers every month regularly. We should discontinue the former practice of writing the shop paper from the Section office, but instead involve the shop comrades to write for the paper and edit it.

12. To organize an open forum.

13. To order more varied literature to be sold at all meetings and special emphasis must be laid on every Party member reading regularly the **Daily Worker**, **Party Organizer** and other Party literature.

After this plan of work was adopted, we set to work. It is necessary to point out that prior to this plan of work the Akron Section did not carry on any agit-prop work within the Party as well as outside. We had an agit-prop director, but the units were not involved in this work. Discussions in the units were not held regularly. There

were no classes for over a year. The shop papers were not issued regularly; very little literature was sold; the daily bundle order of the **Daily Worker** was only 70 and 365 Saturday editions.

Leaflets

Out of a membership of over 150 only one comrade was able to draw up a leaflet, knew how to work a stencil. All leaflets needed by mass organizations, Unemployment Councils and units were made in the following manner: A comrade from these organizations would bring a note to the Party office, stating: we need so many leaflets for such and such an affair or mass meeting; please have it ready by Monday. No one explained that the respective organizations have to assign a comrade to write the leaflet and mimeograph it. As a result, the "crisis" in leaflet writing came when the agit-prop director became sick.

When it was pointed out to be the comrades that we cannot afford to have only one comrade as a "professional" leaflet writer, because we must train many comrades for this work so that our work will not suffer in case a comrade gets sick, or in case of illegality, some of our comrades seemed to be offended and answered that not everyone is **educated enough to draw up a leaflet**. It seemed a monstrous task. These comrades did not realize that our Party must train comrades for this work. In a department of the Party, for example, the **Daily Worker** department, if they had to write a letter to the **Daily Worker** in New York in connection with the **Daily**, they were unable to do so.

When we looked around and began to change this situation we "discovered" excellent leaflet writers in the mass organizations, including those who know the art of putting out technically an attractive one as well. Today, when a unit needs a leaflet, they are to assign a comrade to draw up the leaflet, bring it to the Section office, the Section Agit-prop or other leading comrade to criticize the leaflet, the comrade mimeographs the leaflet, and thus we are able to teach the comrades how to draw up leaflets and involve them in this work. In connection with this, we shall in the near future involve them in this work. We will, in the near future, have a class on writing leaflets, resolutions, letters, etc.

Educating the Party Membership

As we said before, there were no classes of any kind in this Section for over a year. As a result the political level of the membership is very low. Fluctuation was widespread. With the change of new books for 1935, thirty members were dropped from the Party. Decisions of the Party in most cases remained on paper; trade union work was not

part of unit activity; resolutions of the Party were not read and discussed. The **Daily Worker** and literature were not sold systematically in front of the shops. Contacts with A. F. of L. members were not established. In other words, the units were isolated from the workers and stewing in their own juice, so to speak. This situation has not as yet changed but with the steps taken, we already see some changes.

Today, we have established two classes. One for unit organizers, led by the Section Organizer at unit organizers' meetings once a week. The other is a Section class, compulsory for new members and selected older comrades. Both classes are beginning to yield results. Through these classes we are aiming to bring about the following results:

1. To get comrades in the habit of reading Party literature.
2. To make out of each comrade a reader of the **Daily Worker, Party Organizer, The Communist International**, etc.
3. To activate the comrades in the units.
4. To develop leading forces.

The Section class is based on Bittleman's pamphlet: **The Communist Party in Action**. The unit organizers' class is based on outlines on Party organization. Both classes are conducted in the following manner:

1. Question and answer form: We find that through this method, instead of lecture form, the comrades are taught to take the floor and express themselves on various subjects; second, it forces the comrades to read; third, we are able to judge the understanding of each individual comrade attending the class; fourth, it creates discussion in the class among the Party members; fifth, when the comrade himself takes part in the discussion, he is interested in coming again.

2. Questions to be answered the following week are assigned together with the reading material on these questions. In the Section class we will add to the questions five positive or negative statements, such as: "The Communist Party must be based on discipline," etc. These statements are to be answered in writing and submitted to the instructor the following week.

We are also beginning a class in the Y.C.L. on Y.C.L. organization and structure.

Work of Unit Agit-Prop Directors

We have elected unit agit-prop directors in our Section who meet every Saturday afternoon. At these meetings, we check up on literature sales, **Daily Worker** drive, attendance of classes, unit discussions, etc. At the same time we also have a class. This class deals with the topic for the coming

unit meeting discussion. In this way we are orientating to unit discussions regularly each week. We dealt so far with discussions concerning our campaigns, Lenin Memorial, literature, etc., in a political manner. Now we are taking up the C.C. resolution of January 15. We divided this resolution into three parts, to be discussed in the units at three consecutive meetings; 1st week on Trade Union; 2nd week on United Front; 3rd week on the Labor Party. We find that those units represented at agit-prop meetings lead discussions in the units.

Literature

Before we took over agit-prop work we sold only \$50 worth of literature for a period of 5 months, i.e., an average of \$10 a month. Now in the month of January alone we sold \$32.18. This increase is due to the weekly agit-prop meetings, where we check up weekly on sales in units as well as outside, debts, etc. We also sold our quota of 300 copies of **Foundations of Leninism**.

From now on we will prepare a short outline on a particular pamphlet for the agit-props for each unit meeting and make a drive on this pamphlet. In the coming week we will discuss **An Architect of Socialist Society** by Karl Radek. We are undertaking to sell 300 copies of this pamphlet. We have already ordered 100 copies.

Open Unit Meetings

All of our units had open meetings prior to the Lenin Memorial meeting. Through these meetings we were able to recruit 12 members into the Party. At these meetings a comrade from the Section Committee led a discussion on Lenin and Leninism; questions and discussion followed. At the end a strong appeal was made for membership. We will continue these open unit meetings and hold them once a month.

Although the advances made so far are not much to speak of, nevertheless we will carry through our plan of work 100 percent. We have only indicated the progress. In other articles we will indicate the weaknesses.

Akron agit-props expect other Sections to write as to what they are doing.

* * * *

NOTE:—Not long ago the Akron Section was characterized by an unhealthy, almost demoralized condition. The units received no real guidance or leadership from the Section Committee. Good forces were ignored or kept from developing. The initiative and the development of the membership was stifled. In such a situation, the political and organizational education of the membership constitute a

big part in bringing about a decisive change and improvement. This is the significance of the report.

This report, although a beginning, clearly shows what conscious and systematic agit-prop work can do to help overcome looseness, raise the morale of the Party, involve the Party in active work and at the same time improve the political quality of the Party members. There is still a long road to travel. The Section agit-prop commission must also take immediate steps to re-issue its shop papers, especially in the present explosive rubber situation. Further measures for the development of the Party's mass agitation are also urgent, as for example, the issuing of neighborhood papers and the reaction to pressing issues by means of leaflets, special meetings, etc.

We urge all Sections to study this report and to send in their own reports on the agit-prop work in their Section.

Review of the "Agitprop Worker"

By G. REED

THE Agitprop Worker reflects a serious endeavor on the part of that District to put agit-prop work on a methodical and organizational basis. Because the many-sided aspects of agit-prop work which this bulletin presents are the problems generally prevalent in all Districts, this bulletin can serve as a guide for agit-prop work throughout the country.

This bulletin, designed to deal with the agit-prop work of Ohio District, gives a clear-cut and comprehensive presentation of the outstanding problems confronting the Sections and units. An examination of each article will give a better idea of the well-rounded character of the bulletin.

The first article, dealing with "Our Tasks", shows that agit-prop work is integrally bound up with the major Party tasks as laid down in the recent C.C. Plenum resolutions. How the particular needs of the class struggle in Ohio can be benefited by improved mass agitation and propaganda is indicated in this statement: "The key link in the class struggle in Ohio at the present time is to be found in the rapidly maturing strike movements in the steel, automobile, rubber, and mining industries. Our first task, therefore, is the mobilization of the whole Party to play a decisive role in these struggles by smashing through all the sectarian barriers still separating us from the masses . . . and requires the most rapid development of mass agitation." The Ohio Agit-prop dept. is giving its major attention to the needs of the concentration industries—an example that

should be followed in every District and Section. All too often do we find the agit-prop dept. forgetting to place its center of gravity in the major concentration industries.

The indisputable conclusion of this article, that a precondition for good mass agitation and propaganda is a functioning apparatus, gives the tone to the rest of the articles. At this stage of the game, this matter demands the utmost attention, because one of the chief problems of agit-prop work generally is its inadequate and imperfect apparatus.

The consequent lack of planned work, which is the cause of the sporadic nature of our inner political education and mass agitation, is listed among the "Shortcomings" of the Ohio Agit-prop dept. The shortcomings of this District are not the exclusive property of that District. They obtain in New York, and it can be said without fear of erring, in a magnified degree in other Districts. After listing these major shortcomings, the bulletin proceeds to suggest remedies, which are sane and workable. These solutions are practical steps, designed to put system and efficiency into agit-prop work.

The directives on how to "Organize Study and Discussion of Plenum Discussions" emphasizes the need for the introduction of check-up on discussion. A check-up that will extend throughout the Sections, from the Sections down to the units, and throughout the units. A thoroughgoing check-up that will contain the element of personal supervision of study by the unit and Section agitprop directors. This article also stresses the primary importance at this moment of giving special training to A. F. of L. forces. In New York City we have learned that many costly political errors in practical trade union work would have been avoided had our A. F. of L. forces understood such basic problems as the United Front and its application, or the relations between the Party and the trade union, a distorted idea of which too frequently results in tendencies towards Economism.

Planning and check-up have been consciously applied to other departments, such as the **Daily Worker**, the Org. Dept., etc., but the agit-prop dept. still remains untouched by this. Perhaps the cause of this is the underestimation of the importance of agit-prop work. However, the recent National Agit-prop Conference marked the beginning of a changed attitude towards agit-prop work; and this bulletin with its emphasis upon planned agit-prop activity is one of the results.

The bulletin offers a model four-months' plan for agit-prop work. The plan sets as its first task the establishment of Section and unit apparatus, its second task—a changed political life of the units, its third task—the devel-

opment of cadres, and its fourth task—mass work. These represent the primary needs of agit-prop work in every Section, and this model guide can certainly be used, with minor variations, elsewhere. A District plan is also presented, wherein are embodied such tasks as the improvement of relations between District and Section, setting up a District apparatus, shop paper improvement, and also preparations for illegality.

A very revealing and interesting article is the "Roll Call", which gives a diagrammatic description of the status of every Section. The picture is not very rosy, but is typical of most Sections throughout the country. It shows an almost total lack of functioning agit-prop apparatus in the Sections. The idea of putting down in black and white the exact condition of each Section is good. It not merely gives a comprehensive picture, but will, undoubtedly, stimulate the Sections towards efforts to change the picture.

To round out the bulletin, there are lengthy reports dealing with one particular Section and unit, and also simple concrete directives regarding the duties of the unit agit-prop director. In addition, there is a very much-needed and very valuable article discussing in detail the methods and material which every unit must possess in preparation for illegality.

A word of praise must also be registered for the technical get-up of the bulletin, the attractive format, and general neatness of lay-out, type-arrangement, and illustrative material.

All in all, such a bulletin serves a very useful purpose, particularly in Districts such as Ohio, where the Sections are far-flung, and where at times the regularity of contact is unavoidably disturbed. However, as the Bulletin indicates, the plans outlined therein, good as they are, are good only in the measure that they are carried out.

Shop Paper Experiences in District 8

By a Stockyards Worker

NOW, more than ever before, the problem of issuing shop papers in every shop where we have comrades comes up. With the sharpening fascist attacks upon the workers' organizations, it becomes of utmost importance for us to establish papers in every shop, so that when we are faced with illegality we shall not be caught napping.

In Germany, the best method by which the comrades

were able to carry on their agitation and organization against Hitler was through the shop and neighborhood mimeographed papers. These brought the message of the Communist Party to the workers and guided them in their actions.

There are many problems in the establishment and building of shop papers. We will here try to raise some of the questions that the comrades in the stockyards faced when they issued their bulletin.

In order to get started, it is necessary to set up an editorial committee to be responsible for securing material, by talking to workers, by listening to the different problems and by writing about their own departments. The best comrades in the shop nuclei must be assigned to this work. Of course, the first issue or issues of the paper will be written mainly by the comrades themselves. But as the paper continues, workers will begin to write in about their problems and ask for advice and help in solving them.

The next problem is how to secure finances for the paper. The comrades inside of the shop will probably have to finance themselves the first few issues, and by getting out pledge cards which they can circulate among people who will help the comrades get started on their paper. After the paper has been issued several times, an appeal can be made in the paper for the workers to support it. Certain close contacts and sympathizers can also be visited for contributions. In this way, the paper would soon pay for itself.

For instance, the stockyards comrades have been giving out the bulletins at the gates free. Now they feel, that in order to increase the number of papers gotten out from 2,500 to many more thousands, it is necessary to get the support of the workers in the shop. Therefore, they have decided to carry through a subscription drive. Subs are 50 cents for one year and 30 cents for six months. The paper is mailed to the home directly and this is a reasonable price. No profit is made. We only insure the issuance of the paper in larger numbers so we can reach many more workers with our message and program.

Now for the distribution of the Bulletin. The easiest way is to distribute at the gates in the morning or evening. The most effective way, however, is a distribution inside of the shop. A hand-to-hand distribution to our contacts is best. Where this is impossible or where the comrades feel it is not advisable yet, the bulletins can be taken into the washrooms, and locker rooms and left lying around. There are many other ways of making the workers see the paper. For instance: pasting the paper on the time clock or bulletin boards with gum, or laying the paper on the convey-

ors or tables for the workers to pass down, or sticking the papers into some of the lockers so that the workers get them when they take out their coats or lunches, etc.

One other way of making sure that the bulletin reaches the workers is to secure names and addresses of workers through one method or another and mailing the bulletin to their homes directly. We will find that the workers will carry these papers into the shop and discuss them with each other. In this way we are also building up a list of contacts whom we can visit for material for the paper. At first, however, this will have to be done at the expense of the comrades, but later, when the comrades issue subscriptions, they will find that many workers will subscribe and pay for their own paper.

If the paper is issued by the Communist Party or Young Communist League, we must guard against making this a trade union organ. We must raise adequately the campaigns of our Party, the Election Campaign, May Day preparations, the struggle against War and Fascism, the achievements of the Soviet Union. Many times, our comrades, in answering the workers' problems, forget to remember that they are Communists and that it is a Communist paper and that we can politically bring home certain points to the workers.

In preparing the material for the paper, the comrades must consider what political articles are to appear in each issue. It is very bad to have a lot of political articles and hardly any correspondence, or vice versa. What the comrades should do is to assign themselves at least three political articles, reserving the rest for correspondence and lighter features.

The youth papers, especially, must think of special light features to interest and attract the youth, crossword puzzles and other things that appeal to them. There are some comrades or workers who can make cross-word puzzles or games. These comrades should be assigned to do this for each issue. For instance, the *Armour Young Worker* has run cross-word puzzles, limerick contests (contests in which a verse is written with the last line left blank for the workers to fill in), and prizes are offered for the best answers. A "Cracks Wise and Otherwise" column where jokes are printed can be put in. The comrades have instituted a "Question Box" where questions asked by workers through the mail can be answered in the bulletin.

Most of the above-mentioned points have been used by the comrades in the Chicago Stockyards. We feel that if the comrades in some other industries and shops would try some of them they would find them very useful. We in turn would like to hear of other experiences.