

Party Organizer



"It must be realized that under our present conditions 'cadres decide everything' . . . Remember, comrades, that only those cadres are any good who do not fear difficulties, who do not hide from difficulties, but who, on the contrary, go out to meet difficulties, in order to overcome them and eliminate them. It is only in combating difficulties that real cadres are forged." — J. Stalin, Address to the Graduates from the Red Army Academy.

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CONTENTS

	Page
Organize Rallies for an Anti-Capitalist Labor Party 1 By BILL GEBERT	
Looking Back on May Day	4
Strengthen the Work in Mining by Building the Party	7
By JIM ALLANDER	
Suggestions for Immediate Activity on Work Relief Projects	10
By HERBERT BENJAMIN	
How the Party Reacted in the Illinois Relief Crisis 13 By B. S.	
A Shop Unit Built During a Strike	15
Build the Young Communist League	17
By JACK KLING	
The Organizational Structure of the Party	21
By J. PETER	
Reminder	25

AGITPROP SECTION

Party Agitation in the Crosley Strike	26
By R. GUNKEL	
The Revolutionary Way Out and "Our Big Plan" 30 By ROY A. BENNETT	

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Organize Rallies for an Anti-Capitalist Labor Party!

By BILL GEBERT

THE January Resolution of the Central Committee points out that "The mass disintegration of the traditional party system has begun, and a new mass party may come forward in the near future". As the resolution also states, however, the danger is that the "new mass party" may be a third capitalist party and not "a Labor Party built up from below on a trade union basis but in conflict with the bureaucracy". The kind of a Party it will be depends upon our work, especially in the trade unions and other organizations of the workers.

The campaign for an anti-capitalist Labor Party has not yet been brought into the trade unions, the organizations of the Negro and unemployed workers, and among the toiling farmers.

In the meantime Father Coughlin, Huey Long and General Johnson are speaking to millions every week. They utilize the workers' great discontent with the New Deal and play upon the latter's emotions for their own purposes. Coughlin is already attempting to consolidate his influence organizationally, holding mass rallies for organizational purposes. 15,000 workers attended his rally in Detroit; 25,000 listened to him in Cleveland. In California Upton Sinclair is building his Epic movement. In the Northwest Olson of the Farmer-Labor Party utilizes the discontent and suffering of the toiling farmers to extend and maintain his control. In the middle west Reno, of the Farmer's Holiday Association, pursues the same policy. In addition to all of these, Hearst the henchman of fascism, pours out his poison daily through the press and the radio.

How is the Party to carry out its great task of counteracting the anti-working class propaganda of these semi-fascist and fascist demagogues? How is it to reach the broad masses of discontented workers and farmers who are being misled, and mobilize them in the struggle against unemployment, and wage cuts, for unemployment insurance, for shorter working hours, bringing to the forefront the immediate need of an anti-capitalist Labor Party, and explaining the revolutionary way out of the crisis—for Soviet Power?

With the objective of speaking to hundreds of thousands of workers and toiling masses the Central Committee has decided to organize, under Party auspices, mass rallies to answer the Coughlins, Longs and Hearsts, and to bring forward a campaign for a fighting Labor Party.

These rallies are to be organized under the slogans:

Out of unemployment and poverty—to security and plenty!

Coughlin and Huey Long merely promise—The Communist way gets it!

What shall it be—A third Capitalist Party or a Fighting Labor Party!

These main slogans must be supported by our daily mass demands:

1. For the Workers Unemployment, Old Age, and Social Insurance Bill, H. R. 2827.
 2. For the 30 hour week, without reduction in wages.
 3. For 100% unionization of industries.
 4. For equal rights for the Negro people.
 5. Not one cent for war—all funds for the unemployed.
- Against imperialist war—for defense of the Soviet Union.
6. Relief for impoverished farmers.
 7. For the defense of civil rights of the toiling people.
 8. Against the high cost of living and sales tax.

In addition local concrete demands should be formulated in each district.

If these rallies are to be—what they must be—a mobilization of the trade unions, of the workers from the shops, the unemployed workers, women, youth, ex-servicemen, Negroes, professionals, intellectuals, tradesmen and small store-keepers, they must be well prepared in advance by the issuance of leaflets, addressed specifically to these sections of the population. Speakers should be sent to mass organizations and trade unions. Meetings should be held in front of shops and in the neighborhoods. The Communist fractions should be mobilized to introduce resolutions for a Labor Party in all organizations, and especially in the trade unions. There must be no State Federation of Labor Convention and no International Convention of A. F. of L. unions where the resolution for the Labor Party is not brought to the floor.

This campaign for a fighting Labor Party should proceed at once in the mass organizations and in the trade unions to pave the way for rallies that will stimulate interest in the Labor Party, and at the same time to counteract the influence and propaganda of Coughlin, Long, Hearst, etc.

The time and place for these rallies should be carefully selected, and the detailed organizational plans for each rally fully prepared, taking into consideration the character of

the locality, i.e., industrial, mining, farming, etc. In general, the rallies should be organized on the same principle as we organize hunger marches, that is, bringing workers and farmers from neighboring towns and localities to the central rallies. The rallies should not be confined to the larger cities, but should be organized in the smaller industrial and farming areas, involving the workers from the surrounding territories. As part of, and prior to the rallies, parades should be held leading into the halls or parks. In all of these parades, youth columns should be organized.

One of the objectives of these rallies is the organization of a mass sale of literature, such as: "The Real Huey Long," "The Truth About Father Coughlin," "Why Hearst Lies About Communism," "Hearst; Labor's Enemy No. 1," "How to Share the Wealth," and all other pamphlets dealing with the Labor Party. A mass sale and distribution of the Daily Worker and the Young Worker should also be carefully organized.

It is the immediate task of every unit and every Party fraction to discuss how to work for such rallies. It would be well if the units on their own initiative would undertake to issue leaflets to the workers in a given shop, neighborhood or town, and to visit workers' organizations, explaining the objectives and aims of these rallies as proposed in our central slogans, and mobilizing the workers in their support.

If these rallies are to be successful, with a proper presentation of our position of this question, the gathering must be well organized. There must be one main speaker from the Communist Party, and one speaker representing the youth. In addition, depending upon the concrete situation in the locality, speakers should be secured from the A. F. of L. unions, the Negro organizations, the Socialist Party and the Unemployed Organizations, as well as representatives of farmers' and women's groups.

The preparations for these rallies, and the rallies themselves, must be utilized for mass recruiting of workers into the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, as well as for the building of the circulation of the Daily Worker.

These rallies, properly prepared and organized can be the means, not only of counteracting the Hearsts, Longs and Coughlins, and of laying the basis for a genuine Labor Party, but also for strengthening and building the Communist Party into a mass Party. Let us throw all of our energy into this work, and make these rallies a milestone in the history of our Party.

Looking Back on May Day

MAY DAY, 1935. We said, "It must be the greatest May Day in the history of America." We declared—and we worked toward this end—that on this May Day we would forge a mighty united front of all workers in the struggle against hunger, fascism and war, against capitalist oppression, and for the rights of the workers.

To what extent did we achieve our goal?

Certainly, we had many more mass demonstrations. Many more workers marched this year in united demonstrations than on any previous May Day. Many more Socialist and A. F. of L. workers, many more locals of the A. F. of L., and a larger number of fraternal organizations were involved in the united front demonstrations this year than in the past. In some localities the united front was quite successful. This was evidenced in Newark where the Socialist Party and the A. F. of L. unions entered the united front and in Danbury, where, under pressure of the A. F. of L. unions, the city declared a holiday and the first labor demonstration since the days of the Danbury Hatters' strike was held. The New York District distributed 1,150,000 copies of the central leaflets and issued 80 special shop papers. Close to 300,000 were involved in the demonstration in some way.

In Paterson and Elizabeth, N. J., the bourgeois press reported the largest labor demonstrations ever witnessed, and in Philadelphia, where more than 40,000 workers participated in the demonstration, our Party was able to hold the thousands of Socialist workers who had gathered in the square to listen to the Socialist speakers who refused to leave when our demonstration started. We can also record with great satisfaction the international demonstration at Laredo, on the border of Mexico, where 4,000 Mexican and American workers gathered in a great solidarity demonstration.

There is no doubt that in this campaign we succeeded more than ever before in mobilizing the Party, both for the organization of the campaign and for the carrying on of agitational work in connection with May Day. In this latter phase of the work, we surpassed all previous efforts. Millions of leaflets were issued by individual units, sections, mass organizations, independent unions and locals of the A. F. of L. where our fractions were active. Without exception the shop nuclei issued special editions of their shop papers, and during this campaign many of the shop papers that had ceased publications were revived. The May Day Manifesto of the Central Committee was reprinted in tens of thousands of copies not only by the Districts but also by the sections and units. In addition, a large amount of literature—particularly the pamphlets on Long, Coughlin,

Hearst—was sold. Through the agitational work carried on in Baltimore among the steel workers, the marine workers, the unemployed and Socialist workers, the section leadership was able to reactivate the section where the work was lagging far behind other important industrial centers. In both Philadelphia and New York the sale and distribution of agitational material showed that the Party in these sections expended a tremendous amount of energy in this campaign.

But what about May Day in the concentration districts? Can we be satisfied with the results in Pittsburgh, Detroit, Cleveland and Chicago?

It is true that in Cleveland the Party made great headway in broadening the united front, but even here our expectations were not realized in the demonstration. Certainly, in Detroit the demonstration was far below those of previous years. Also in Chicago, greater demonstrations have been witnessed, although here the Party has tremendous difficulties, because of the terror, etc.

In general we can state that the Party was active in this campaign, and that through it the influence of our Party has been extended. The weakness of the campaign was that it was not connected with the daily struggles and that we did not utilize the tremendous energy expended in mass work for strengthening the Party. Strikes broke out prior to and immediately after May First, but we have no evidence that we utilized the situation to give political expression to these strikes by involving the strikers in the May First demonstrations. And the recruitment figures do not indicate that we consolidated the great influence that our Party gained.

Broadening the United Front

As a result of May Day, 1935, our Party stands out as the champion of the United Front. We have broadened the united front to a considerable degree, and in this way have taken a very real step toward the Labor Party. Through the May First campaign we have broadened the struggle of the masses for Social Insurance and against War and Fascism and have brought it to a higher level. We have improved our methods of concentration in strategic factories and in strategic mass organizations. We have improved our agitational material qualitatively, and have increased its distribution. Through disciplined, militant, colorful and dramatic demonstrations and mass meetings we have impressed large masses with the influence and strength of our Party.

With all of the weaknesses of the campaign for May Day, we can yet be satisfied with the results if from this campaign, the Party will have learned how to work among the masses of American workers. If we will carry on the work and the methods of work learned in this campaign in the day-to-day work of the Party; if we will continue the

struggle for the united front and maintain it in those places where it was achieved, if we continue to reach the broad masses with our agitational literature, then we will be able to say that we had a successful May Day, and that we will have laid the basis for a daily united struggle against capitalism, against fascism and war.

Forward from May Day to a more intensified struggle against capitalism!

“The attitude of a political party toward its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest criteria of the seriousness of the Party and of how it fulfills in practice its obligations toward its class and toward the laboring masses. To admit a mistake openly, to disclose its reasons, to analyze the surroundings which created it, to study attentively the means of correcting it—these are the signs of a serious Party; this means the performance of its duties; this means educating and training the class and, consequently, the masses.” Lenin, **“Left” Communism**, p. 38.

Strengthen the Work in Mining by Building the Party

By JIM ALLANDER

THE EVENTS of the past three months have placed many urgent tasks before the Party in the mining fields. Although the influence of the Party over the growing rank-and-file movement in mining and steel has been outstanding in the achievements of the Pittsburgh District, nevertheless the District Bureau has been confronted with the question: **Why was there no strike in mining on April first when there existed a quite general sentiment on the part of the miners for strike?**

The answer to this question must include an estimate of our work in mining over the past period and a review of the struggle itself as developed within the ranks of the miners against their conditions and the bureaucrats in the U.M.W.A.

The strikes of 1933 marked only a beginning in the breaking down of the widespread illusions of the miners as to the meaning of Section 7a and the labor boards. Not only did the miners begin to understand the position of the government as being on the side of the coal operators, but they were faced with the serious problem of struggling against the Lewis-Fagan machine. It was this apparatus, united with the N.R.A. labor boards, that was instrumental in forcing upon the miners the no-strike agreement of 1933-34 which expired April first but is still in effect, pending the "truce" until June 16.

The no-strike clause of this agreement called for the enforcement of a one dollar per day fine upon each striker in the event of a strike. Having this clause in the agreement and the full support of the Fagan machine, the coal operators have been at liberty to force the same old working conditions upon the miners as well as raise the cost of rent and prices at the company store.

The history of this agreement is marked with strike struggles in different mines within the district. Outstanding among these strikes was the strike at Logan's Ferry and the recent Russelton strike. At the end of the Logan's Ferry strike, the Fagan machine did not make the least effort to consider the grievances of the miners but united with the Labor Board in forcing the miners back to work and expelled 41 militant members of the U.M.W.A. This struggle marked the beginnings of the present rank-and-file movement which brought together the forces of the Left wing.

Strike Sentiment Diverted

During the period of this agreement, the miners accumulated many grievances against conditions in the mines, etc. In spite of this, as April first approached, the Fagan machine ignored the demands of the miners in a clever way. They converted the sentiment for strike struggle into harmless channels on April first by making it a day of parade in commemoration of John Mitchell. At the same time a truce was declared until June 16.

The slogans and speeches of the rank-and-file miners sharply attacked the policy of Fagan and displayed many confused expressions for struggle. However, no strike took place except at one mine which was a concentration point of the Party.

The strike here reflected the strength and possibilities before the Left-wing movement. It was here also that the forces of the Fagan machine were concentrated to attack and expel the Left-wing. The Left-wing movement and outstanding individuals would have been smashed were it not that the Party members succeeded in building a unit in the mine and through this unit directed the work of the fraction within the local union. As issues arose in the mines our comrades were able to bring forward proposals as the result of discussions within the unit.

Our comrades were not only able to win leadership over the majority of the local union but were elected to leading positions in the union and became outstanding in the rank-and-file movement and in the Central Trades and Labor Council. It was with this danger in mind that the Fagan machine also concentrated its forces here, recognizing the possibilities inherent in this new leadership.

Raise Red Scare

In marking their attack, the question of the "red scare" was continuously raised and could not have been effectively fought had the comrades not brought forward the face of the Party concretely on each issue. The comrades succeeded in having the Workers Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance Bill (H.R. 2827) endorsed and were a factor in introducing the Bill into other local unions. The local union elected delegates to the Congress of the American League Against War and Fascism. In the campaign against the Hearst **Sun-Telegraph**, the local union was instrumental in cutting off 45 subscriptions and barred the doors of the local union to **Sun-Telegraph** reporters.

While the Fagan machine in alliance with the Hearst press was conducting a sharp anti-Soviet campaign and raising the "red scare," our comrades succeeded in getting the support of the rank-and-file movement to elect and raise

funds for sending a miner delegate to the Soviet Union for the May First celebration.

To further strengthen this work attention has been given to the circulation of Party press and language papers. While the sale and distribution of literature could be improved, this work was not neglected. The mine unit has now begun to issue a regular mine paper. During this same period, special attention has been given to the youth of the local union. The Party unit has been one of the first to carry out the decisions of the District Bureau to establish a Y.C.L. unit with each Party unit. The Y.C.L. unit works jointly with the Party.

In examining the work of two other important concentration units with the same splendid opportunities we find that they had to retreat before the U.M.W.A. machine and the "red scare" because they did not build up their leadership.

The experiences of the foregoing unit point out quite clearly what can be done and must be carried out if we are to develop a districtwide rank-and-file leadership that will lead the miners in struggle and further consolidate our work for the building of a Labor Party. The successful struggle for the demands of the miners is inseparable from the work of a well-functioning Communist unit, working inside the mine.

Suggestions for Immediate Activity on Work Relief Projects

By HERBERT BENJAMIN

ABOUT the first of July the new work relief program of the government will go into effect. According to this program, approximately 3,500,000 workers now on relief are to be put to work on public construction projects. These workers are to be required to work 40 hours a week—an average of 130 hours a month for wages that are as low as 12 cents an hour. The average maximum rate is to be \$50 a month.

While the bureaucratic leaders of the A. F. of L. have announced that they will "fight like Hell" against this vicious program which threatens the wage standards of all workers, it is clear from their action thus far that workers are justified in reversing the order of these words. It is more correct to say that they mean "like Hell we'll fight!"

It is clear that the recent announcement of Bill Green that the A. F. of L. will cooperate with the Socialist-led Workers Alliance of America in an effort to organize the relief workers is equally without positive meaning. On the contrary, Green has indicated in his statements to the press that he will cooperate with the Alliance only to the extent that this will help prevent the organization of a militant movement among the relief workers. His concern is only with the "danger" (to the government) that Communists may gain influence among the workers on the relief projects. He realizes that through this we can also greatly increase our influence and strength in the related A. F. of L. unions.

An Organized Fight for Jobs

Precisely for these reasons, it becomes extremely important that all Sections, units and members of the Party everywhere immediately undertake an intensive campaign to help create a powerful organization on every work relief project. This must be supplemented with a general movement, involving all sections of the working class, to influence the character of the public works program and to resist the attempt to cut wages in all industries towards the levels established by the government.

Detailed descriptions of the program of the government and of our general tasks in this connection will be found in the June issue of **The Communist** and in the various documents prepared by the leading fraction in the Unemployment Council. Here we will only outline some of the organizational steps that should be taken by the Party Sections and units and by the fractions in the A. F. of L. unions as well as in the Unemployment Councils.

Our first task is to develop an **ORGANIZED** fight for jobs. We should make clear through meetings and leaflets that workers will be at a disadvantage, will be denied jobs or forced to accept them on unfavorable conditions unless all who want jobs get together and fight unitedly for the jobs.

The Sections (or units) should either set up a committee or propose through the fractions in the unions and Councils that a committee shall be set up to register and organize all who want these jobs. Workers can be called upon to come to certain centers where they will be registered. Those who register should be called to meetings where they will discuss what kind of projects they want to demand and what conditions they will attempt to enforce on projects. A committee should then be elected from the ranks of those who have registered which will go to the relief work administrator and present demands for immediate jobs as well as all other demands that have been formulated.

Arrangements should be made to press these demands by means of mass demonstrations at administration offices, city halls, county courthouses, and the homes of individual officials such as mayors, aldermen, county commissioners, state legislators, etc.

Steps shall be taken to secure endorsement and active support for these demands from trade union locals and other workers' organizations. Our fractions must be prepared to give active leadership to the fight to secure such endorsement and support.

Activity on the Project

As jobs are started, our committee, which may be designed as a "Joint Committee to Organize the Relief Workers", should immediately form as large a group as possible from among the workers on the project. These workers should then be directed in the work of forming a "Project Local".

Project Locals are like shop locals of a union. They must include all who are employed on the project with the exception of supervisors and others who have the power to hire and fire. This means an industrial form of organization and must therefore include all workers regardless of craft, skill, etc. These locals must also include the workers already organized in A. F. of L. and other unions as well as the unorganized. The local should elect a committee which directs the work on the project, takes up grievances and leads struggles. But the committee does not replace the local which is a membership body that should meet regularly.

In small communities, all the relief workers may be organized into one local even if there is more than one project. Where the number of projects and of workers calls for separate project locals, steps should be taken to form a delegated body (Council) which will provide the possibility for joint action by the workers of the various projects. Such

a Council should be formed even where the various project locals are not yet willing and ready to merge into a single organization.

Relationship with the Unions

It is not necessary to press for affiliation to the National Unemployment Council or to any other unemployed organization. If, however, the majority of the workers on a given project are willing to become so affiliated and the minority is indifferent, we may formally affiliate such local. In any case, we should aim to establish close fraternal relationship between the workers on the projects and those dependent on other forms of relief. Likewise, we favor affiliation of locals to the A. F. of L., providing this can be effected on conditions favorable to the workers. But whether formal affiliation is established or not, fraternal relationship in the form of fraternal delegates to central labor bodies should be established and developed.

Our trade union fractions must give a great deal of attention to all phases of our work among the relief workers. They should take the lead in involving trade union locals in activity on the projects. Party members in the unions should be the most active organizers on the relief work projects, especially if they secure employment on such projects.

Party Fractions Essential

Because of the many complicated problems that arise in connection with the government public works projects; because the workers on these projects are employed by the government; because of the craft divisions; the role of the A. F. of L., of the opponent unemployment organizations; the fascist elements and racketeers who will try to gain dominance on these projects, it is most important that Party fractions be established on these projects as quickly as possible. These fractions must be guided not only by a leading fraction but also must get regular guidance by the leading committees of the Party. In cases where the projects are of a more permanent character we may even find it possible and necessary to form nuclei on given projects.

In approaching the problem of organizing the relief workers, we must bear in mind that about 2,000,000 workers already receive their relief on the basis of public works jobs. With mass unemployment becoming ever more a permanent feature of present-day conditions, the ruling class can be expected to extend relief-work as the main method of relief. The fact that millions of workers are involved makes this an important field of work. Every District, Section and unit of the Party must therefore be prepared to include among its major tasks systematic day-to-day activity among the relief workers.

How the Party Reacted in the Illinois Relief Crisis

By B. S.

A FEW DAYS before May First, announcement was made by the state and federal governments that relief stations would be closed in Illinois and that no money would be forthcoming from Washington for relief unless the 3 per cent sales tax was passed in the Illinois State Legislature. Various reactions expressed themselves in the Party to this threatened crisis in Chicago and Illinois. Some comrades said, "They will not dare to do it." They argued that the relief stations would not close. Therefore, there was hesitation in swinging the Party into action and preparing the masses to prevent the closing of the relief stations. Valuable days were lost.

The outlook of the District Bureau was that this action of the State Emergency Relief Commission was in conformity with the national policy "to take the burden of relief off the government"; that relief stations would be speedily closed and people struck off the relief rolls. This would be done in order to force upon the working class and the middle class of Illinois the gouging sales tax. Also, the District Bureau correctly pointed out that Illinois was chosen as the beginning for a nation-wide drive to put the burden of relief on the employed and unemployed workers. This was further confirmed by events and the relief stations were shut down.

The District Bureau took emergency steps to clarify and swing the Party into action, in spite of the loss and hesitancy of the first few days. The District was put on an emergency footing. Special meetings were called with the Section Organizers at which concrete plans were laid for daily activities. Emergency steps were taken which kept the Sections in touch with the District regularly. On the basis of this organization a whole series of actions was carried through by the Sections in the neighborhoods with great success.

Unemployment Councils Revived

Attention of the Party and the workers was focused on the state representatives. In many parts of the city demonstrations in front of the homes of state representatives were organized quickly and successfully. Especially important was the demonstration at the Democratic House leader Adamowski's home. Although a heavy mobilization of police prevented a long demonstration, nevertheless because of this and the many meetings held Adamowski was forced to speak about the action on the floor of the Legislature.

The Unemployment Councils in Sections 9, 11 and 13 as well as in other parts of the city are reviving and growing. Overflow meetings are being held on a united front basis in many sections of the city. Many Sections have correctly linked up the struggle for the opening of the stations and against the sales tax with the struggle against the high cost of living. In Sections 4 and 11 neighborhood committees are conducting struggle against the high cost of living, participating in all actions for relief and against the sales tax.

United Front with Workers' Committee

The most noteworthy experience is the united front activity on the relief situation. Our comrades are learning how to work with reformist-led workers and gain their confidence in the process of struggle.

The united front would not have been achieved if it had not been for the fact that the Sections and the Unemployment Councils did not wait for formal agreement on top, but took the emergency relief situation into the locals of the Chicago Workers Committee and raised the sentiment for unity in these locals. On the basis of the demands raised and the pressure from the bottom the united front was effected also on top. After the city-wide hunger march, which was organized through the united front, the Joint Committee for Relief Action continues functioning in spite of difficulties on top. The need is to further strengthen the local united front committees for continued action.

At the well-attended functionaries meeting which made final preparations for the city-wide hunger march, the question of the Party as the backbone and guarantee that all united front actions will be strengthened and continued on class struggle lines was raised. The perspective for building a powerful unemployed movement in every block and neighborhood on the basis of the actions on relief is being put into life in many Sections, although some are still lagging behind. Through proper organization and concrete leadership, the Party can remain in action and achieve many victories during the struggle for relief and against the sales tax.

A Shop Unit Built During a Strike

(With this issue we begin a series of reports on the life and activities of certain shop and street units prepared by a special commission of the C. C.)

THIS report deals with a shop nucleus which was organized in October, 1934. The unit grew out of a strike. The first contact was made in an independent union of the workers of the shop. When a committee, which included the Section Organizer, came before the union to ask their endorsement of the Workers Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance Bill, one of the workers reacted very favorably towards the bill.

He was followed up by personal visits for a period of three weeks. He was given the **Daily Worker** to read and the pamphlet **Why Communism**. Other personal discussions were held with him after he joined the Party. Two weeks after he joined the Party a strike situation developed in his craft. This one new member met with the Section leadership and received guidance on how to act in this strike. On the third day the Party member called together a group of strikers, and the Section Organizer discussed with them the strike policies pursued by the reformist leadership and mapped out a plan of action. Two more joined the Party. Thus we have three members, all American-born, politically very raw, organizationally inexperienced.

This small unit, however, became an important factor in the strike, which lasted for eight weeks. It issued leaflets, exposed the N. R. A. and broke the red scare. The Section Organizer spoke at the strike meetings and was well received. At present there are six members in the unit. There are 1,500 workers in the plant. About 40 per cent are organized in the A. F. of L. craft unions.

Trade Union Activity

Three of the members are in the union already and two are occupying influential positions. They have succeeded in bringing one of the locals of the A. F. of L. into united front action around the Workers' Bill. The unit has issued special leaflets for the trade-union campaign and has reacted very effectively on problems of the workers in the shop. For example, a wage cut was put over on workers in one craft at 3 p. m. one day and at 7 the next morning, the unit already had distributed a leaflet against this cut in front of the shop. This made a very good impression on all the workers.

The unit obtained five subs for the **Daily Worker** and eight copies are sold outside, making a total of 13. Liter-

ature is also sent by mail to various contacts. We gave out about 100 pamphlets on the N. R. A. by Browder.

Shop Paper

The unit issues a shop paper with a circulation of 1,000. The contents deal mainly with shop and trade-union problems and Party campaigns. It takes up the role of the Party, the Soviet Union and conducts a campaign against war, Hearst and Coughlin. The paper is distributed from the outside and is very well received by the workers. It has exposed bosses' agents and stool pigeons. It is carrying on a campaign for a 100 per cent union yard. The paper began to appear two months after the formation of the unit and was issued regularly, although not on the same day every month, which was a shortcoming. The Section made the whole paper for the first two issues. Now 95 per cent of the material and technical make-up is done by the unit. About 40 per cent of the expense is contributed by workers in the shop.

Red Scare

The "red scare" was raised on many occasions. Once the company issued a rumor that the reds were going to set fire to some of the apparatus. They stationed special deputies supposedly to guard against the reds. The unit immediately issued a paper in which they exposed the scheme of the company to use this as an excuse in order to prepare thugs against the workers in case the latter decided to strike. The unit also exposed the records of some of these deputies who were professional thugs and strike-breakers. The company flatly failed in their attempt to frame up the Communists.

Political Education: A series of discussions were held with a leading comrade in charge. Comrades were assigned to read and discuss at the meetings. Every one reads the **Party Organizer** and the **Daily Worker**. Four read **The Communist**, three read **The Communist International** and one the **Inpre-corr**. All read all of the popular pamphlets that we have. Besides this in the last three months **Why Communism**, Stalin's **Foundations of Leninism** and other material was read at home after the discussion.

Unit Bureau: The unit bureau has not functioned lately. The unit meets every week, but the attendance is only 60-70 per cent of the total. This is due to the fact that two have to travel four hours to reach the unit.

Recruiting: During the last two months no recruiting was done. The comrades are scared because of the tight spy system.

Fluctuation: Two of the members were transferred to different Districts. One new member was recruited previous to the last two months. One member is on a leave of absence. So far no one dropped out of the Party.

Relation to the Section: A street unit is concentrating on the shop, too. The Section Organizer is a member of the unit and is personally responsible to the Section Committee.

In general, this shop unit with continuous initiative made real headway. The comrades understand the role of the Party in the shop. This is an example of the tremendous possibilities which exist for us in the mines, mills and factories.

Build the Young Communist League

By JACK KLING

"In this period, the Roosevelt New Deal administration proceeds with feverish war preparations, militarization of the youth, and carries out fascist attacks upon the whole labor movement. The young generation plays a decisive role in the ever sharpening class battles. That is why we are facing the struggle for winning the youth. Roosevelt, through the different bourgeois-controlled organizations, through doubling the C. C. C. camps enlistment to 600,000, through the Federal Youth Service, is trying to win young America for his program which is losing support more and more. Father Coughlin's 'Social Justice', Huey Long's 'Share-the-Wealth', and many other 'plans' that are springing up lately 'to lead' the masses out of misery, try to appeal to the young generation.

"Our Party, as the Party of the toiling people and of the oppressed Negro masses, has a special task of winning the masses of **youth.**" (Statement of C. E. C., **Daily Worker**, May 1, 1935)

IT IS precisely because of the situation pictured in the foregoing paragraph that Comrade Browder issued a call to the Party and to the entire revolutionary movement, declaring that the month of May must be a month of intensified activity in building the Young Communist League. In a number of Districts some serious steps have been taken to carry out this letter of the Central Committee. But, as a whole, the process of mobilizing the Party and the revolutionary workers for carrying out Browder's letter is going on entirely too slowly. We must call to the attention of the whole Party, of our shop units, of our fractions in trade unions and mass organizations the need of speeding up our activity in building the Y. C. L.

We must in the first place guard against any interpretation that this is a special campaign limited to the month of May or, as some Districts have done, to May and June only. **This is not a special campaign, nor is May 30 an end in itself.** The months of May and June should be looked upon rather as the beginning of consistent activity by the whole Party and all revolutionary workers for mass work among the youth, for the strengthening and building of the Y. C. L.

The fact that our League, in spite of many weaknesses, has been able to improve its mass work and build a broad united front movement shows that our League has a correct and clear line. Our participation in the organization of broad youth conferences and congresses in many cities and states, rallying to these, in addition to Y's, churches, clubs, etc., large numbers of trade unions (particularly in Hartford, N. J., N. Y., Detroit, Los Angeles) is an example of a correct policy. The fact that the Y. C. L. was an outstanding force in the recent strike of over 150,000 students again shows that our League has a correct and clear line.

Building Leadership

One of the first steps in a really serious attempt to help the Y. C. L. must be the strengthening of League cadres, especially in the Sections and units. Comrade Stalin declared to the Red Army students that the main problem before the U. S. S. R. is forces, cadres below for industry, for farms, for defense. Today this is a **key problem** for our League. Many new elements have joined the Y. C. L.—they have to be developed. It is necessary to strengthen the units of the Y. C. L. so that they will improve their mass work and solve the complicated questions that arise.

Already a number of Party Sections are beginning to show good work. In Harlem the Party has assigned 15 leading Party members to units of the Y. C. L. Among them are a number of unit organizers. This can be repeated in almost all Party Sections. However, there is resistance to doing this in a number of places, which is covered up by a number of arguments. Comrades say, "Well, if we do this it will weaken our Party unit; it will weaken this or that work." Because of this attitude many capable comrades of 21, 22, 23 and 24 years of age are given all types of general work, except that of working among the youth and building the League. Many comrades of 26 or 27 who would be splendid for work among the youth are kept in general work.

There is no doubt that some phases of work may suffer, may be weakened—temporarily, if these comrades are taken out and assigned to youth work. But what does it mean in the long run? It means spreading the influence of the Party among the masses of youth. It means winning large numbers of youth for Communism. Because the youth play

such a decisive role, it is necessary to take these steps to strengthen the Y.C.L. Therefore, all Party Sections and units must consider assigning capable young comrades, especially women comrades and Negro comrades, for strengthening the Y. C. L.

Mass Recruiting

An outstanding weakness of our work is that we have not developed mass recruiting into the League, especially among the Negro youth and the youth in the trade unions. We have not established shop units in the most important industries.

The slogans "Build the League into a mass organization" and "Every Party member recruit a Y.C.L. member" must be made living slogans. In this we must, of course, consider both quantity and quality. For example, the fact that a strike of 150,000 students took place in which our League was a real force and the fact that we have only a little over 125 school units in the Y.C.L. shows we have not done all we could to recruit students into the Y.C.L.

But most important for our Party is the improvement in the quality of the recruits. We must point to the fact that today one half of our Negro Y.C.L. membership is in Chicago and Alabama. This shows that very serious situation exists in regard to work among Negro youth in the Y.C.L.

Experiences in New York

In the past we have raised slogans and issued general directives, and expected each Section, unit and fraction to know what to do. Now we have learned to approach the question more concretely. I think that it would be good for all districts to follow the method of the New York District. Here a number of leading Party members from the District and National offices had a special meeting with the Party leadership in Harlem, Section 1 and other Sections. At these meetings we made detailed decisions on what each Section should do to assign forces, to recruit, to sell **Young Workers** and give guidance to the Y. C. L. In turn each Section sent a number of leading comrades from the Section to the main units, considering first the shop units, to help work out concrete methods of carrying out the Party letter. Two weeks later the units are to be called into the Section to report on their experiences.

A number of problems were raised in the course of these discussions. In one Section we have a group of young Party members in a shop. These comrades were given the task of building the Y.C.L. as a secondary task to the general problems they have. Of course, such an approach is wrong. The main work of these comrades should be building the Y. C. L.

Action Is Necessary

We have another instance in the Boston District. Here there are comrades who have influence over many shoe workers including young workers. However, we have never concretely discussed the building of the League in the light of giving each comrade the job of naming a young boy or girl he will work on in the next two weeks and try to bring him into the League. I think that such an approach should be developed in all industries, in all shop nuclei.

What I wish to stress is the necessity of more concretely approaching the problem of organizing the youth in the shop units, in the fractions. In all Districts the Party should select a number of units and Sections and explain to them how to concentrate on recruiting especially Negro youth into the Y. C. L.

We have little time to discuss. Action is necessary. In New York, our comrades are paving the way. All Districts must follow. It is important that comrades write to the **Party Organizer**, to the **Daily Worker**, and the **Young Worker** on the problems and experiences met in carrying out the Party letter. The actions of the comrades in the Districts, Sections and units within the next few weeks will show how our Party understands the decisions of the Eighth Convention of our Party and the letter of Comrade Browder.

“Probably almost everyone can see now that the Bolshewiki could not have maintained themselves in power for two and a half years, nor even for two and a half months, without the most stringent, I may say, iron, discipline in our Party, and without the fullest and unreserved support rendered it by the working class, that is, by that part of it which is sensible, honest, devoted, influential, capable of leading and of inspiring the backward masses with enthusiasm.” (Lenin “‘Left’ Communism”, p. 5).

The Organizational Structure of the Party

By J. PETER

(The following material is taken from a handbook on the Communist Party which will be off the press in the next few weeks.)

What Is the Organizational Structure of the Party?

THE basic organization of the Party is the shop unit (nucleus), which may consist of three members or more in a given place of employment, i.e., factory, shop, mine, mill, dock, ship, railway terminal, office, store, farm, etc.

The other form of membership organization is the street or town unit, comprising a group of members living within a given territory.

The leadership of the unit is the unit bureau, elected by the membership of the unit.

The next higher organization is the Section. The Section is made up of a number of shop, street or town units in a given territory. The size of the territory of a Section is decided upon by the District Committee. The Party should strive to make the territory of the Sections as small as possible in order to be able to carry on work more effectively.

The highest body in the Section is the Section Convention. The Section Convention is a meeting of delegates elected by the shop and street units of the Section. The leading committee in the Section is the Section Committee and is elected by the delegates at the Section Convention from among the best members of the Section. The Section Committee is the highest leading body in the Section between conventions. It is responsible for all its actions and decisions to the Section Convention. The elected Section Committee must be approved by the District Committee. The Section Organizer is elected by the Section Committee, subject to the approval of the District Committee.

The next highest organization in the Party is the District. The District Organization is made up of the Sections in a territory assigned to it by the Central Committee. The District covers a certain portion of the country (a part of one, or one, two and sometimes three states, depending upon the industries, on the size of the membership, etc.). The highest body in the District is the Convention, which is a meeting of delegates elected at the Conventions of the Sections belonging to the District. Between conventions, the highest committee in the District is the District Committee elected by the delegates of the Sections at the District Con-

vention. The District Committee is responsible for all its actions and decisions to the District Convention and C.C. The elected District Committee has to be approved by the Central Committee. The District Organizer (political leader) is elected by the District Committee subject to the approval of the Central Committee.

The highest Party body is the National Convention. The National Convention is a meeting of delegates elected at the District Conventions. The highest committee of the Party in one country is the Central Committee elected by the delegates at the National Convention. The Central Committee leads the Party organizations, with full authority, between Conventions and is responsible for its actions and decisions to the National Convention and the E.C.C.I.

What Is the Basis of Representation to the Convention?

The number of delegates to the Convention are not fixed in the Constitution of the Party. It depends on the conditions in a given situation besides the numerical strength of the given units, Sections and Districts.

The strategic importance of a shop unit, or concentration Section, or of a District, is the governing factor in deciding the number of delegates to the Conventions. The Party Committee, for example, can decide whether a shop unit from a big factory sends proportionately more delegates to the Section Convention than a street unit with the same or less number of members.

The conditions under which the Party works also is an important factor in deciding the number of delegates. For example, a District which works partly illegally will have a smaller number of delegates than from units of the same size in another District.

On the other hand, in one District, because of certain problems which have to be clarified in the broadest possible gathering, the situation may demand a much larger representation from the units or Sections to the Section or District Convention than another District where no such problem exists.

To take as an example the Eighth Party Convention of our Party, the general rule of representation was the following:

1. The units elected one delegate for each five members to the Section Convention.
2. The Section Conventions elected one delegate for each 15 members in the Section to the District Convention.
3. The District Conventions elected one delegate for each 100 members in the District to the National Convention.

At the same time we must bear in mind that the Section Committee or the higher Party committee must have among its members comrades who are working in the most important factories and members of the most important trade

unions in order to have the living connection between the leadership and the masses in these important points.

The size of the Party committees always depends on the numerical strength of the organization, which elects it, on the importance of it, on the given situation and its demands on the Party. The approximate average size of the Committee is the following:

Unit Bureau	— 3— 5 members
Section Committee	— 9—11 members
District Committee	—15—19 members
Central Committee	—30—35 members

What Are the Party Bureaus ?

The Bureau is the leading body in the Section, District and Center between committee meetings, which acts with full authority during this period and is responsible to the committee by which it is elected. Their approximate size is:

Section Bureau	— about 5 members
District Bureau	— about 7—9 members
Political Bureau of the C.C.	—7—9 members

How Often Do the Committees Meet ?

As a general rule the Party committees meet as follow:

Unit Bureau	—once a week.
Section Bureau	—once a week.
Section Committee	—twice, or at least once a month.
District Bureau	—once a week.
District Committee	—once a month.
Political Bureau	—once a week.
Central Committee	—once in two months.

What Is the Communist International (Comintern) ?

The Communist International is the organization of the Communist Parties in all countries. It is the World Communist Party.

What Is the Highest Body of All Communist Parties ?

The World Congress composed of delegates from all Parties affiliated to the Communist International (Comintern) is the highest authority in Communist Party organization.

The date of the Congress and the number of delegates from the various Communist Parties is decided upon by the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E.C.C.I.). But the number of votes allocated to each Party at the World Congress is decided upon by special decision of the Congress itself in accordance with the membership of the given Party, and the political importance of the given country.

The leading body of the Communist International during the period between Congresses, is the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E.C.C.I.), elected by the delegates at the World Congress. The decisions of the E.C.C.I.

are binding for all parties belonging to the Comintern and must be promptly carried out. The Communist Parties have the right to appeal against decisions of the E.C.C.I. to the World Congresses, but must continue to carry out such decisions pending the final action of the World Congress on the appeal. The leadership of the Comintern (C.I.) is composed of the best, most developed, experienced, tried, revolutionary leaders of the various Communist Parties.

The meetings of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in all cases assume the character of a Congress. These meetings are called the Enlarged Plenums of the Executive Committee of the C.I. Besides the elected members of the Executive Committee of the C.I. there are invited to this Enlarged Plenum, additional delegates from the various countries, so that those plenums have 300 or 400 delegates present from the various parties. The difference between a Congress and an Enlarged Plenum consists of the fact that while delegates to the Congress are elected on the basis of numerical strength and political importance of the Communist Parties, the number of additional invited delegates from the Communist Parties to the Enlarged Plenum are decided upon on the basis of the order of business of the Plenum. These delegates are selected by the Central Committees of the various Communist Parties. At the Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. only the members of the E.C.C.I. have the right to vote. The other invited delegates have the right to participate in the discussion, but have only a consultative vote.

The E.C.C.I. meets once a year. The E.C.C.I. elects from among its members a Presidium (bureau of the Executive Committee) which is responsible to the E.C.C.I. The Presidium meets once a month and acts as the permanent body in carrying out all the business of the E.C.C.I. during the period between meetings of the latter.

The Presidium elects from among its members the Political Secretariat (small bureau) which is empowered to make decisions between Presidium meetings, and is responsible to the Presidium and to the E.C.C.I.

Let us briefly sum up the structure of the Communist Party in the order of responsibility on the basis of the foregoing description:

Unit Buro	District Convention
Unit Membership Meeting	Political Buro
Section Buro	Central Committee
Section Committee	National Convention
Section Convention	Political Secretariat of the C.I.
District Buro	Presidium of the C.I.
District Committee	Executive Committee of the C.I.
	World Congress of the C.I.

Who Is Eligible for Membership in the Communist Party ?

Any person from the age of eighteen up who accepts the program, constitution and by-laws (statutes) of the C. I. and the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

What Are the Conditions for Membership in the C. P. ?

1. Activity in a unit; carrying out of fraction work.
2. Regular payment of membership dues.
3. Carrying out of all **decisions** of the Comintern and of the Party.
4. Adherence to the **discipline** of the Party and C. I.

If a worker who is less than 18 years of age wants to join the Party, and there is no Young Communist League in the town or factory, the Party unit has the right to accept him into the unit, get him a membership book and permit him to remain in the Party unit until, with the help of the Party unit, he is able to build up a unit of the Y.C.L.

(Following issues of the Party Organizer will contain further articles on the organizational structure of the Party and other informative material taken from the Handbook.)

Reminder

1. Send reports to the **PARTY ORGANIZER** and "Party Life" column of the **DAILY WORKER** on the May First campaign, emphasizing especially how we were able to utilize the May First campaign, 1935, to strengthen the Party in the factories, in the trade unions, etc.

2. Report on what steps your District, Section, unit has taken to change the life of the units in the farm territories, along the directives given in the article, "Building Units in the Countryside", by J. Barnett, in the April **PARTY ORGANIZER**.

3. Report on the steps that your District, Section or unit is taking to build the propagandist groups to visit the small industrial towns during spring and summer, along the directives in the article by F. Brown, "Build the Party in the Small Towns", in the April **PARTY ORGANIZER**.

4. Report on the steps taken to utilize the radio. (See article by Comrades Brown and Barnett in the April **PARTY ORGANIZER**.)

AGITPROP SECTION

Party Agitation in the Crosley Strike

By R. GUNKEL

OCCURRING in a branch of the communications industry, the Crosley strike in Cincinnati, which involved 4,000 workers, was important for our Party both locally and nationally. It was important, not only because of the nature of the industry, but because of our activity in organizing the industry throughout the country, and because of the magnitude of the plant involved.

The strike was called when Crosley officials refused to officially confirm a grant of the following demands raised by the Radio and Refrigerator Workers local of the A. F. of L. within the plant:

1. Seniority rights;
2. Time and a half for overtime;
3. Half a day's pay when called and not allowed to work;
4. Recognition of the union.

Essentially, it was a strike for recognition, since the management was ready to post an unsigned bulletin granting the first three demands. Recognition, Crosley declared, was out of the question because of his membership in the National Metal Trades Ass'n.

The union correctly recognized that not to call for strike in this situation would mean the death of the union in Crosley Radio. The temper of the membership is indicated by the threat of some workers to leading union officials: "If you don't give us action now, we'll tear up our books."

The strike lasted for ten days. On the third day militancy of the strikers compelled Crosley to dismiss his scabs and close the plant. This was at the height of the refrigerator season with production nearing the peak of 1,000 units a day. The strike ended with the intervention of Safety-Director Hoehler, and posting with him by the company of a grant of seniority, and time and a half, and of 2 hours pay when called and not allowed to work. The workers were obliged to accept these small gains.

The union was, therefore, still without formal recognition, but in practice it had demonstrated its ability to close the plant, and it had increased its membership from 1,600 to 3,200 out of the 4,000 workers employed at the peak.

Agitation Before the Strike

Previous to the strike two members of the Party were active in the union. They had several important posts, and around them was a small group of workers partly under their influence. One of the measures taken to bring the workers closer to the Party was to enter two-week subscriptions for them to the **Daily Worker**. Some literature was also sold to them, but not systematically. Attempts were also made to sell the **Daily Worker** outside of the plant, but the members of the concentrating unit were never made to feel sufficiently the responsibility of carrying out this work. The results were, therefore, negligible. From time to time general Party leaflets—August first, election rally, etc.—were distributed in front of the plant, but no leaflet dealing with the specific problems of Crosley workers was distributed until about two weeks before the strike. This leaflet dealt with Crosley's hiring and firing policy, with its wage-cutting consequences, and raised the question of seniority. It was received with immense enthusiasm and definitely established the Party in the minds of Crosley workers as a vital force in their own struggles. At the same time, members of the Section Committee established personal contact with leading members of the union and even spoke at the union meetings, although not in the name of the Party. Therefore, in spite of its uneven work, at the moment of the strike, the Party had put itself in a good position for extending its agitation and organizational influence during the course of the strike.

During the Strike

When the strike broke, however, the Party as a whole was slow in responding to the situation. The fraction in the Unemployment Council failed to discuss the strike (of which it had been warned several days before), and the Council therefore, was not immediately mobilized. The concentrating unit was also backward in this respect. In consequence, on the first morning of the strike only the organizer of the concentrating unit and one other comrade were on the picket-line with a Party leaflet.

To remedy this, an outline was immediately drawn up by the Agitprop department, analyzing the significance of the strike, its possible development, the forces and issues involved, the duty of the Party and the entire membership in regard to the strike, and the weaknesses to be overcome. This outline was distributed to every Party member and discussed in every unit.

The result was good. Subsequent days of the strike found more and more Party members on the picket line, agitating among the workers, distributing leaflets and **Daily Workers**, etc. The Unemployment Council was mobilized; it distributed

its own leaflet, declaring solidarity; and one Council local marched through town under its own banner to offer aid, accompanied by the cheers of workers along its line of march.

The leaflet issued by the Party on the first morning of the strike was drawn up by two members of the concentrating unit, who had no time to submit it for criticism. In consequence, the leaflet had an alarmist appearance and dealt mostly with the danger of provocation. It dealt only incidentally with the call for mass picketing, for solidarity, and neglected entirely the popularization of demands, etc. But whatever its defects, it had a good reception. Strikers eagerly took the leaflet and aided in its distribution.

There were four subsequent leaflets in the 10 days of the strike, totalling about 8,000 copies. In addition 4-5,000 leaflets were issued to workers in other shops urging them to contribute to the strike fund, to protest against strike-breaking activities of the police, and above all, to organize and raise their own demands as the highest form of support to the Crosley strikers. But especially it pointed out the necessity of united front action of all workers against the growing offensive of the government and the capitalist class as a whole.

The main ideas in the Crosley leaflet were: 1. Maintain mass-picketing—keep out the scabs—close the plant—don't be fooled by talk about law and order: "'Order' for you and 'order' for Crosley are two different things. 'Order' for you means keeping all scabs out of the Crosley plant. 'Order' for Mr. Crosley means opening the shop with scabs."

2. The strike can be won against the opposition of Crosley, the Chamber of Commerce, the Metal Trades Ass'n, the police, and the city administration only by working-class solidarity—Unite all Cincinnati workers behind your demands.

3. Don't be fooled by the arbitration swindle—there are no "impartial" arbitrators—look at automobiles, textiles and steel—it's class against class—kick the bluffers out—demand that Crosley negotiate with you directly.

Thus the class issue was plainly drawn, but none of the leaflets issued clearly indicated the role of the Party. In all the leaflets issued there was not a word about the Party except the signatures and the expression of sentiments like this: "The Communist Party supports you, etc." How the Communist Party differs from any class-struggle, trade-union organization no Crosley worker would have been able to discover from these leaflets except by the implications of its name. It is, of course, impossible to tell everything in one leaflet. But in five leaflets, the omission under circumstances like these is inexcusable.

This failure illustrates our tendency to shift from one extreme to another—a danger we need to be constantly aware of. In the past, before we began to turn seriously

toward trade-union work, leaflets were written with so much of the Communist Party and its revolutionary aims in them that workers could find nothing about the issues immediately facing them. Today it's the other way around, and the workers sometimes have to go to the capitalist press to find out that we are a revolutionary party. We still have to learn—by forethought, not afterthought—how to combine effectively our agitation on immediate issues with agitation on ultimate aims.

Similarly, when the National Organizer of the union blamed all violence in the strike on the Communists, we failed to seize this opportunity to state our position. This was a splendid chance for basic agitation. But, for insufficient reasons, we let it pass.

Another shortcoming was the introduction of demands not raised by the strikers themselves without making plain that we introduced them.

The **Daily Worker's** failure to give adequate news treatment to the strike must also be noted. We distributed 1,500 copies of the **Daily** during the strike. But in spite of full reports sent in almost daily, it carried only insignificant items. At the same time the **Ohio Examiner** (scandal sheet) was giving column length stories on the front page. The national edition of the **Daily Worker** is still short of living up to its name.

Unfortunately, too, we held no mass meetings and so were unable to speak directly to the strikers except through individual agitation on the picket-line.

In summing up the effects of our agitation, we may definitely say that it was responsible for much of the militancy which drove out the scabs and compelled Crosley to close the plant.

Secondly, it left the majority of the workers with no illusions about the class character of the struggle being waged, or about the nature of the "mediation" services performed by federal and city officials. Third, it prevented the capitalist press from giving effect to its attempts at a "red scare." Fourth, it definitely raised the prestige of the Party as a working-class force among Crosley workers.

Two things it failed to do: (1) to relate the Crosley strike to the conditions of struggle throughout the country; (2) to explain fully the role of the Party as the political leader of the working class.

These weaknesses must be recognized, in order that in the future they may be corrected. But they are overbalanced by a positive achievement. Did not workers say: "With the Communist Party behind us, how can we fail to win?" Did not workers whom we had never seen before come to the Party office repeatedly to suggest various forms of aid? And, the final test of all, have we not established in Crosley

a nucleus recruited from among the best elements in the plant—workers with a decisive influence?

The nucleus members are already speaking of a potential membership of 50 and on May 15 will bring out their first issue of **Red Broadcast**.

The Revolutionary Way Out and “Our Big Plan”

By ROY A. BENNETT

IN THE March issue of *The Communist Comrade* Bittelman, in reporting to the National Agitation and Propaganda Conference, brought forward an outline of a program to popularize the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The first step will be a pamphlet entitled: **What Will a Soviet Government in U. S. Accomplish for the Toiling Masses?** This pamphlet is to be followed by a whole series dealing with specific industries, as steel, mining, auto, etc. A second series dealing with the allies of the working class, as the professionals, farmers, Negroes, etc., will be prepared.

The plan as sketched comes none too soon. The need for such work has become more and more apparent and has been emphasized by leading comrades. O. Piatnitsky, for instance, pointed out that one of the greatest factors which supplied Hitler with his mass basis, was the skillful presentation of his demagogic program which made promises simultaneously to all sections of the population.

It is important for us to realize that our answer to this vital question, the question of popularizing our ultimate program, can be more convincing, more effective than the program of the Fascists **because we can prove that it can be put into effect**. The Soviet Union stands as a concrete example of what can be done elsewhere, but we have data which would fire the imagination of the American masses—if we bring it before them effectively. The study of the Brookings Institution by Edwin G. Nourse and associates on **America's Capacity to Produce** (available to a handful at \$3.50 a copy) proves beyond question that with no increase in productive forces, every person in the U. S. could have a yearly income of \$5,000. Using comparative figures for rapidly increasing production under a workers' and farmers' government, the possibilities are breathtaking.

The reason I raise this question is not to substantiate the program of the National Agit-Prop Department but to discuss a very vital problem in connection with this work. The problem is, how can we best bring this most important pro-

gram before the Party and its supporters in the best possible way so as to reach the millions who are seeking such a program?

I believe the past methods of publication entirely inadequate for such a plan as this. By way of illustration: it has been my experience in talking to leading workers in the Section, to find them enthusiastic about the appearance of this work—**after I described it to them.** I make this point to show, that although it is now two months since the announcement, some of our own comrades have not even heard of it. It would be unfortunate not to use the tremendous appeal that this big plan offers, to fire, not only the whole Party, but every person near it with the greatest desire to spread our program more widely by the hundreds of thousands than we have ever done before.

The sort of campaign that is needed can only be sketched here. It should be worked out in detail by people qualified politically and professionally for such work. We have many expert publicity people ready to assist us.

Briefly, my suggestion is that before the issuance of the first general pamphlet, a broad advertising campaign be instituted in all of the organs of the Party, and those close to it. Brief excerpts should be quoted, the importance of the work stressed, so that a sharp interest will be provoked. By a well-run publicity campaign of this sort some one or two hundred thousand could be reached. We should, before publication, issue leaflets describing the work and calling upon all readers to become distributors. Press releases should be issued describing the whole series. We should, most important of all, see that every unit Agit-Prop director receive written material, and that he popularizes it in the unit. Special price offers should be offered for the whole series, and, if possible, a cheap book published for those who want it in that form. In general, we should gear the whole Party for a whirlwind campaign of distribution before publication. The task is to have every person within earshot waiting for these pamphlets as they have never waited for any before.

After publication, circulation contests, not in any way taking the place of present campaigns, should be organized. Forums and study circles can be organized. The field for work of this kind has hardly been scratched by us up to this time.

Is it over-emphasizing this series? I think not. The possibilities of a mass circulation, such as we have never had, are undeniable. But more important, we should be carrying out the central slogan of the Communist International today—preparing for Soviet Power.

Pamphleteering on such a scale has a historic precedent in America. Historians credit a similar campaign for a single

pamphlet with having a powerful effect in creating the popular ideological basis for the first American Revolution. That pamphlet was Thomas Paine's **Common Sense**. It was estimated that one out of every three families in America in 1776 had Paine's pamphlet in their house.

The American masses need and want such a program. This "big plan" can be made the biggest ever organized by the Party since it was organized. The proper objective situation is there. Are we going to take advantage of it?

"The Labor Party, even a genuine Labor Party, is not and cannot be a substitute for the Communist Party. The Communist Party is the only revolutionary party of the workers which can organize and lead the masses to emancipation from capitalist exploitation. If the Communist Party promotes the formation of a Labor Party, it is only because large masses who are ready to break away from the capitalist parties are not ready as yet to accept fully the revolutionary program of the Communist Party.

"The Communist Party sees in the Labor Party not a competing organization, not a substitute organization, but rather a means through which the Communist Party can aid in setting the masses on the road of independent class political action on the basis of their immediate interests and understanding, but with the hope and the knowledge that in the course of the struggles and as a result of the experience of the struggles, the masses will learn that only the program of the Communist Party provides the means for the lasting solutions of the problems of the workers." ("The Problem of a Labor Party" by Jack Stachel).
