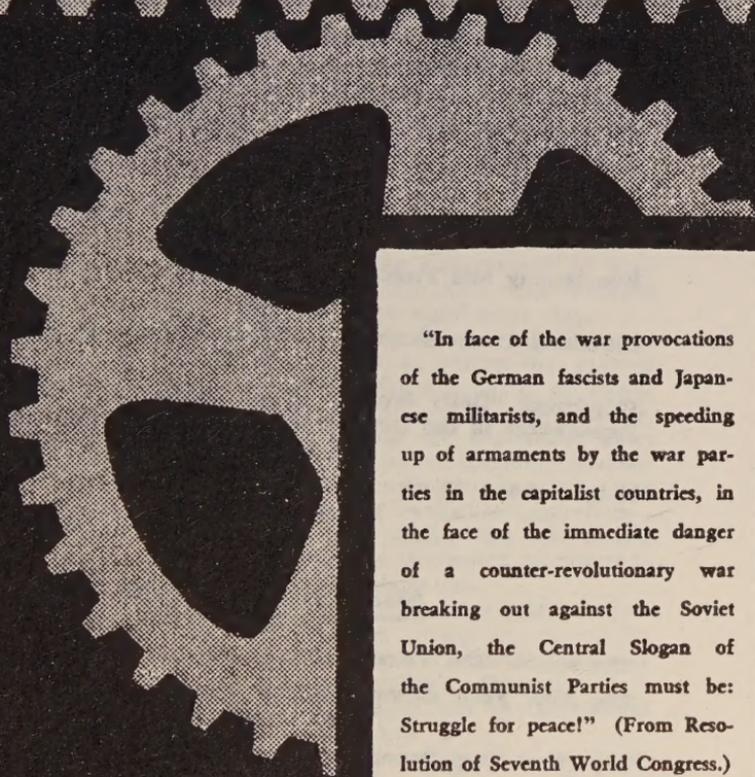


Party Organizer



"In face of the war provocations of the German fascists and Japanese militarists, and the speeding up of armaments by the war parties in the capitalist countries, in the face of the immediate danger of a counter-revolutionary war breaking out against the Soviet Union, the Central Slogan of the Communist Parties must be: Struggle for peace!" (From Resolution of Seventh World Congress.)

Vol. IX

APRIL, 1936

No.4

Issued by
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A

CONTENTS

●

For a United Front May Day!	1
“Keep America Out of War by Keeping War Out of the World!”	4
Intensify Recruiting—Keep the New Members—Stabilize Dues Payments	5
By A. W. Mills	
On Organizational Status and Immediate Tasks Facing Youngstown	11
By H. Pollack	
➤ On the Progress of Our Industrial Units	15
By L. Carver	
Functioning and Problems of the Waterfront Units	18
By B.	
Cleveland Party Convention Discusses Youth Work	21
By Helen Allison	
Pittsburgh “Daily Worker” Flood Extra	24
Experiences in the Development of United Front Activities	26
By Earl Dixon	
Neighborhood Work	28
By Margaret Cowl	

AGIT-PROP SECTION

The Radio—The Voice of Our Mass Agitation	31
The New York Elevator Strike and Our Agit-Prop Work	31
By D. Silver	
Report on Shop Papers Issued from May 1935 to Jan. 1936	36
For More Concentration on Shop Papers	39
By Emma Yaninsky	
Have Shop Papers “Outlived Their Usefulness”?	40
By Bill Lawrence	
Tasks and Problems of the Workers Schools	43
By A. Markoff	
A Review of Lenin Memorial Leaflets	47
By Ed. Smith	

PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. IX

APRIL, 1936

No. 4

For a United Front May Day!

MAY Day is coming. This is the day—May First—when labor and all toilers throughout the world down tools and demonstrate. They demonstrate in united action their international solidarity; their implacable opposition to the present system of hunger, unemployment and insecurity; their opposition to war and imperialist robbery and national oppression; their determination to abolish altogether the capitalist system and to establish socialism.

On May First this year, labor in the United States and all toilers will also celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of May Day—the day in the year 1886, when the American working class initiated the great fight for the eight-hour day.

On that day let us raise a mighty protest against the brutal policies of the capitalist class to make the masses pay for the crisis and depression. Our standards of living have been shot to pieces. Fifteen million are still unemployed. Twenty million working people are dependent upon relief rolls and many more are doomed to complete starvation. The total yearly income of the working people has been cut in half. Yet the reactionary capitalist exploiters—the Liberty League, Hearst and their allies—are demanding that relief be cut still further and the Roosevelt administration is steadily giving in to these demands.

Let us serve notice on the capitalist class and the Roosevelt administration that we are not going to starve in silence. Let us make the whole country reverberate with our demands: Adequate relief to all unemployed. Pass the Marcantonio relief bill. Genuine unemployment, old age and social insurance. Pass the Frazier-Lundeen Bill.

The youth of America, the flower of the country, still continues without prospect of job or future. Demonstrate on May Day for the needs of the American youth. Demand the immediate adoption of the American Youth Act now before Congress.

The bulk of the farming population of this country is ruined and is steadily reduced to the condition of a landless peasantry. Labor and farmers, join hands on May Day to demonstrate for the demands of the toiling farmers; immediate and adequate relief, lightening of the tax and debt

burden, fair prices to the farmers at the expense of the monopolies and speculators, land and implements to the small tenants and share-croppers.

Profits are increasing while real wages are decreasing. Capitalist exploitation, through lengthening of hours and terrific speed-up, is becoming heavier. Demonstrate and fight for the 30-hour week without reduction in pay. Demand higher wages and shorter hours. Fight against speed-up.

The life of the fourteen million Negro people has been turned by the white ruling class into one big miserable Scottsboro. Let us unite all toilers regardless of color to demonstrate for equal rights for the Negro people, against lynchings, for the demands of the Negro Congress, for the liberation of the innocent Scottsboro boys.

The economic basis of the middle classes is broken to pieces. Let us demonstrate for the special demands of those toilers. Against the high cost of living. Against the oppression of the monopolies and against the robbery and domination of the public utilities.

The Roosevelt administration has appropriated one billion dollars for war preparations, at the same time that it is cutting down on relief.

Let us demonstrate on May Day against war and war preparations. Let us serve notice on the imperialist ruling class of this country that we stand for peace and will defend it to the last. Let us demonstrate our loyalty and devotion to the fortress of socialism—the Soviet Union—the only country in the world that is practising a truly proletarian, revolutionary and international peace policy.

Hitler fascism has just taken another step to war to establish the domination of German imperialism in Europe and to dismember the Soviet Union.

Japanese military-fascist ruling cliques continue to move into China and to prepare for the "big" war against the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviets.

The reactionary, fascist and warmongering elements in all capitalist countries—Hearst, Coughlin and the Liberty League in the U. S.—are seeking to encourage Hitler and Japan to begin the war.

Let us make this May Day a powerful demonstration of our undying hatred of fascism. Let us make it a powerful demonstration for peace and for the peace policies of the Soviet Union. Let us cement further the mass united front against fascism and war. Let us press forward with the building up of a real working class blockade against the shipment of munitions and all war materials to Mussolini, Hitler and Japan.

The Socialist victories of the Soviet Union are our victories. Its strength is our strength. The successful struggle

of the Soviet Union for the classless society of plenty and happiness for all lights the way for our own liberation, for our struggle to establish a Soviet system and socialism in the United States.

Demonstrate your determination to defend the Soviet Union—the international fortress of socialism and working class strength. Demonstrate your determination to fight for socialism in the United States, to make this country a land of plenty, security and happiness for all toilers, a land of Soviets and Socialism.

At the present time capitalist reaction in the U. S. is gathering its forces. The monopolies, the most reactionary circles of the financial oligarchy around Morgan and du Pont, are preparing a new offensive against the working people of this country, against their living standards and civil liberties. The Hearsts, Coughlins and so-called Liberty League are forging new chains of slavery for the American people, are seeking to open the road to fascism in the United States.

Demonstrate on May Day your opposition to capitalist reaction and fascism. Demonstrate your readiness to fight day by day, and every inch of the ground, in a united and people's front, to beat back the advances of reaction, to defend and raise your living standards, to defend and expand your civil liberties.

Do not depend upon Roosevelt who only talks against the reactionaries but retreats before them and carries out their dictates.

Do not believe those leaders who, like John L. Lewis, call upon you to line up behind Roosevelt and to abandon the building of the Farmer-Labor Party. This way lies disunity, subjection to the Democratic Party and to the Republican Party, a weakening of the independent class force of labor and its alliance with the farmers and middle classes. This way lies complete dependence on the mercy of Roosevelt. This way lies further advance of reaction and the danger of its victory.

Demonstrate on May Day for the independent political action of labor in alliance with the toiling farmers, Negroes and middle classes. Demonstrate for the Farmer-Labor Party locally, by states and nationally which will create the only effective barrier to capitalist reaction, fascism and war.

The working class and all toilers can depend only upon their own organized strength on the economic and political field. Most vital is the organization into industrial unions of the millions of unorganized workers in the basic industries.

Demonstrate for industrial unionism, for the immediate launching of organizing drives in steel, auto and rubber.

Demonstrate against the splitting tactics of the reactionaries in the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. who stand in the way of organizing the unorganized. Demonstrate for a united and strong A. F. of L. built upon mass industrial unions, democratically administered and led in struggle against the capitalist exploiters.

Down tools on May First! All out into the streets! Build the mighty united front of the working class on May First!

For the six-hour day, 5-day week, without reduction in pay! For higher wages, against the high cost of living!

Make every city a union town! For a powerful American Federation of Labor based on industrial unionism!

For unemployment, old age, and social insurance (the Frazier-Lundeen Bill)!

For full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people!

Jobs and schools for America's youth! Demand the passage of the American Youth Act!

For a people's front against war and fascism! For a Farmer-Labor Party!

Keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world! Against Roosevelt's billion dollar war budget!

Support the peace policy of the Soviet Union! Defend the Soviet Union—the Land of Socialism!

Follow the example of the Soviet Union! Forward to a Soviet America!

“Keep America Out of War by Keeping War Out of the World!”

ON April 6, 1917, America entered the World War. The Central Committee has decided to make this April 6, the occasion for big mass meetings and demonstrations to mobilize the masses in the struggle for peace and against war. The chief slogans around which our agitation is to be carried on for April 6 are: “Keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world.” “Against the Roosevelt war budget.” “For the support of the peace policy of the Soviet Union.” “For the defense of the Soviet Union.”

Every effort should be made to organize these actions on April 6 on a united front basis. Party organizations should, first of all, strive to get the local organizations of the American League Against War and Fascism to take the initiative in organizing these demonstrations and meetings with our full support. We should make a special effort on this occasion to approach the various peace organizations

that are also contemplating the holding of meetings and discussions in connection with the anniversary of the entrance of American imperialism into the last World War. Should our efforts, however, fail in the organization of joint united front meetings on April 6, the Party must under all circumstances independently hold and organize anti-war meetings on April 6.

It is very important that at these anti-war meetings we make clear to the masses the role of the Roosevelt administration in the present developing war situation throughout the world, and to make clear also the policy of the Party on the question of the struggle for peace. It is, therefore, advisable that at all united front meetings, we have Party speakers; and at meetings held under the auspices of the Party, there be not more than two speakers with one principal speaker who will have an opportunity to present clearly to the workers the present war situation and the position of the Party in the struggle for peace.

We advise that special functionary conferences be held at which the District Organizers and other leading members of the Bureau make a report on the present war situation and the policy of the Party. Such meetings will help to make the war situation clear to the Party membership itself and to mobilize it in the struggle against war and for the preparations for May First. These functionary conferences should be followed up with discussions in the units.

The editorial in the March 26 issue of the **Daily Worker** gives the line for our agitation and propaganda for the April 6 anti-war campaign.

Intensify Recruiting—Keep the New Members—Stabilize Dues Payments

By A. W. MILLS

ON DECEMBER 1, 1935, we set ourselves the task of recruiting over 12,000 workers into the Party by March 12, 1936. Our aims were to increase the dues payment to 40,000 by registering 28,000, and recruiting 12,000. If the Convention would have been held on the designated date, we would not have achieved the goal set at the last plenum. This should alarm the Party to the extent that we at least take every possible step during this period, between March and June 12, to fulfill our goal.

What have we accomplished so far in the recruiting drive?

The average monthly recruiting in 1935 was 1,600. During the month of December our Party recruited 1,788 new members. During the month of January 1936, the number of recruits was 2,233; during the month of February, 2,829, and the week of March 1 to 8—968, making a total of 7,818.

These figures show a definite improvement in recruiting over the months of 1935. But at the same time they also show that we have not as yet developed the recruiting campaign on a mass scale, especially in view of the tremendous possibilities before us now, as a result of the general improvement in the mass work of the Party and the readiness of the workers to accept our leadership, as manifested on many occasions.

This slow development of the recruiting drive is due mainly to the fact that the Party as a whole is not involved in recruiting new members, especially the lower Party organizations and the individual Party members.

The most important achievement in this recruiting drive is the beginning of the development of the basic principle of leadership—leadership by example—in recruiting new members. We refer to the competition developed between the Section Organizers and other leading comrades to show by example that recruiting is possible. Out of 200 Section Organizers, over 115 responded to the challenge of Comrade Steuben with a total pledge to recruit 1,500 new Party members.

The Section Organizers pledged to recruit the above mentioned number by the time of the Party Convention. But what has been accomplished so far? In the first check-up, 70 Section Organizers reported that they recruited 374 members. In the second check-up, 32 Section Organizers reported that they had recruited 205 new members, which makes a total of 577 recruited by the Section Organizers, amounting to one-third of the quota pledged. However, while recruiting by example is just being developed now, we must raise very seriously the question of responsibility towards the carrying through of the individual quotas accepted voluntarily—especially by leading people in the Party. Only 14 Section Organizers have fulfilled their quotas. The others are still far behind. This is surely not the best example to set before the Party.

The beginning of a marked improvement in the composition of new members can be noted. There is a definite increase in the recruiting of native-born workers, a larger percentage of A. F. of L. members, and a larger percentage of women.

The figures below were compiled from data received from the Districts for the month of February:

District	Total Recruited	Employed	A.F.L.	Women
1	111	52	29	23
2	323	201	104	96
3	142	51	40	33
5	96	35	26	14
6	217	96	48	48
7	101	39	3	14
8	171	94	37	49
9	31	11	2	10

The increase in A. F. of L. recruiting is limited to a few Districts only, and it is also an indication of the character of our work within the A. F. of L. In some Districts where the work within the A. F. of L. is organized in a systematic manner, recruiting naturally includes a higher A. F. of L. percentage.

One of the greatest weaknesses in the recruiting drive is the small number of Negro workers recruited. This shows a lack of concentration among the Negro masses. It is the expression of the weaknesses of Party work in the Negro sections. Let us examine the figures for February:

District	Total Recruited	Negro Workers
1	111	3
2	323	32
3	142	12
5	96	13
6	217	41
7	101	10
8	171	17

Still another weakness in the drive is the lack of recruiting of workers in the basic industries, which is closely connected with the quality of the work of our shop nuclei. In the pre-Convention discussion it has been brought forward very sharply that while there is an increase in the number of shop nuclei during recent months, the quality of their work, however, their contact with the masses, and their systematic influencing of larger groups in the shops have not improved. We do not have the exact figures on recruiting carried on by the shop nuclei, but from the composition of the new membership in basic industries, and also from preliminary reports from the Districts, it is evident that the shop nuclei as such are not sufficiently involved in this drive. Let us examine the figures for February: Out of 2,800 Party members recruited we have the following categories: steel workers, 59; metal, 62; miners, 64; auto, 43; marine, 40; textile, 13; railroad, 14; transport, 34. Considering that the best nuclei exist in these industries primarily,

we can judge for ourselves the recruiting capacities of these most important Party organizations.

We can report an increase in the recruiting of native-born workers, which is a positive achievement in the drive and also indicates the increased contact of the Party with ever larger sections of native-born workers. The figures for the recruiting of native-born workers for February are:

District	Total Recruited	Native-Born
1	111	54
2	323	170
3	142	85
5	96	45
6	217	134
7	101	72
8	171	97
9	31	28
15	53	30

From the above-mentioned figures we can clearly see that the recruiting drive must be intensified, especially now with the preparations for May 1, with the increased activities in every District in the struggle for a Farmer-Labor Party, and especially in the face of growing strike struggles all over the country.

Why have we not yet succeeded in involving the whole Party in the recruiting drive? The reasons for this are that we have not as yet convinced the Party membership of the relationship between the strengthening of the Party and the struggle for the united front and for the improvement of the conditions of the masses. This requires special attention on the part of the agit-prop committees as well as the Party as a whole. It is not enough to repeat quotations from resolutions or speeches. We must take special steps in order to convince the membership of the need for strengthening the Party on the basis of our experiences in the fight for a Farmer-Labor Party, the experiences of a given strike, etc.

The lack of mass recruiting is closely connected with the insufficient mass agitation conducted by our Party. Mass agitation means to bring the position of the Party to the masses, to react to the burning problems of the workers, to explain the events happening in this country as well as on an international scale. Do we carry on systematic mass agitation? Do we issue leaflets regularly on vital subjects? Do we organize mass meetings in every Section on burning issues? Do we attempt to utilize radio broadcasting on a local scale? Do we answer attacks upon the Party through public statements? Do we have open forums in the towns

and neighborhoods? Do we have study or discussion circles in the shops and factories? Very little attention is being paid to these important phases of mass agitation, which means reaching hundreds of thousands of people and convincing them of the correctness of the position of the Party on vital questions concerning them.

Mass recruiting depends mainly on the connections which individual Party members have with the masses of workers. On many occasions the Party has repeatedly stated the need for penetrating into the existing mass organizations in order to create a broader base for the activities of the individual Party member. The recent organizational changes of our Party units were primarily carried through for this purpose. With very few exceptions the larger units became combinations of small sectarian units, and the main task of penetrating into the neighborhood organizations was neglected. We must therefore very seriously tackle this question in every Party unit.

The improvement of our shop units and trade union fractions will determine the ability of our Party to recruit workers from the basic industries. So far, insufficient guidance has been given to these important Party organizations. The fact is that not all the shop units have around them groups of workers with whom they meet and discuss the position of the Party on the burning issues. The shop units do not regularly issue agitational material to the shop workers in the form of shop papers and leaflets. The shop units are not yet alert to the grievances of the workers, and are not yet real factors in the mobilization and organization of the workers. The fractions in the trade unions are not yet alert to the raising of basic political questions on the basis of the experiences of the workers. The leading trade unionists do not make it their business to take the initiative in calling together groups of workers upon whom they have influence in order to recruit them into the Party.

In order to increase recruiting we must broaden the competition among the leading comrades in the recruiting drive. So far this has been limited to Section Organizers only. In every District we should carefully examine methods by which we can broaden the competition between Unit Organizers, Section committees, fraction secretaries, and leading trade unionists.

It is the task now of the Section Organizers to popularize the experiences gained in recruiting, and through these experiences show concretely to the Party membership as a whole how every Party comrade could and should recruit from among the workers they are in contact with.

Hand in hand with recruiting we must seriously consider the question of keeping the new members. At this moment

this is as important as recruiting itself. Thus far, despite increased recruiting, there is no indication of increased dues payments. On the contrary, in most of the Districts the dues payments for the month of February are even less than the number of members registered. We registered approximately 29,000 in January, in addition we recruited over 7,000 by March 1. We should have had a dues payment of at least 34,000, but the February average is a little over 28,000. How can we explain this? Is this not an alarming situation which every District, Section, and unit should consider seriously? We believe it is!

The increasing of dues payments is one of the indications of our ability to keep the new members in the Party. The new members will remain in our Party if we make the units real political organizations, if we improve their inner life.

Now more than ever have we all possibilities to make our units really attractive to the thousands who join our Party. With larger units the educational work can be organized much better, with better speakers and an improved political discussion. The two educational meetings organized each month must become meetings that the workers in the neighborhood will look forward to in order to learn what is going on in the world, as well as in their neighborhood. The "Review of the Month" in *The Communist* as well as the articles in the *Daily Worker* can serve as splendid material for the comrades who lead discussions.

In order to keep the new members we must create an atmosphere of interest on the part of the older members to the problems of the new ones. If we would assign in each unit one politically developed comrade to pay attention to the new members—to talk to them, to inquire about their problems, to answer their questions, to give them reading material—we would go a long way in keeping the new members.

One of the key problems in keeping new members is Party education. We believe that it is high time that every Section organize a new members' class for a least four weeks and continue it every month for new Party members.

An important part in checking fluctuation and the increase in dues payment is the administrative task. So far we have not established well functioning membership committees which will pay attention particularly to new members, to dues payments, to fluctuation, to examining and overcoming the weaknesses in the dues-paying apparatus, etc. The Organizational Secretaries of the Districts actually carry through functions as assistant District Organizers and do not sufficiently pay attention to this administrative phase of organizational work. It is time to consider very seriously that

in the larger Districts we should have special functionaries, either full time or part time, who will pay attention to these organizational details without which we cannot expect to have 100 per cent dues payment and to take necessary steps to stop fluctuation. The membership committees on a District, Section, and unit scale can become an important instrument in helping to check fluctuation.

With only two months left—and with the tasks not yet fulfilled—the Party as a whole must place recruiting on the agenda again, analyzing the weaknesses and taking necessary steps to fulfill our quota of 40,000 dues-paying members by the time of the Party Convention. Concretely, this means to increase recruiting, to keep the new members recruited, to stabilize dues payment, in order to increase the fighting ability of the Party for the tasks outlined by the Seventh World Congress.

On Organizational Status and Immediate Tasks Facing Youngstown

By H. POLLACK, Section Organizational Secretary*

How Has Our Party Grown During the Past Year?

FROM January 1 to August 1, we recruited 68 Party members. From August 1 to December 22, we recruited 126 new members. **Since our last District Plenum, Dec. 22, we have recruited 102 new members.** At our last Convention we had 285 members, today we have a membership of 420. This was made possible by our Party membership swinging into recruiting. **This shows that every Party member can and should become a force in building our Party.**

There are other positive features in the growth of our Party. Not only has it grown numerically, but also qualitatively. **Of the workers recruited since last August, 59 are steel workers in the various mills in our Section.**

The growth of our Party is further evidenced in that at our last Convention we had 26 units, today we have 36.

At our last Convention we had three shop nuclei, today we have eight, the ninth is to be established after the Convention this week. There are 60 Party members in shop nuclei, in mills embracing about 24,000 workers.

*Excerpts from speech at District Convention.

The Composition of Our Membership

We can report the following, based on the registration of this year: About one-third of our membership are steel workers. We have close to 100 Party members in A. F. of L. unions. There are nearly 50 women in the Party, a definite weakness on our part. Furthermore, about two-thirds of our membership is at present employed. While 50 per cent of our membership belongs to organizations, these organizations for the most part are sympathetic, already close to the Communist Party. This raises very sharply the question of every comrade belonging to an organization, and especially to the key mass organizations where the majority of the workers are to be found today.

As for the age-level: using 291 registrations as a barometer, we note the following: about 50 per cent between the ages of 36-45. Less than one-third are native-born. About one-tenth are Negro workers. The length of time in the Party: of 291, 190 are in the Party from 1 to 2 years, and of this number 134 are practically new members.

Reorganization of Our Work

Based on the decisions of the Seventh World Congress, our Central Committee at its last Plenum raised the question of adopting organizational forms that would enable each unit to become a greater influence in the neighborhood. The basis of the organizational and political strength of the unit depends upon the extent of its base in the neighborhood. This means that every Party member should belong to some neighborhood organization; otherwise we cannot become a decisive influence in helping shape the events of today. To carry this out implies two definite organizational changes:

1. That the life and activity of our units be interesting, so that our membership, especially the new members, will be stimulated and inspired for work.

2. That our Party membership becomes connected with organizations where the masses of workers belong. In Youngstown this means having Communists in the Townsend Clubs, in the P.T.A., in the Ward Political Clubs, language and fraternal organizations, etc. Thus, when we speak of our main task, the building of the Labor Party, the combating of Hearst, the Liberty League and the growing fascist forces, how else is it possible unless we are in these organizations? We cannot swing these workers by remaining in our own, narrow, secluded, and comfortable circle.

We have a good example as to what Communists can do in a mass organization. One of our Hungarian comrades belongs to an organization with certain reactionary elements in the leadership. With correct work she and another com-

rade were able to build a progressive, Left-wing group, which has become a force in combating the reactionary stand taken by the leadership, in bringing forward progressive issues, and succeeded in electing a delegate to the Congress Against War and Fascism, and involving this same organization in further anti-fascist activity. This is a good example of the importance for Communists to belong to mass organizations.

Following the Central Committee Plenum our Section undertook to adopt organizational forms and methods of work that would transform our units into political forces in the neighborhood.

1. We decided to have two educational and two business meetings a month. Joint meetings of several units in the same territory were held. Here we had to be flexible in introducing this form, as only in two cases did these joint meetings succeed.

2. At the same time we noticed other shortcomings that hampered the work of the units. Comrades were attending meetings that were not in the same neighborhood where they lived. Where comrades were not involved in neighborhood work, did not belong to organizations, the unit did not discuss live, vital problems, but limited itself to questions of routine.

Thus in preparation for the Convention the Section Committee took definite steps to remedy these shortcomings, as follows:

1. We re-organized the units on a neighborhood-ward basis and wherever possible units in the same territory were combined, the object being to strengthen the units with more forces and thus making it possible to react to the various neighborhood problems: relief, the housing problem, fight for Negro rights, deportation of foreign-born, youth issues, etc.

2. The unit re-organized on a ward basis has an additional advantage, that is, in the coming elections it can participate more easily in the election campaign.

3. In line with this outlook, we established a Y.C.L. unit, consisting of Party members involved in youth work, and a unit of members in miscellaneous A. F. of L. unions.

If the units are to become political levers in the neighborhoods, to involve the workers in the struggle for better conditions and their rights, they will have to function more skilfully. This requires functioning unit bureaus. In our larger units where there are sufficient forces, there should be no further delay in getting the unit bureaus to function, as there are adequate forces. Likewise, to introduce the squad system in order to keep in constant touch with the member-

ship and be prepared to mobilize the membership in the event of an emergency,

Nor can we remain satisfied with the way our units function. We must work out methods to make the work of the units more stable and regular. For instance, there is not sufficient regularity in attendance at meetings. Some units will meet one week, in case of an emergency, as in preparation for the Convention, and then may not meet for several weeks. Our newly elected unit organizers and bureau members must make it a regular habit to mobilize the membership for each unit meeting in the same manner that they did for the Section Convention. This is the duty and responsibility that our Convention lays before our leading comrades in the units.

Shop Nuclei

As for the functioning of our shop nuclei, we have a very unsatisfactory situation. Only four nuclei are meeting regularly. Such a situation demands the building and strengthening of our shop nuclei as one of our main tasks following the Convention. We have to transform the present small shop nuclei into larger groups, which will conduct activity in the mill and wield more influence. The issuance of regular shop papers must become an established practice. We must bring the various political issues, the political position of our Party on different questions before the steel workers. Likewise, the street units must give more attention to going before the mills regularly. The cooperation of the entire Party will be needed to break down all resistance to this work and convince the comrades in the street units of the importance and necessity of this work.

The situation of dues payment must be improved. The following steps must be taken:

1. A complete check on every Party member is to be made this week with the view of having all members pay up their dues and secure the Convention Assessment Stamp.
2. To make it a regular habit to have all absent members visited; wherever possible we establish in the units membership committees.

Recruiting

Since our last District Plenum we have learned some valuable lessons in recruiting. As a result of Comrade Steuben's letter to the Party forces to swing into the recruiting drive, a definite change has taken place in our methods of work. We no longer hear the cry that our comrades are isolated.

Why was it possible to increase our recruiting? We are beginning to grasp the significance of that part of Comrade

Dimitroff's report well-known to many of our comrades here, that we are not concerned with merely recording figures, but we want to build the Party in order to have the forces necessary to carry out our main tasks.

On the Progress of Our Industrial Units

By L. CARVER, Organizational Secretary, Section 2,
District 2

WE ARE in a position today to report some definite results and progress in our Section, since the organization of industrial units.

Our fur building units before the merger had a very unstable life, due mainly to the fact that our comrades would work only a few weeks in a given building. Now there is new life and spirit in the units. The comrades are working among the mass of furriers in the market, in the union. In the first four weeks of their existence, they have already recruited into the two units twenty new members, and have had 30 non-Party workers attend an open unit meeting.

The units are making excellent plans for the future. An outstanding weakness, though, is the fact that the fur comrades are afraid to come out more boldly as an independent factor, for fear that the Socialists and Right wingers, with whom they are working in the union, will not like it and consequently the union will be harmed. Sad to say, the leading comrades either agree with this tendency, or at least, have not helped the units towards a better viewpoint.

The fur units have the task of establishing themselves as the leading political factor among the furriers, by bringing home to them all the political campaigns of the Party and not depending only upon the union as such to do it. The publication of a bulletin will go a long way in that direction.

The bakers' unit, too, is beginning to play an important role. Whereas the comrades belonging to separate Sections would get together only occasionally at fraction meetings, where they would, at best, discuss trade problems, now the comrades discuss how to bring in political issues into the union, such as the Labor Party, struggle against war, and other questions. The formation of this unit was instrumental in bringing back a number of old Party members who had dropped out, as well as new recruits who were unable to attach themselves to units because of peculiar hours of work.

Two units, the millinery and textile trimmers, have not,

as yet, assumed their role in the trades, mainly because the comrades lack the clarity and understanding of the function and role of an industrial unit. For this, the Section is also greatly responsible, especially in the case of the textile trimmers' unit, since a great deal of day-to-day guidance had to be given.

A few words on the brassier and corset workers' union, where we can cite an example of how new Party members with the proper orientation gradually become leaders. There are only 10 comrades in a local of 3,000, working mostly among young Italian and American girls and women. The comrades here are involving themselves in every phase of work in the union, organizational, educational, sports, and social. As a result, they have become well-liked by the workers and are looked up to. Now that they have entrenched themselves in this manner, they are carefully planning the raising of the Labor Party issue at their union meetings. The comrades here have to utilize their influence among the girls and recruit the best into the Party.

Shop Units

Comrade Stachel, in his report to the November Plenum of the Central Committee, proved that the shop nucleus form of organization has advantages over all the others. With our experiences in the Section, we can well back up this contention. Let me raise a few questions: Is it correct that shop units cannot bring in political campaigns into the shop, be it needle, project or white collar? Is it true that the life of a shop unit is not as interesting as in a street or other unit? Is it more difficult to recruit into a shop unit?

A few examples from the reports of the comrades from the various units will give a good answer to these questions. Our shop units have some fine contributions in shop work, which can enrich the experiences of the Party.

All units have been able to build economic organizations on the job, particularly the project units. By correctly utilizing the first general lay-off of 4,000 WPA workers, unit 7-S succeeded in organizing 50 per cent or more of the men into a Central Project Council local. Through a correct non-sectarian approach to the men on the project, the unit succeeded in involving the people of different political beliefs, into the leadership of the local. The comrades, although bringing literature and the **Daily Worker** into the project, are not looked upon as "Reds". On the contrary, they are the most liked and respected workers. This was accomplished by being friendly with the people, going out with them, and engaging in their social activities. The comrades of 7-S complain, however, that the Section calls too many meetings which prevents them from making further contact.

An important problem facing many a shop unit is how to overcome the "Red scare", which in most cases is created and exists prior to the activities of the comrades. One of our shop units, was able to overcome successfully the Red scare, by becoming extremely friendly with the workers; by spending time in their homes, going out with them socially, and once these workers were convinced that our comrades were "regular guys", they listened to the advice of our comrades when it came to solving problems and grievances on the project. Here, too, the unit succeeded in bringing over 50 per cent of the workers into the local.

There is a widespread belief in our ranks that shop units cannot bring in political campaigns into the shops. An example of one of the units will show how it can be done. This unit, also a project unit, compiled a list of all the workers on the project, classified them as to the characteristics, views, political opinions, etc. On that basis, the unit proceeded to carry on a number of campaigns, knowing beforehand who was who, whom to approach on what questions, etc.

In this manner, the comrades succeeded in securing 60 **Sunday Worker** subs, by involving sympathizers in this work. The unit is instrumental in arranging a number of discussions in the C. P. C. local, which are linked up through the participation of our comrades in the discussion with the various political campaigns, especially the Labor Party.

As a result of the activity of our shop units, one a shoe unit and the other a white goods unit, delegates were sent to the Congress of the American League Against War and Fascism, and in the case of the shoe unit, the comrades are now building a branch of the League in the shop.

As against these positive results, let us show an example of another unit. In this particular unit, comrades thought that the most efficient way of organizing the workers and becoming recognized as their leader was through the continuous issuance of one leaflet after another. The comrades were so busy writing leaflets and articles, putting them out, and attending meetings, that there was no time left for any personal contact whatever with these workers. Comrades worked in a sectarian way making the union members feel that they had all the monopoly on knowledge. This certainly did not help to involve non-Party members in the work of the local. Having some definite anti-union and even fascist elements on the **job**, these people succeeded for some time to create the **Red scare** and to isolate our comrades from normal contact **with** the workers.

It took the Section **Committee** some time to convince the comrades that while leaflets are an important means to

further our work, personal day-to-day human and friendly relations with the workers are more convincing.

It is only now that the unit is beginning to see some results in applying these methods. Some non-Party workers are becoming involved in the work, and the comrades are also able to further strengthen the unit by recruiting new workers.

With all the positive achievements we have had, one of our outstanding weaknesses remains the fact that there is a separation between our economic and political work. This is responsible for the fact that most of our shop units do not function as political units of the Party, but at best as fractions.

Functioning and Problems of the Waterfront Units

By B., Section Organizer

WATERFRONT units, because of their composition, present problems which are not found in the street units, or even in the shoreside industrial units. The questions of attendance, dues payments and fluctuation are raised more sharply here, and a flexible approach is necessary in order to attempt to answer these questions satisfactorily. On the waterfront we have seamen's units, composed of sailors, stewards, firemen and mates; longshore units composed of warehousemen; then there is a teamsters' unit, a ferryboatmen's unit, a communications workers' unit.

In the organization of these units there is naturally a strong tendency to function not as Party units but rather as fractions, to take up union matters only. To a large extent this is being overcome. In the seamen's units it was overcome largely after the composition of the units was changed from a craft basis to an industrial basis. When these units met as separate sailors' units, or marine firemen's units, it was more difficult to have them discuss the general political campaigns of the Party, and meetings were really meetings of the union fraction. With the change in composition it obviously became impossible to discuss the inner trade union problems of four unions at one meeting, and the meetings took on more of the nature of a political unit of the Party. This, too, stimulated the various craft fractions to function better.

In the stevedores' units, it may be found necessary to

have the units meet twice a month only, and on alternating weeks the combined units can meet as a general fraction. The same procedure can be applied to some of the other I. L. A. units.

What is the nature of these units? Because of the fact that in the longshore units the members are composed of members of the same local, they have been called trade union units. This they most certainly are not. They can much more logically be called industrial units, but even here they differ radically from the shoreside industrial unit, inasmuch as they are based not so much on the industry but on the place of work. In this sense, they are the closest approach to the shop unit possible under the circumstances of the men's work. The stevedores, for example, work on different docks; they are shifted from time to time, and a stable dock unit is impossible. The same thing is true of the ship scalers and of the bargemen.

As for the seamen's units, they meet on shore as units only because certain seamen comrades happen to be on the beach at the time. The main function of these units is to organize the establishment of ship units. The basic work of the Party here is on the ships. Previously, comrades in the maritime unions shipped from time to time in an unorganized manner, and the establishment of ship units was a difficult task. Now, however, one comrade is selected to be in charge of ship units for the particular port. Fraction secretaries list the comrades in the order of their shipping (a rotating list, so that there is always a certain minimum number on the beach to function as a fraction in the union); these comrades are contacted, an organized effort being made to have at least two comrades from different departments (deck and black gang) on the same ship. Concentration, at first, is laid on ships with short, regular runs which means a greater turnover.

These seamen's units which function on the beach, therefore, cannot be called industrial units in the same sense as, for example, a building trades industrial unit. The composition changes rapidly. They are merely a "shore extension" form of the ship unit.

Regular attendance at unit meetings is harder to achieve in the stevedore's units than in most others, despite the fact that the work is all ashore. This is due to the irregular work hours of the stevedores. Even though a day has been chosen for meetings on which there is least chance of being called to work, that is still a factor. Coupled with the fact that the members of these units are still somewhat unclear as to the importance of attending unit meetings, and still tend to confuse them with union fractions, the average attendance at unit meetings is not much over fifty per cent.

The sound policy of the Party in the trade unions has raised the prestige of the Party tremendously, and recruiting is pretty steady. Even so, it is not half what it could be, with better functioning fractions. Due to the fact that recruiting is based largely on the Party's policy in the trade unions, there have been instances of workers joining the Party with no clear conception of the entire political program of the Party, and even with some disagreement with the entire program. In most cases, these workers have become Communists within a short time. But because there have been several unfortunate experiences the Section Committee has set up a "Membership Investigating Committee" which meets once a week and interviews all applicants. New members are given only one assignment for a period of four weeks, outside of functioning as a member of the fraction, that is, attending a new members' class. Application cards are handled through the unit organizers to the Section Committee and to the investigating committee.

The establishment of a system of regular dues payments is one of the knottiest problems to solve. Formerly, the Section dues secretary used to round up the unit dues secretaries once a week by chasing after each one. Because the Section dues secretary was determined and tireless, the dues payments were at least within hailing distances of the actual membership. But this is not a satisfactory process, and does not serve to help educate either the unit dues secretaries or the membership as to the political importance of dues payments. The Section has established the system of regular times (twice a week) at which unit secretaries may get dues stamps from the Section dues secretary, at an appointed place. This has resulted, for the time, in a drop of dues payments, but later on will no doubt result in a much higher average.

The leading committee of the Waterfront Section is the Section Committee, composed of the members of the Section Bureau plus the unit organizers. This committee has been meeting once a week to discuss the campaigns of the Party and how to bring those campaigns into the units. These meetings, however, had become formalized, dry check-up meetings on dues, literature, attendance, check-up on tickets, etc., and very little specific organizational help could be given to the unit organizers. Because of the length of these meetings, the Section Bureau never has functioned as a guiding body. Now, the Section is trying out the procedure of having the Bureau meet alone one week, and the entire committee the next. In this way, it is hoped the Bureau will be able to give more concrete political guidance to the units, organize its agenda, and concentrate on the most important questions facing the Party on the waterfront. Incidentally,

this will save one meeting a week for the unit organizers, and while this is only incidental, it is a factor when one considers the number of meetings our waterfront comrades attend: unit, fractions, union meetings, and meetings of union committees, besides special conferences, on call, on some major issue that arises.

The Party is growing on the waterfront. With the help of the Section Committee, whose concentration is the waterfront, and of the members of the District Bureau, the complex organizational problems in the waterfront units are being solved gradually. The best forces in the city, including District Bureau members, are being utilized in these units to lead discussions and help in the organizational work. Week end classes are being organized.

Our main task is to build a stronger, more independent leadership from among the waterfront comrades themselves, to help these comrades to develop themselves as union and Party leaders.

Cleveland Party Convention Discusses Youth Work*

By HELEN ALLISON

WHAT are the minimum tasks that we should expect from our Party organization—Districts, Sections, and units? Here, we repeat the decision adopted at the Enlarged District Committee meeting of the Party in December:

“To give the necessary assistance in building the Y. C. L., which necessitates study of the recent decisions of the Y.C.I. Congress; greater alertness by the District and Section Party leadership to youth problems such as the recent Olympic Games and guidance to Y.C.L. leadership on all problems.”

This decision is a very good one, and one would think that as a result at least a minimum of attention would be paid to this problem and to the education of the Party membership regarding Y.C.I. decisions. But I doubt that this was so. I doubt that a single Section, after this decision was made, even thought of discussing the problem in the Section Committee. I doubt if one comrade was assigned to work

*Excerpt from speech at Cleveland District Party Convention.

with our young comrades from the Sections, and much less the units, since this decision was made. I doubt that until the last couple of weeks, when I started a bombardment of some Sections with requests for information on the League, and a desire to know what the Party was doing to fulfill this decision, that a single Section Organizer even thought of the matter. It is true, we cannot place the responsibility on the Section Committees and the units only. The District also did not think concretely about this problem. It was only a few weeks ago, when the District Bureau received a report on the critical situation in the League, that a minimum amount of attention was given to this problem. But, comrades, let us not leave this Convention with just a few general remarks about the necessity to assist the League. Let us definitely decide on certain concrete, organizational proposals, that will be considered by every Section Committee, that will find a way to every unit of the Party, that will make every Party member feel that it is his responsibility to strengthen the League, to build it into a real, broad, mass organization of the toiling youth, that will be a factor in facing the problems that confront our American young generation. The following proposals are made for the consideration of the Convention:

1. Immediate acceptance of the responsibility of our youth work by the state and Section committees. Where we have League organizers at present, these comrades should be a part of the Party Section Committees. Where we do not have Y.C.L. organizers because of shortage of forces, the Party should assign a responsible Party member whose main task shall be youth work in his Section.

2. Where Party units and League units exist side by side, there should be an interchange of representation in such a way that the Party unit knows the tasks of the League in the neighborhood, institution or shop, and if necessary materially assists the League in its work through the assignment of young Party forces for Y.C.L. work.

3. That in connection with the American Youth Act, each Section and unit should work out ways and means of having all possible organizations, institutions, central labor union bodies and local unions, endorse the Act, and send their endorsements to the U. S. Congress.

4. All Y. C. L. literature, especially the **Young Worker**, the pamphlets on the Congress of the Young Communist International and the national conference of our Young Communist League, should receive immediate distribution in all Sections and units of the Party.

These are only a few minimum tasks. If each Section works properly with its League comrades, making a real effort to build our youth organization, they will be con-

fronted with many more tasks, specific tasks for their particular Section. It is necessary for all Sections to follow the example of our Cleveland West Side Section where a Party member, elected on their Section Committee, was put in charge of youth work. They have now set themselves the control task of organizing five territorial units and two shop units by May First. If each Section would be responsible for similar tasks, and actually fulfill them, we would find an entirely new situation in the League in a few months' time. We would find that our League comrades, who now feel so lost because of the tremendous tasks before them, would become imbued with new energy, and would be able actually to utilize the excellent qualities they now have.

Let us conclude with the words of Comrade Kuusinen in his report on Youth and Fascism at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International:

"All Communist Parties, all leaders of the Communist Parties, must understand once for all that the youth movement is the heart of the movement for social emancipation. Our youth, our hopes, are growing. But they would grow ten times faster if the Party leadership earnestly helped the Young Communist League and if they assigned really capable forces to assist the youth. Some leaders of our youth movement have during the past few years grown to the stature of real youth leaders. But it will not do for every functionary of a Young Communist League who has proved himself to be a capable worker in the youth movement to be immediately taken away from this work by the leadership of the Party, as is now often the case. Of course, the Young Communist League is, among the other things, a school of cadres for our Party. But a school that is robbed of every capable teacher and leader is of no value."

Let us show, through our concrete leadership, by example, that we are able to assist our young comrades in overcoming the bad situation that exists in the League at the present time. Let us show that we will be responsible to build our Young Communist League into the broad organization that it must be to tackle the basic problems of the young generation of American people, showing them the way to peace, freedom and socialism.

PITTSBURGH
Daily Worker
FLOOD EXTRA

EMERGENCY EDITION MARCH 30TH, 1936 - REGULAR ISSUE CUT OFF BY FLOOD

PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE SHOULD ADMINISTER RELIEF FUNDS

STATEMENT OF COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party wishes to extend its sympathy to all sufferers from the flood.

The first and most important thing facing our city is to care for feeding, clothing and sheltering the

\$1,000,000 for relief of victims, but this sum is far from enough, when spread over the whole country. There must be immediate adequate appropriations by city, state and federal government flood relief.

But this is not enough to take care of the homeless ones and is very temporary. The city should throw open to them all idle and unoccupied houses in decent condition, especially those which are furnished, but whose owners are vacationing at present in Palm Beach, etc.

The flood refugees should be moved into such idle houses and allowed to live there rent free until they are able to take care of themselves. Sim-ilarly with food and clothing. Our fellow-citizens who have lost their homes just as surely as if they had been foreclosed by the banks, must be supplied with all necessities as long as they need help.

The City Council has already appropri-ated \$1,000,000, but according to the papers, this is for repair to prop-erty. We are afraid this means for the Golden Triangle". Appropriations should be for human suffering before property.

President Roosevelt appropriated

propose a people's flood relief com- mittee be set up to handle all relief funds--made up of representatives of trade unions, workers organizations, unemployed organizations and the Com- munist and Socialist Parties.

Next comes the care of the whole city population. There are grave threats of a food shortage. Profit- eers are already speculating on the hunger of the people and prices of bread, milk, etc. are being raised. This is the sort of looting which must be stopped immediately. Espe-cially watch the chain stores! Any chain store raising prices should be immediately closed down by the City Council and forbidden to do busi- ness in the future in the city of Pittsburgh.

If the shortage continues, a People's Committee should be empowered to see that the rich who consume ex- cess amounts of food be rationed, and the working people be taken care of first.

All work of repair should be

(continued on page 2)

Experiences in the Development of United Front Activities

By EARL DIXON, Section Organizer, Baltimore, Md.

THROUGH the initiative of the Party as an organization, or through the members of our Party, acting through other organizations, we have developed united front movements in Baltimore around various issues, mainly war and fascism, the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill, the Emergency Relief situation and the 1 per cent Sales Tax, Scottsboro, and the Labor Party movement. We find that these movements, developing around the various issues, embrace certain sections of the population, not reached through other forms. A summary of the extent to which all of these movements combined reach and penetrate the masses would show a very large part, if not the majority, of the population of the city.

On March 15, a Conference was held on the Frazier-Lundeen Bill, the latest united front development. This conference resulted in the establishment of a League for Unemployment and Social Insurance to last until such time as the Frazier-Lundeen Bill becomes law. This conference was made up of a number of delegates, representing many fraternal organizations, including Workmen's Circle branches, Women's Auxiliaries of the Workmen's Circle, German Sick and Death Benefit Societies, Colored Elks and Masons, Order of St. Luke's, many independent mutual aid groups, the Polish League for Unemployment Insurance, Polish Aid, a few trade unions, and the International Workers' Order. The conference represented a total organized membership in the fraternal field of more than 30,000 people.

It is important now to see how these movements began and developed. A few months ago, the Party in Baltimore was in a very bad situation. The membership had declined to a handful of comrades and the worst feature was that there was practically no connection between the Party comrades and the masses, nor were we engaged in any phase of mass work. This isolated condition created an atmosphere within the Party that there was nothing we could do with the exception of issuing a leaflet occasionally. Little was being done with the many issues which were arising constantly. It was clear that the first thing to do was to break down this isolation and to develop activities that would enable our comrades to reach and make contact with new, broad sections.

We found that there was certainly no lack of willingness on the part of the masses to unite and act on the many vital

questions confronting them. In the early months of last summer, practically all sections of the population were very much concerned with two main questions: the war situation and the question of democratic and civil rights, and the relief problem. Having practically no connections among the unemployment or in the existing Peoples' Unemployment League, it was not possible for us to do much at that time, other than agitational work. However, we found what seemed to us, a quick, spontaneous, mass response to the call to struggle against war and for democratic rights. The American League became the key organization in this situation and a fraction was established to build that organization. Through the program and the work carried on largely by our comrades, it began to move and develop into a very broad organization. Anti-war mass meetings were called in various sections of the city, including meetings on the docks with longshoremen. Four of these meetings, because of their unusual character and importance stand out from the rest. For these meetings, petitions were circulated throughout the neighborhood and signatures secured to have the police rope off a street block. Large platforms were built in the middle of the street, floodlights were attached to the platform, loud-speakers were used, and the platforms were decorated attractively with banners and slogans. At each meeting there was an approximate attendance of 2,500 people and branches were established in these places.

The next step was a City-Wide Conference on War and Fascism concretely applied to the Maryland situation. This conference produced results beyond our expectations and resulted in the establishment of a League of very broad proportions. The work of the Maryland League locally was in a large measure responsible for Senator Tydings' withdrawing his name from the infamous Tydings-McCormack Bill. It was also largely due to work of the League that the Teachers' Oath Bill was defeated and new attempts to secure its passage are being met with broad, vigorous, mass protest.

I would also like to bring out our relations with the Socialist Party in this period. At first we followed the method of appealing to the Executive Committee for united actions on these various questions, not incorrectly, but not sufficiently making connection and establishing friendly relations with the branches of the Socialist Party, or the individual Socialists in the trade unions and shops. We dealt entirely too much with the top alone. That the Socialists wanted the united front was undisputed and many members of the Socialist Party dropped their membership in this period, due to the fact that the Old Guard in control of the Party locally refused a united front. Having no connection with these workers previously, we do not have contact

with them now after they have left the Socialist Party. We found that it was necessary while continuing to press from the top to establish close relations with the individual members and branches and since the establishment of this method, close friendly relations have been established with at least one branch and many individuals of the S. P. are now working with us in most of the movements. We feel that this situation will eventually bring about the united front through pressure from the members created by necessity.

One more point of great importance and that is the work in building the Farmer-Labor Party. A conference is to be held on March 29 of all trade unions to form a state Labor Party. This is also largely due to the work of our comrades who have brought the question before the trade unions from inside and from comrades in the trade union movement making contacts and bringing together the first provisional committee. In two Congressional districts we will also participate in united front elections brought about through the efforts of our comrades getting together the elements necessary to achieve this and through the work they have carried out in their organizations and neighborhoods.

The main existing weakness is the slowness in building the Party. While it is true that the Party has grown and become practically a new Party in the last nine months, in relation to the growing influence and the extent to which the Party has established itself with the masses, there is very little recruiting. The possibilities exist for recruiting a very large membership, but due to the newness of the comrades involved in the various activities and their lack of deep consciousness on this point—we could also add some negligence on the question—we are not getting results in any way proportionate to the possibilities. These weaknesses must be corrected.

Neighborhood Work

By MARGARET COWL

LAST year, the meat strikes, the mass boycott of meat buying, attracted nationwide attention. The movement against the meat packers started in Los Angeles when 10,000 women refused to buy meat for three continuous days. This was followed by the movement in New York City which for four weeks held the front page news of all the papers in the city. In Detroit a large section of the city was meatless for days, because of the housewives' strike. In Minnesota

hardly any meat was sold for three days. There was talk in the New York press about a nation-wide strike of housewives against high meat prices.

While not as spectacular as in 1935, nevertheless the movement against the high cost of living is still alive in the neighborhoods in a number of cities. In New York, in a number of neighborhoods, many organizations came together and formed a united front neighborhood committee to combat high prices forced upon the people by the neighborhood chain stores. Parents' and Teachers' Associations, mothers' clubs, settlement houses, church groups, fraternal clubs, political clubs, women's trade union auxiliaries, Negro women's organizations, trade unions, women's councils, women's label clubs and public schools are included on the united front neighborhood committees. The committees now include in their program the betterment of neighborhood schools, the abolition of military training in the neighborhood schools, day nurseries and free birth control clinics. Mothers in the neighborhoods are working to extend the number of day nurseries supported by W.P.A. funds; to have day camps set up in the city parks for the summer months for their children. These committees hold neighborhood mass meetings. They plan back-yard meetings in the summer months. A successful meeting to celebrate International Woman's Day was carried through in one neighborhood.

In Detroit, similar work is conducted against high milk prices. In Boston the women organized and won lower gas rates.

In one neighborhood in New York where a very representative united front neighborhood committee is functioning, a movement has been started to demand that the millions in dollars of processing taxes that were returned to the food monopolies by the United States Supreme Court be returned to the consumers in the form of lower prices; that part of it be used to improve school conditions and give shoes and hot lunches to school children.

In some neighborhoods it may not be possible to build a united front neighborhood committee without having at least one organization which would serve as the progressive center in the neighborhood, as the initiator and the leader of this united front. Where women's councils exist, they could play such a role. But where no Left-wing organization exists, one may be organized. A mothers' club, a readers' club, a social club, etc., may be organized for this purpose.

In Detroit a series of women's consumers' clubs were organized in the neighborhoods. Besides serving as this progressive center, they include social and educational work on their program.

This united front work in the neighborhoods can serve

as foundation work for a nationwide movement against high prices. It can be a big factor in drawing in masses of women in the work against war and fascism.

The purpose of this article is to create a discussion, particularly by women comrades, on forms and methods of work among housewives. You comrades who are doing this work, what is your opinion and your experience? We also want to use this experience for our resolution on work among women for the Party Convention. Send it in immediately.

OUR NATIONAL CONTROL TASKS

40,000 DUES-PAYING MEMBERS.

150,000 SUNDAY WORKER CIRCULATION BY JUNE 12.

HOW DOES YOUR UNIT STAND?

EVERY PARTY UNIT, EVERY PARTY FRACTION, TO ORDER A BUNDLE OF THE MAY FIRST EDITION OF THE SUNDAY WORKER!

UNITS ! FRACTIONS !

WHAT ARE YOU DOING TO GET NEW SUBSCRIBERS AND READERS FOR THE SUNDAY WORKER ? 150,000 SUBS BY JUNE 12.

MAKE PARTY RECRUITING AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE MAY FIRST PREPARATIONS !

APPROACH YOUR SHOP MATES, FRIENDS, FELLOW TRADE-UNIONISTS, TO JOIN THE PARTY !

ASSIGN A COMRADE IN EVERY PARTY UNIT, WHO WILL PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE NEW MEMBERS !

THE FIRST AND ONLY ASSIGNMENT OF A NEW MEMBER IS TO ATTEND A FOUR-WEEKS NEW MEMBERS' CLASS!

AGIT-PROP SECTION

The Radio—The Voice of Our Mass Agitation

WHAT are you doing to get the Party on the radio?
Make use of the local radio stations.

It is possible to get local radio stations to broadcast speeches by local and national Party leaders.

Wherever local radio stations refuse to broadcast, develop a struggle for the right to use the radio as part of our struggle for "freedom of speech".

There can be no real freedom of speech without the right to use the radio.

The Browder broadcast has reached millions.

To reach millions with our mass agitation, work hard and fight to make use of the radio.

The New York Elevator Strike and Our Agit-Prop Work

By D. SILVER

NOTWITHSTANDING many difficulties, the opportunity afforded to influence and win the support of the 70,000 New York elevator strikers was great. And the reports and material thus far available from only a few Sections indicate that the Party responded to the situation with a splendid display of initiative, resourcefulness and energy. Leadership had to be given to the strikers, both from the viewpoint of strike strategy and tactics and from an organizational standpoint. The maneuvers of LaGuardia had to be exposed. The sell-out tendencies and bureaucracy of the union leaders had to be combatted. The campaign to discredit the strike had to be fought, and the sympathy and support of tenants and workers in the struck buildings had to be enlisted. Relief stations had to be set up and maintained. The morale of the strikers had to be kept up. The political implications of the strike had to be brought before the strikers and the population of the city generally, and the role of the Party clearly explained.

The extent to which all of these tasks were carried out is indicated in the following summary of reports and material available from a few of the Sections. Section 18, where a considerable amount of strike activity was concentrated, displayed extraordinary initiative and resourcefulness in dealing with the situation. From the first day of the strike, bulletins were issued to the strikers twice daily. These bulletins were tremendously effective, especially since the union itself did not issue any bulletins to the strikers. The bulletins became an event in the day of the strikers, who looked forward to them eagerly. The bulletins carried hot strike news far more effectively than the **Daily Worker**. News of settlements, tenant support, and union activity were presented in a lively, cheerful manner. The bulletins carried excellent analyses of the situation periodically and issued the correct strike slogans at all times, coming out strongly against the bureaucratic manner in which the strike was being conducted, warning the men against settlement without the closed shop, against the dangers of reliance upon negotiation and against La Guardia's part in the negotiations, and in general gave excellent leadership to the strike. The difficulty of reaching the strikers who were scattered throughout the Section territory with the bulletin was overcome through mobilization of automobiles which went through the entire territory, up one street and down another, handing the bulletins directly to the pickets. The strikers had come to look forward to the bulletin to such an extent that when it was changed from its original mimeographed form to more attractive rotograph the strikers had to be convinced that it was the same bulletin that the Communists had been issuing to them, and not a union publication.

Outstanding Achievements

Two other outstanding achievements must be recorded for Section 18. Two hours after LaGuardia had issued his strikebreaking "state of emergency" proclamation, the Section was distributing a rotographed emergency proclamation of its own, answering the LaGuardia proclamation, recapitulating the conditions and demands of the strikers, exposing the anti-labor nature of the Mayor's proclamation, and forcefully pointing out the conclusion that New York needed a Labor Party mayor. The other achievement of the Section was the organization of two food stations. These food stations were powerful agitation and propaganda instruments. Strikers who came in great numbers for the soup, coffee, and sandwiches were introduced to the **Daily Worker**, were spoken to, given other literature, and came to look forward to these aspects of the relief kitchens.

The work of the Section which is not completely re-

ported here resulted in the recruiting of 21 of the strikers into the Party in the first days of the strike.

In the Harlem section, the strike was concentrated in the "Sugar Hill" area, Washington Heights and Columbia University. Leaflets and bulletins were issued less frequently than in Section 18. Two food stations were established and one "rolling kitchen" (a food truck) placed in operation. The most active unit was the Party unit at Columbia University which was instrumental in bringing out the men from thirteen buildings at the University. The strikers turned naturally to the Party, which has mass influence in Harlem, and the fact that one of the Party members was able to direct one of the strikers to the Party headquarters to get out a leaflet very late a night had a fine effect. It was reported that by the time the leaflet was stenciled and mimeographed the striker was addressing the Party members who had helped him as "comrades". The rolling kitchen carried the **Daily Worker** as well as bulletins to the strikers. A considerable number of strikers have been recruited, though the exact number is not reported.

Section 24, an East Side industrial and office neighborhood, has done some excellent work. The Section issued three leaflets: two to the strikers and one to tenants and workers in struck buildings. The leaflets exposed LaGuardia and the press and brought forward the Farmer-Labor Party. This Section also established two food and propaganda stations. The activity of the Party was so welcome that local strike chairmen have come to the Party headquarters for assistance in drawing up and issuing leaflets. One unit in a large building began its activity before the strike, and was instrumental in getting the men in the building to strike, through a leaflet addressed to them. The unit issued leaflets to the workers and tenants to support the strike with noteworthy effect, the building management being deluged with calls for settlement. The unit issued a bulletin for the strikers of the building with such effect that strikers from a nearby building asked them to issue one for them too. The amount of recruiting done was not reported.

Section 11 in Brooklyn had no direct strike activity but issued a leaflet to the people in the neighborhoods where scabs were being recruited from among the poor unemployed Italian youth calling upon them not to scab. They located the scab agency in the neighborhood and exposed it. In Section 14 the strike activity was limited to three buildings, about an hour's travel apart. A leaflet issued by a unit in the territory had the effect of forcing settlement. A successful struggle was conducted against the eviction of a janitor for participation in the strike.

In Section 22, an East Side section, there was little strike activity. The Section concentrated on mobilization of trade unions, a great many of which meet in the Section territory. Leaflets were issued to the trade unionists asking them to pass resolutions in support of the strike. The delegates of the Central Trades and Labor Council, which meets in the territory, were reached with leaflets. The Central Trades and Labor Council met on the night of the Browder broadcast for which a mass meeting had been arranged by the Section. One delegate to the Central Trades took the comrades who were distributing leaflets to the mass meeting to listen to the Browder broadcast and bought Browder's book, **What Is Communism?**. Four others indicated that they would take the matter of the strike up in their unions. Leaflets were issued in other parts of the section by units.

Section 3, the lower West Side, can also record major achievements in the strike. In the London Terrace apartments the leadership of the strike was very strongly influenced by the Party, with excellent results. The Section issued a special bulletin for the London Terrace strikers called **Terrace Topics**. The tenants were organized in support of the strikers and contributed large sums to the support of the relief kitchen. These strikers stayed out after the general settlement against attempted discrimination, and finally forced the management to take back all strikers.

A group influenced by the Party in the 95 Christopher Street building organized very effective aid to the strikers. The tenants' organization created had Socialists in it, as well as New York State Senator Quinn. The tenants' organization in this building pledged \$66 a week to the support of the strikers. The tenants' organization affiliated with the City Wide Tenants' League which grew out of the strike.

The general conclusion to be drawn from these reports, which are not complete, is that the Party Sections and units met the situation with a considerable degree of energy, initiative and resourcefulness. At the same time the District wishes to call attention to a few instances in which the Sections were remiss, failing to take advantage of situations which offered excellent opportunities for agitation and propaganda. There were mass meetings of strikers in a few Sections where the Party Section failed to have comrades selling the **Daily Worker** and other literature at the strike meetings.

Although the Party had practically no fraction in the union at the outset of the strike, a large fraction was created during the course of the strike though not in time to play any decisive role in the conduct of the strike. The

role and leadership of the Party was brought forward effectively in the leaflets and bulletins issued by the Party sections to the strikers and it is safe to say that the Party has gained tremendously in influence among thousands of strikers and consequently in the union itself. It will be very difficult if not utterly impossible for anyone to raise the Red scare effectively in this union. A basis has been laid for the recruitment of far more strikers than have thus far been recruited. The strikers have received invaluable training not only in strike activity but in the political implications of economic struggles as well, and the Farmer-Labor Party has acquired thousands of new advocates.

While the initial weaknesses of the strike, internally in the form of bureaucratic, compromising leadership, and externally in the powerful concentration of forces against it, could not be overcome in time, the Party played a very important role in preventing a complete defeat and will exert great influence in the struggle now developing against discrimination and for the ultimate granting of the demands of the workers.

Because of the importance and the urgency of achieving the widest possible distribution for Comrade Bittelman's pamphlet, **Going Left**, we are reproducing below the editorial which appeared in the **Daily Worker** for March 23rd:

"GOING LEFT"

"This is the title of a new 5-cent pamphlet by Alex Bittelman, Communist leader, which is just hot off the press.

"The pamphlet discusses the Draft for a Program for the Socialist Party formulated by the Left Socialists last fall. It is a clear, incisive analysis that deals with the fundamental problems facing the American masses today.

"We invite all Socialists to read this pamphlet, discuss it, and let us have their opinions.

"The pamphlet is, however, not only for Socialists. It should be read by all who want to organize the forces of progress in this country to halt the march of reaction."

Report on Shop Papers Issued from May 1935 to January 1936

Dist.	Industry	Name of Shop Paper	May	July	Sept.	Nov.	Jan.	
			June	Aug.	Oct.	Dec.		
1	Rubber Neighborhood	Red Rubber Worker West End Voice			o o	x x	x	
Dist.	Industry	Name of Paper			Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.
2	Power	Hellgate Flash			x	x		
		Power Worker			x	x	x	x
		Dynamo			x		x	
		East River Power Worker				x	x	
	Traction	Times Sq. Shuttle				x		
	Taxi	Radio Call			x			
	and	Red Driver			x		x	
	Trucking	Red Hackie				x		
		Market Worker				x		
	Railroad	Penn Worker					x	
		Morris Park Red Rail				x		
	Longshore and	Red Watch			x	2	2	x
	Marine	Coastwise Unity			x	2	2	x
		Waterfront Worker			x	x		
		The Whip			x			
	Shipyard	Robin's Worker Voice				x		
		Yard Worker			x	x		x
	Light Industry	1850 B'way (needle)					x	
		Dejur Flash				x	x	
		Majestic Worker (metal)				x		
		Voice of the Building (needle)				x	x	
		H. & H. Worker (food)			x	x		
		Altro Worker (metal)				x		
		Voice of 1885 B'way (needle)					x	
		Red Spot (cleaners)				x	x	
		Presto Voice (metal)				x		
		Stone Shoe Worker (shoe)				x		x
		Voice of N. B. C. (food)				x	x	
		Red Thread (needle)			x			
		Red Opera Pump (shoe)			x			
		Packinghouse Worker (food)			x	x	x	
		Shop Life (needle)				x		
		Red Button			x			
		Fighting Milliner (needle)				x		
	Department Store	Red Sparks				x	x	
		Ohracle				x		
	Newspaper Plants	Hearst Worker					x	
		Watch Tower					o	
		Fairchild Bulletin			x	x	x	

Note: x means regular issue.

o means new publication first appearance.

2 means issued twice during the month.

(This list does not include 32 additional papers put out in connection with the Home Relief Buro, Hospitals, Educational Institutions, etc. During the 3-month period, 128 issues of these 71 papers appeared. The 48 other papers in New York did not appear at all from Nov. 15, 1935 to Feb., 1936.)

SHOP PAPER TABLE

37

Dist.	Industry	Name of Shop Paper	June		Aug.	Oct.	Dec.	Jan.
			May	July	Sept.	Nov.		
3	Steel	Mt. Clare Shop News			x			
		Sparrow Point Worker	x	x	x	Appearing Reg.	x	x
	Navy	Navy Yard Worker	x					
	Radio	Philco Broadcast	x	x	x	x	x	x
		RCA Broadcast			Appearing Reg.			
	Needle	Tailor's Voice			Appearing Reg.		x	x
	Neighborhood	Naborhood Voice			x	Appearing Reg.		
	Naborhood Spokesman	x	x	x				
	Water Front	Waterfront News						o
		The Longshoreman			Appearing Reg.			
5	Steel	Duquesne Eye Opener			o	x		
		Tube worker			o	x		
	Mining	Miners Call	o	x	x			
		Inspector			x			
	Elec. Supp. Neighborhood	Westinghouse Worker		x	x		x	App. Reg.
	Worker's Voice			x	x			
		Red Reporter					x	
6	Steel	Carnegie Worker					o	
		Davey Steel Worker	o		x			
		Hot Wire	x					
		Midland Worker		x		x		x
		Red Billet	x	x	x	x		
		Ohio Foundry Worker	x	x	x			x
		Otis Worker	x					x
		New Red Billet	x					
		Red Roller	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Republic Worker	x	x				
	Rubber	Firestone Worker	x	x	x	x		
		Goodrich Worker	x	x	x			
	Radio	Red Broadcast			o	x		x
	Electric	Red Dynamo	x					
	Railroad	Red Express			x			x
		Red Signal	x	x	x	x		x
	Auto	Spark Plug	x	x	x			x
		Red Spotlight				x	x	x
	Neighborhood	Arlington Naborhood Worker						x
		East Side Worker	x					
		Falls Worker				o		
		Fisher Naborhood Worker			x			
		Lakeview Worker			o	x	x	x
		Nabor Voice				x	x	x
		Nabor Worker	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Naborhood Worker	x					
		Neighbor'd Szomszed			x			
	North Side News						x	
	Red Bullet			x				
	Steelton Worker					x		
	Tenth Ward	x						
	Walnut Hills				x	x	x	
7	Auto	Ford Worker			x			
		Hudson Worker	x					
		Murray Body	x	x	x			
		Packard	x					
		Plymouth Gladiator			x	x		
		Ternstedt Worker	x					
		Under the Ford Hood	o					
		Dodge Worker						
		Mad House News						x
		Book Cadillac Hotel		x	x	x	x	x
	Food	Eastern Market						
		Worker			o			
	Neighborhood	Worker's Voice					x	

For More Concentration on Shop Papers

By EMMA YANINSKY

THE table of shop papers on pages 36-37-38 requires the serious study of all comrades. The outstanding lesson is: more concentration on shop work.

Comparing the present period with the same of last year after the January and May Plenums, we notice that last year every District Committee made serious efforts to stabilize existing shop papers and develop new ones in basic shops. Today many shop papers, even those which have been issued for several years, have discontinued their existence while the birth-rate of new ones has become very small.

The issuing of a shop paper is not the only Communist work of a unit. There are many units which carry on splendid work, they recruit members into the Party, solicit readers for the **Daily Worker**, without, however, issuing a shop paper. But for such units to work without a shop paper is the same as if we in New York were to insist on using kerosene lamps instead of electricity.

Our tasks in building the united front in the unions and the Farmer-Labor Party greatly depend upon the work we carry on in the shops. The shop, after all, is the place where we can mobilize the rank and file for action in the unions; the shop is the place where we can reach the thousands of unorganized for organizing into trade unions and for the building of the Farmer-Labor Party. In our effort to concentrate all forces for the struggle for trade union unity, at times some comrades seem to lose sight of the problem of organizing the organized and of the independent role of the Communist shop nucleus. The Communist unit in the shop can help bring these millions of unorganized workers into the unions and thus strengthen the progressive forces in the unions and the fight for trade union unity and a Farmer-Labor Party.

Why is there such a decline in shop paper work?

The lack of a workable apparatus in the Districts and Sections to take care of the work is one of the reasons for this decline. An agit-prop of an important District admitted that a shop paper which was being issued for some time was stopped. After a number of months they investigated and found that the unit had no technical assistance and therefore the paper was dropped. In other instances shop papers were discontinued because of lay-offs and reorganization of units.

Perhaps we may find another reason for this heavy decline in a subconscious tendency to make ourselves less conspicuous as Communists and to eliminate the shop paper as

an "obstacle" toward the united front. There have been a number of instances where comrades raised the issue of discontinuing the shop paper "for a while" because the paper interferes with their work for unity in their unions.

This, of course, shows a lack of understanding of the decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. Every District and Section should immediately take measures to check such tendencies. There may have been cases where the shop paper proved to be an obstacle in the work for unity. Common sense is the necessary guide in every shop paper. We cannot have one policy for all shops. What can be done in one shop may not be possible in another, but in all cases a properly planned Communist shop paper will promote rather than hinder the work for trade union unity. If the shop paper raises issues of the workers which become the popular issues of the workers of the shop or department, the fear of being associated with the "Reds" will be diminished if not eliminated. If the Communist units will not capitulate before the "Red scare" but expose and explain it, the workers will rally around the Communist unit.

Let us remember that what we want is a Farmer-Labor Party which is definitely anti-fascist but not anti-Communist. This is a real job for the Communist shop nuclei; in this work the importance of the shop paper—the speaker of the Communist unit—cannot be minimized.

Let us hope that now in the campaign for unity of the working class in the May Day demonstrations, the Communist units will make every effort to renew the issuing of their shop papers and plan for new papers to reach the millions of workers with our message.

Have Shop Papers "Outlived Their Usefulness"?

By **BILL LAWRENCE,**

Section Organizer, Section 2, District 2

THE very title of this article, which echoes a question that has lately come to be voiced in our midst, indicates an alarming situation. The fact that such a question can be asked, after so many valuable experiences with shop papers, is an indication that something is wrong somewhere.

We may as well face facts. The issuance of shop papers in the New York District, particularly in the Midtown Section, is definitely on the decline. This is not accidental. It is due to:

1. A serious underestimation of the role of the shop paper.

2. Misinterpretation, and at times, distortion of the political line of the Seventh World Congress.

The comrades among whom we find this serious lack of appreciation of a shop paper do not come out bluntly and say so, but beat around the bush. These comrades use the Seventh World Congress as an excuse for their opinions in this matter.

"We have to broaden out," they say. "We cannot follow the old, narrow, sectarian approach," they keep on repeating, until one's ear-drums are ready to burst.

"Yes, of course, I am for a shop paper, but not now; the workers are not ready for it." "I am all for shop papers," say others, "but in this given situation, a shop paper, at this time, is not advisable. It can only hurt and prevent us from building our rank-and-file movement in the shop." And so on down the line.

We are yet to come across a case where the opponent of a shop paper, in "this particular shop" or "in this situation" would not begin his speech by emphasizing the importance and great usefulness of a shop paper, and conclude with, "but, at the same time, we must be flexible, we must be able to understand the exceptional situation, we must not be so mechanical."

The net result of such argumentation is an alarming decrease in the number of shop papers.

It is important to state at the outset, that as far back as May 1926, the Organizational Bureau of the E.C.C.I., in a resolution on factory newspapers, stated:

"The factory papers are one of the best means of most intensively influencing the broad non-Communists, without thereby subjecting the nuclei to employers' terror."

If the above quotation is accepted as a premise, and in our opinion it applies to present-day conditions with full force, then the argument that a shop paper tends to narrow down the movement in a shop is wrong.

It is true that some of our shop papers are technically bad, do not always reflect actual conditions in given departments, and is not always the necessary instrument for agitation and organization.

This should be corrected. But, let us not use the weaknesses of our shop papers as an argument against shop papers. Let us work for **better** shop papers, instead of **less** shop papers.

It is clear that where a shop paper is issued, and becomes influential, the employers will become desperate and at times initiate a reign of terror in the factory. It is also

to be expected that when persecutions begin in the shops, the weaker (politically speaking) Party comrades, as well as some non-Party elements (also weak), begin to look upon the factory paper as the cause of the terror, and propose to discontinue the paper as a "solution" of the problem.

We can enumerate several instances where the above situation took place, and the comrades "solved" the problem by discontinuing the paper. The worst part of this problem is the fact that leading trade union comrades encourage such practices and develop all sorts of "political theories" justifying such actions.

Does the shop paper narrow down organization in the shop? Emphatically not! Of course, it depends on the content of the paper. Scores of instances could be cited where the shop paper was instrumental in developing sentiment against war and fascism, and which resulted in the creation of a united front committee in the shop.

We can prove through personal experience that not only were shop papers instrumental in preventing wage cuts, but through the agitation of shop papers, employers were forced to withdraw wage cuts after they had taken place.

A shop paper with the proper content, carefully planned and directed, can be an instrument for the promotion of economic organization in the shop, where no such organization exists, as well as for the crystallization of sentiment for militant action in a shop already unionized.

It has reached the point where leading comrades argue by inference that a shop paper interferes with the organization of the unorganized, or the broadening out of the rank-and-file movement in an organized shop. Another tendency prevailing is that a shop paper should deal exclusively with general political problems and campaigns and leave out of its columns shop and trade union questions.

This is a fundamental misconception of the role of the Party in the class struggle, and must be rejected as opportunism. Our Party, if it is to gain influence over the majority of the American working class, and lead it onto the road to emancipation, must take the lead in the daily struggles of the workers, for the improvement of their material conditions.

Shop papers, as organs of the Party, must not limit themselves to political issues, but must also react to the every-day occurrences in the shop, and point to a solution of the problems. It is equally important that the factory paper discuss and react to trade union problems and at times take the initiative by suggesting certain action at local union meetings.

It is true that in pursuing this policy, the comrades in charge of the factory paper must use discretion. For in-

stance, if we feel that the previous publication in the paper of a resolution we should like to have passed at a union meeting may for various reasons prevent its adoption, then this resolution should not be included in the factory paper. It is bad, however, when this matter becomes a policy—insisting that articles dealing with trade union activity be excluded from the shop paper, for fear that a “Red scare” may result at local union meetings.

The Seventh Congress emphasized and laid stress on the need of involving ever larger masses in the struggle against fascism, in the fight for the economic and political rights of the workers.

The Seventh Congress with equal force emphasized the absolute necessity for independent Communist activity. Furthermore, Comrade Dimitroff, in his report to the Congress, stated:

“In the struggle for the establishment of the united front, the importance of the leading role of the Communist Party increases extraordinarily. Only the Communist Party is at bottom, the initiator, the organizer and the driving force of the united front of the working class.”

The Communist Party can ensure the mobilization of the broadest masses of the toilers, for a united struggle against fascism and the offensive of capital, **only if it strengthens its own ranks in every respect**, if it develops its initiative, pursues a Marxist-Leninist policy, and applies correct, flexible tactics, which take into account the concrete situation and alignment of class forces.

The factory paper is a powerful means through which we can strengthen our ranks. By taking steps to assure the quality of the shop papers, the maximum results for the Party are guaranteed.

Tasks and Problems of the Workers Schools

By A. MARKOFF

THE historic decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the concrete application of the decisions to the American conditions by our Party, placed before our schools the following question: What is the task of the Workers Schools in line with the new tactical orientation of our Party, what steps are necessary to make the schools effective instruments in the building of the united front movement, in the propaganda for the Peo-

ple's Anti-Fascist Front, in the building and promotion of a Farmer-Labor Party in the U. S. A.? In the consideration of these questions we have felt that we can no longer be satisfied with the scope of our work, that we must expand, broaden the base of operation, that we must speak to broader sections of the population.

It is impossible to lay down a blueprint plan which will suit every one of our schools. Each school operates in a definite territory; there are specific conditions and problems and each school will have to solve these problems, adapt itself to the specific conditions and requirements. Nevertheless, some general aspects of the question can be discussed as a basis for the solution of the specific problems.

The first consideration in line with the broadening of the schools is the curriculum. An examination of our curricula will reveal that the subjects are in many instances too general and abstract. We must make our courses reflect the many problems which arise in the present complexity of rapid changes. The subjects taught must throw light on those problems which agitate every student coming to the school. Every teacher must be aware of this important task. The curricula must be further improved by introducing subjects dealing with the immediate problems in the labor movement and in social life generally.

The fascist forces in this country are constantly misusing the American revolutionary and democratic traditions of the American people for the purpose of misleading the people and furthering their reactionary aims; it is our task to bring forth the revolutionary and democratic traditions in American history in the correct light in order to destroy the fascist demagogy. This requires the introduction of courses dealing with the various phases and stages in the history of the United States and the history of the American labor movement. It is needless to say that problems affecting the trade union movement must become a cardinal part of the curriculum of every school.

The titles of the subjects given at the schools should not be of a stereotyped character. They must be so worded as to create an interest in the prospective student. The teaching methods, the attitude of the instructor in the classroom should stimulate the student to free expression, to active participation in the discussions, etc.

Courses of popular interest such as certain courses in science, biology, anthropology, health and hygiene will help in making the schools more popular. Specialists in these fields who are coming closer to us should be invited as lecturers.

The location of the school is an important consideration. Wherever the location is unfavorable every effort must be made to change to a more suitable place.

Our Attitude Towards Other Institutions of Workers' Education

In the U. S. A. we have many institutions for "workers' education". Some of them are of the trade union type, others of the so-called non-partisan type of general education. In the past we have made but little effort to establish contact with these schools. It is necessary for us to establish closer relations with them in the form of joint conferences for the discussion of teaching methods, of texts, and other material, for purposes of research, for exchange of lecturers, etc. These conferences will aid in the promotion of united action against the attacks of reactionary forces, against reactionary proposed legislative measures directed to curtail academic freedom, in schools generally, and the interference with workers' education particularly.

What We Must Guard Against

In the consideration of the task of broadening the base of our Workers Schools we have observed a number of wrong tendencies. These tendencies, if allowed to develop, will have the effect of obscuring or even negating the Leninist character of our teaching.

One outstanding tendency is the proposal to convert our schools into "people's schools" or "people's colleges". The argument runs as follows: the Workers Schools as they are at the present time are distinctly Marxist-Leninist institutions. As such, they can appeal only to a limited number of people, to those who are coming closer to the Party; that in order to broaden the schools we must take on a non-partisan character; that the united front must be extended to include the united front in the theoretical phase of our work.

Let us examine this argument: the theory of Marxism-Leninism is an integral part of our Party work. We refer to our Party as the embodiment of working class revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice. Marxism-Leninism is the theory and the only theory that "can give the movement confidence, guidance, and understanding of the inner links between events; its laws can enable those engaged in the practical struggle to understand the whence and the whither of the working class movement". (Stalin—*Leninism*, Vol. I, page 94.)

The proposal to convert our schools into "people's schools", non-partisan schools, is tantamount to a negation of our theory. Can we as Marxists-Leninists recognize non-partisanship in theory? Can we as Communists substitute eclecticism in place of dialectics in working class education? (Comrade Lenin referred to eclecticism as "illogical confusion of materialism and idealism".)

On the contrary, it is precisely at this time with the development of broad people's movements in which our comrades will have to play an active role, that we must build and strengthen our schools. Comrade Dimitroff, in his report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, emphasized very strongly the need for consolidation of our Parties, not only in a quantitative but also in a qualitative sense. He stressed the importance of carrying on sharp struggles against sectarianism on the one hand and Right opportunism on the other. In his concluding remarks he said:

"Our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action, Lenin used to say. It is **such** a theory that our cadres need and they need it as badly as they need their daily bread, as they need air, water. Whoever really wishes to rid our work of deadening, stereotyped schemes, of pernicious scholasticism, must sear them out with a red-hot iron, both by real, **practical**, active struggle waged together with and at the head of the masses, and by **untiring effort** to grasp the mighty, fertile, all-powerful Bolshevik theory, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

It should be clear to every comrade that in order to carry on effective work in the various movements in which our comrades have to participate, such as the Townsend movement, the National Union for Social Justice, the movement for Social Credit, and others, the comrades must be equipped with the correct theory of Marxism-Leninism.

"The Workers School is that institution where we arm our leading cadres with weapons which give them the ability to resist the influence of class enemy ideas, to combat them, to overcome them. The school is where they master the ideological weapons of Marxism-Leninism and put them into effect in the mass struggles. Let us grasp the full meaning of that slogan of our great leader, Marx, that **an idea becomes power when it is seized upon by the masses**. Our ideas are not forces in themselves. They are instruments of the masses for the carrying through of the class struggle." (Earl Browder—**Communism in the United States**, p. 310.)

The tendency, therefore, to convert our schools into non-partisan schools is incompatible with the correct understanding of the role of Marxist-Leninist theory in the revolutionary movement.

In order further to clarify the problems raised in this article, more discussion is necessary. Comrades engaged in school work as well as all other comrades should contribute their opinions and experiences to this discussion.

A Review of Lenin Memorial Leaflets

By ED. SMITH, Assistant Director,
New York Workers School

ONLY several Districts of the Party submitted agitational material in the form of leaflets, circulars, and throw-aways, issued for the Lenin Memorial campaign.

In preparation for the Lenin Memorial Meeting, the New York District issued two leaflets. The New York District is to be particularly commended on this agitational material. The leaflets are a distinct departure from the stereotyped, cut and dry material that is too often issued by Party organizations. One of the leaflets succeeds in showing, by means of an effective cartoon, the connection between the revolutionary traditions of '76 and the revolutionary struggles of today led by the Party of Lenin. The contents of this leaflets bring out a number of important points: the Soviet Union as a monument to Lenin, the struggle against reaction and fascism today, the need for the united front and the Farmer-Labor Party. It is simply written and attractive.

One serious defect is to be pointed out; although the heading of the leaflet calls for a "United Front Against Hunger, Fascism and War", not a single sentence in the leaflet deals with the present struggles for peace, the peace policy of the Soviet Union, or any of the other current questions in connection with the anti-war struggles of the day.

The second leaflet issued by the District of New York also shows a departure from the old pattern. A very effective method is used in this leaflet. The main box contains a photograph of current newspaper clippings. These newspaper headlines deal with the impending world war, the Liberty League, the cutting off of relief, Labor Party, etc. The printed copy deals in short telegraphic sentences with the problems of the day and points to Lenin's historic contribution in the struggle against hunger, tyranny, and war as the way out.

Judging from the printed material received from District 3, the comrades in Philadelphia made detailed and well-planned preparations for their Lenin Memorial Meeting. The material includes, not only a whole series of throw-aways, stickers, leaflets, and announcements, but also personal letters to the Party members and personal invitations to workers. Each Party member received a personal letter from Pat Toohey, the District Organizer. The District Organizer appealed to each Party member and reminded him of his personal responsibility in helping to organize the meeting by bringing people from their shop, the wide-

spread distribution of the **Daily Worker** and **Sunday Worker** and other tasks in connection with the meeting. We must also take note of the very attractive personal invitation issued by the United Workers' Organization.

The main leaflet covers fully the main questions of the day. Particularly good is the treatment of the local issues in Philadelphia. We must ask the comrades, however, how it is that in a two-page leaflet which covers many questions, there is no mention of the great achievements of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Is not this the way that we can best show the greatest achievements of Lenin and the Party of Lenin?

The comrades in this District issued a special leaflet addressed to the Negro workers. In this leaflet the comrades contrasted jim-crowism, segregation and discrimination of the Negroes in the United States as exemplified by the conditions prevailing in the United States with the "complete equality for all who labor regardless of their race or the color of their skin". This has been done, the leaflet explains, because the Soviet Union is a workers' government. But here again, we must ask, is it not necessary to state that the basis for this lies in the national policy of the Soviet government under which the formerly oppressed peoples and national minorities in tsarist Russia are now liberated and the nations comprising the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics exist on the basis of national equality and voluntary assent? While we do not expect that this can be explained in detail in a one-page leaflet, nevertheless, if in a leaflet the struggle for national liberation carried on in the colonies is mentioned, would not a brief statement on the national policy of the Soviet Union help to make clear how national oppression has been abolished in the U. S. S. R.?

In contrast to the leaflets issued in New York and Philadelphia which on the whole are attractive, easy to read and written in popular style, the main leaflet issued in Passaic is dull, overburdened with too much detail, and entirely too long and involved. Fewer details and more simple and understandable language would have made a more effective appeal. In this respect, the second leaflet addressed to the Negro people in Passaic was far better. This leaflet is superior to the other one precisely because it is simple and readable.

On the whole, if one can judge from the leaflets received, it seems that our Party is making progress in learning to speak the language which masses understand. As compared with previous leaflets, there is much that is new in the methods of agitation. No longer can we be satisfied with a mere repetition of our theses and resolutions. In the words of Comrade Browder, we must "take our resolutions and translate them into the language of the masses".