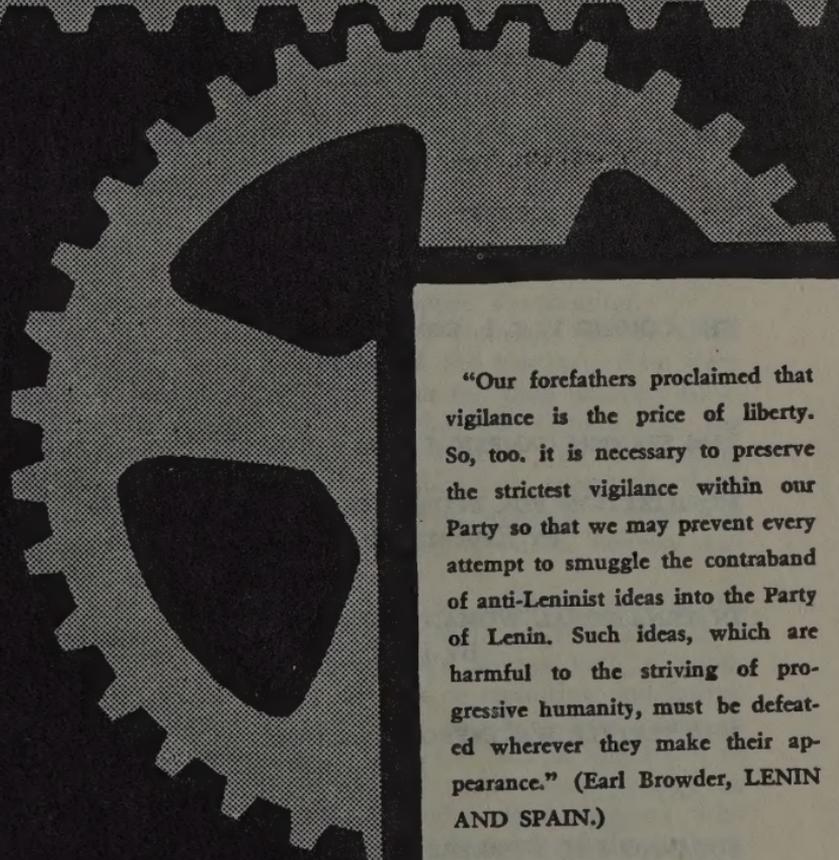


# Party Organizer



“Our forefathers proclaimed that vigilance is the price of liberty. So, too, it is necessary to preserve the strictest vigilance within our Party so that we may prevent every attempt to smuggle the contraband of anti-Leninist ideas into the Party of Lenin. Such ideas, which are harmful to the striving of progressive humanity, must be defeated wherever they make their appearance.” (Earl Browder, LENIN AND SPAIN.)

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## CONTENTS

THE WORK OF THE PARTY DURING STRIKE STRUGGLES	1
DRIVE THE TROTSKYITES OUT OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT	4
PROBLEMS OF REGISTRATION	7
By J. PETERS	
THE COMING Y. C. L. CONVENTION	11
By GIL GREEN	
THE SPANISH CAMPAIGN AND PARTY BUILDING	15
MOBILIZATION FOR INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S DAY	17
By EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION, C. C.	
INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S DAY	19
By ELLA REEVE BLOOR	
THE SEATTLE WATERFRONT SECTION	22
By H. BAXTER	
BUILDING THE WORKERS ALLIANCE	25
By C. J.	
SHOP WORK IN PHILADELPHIA	29
By E. S.	

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# PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. X

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## The Work of the Party During Strike Struggles

THE PRESENT STRIKE STRUGGLES in the auto industry raise sharply before us the work of Party organizations during strikes. It would be incorrect to fail to recognize that in the past, we found only too often that during strike struggles the Party organizations that would be expected to display their greatest activity at such a time practically stopped functioning.

It was not that the individual Party comrades in the given factory or industry were inactive. On the contrary, they were most active. In fact, the reason given for the shop unit not functioning during a strike always was that the comrades of the nucleus were busy with regular strike duties. And the leading comrades of the section or city organization, except in those cases where they were isolated from the struggle (which was an exception) were also busy with regular strike activity and neglected specific Party work.

The result of such conditions was that after the end of the strike, the Party organization found itself in the same state as before and often even weaker. We always had to adopt resolutions criticizing ourselves for lack of recruiting and failure to build the circulation of the *Daily Worker*. We found in addition that little was done to bring the face of the Party to the strikers. The Party organization spent much energy in support of the strike. Special comrades were assigned who worked day and night to help win the demands of the strikers. The Party, through its proposals, often saved the day. The Party comrades were among the most militant, the most active, the most self sacrificing workers in the strike. But the masses hardly knew that the Party was a factor. Very often the masses knew of the participation of the Party in support of the strike only through the employers and their agents who used the Red bogey. Naturally this did not put the Party in the most favorable light, because it did not put the Party in a true light.

We naturally raise these questions now not because we wish our Party to stop its policy of mobilizing all its strength in support of the strike struggles. Our Party will never fail to support every struggle of the workers in defense of their interests. Were it to do that it would stop being what it is—the Party of the workers, the advance guard of the working class. On the contrary, we raise these weaknesses, seen in the strike struggles of the past, because we are convinced that when our Party organizations function properly, we are able to be of greater service to the workers. If we did not believe this we would not be ready to do all in our power to build the Party. *And if the workers need the Party at all times, it is obvious that they need the Party most in the period of sharp struggles.*

But when every Party member works merely as an individual, without the Party organization in the shop or the section working in an organized manner, then the general strike activity does not receive the full benefit of the existence and the role of the Party, and the Party as such does not appear in the picture at all. Even if the Party unit meets and discusses all questions in an organized manner, makes proposals through the regular democratic organs of the unions and the strike, such things while already a big step forward do not by themselves solve the task of bringing forward the policies of the Party in its name, do not acquaint the workers with the role and activity of the Party.

*To do this the Party organizations, the units, the section committee, etc., must see to it that not only do the Communists work collectively in order that everything is done to win the strike, but that they also carry on activity in their own name, through leaflets, shop bulletins, the Daily Worker and Sunday Worker, through Party mass meetings, through individual contacts. In this way they acquaint the workers with the position of the Party on the various issues and problems involved in the strike and explain to the workers what Communists stand for in the strike, and the connection of the struggle with the general aims of the Party.*

In the present auto strike steps are being taken to work in a correct manner. Plans have already been worked out and some executed. If all of the proposals will be carried through by all districts in the auto centers we shall surely get good results. The plans worked out are indeed very modest.

First, it was decided that every Party member in the union,

in the struck plant, must show by example that the Communists are among the most active workers in the strike. A Party member, who does not stand in the forefront of the struggle, does not fulfill the very first requirement of a Communist. *The Party organization as such in the city and the sections must place themselves at the disposal of the union and do everything possible towards winning the strike.*

Second, the Party committees should meet regularly. It is precisely in such times of struggle that the Party committees, the district, county, section committees, and the unit bureaus have the greatest responsibility. The tendency often is for one or two comrades to make all decisions and practically to abandon regular meetings of the committees during the strike. This is usually done because many members of the committees are busy with daily strike activity.

Third, the Party policies must be proposed by our comrades in the various committees in which they are members. They must explain to the non-Party workers the reasons for these proposals. This does not mean that the Party comrades in such committees make these proposals in the name of the Party. They make these proposals as union men. At the same time decisions of the union become important decisions for our Party which must guide our actions. (Of course, we as a Party cannot endorse decisions which we think are against the best interests of the workers.) The Party comrades in the union, in the strike, should meet, discuss, and make proposals to the leading committees of the Party on all important questions.

Fourth, the Party should bring its suggestions as to how to strengthen the strike, a call for support to the entire labor movement, etc., to the masses through its press, the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*, shop bulletins. In the auto strike the *Daily Worker* is issuing a special supplement for this purpose. The *Daily Worker* is the most effective means for us to bring forward the Party. Without it we are not reaching the widest sections of the strikers and the labor movement generally with our point of view. Naturally the larger its circulation the more effectively we will bring forward the Party.

Fifth, the holding of Party meetings in solidarity with the strike. Such meetings should be well-organized, often with entertainment included. Strikers should be invited to the meetings. Sometimes the union can be induced to send speakers to the meetings, to appeal for support.

Sixth, special attention should be given to the work of the shop nuclei, to the publication of the shop bulletins, open meetings, etc.

In connection with all the above activities, it is necessary to assure the personal and individual work of the comrades engaged in the strike, with the objective of recruiting into the Party the most active and militant workers.

In conclusion, we should also guard against any remnants of the theory of stages—that is, that first we concentrate on winning the strike, and afterwards we give attention to the work of the Party. We have already seen time and again in our own experience that this theory is wrong and dangerous, not only because it results in neglecting to build the Party, but also because it results in weakening the strike as it robs the workers of that organized force which they need for victory.

## Drive the Trotskyites Out of the Labor Movement!

THE MOSCOW TRIAL has shown the whole world to what depths the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites have sunk. The trial has proven that Trotsky and his conspirators plotted the destruction of the Soviet Union, the re-establishment of capitalism, plotted together with the German and Japanese fascists, and committed assassinations, wrecking, sabotage, etc.

The Trotskyites worked hand in hand with German and Japanese fascists. They were planning to help the fascists attack the Soviet Union, which means they were aiming to bring on a new world slaughter, and strike a blow at peace and democracy.

These assassins are today glorified by the capitalist press which again proves that their deeds serve capitalist aims. The Trotskyite assassins and wreckers were not only active in the Soviet Union. Their fascist deeds in Spain, France and other countries are known. In the United States, their disruptive

actions are becoming known to increasing numbers of workers.\* Their aim in the United States is to capture the Socialist Party and make of it the basis of operations of the Trotskyites in the United States and the Americas.

Wherever in the labor movement disruptive work is being carried on, confusion spread among the workers, service done for the bosses, we find the Trotskyites at work. Their slanderous leaflets against the Workers Alliance, their slanderous leaflets against the People's Front in Spain, prove that the aim of the Trotskyites is to split the working class organizations, check their growth, spread defeatism, hinder the organizational drives in the steel, auto, rubber, etc., industries. The Trotskyites work as the agents of the reactionaries and fascists in the labor movement.

Our Party must be mobilized 100 per cent to expose the counter-revolutionary aims of the Trotskyites, to wipe out their disruptive work. All Party members must be on the alert against these counter-revolutionary disrupters in the trade unions and in every mass organization. We must expose their disruptive actions so that the Trotskyites will be driven from the labor movement.

In the Socialist Party, the Trotskyites are meeting growing resistance from honest rank and filers. This calls for greater efforts on our part to bring these honest Socialists closer to us. We must help them wage a relentless struggle against the Trotskyites. We will fulfill this task to the extent that we expose the sabotage and stool pigeon work of the Trotskyites, their counter-revolutionary attacks against the Soviet Union, their fascist position on the People's Front, and especially by exposing concretely their disruptive activities inside the Socialist Party itself.

We must mobilize our forces to check any advance of these disrupters in working class organizations. We cannot allow Trotskyites to take leading positions in the Workers Alliance and other organizations just because they disguise themselves under the label of the Socialist Party. We cannot allow them to wreck organizations which are struggling for the everyday needs of the masses, organizations which were built by the

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\* See Comrade Jack Stachel's article in the January 30 issue of the DAILY WORKER for details.

united efforts of the Communists, Socialists and thousands of class conscious workers.

While intensifying our struggle against the Trotskyites and their anti-working class doctrines, and sharpening our attacks against those elements which are tolerant towards Trotskyites, and have fallen prey to the demagogy spread by the capitalist press, we must at the same time increase our efforts for united action with the Socialists with regard to our activities in the trade unions, in the unemployed field, in the struggle for the everyday demands in the various localities.

For the purpose of mobilizing every Party member to struggle against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, it is necessary to call special meetings in which the Moscow trials shall be discussed. We must take up our tasks in relation to the activities of the Trotskyites and involve the whole membership in driving them out of the labor movement. In every district membership meetings on a section and city scale must be called. In every unit, in every fraction, we must have a thorough discussion of the Trotskyite activities, not only as exposed by the Moscow trial, but in relation to the disruptive activities of the Trotskyites in the American labor movement as a whole, and in the particular organization where our comrades are active.

In all organizations where the Trotskyites are conducting their anti-working class activities, they must be exposed in leaflets, by mass meetings, whenever the occasion arises. While the bourgeois press glorifies the murderers of the working class and is consciously trying to confuse the masses, instinctively the American working class, which hates stool pigeons and disrupters, understands the reasons for the sentences and is praising the Soviet Union for getting rid of assassins and wreckers who were responsible for the death of hundreds of workers and children.

We must be more vigilant everywhere since the Trotskyites are subtle in their propaganda. They cover their counter-revolutionary deeds with "revolutionary" phrases. We must prevent workers' libraries and bookshops from becoming a medium through which they spread their poisonous propaganda. Clean out the libraries and throw out Trotskyite literature.

It is our task to develop mass indignation not only against the assassins and wreckers in the Soviet Union, but their

followers in the United States who are the disrupters and agents of capitalism in the labor movement. We must penetrate the capitalist press smokescreen by getting workers to write thousands and hundreds of thousands of letters expressing their indignation over the vile actions of the Trotskyites and praising the stand of the Soviet Union.

At every meeting, after a thorough discussion resolutions should be adopted and sent to the *Daily Worker* and the rest of the Party press. Drive the Trotskyites out of the labor movement!

## Problems of Registration

J. PETERS

REGISTRATION OF THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP is almost completed in every district. In this article we shall discuss a few problems which have come up:

1. What to do about those members who did not register.
2. How to use the registration as an instrument for recruiting.
3. How to use the facts gained by registering the membership.

The only district which provides material for this discussion is New York. The New York district registered only about 70 percent of the membership in the three weeks of the registration period.

The New York district, for obvious reasons, has the best apparatus handling the membership, and if the New York district, with quite adequate machinery for a thorough preparation, in three unit meetings registered only 70 percent of the members on record—we feel rather uneasy in waiting for results from the other districts.

Even if all districts succeeded in registering the same percentage as New York, we would have about 30 percent of our membership outside of the Party organization. It would do no harm to stress again one of our most burning organizational problems—fluctuation—and the cause and cure of it.

Thirty percent of those Party members in New York who had membership books, and paid dues in the Party, for a short

or long period, we have not succeeded in reaching during the registration. 30 percent of the membership didn't come to the unit meetings to get their new books. Almost one third of the membership (a) hasn't found out yet that there is a registration taking place in the Party—that they have to exchange their old books for new ones; or (b) haven't made up their minds whether to register or not; or (c) don't want to register for one reason or another.

According to the facts in New York, the shop and industrial units succeeded in registering about 90 percent of the membership. The small size neighborhood units registered almost 80 percent of their members. The large branches have only 50-55 percent registration. These facts very clearly indicate not only the problems we face concerning the fluctuation, but also contain the organizational solution to a great extent.

In the shop and industrial units the comrades know each other. If certain members of the unit don't attend the meetings, the unit as a whole is disturbed and takes steps to find the reason for this inactivity. In the small neighborhood unit, the unit bureau is able to check on the members for the simple reason that they know everybody, not only by name, but they know also their addresses and something about their problems. But in the large branches—branches which had, and in certain instances still have, 100 or more members, the unit bureau does not know a large proportion of the membership. They know only those members of the branch who attend the meetings more or less regularly. Those members who are active in mass organizations, or are not absorbed in Party activities, are not known to the leadership of the branch. The result in New York was that when the registration resulted in exchanging the membership books of about 50-55 percent of the members on record, and the district apparatus checked with the unit about the remaining members, the unit bureau was unable to give any explanation for the remaining 45-50 percent. They didn't have their addresses; they didn't know who they were or how to get in touch with them.

We would like to touch on the organizational problems—problems which if we succeed in solving them, would result in bringing back a large number of those members who today, because of the lack of attention and organizational apparatus, are drifting away or out of the Party. Steps which must be taken immediately during the period of registration are the following:

1. The registration period should be extended at least two or three weeks, in certain places even longer if the circumstances demand it.

2. The unit membership which has registered should be divided into groups of two or three, giving them the assignment of visiting every Party member on record. They will have the task of convincing these comrades to register, or if they fail, to have a thorough explanation of the reasons why the member does not want to belong to the Party.

3. After this visiting of every non-registered member is completed, the unit bureau should, on the basis of the reports of the various groups, select the most able comrades of the section to re-visit those members who have given reasons for not registering.

It is inconceivable that such a large number of Party members are determined to stay out of the Party. There must be some basic weakness in organizing the registration in the units, and this weakness could be overcome very easily if the district, section committees and the unit bureaus seriously considered the problem of losing or gaining in this period, thousands and thousands of members for the Party.

In one big section in New York, about 100 members didn't register after the three weeks of registration. Can such a section give up these members, or isn't it their Communist duty to find ways and means of bringing these 100 workers, who have joined the Party and have stuck to it for a short or long period, back to the Party?

We are very much worried about the membership during the registration period but, during the whole year, we fail to provide the necessary organizational apparatus to keep the members. There are only a very few districts and sections where the membership committees are functioning properly. The units have no records of the members; they don't know who is transferred in; who is transferred out; who is recruited; who has dropped out; why, etc. etc. It is no wonder that when the registration period comes the unit bureaus, which are changed quite often, are forced to throw up their hands when the higher committees, who have more or less adequate record of the membership, give them the number of members they should have on their rolls.

Arguments are going on between the unit and the district on the figures; the lower bodies always denying that they have so many members in the Party. They have no record. They

only guess. And their guess is based more or less on the attendance, or dues payments, which are by no means convincing facts in deciding the number of members in the unit. There are scores of members in every unit and section who consider themselves Party members, are doing good work in one or the other mass organizations, but who don't come to unit meetings, don't pay dues for a long period. These members are entirely forgotten by the unit bureau, but are on the record of the higher committees.

We have to take very serious steps to establish a reliable administration in each unit. The Central Committee issued a special membership record book for each unit, handled by the membership director of the unit, concerning the membership of the unit. On this record, the membership director or secretary will have to enter every member of the unit—the new members recruited, members transferred in—mark their attendance regularly at every unit meeting in the column provided for that purpose, and mark those members who, after thorough examination, were dropped from the Party or expelled for some disciplinary measures. If this book is kept up to date, there will be no problem in the future of checking the membership. The unit bureau will be able to know at any time, not only the number of members in the unit, but also the individuals who are active in the unit and those who, for one reason or another, dropped out of the Party, or transferred to another Party organization.

It is understood that the names and addresses of the members must be properly safeguarded in every unit.

The present registration material could be used very effectively in building and strengthening the Party, especially in the factories and mass organizations. The material gained from the registration should be studied seriously by the district, section and unit leadership. If we find somebody in an important factory, he should be especially coached to recruit from that factory new members for the Party. If we find somebody in an important mass organization or union, special efforts should be made to help him to get Party members from the organization to which he belongs.

After every registration in districts where the material is seriously studied, we build scores of new shop units. We find in the registration material people who work in the same factory or industry and they belong to different units of the Party. The registration will help us to bring them together in

one unit. The district and sections should analyze the registration and seriously consider the composition of the membership and the steps to be taken in order to improve it.

The registration must be used for a thorough examination of the personnel (unit bureaus, section committee members). We will find very interesting facts about the leadership in the lower organizations. In New York in one section, the comrades found out that the large percentage of the unit leadership is composed of members who are only a few months in the Party, without any previous experience in organization, while there are scores of very able, loyal, developed Party comrades with years of experience in the Party and other mass organizations who are not being used.

One of the main problems we are facing now in connection with the registration is to get the 30-35 percent unregistered members back to the Party. Wide publicity in every Party publication we have, including the *Daily Worker*, will help us to achieve the goal of registering every Party member.

## The Coming Y.C.L. Convention

GIL GREEN

THE EIGHTH NATIONAL CONVENTION of the Young Communist League will meet in New York City from April 2 through April 5. The basis of representation and the scope of the convention tasks and deliberations will make it a unique gathering of American youth and a landmark in the history of the revolutionary youth movement of this country.

The building of a broader Young Communist League, the establishment of a front of America's young generation, and winning the youth for a united youth organization as part of the Farmer-Labor Party movement, place before the Communist core in the youth movement, and before the entire Communist Party, more serious and difficult tasks than ever before.

Representation at the Eighth Convention will be based primarily on the branches and units of the Young Communist League. Each branch will be entitled to one delegate. Those

having more than 25 members will be entitled to one additional delegate for every 25 or major fraction thereof. District committees will also have delegates to the convention on the basis of one for every 200 members in the district. In order to make possible the representation of every single branch in the Y.C.L. without placing an unequal burden on those branches farthest from New York, a three-dollar registration fee will be levied on each delegate. However, even this measure will not cover the tremendous costs of assembling the delegates from all parts of the country, and additional funds are to be raised in the Y.C.L., in the Communist Party, and friendly organizations.

On January 1-3, 1937, there took place an enlarged plenary session of the Young Communist League which adopted the procedure for the convention and inaugurated the pre-convention discussion. The order of business of the convention will be:

1. Guest speakers, including not only representatives of the Central Committee of the Party, but prominent trade union figures and youth leaders.
2. Election of convention officers.
3. Election of convention committees:
  - a. Presiding.
  - b. Program and Resolution.
  - c. Constitution and by-laws.
  - d. Education.
  - e. Auditing.
4. Report of National Committee: "America's Youth Faces the Future." Discussion.
5. Round-table discussions and special reports on the following subjects:
  - a. How to win young people for the trade union movement.
  - b. Young women and their problems.
  - c. The struggle for the rights of the Negro youth.
6. Evening discussion forums on the following lectures:
  - a. "Peace or War—Which Shall It Be?"
  - b. "Youth Under a Socialist Democracy."

7. Reports from convention committees and discussion following each.
8. Election of Chairman, Secretary and National Committee.

In line with the report of Gil Green to the last National Conference of the Y. C. L. the activities of the League and the preparations for the convention must in large part be based on the fact that many young people have been drawn into the basic industries of the country. Emphasis on the young people in mass production industries, and on winning the young people for the trade unions, will help solve the manifold problems facing the Y. C. L. In this regard, the resolution of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, for winning the sons and daughters of labor for the trade unions, is of tremendous importance for the entire labor movement. Problems such as vocational training and apprenticeship have become more acute than ever, precisely in view of the upturn in production. The decision of the Central Labor Council of New York, calling for a special conference of the trade unions on this matter, again gives the entire labor movement a significant point of departure.

Because of the strategic position of the Communist Party in the trade unions, many of the problems facing the Young Communist League can be approached only with the closest guidance and support of the Party. Thus, for example, the Party is in a key position to help broaden the trade union base of the united front of American youth for progressive social legislation. In connection with the activity of the American Youth Congress and other youth groups for the American Youth Act, against child labor, for the withdrawal of the army from control of the C. C. C., for the Nye-Kvale Bill against compulsory military training, the trade union support for the united front of youth, for the American Youth Congress, has not been sufficiently established.

For some time, after the Sixth Congress of the Young Communist International, there was discussion in both the Party and the League as to the role of the Y. C. L. At the last conference of the League it can be said that most of the confusion and tendencies toward liquidating the Y. C. L. were overcome. In all the discussion there was clarity on the need for broadening the organizational forms and activity of the League, building the organization precisely in order that it might be a more effective instrument for building a united organization

of youth. Great stress was placed on education, and new forms of conducting educational activities. A comprehensive plan of activity in the fields of dramatics, sports and music was outlined. Again, it is precisely in such activities that the role of the adult movement, of specialists in such fields who are in or close to the Party, will prove decisive in enabling the youth movement to develop such activities.

Pre-convention discussion is being organized on the broadest possible scale. Every branch of the Y.C.L. is to set aside at least one month for such discussion. At the first meeting in pre-convention discussion there is to be a report from the district committee on the last Y.C.L. conference. Discussion on this follows. After that, the League branches organize their own discussions on branch experiences and problems, and in all cases are invited to draw up resolutions for the national convention, which will make the deliberations of the convention truly representative of the entire League. All district and section committees of the Party should likewise have some discussion on the Y.C.L. convention and on the activity of the Party in youth work.

Teachers' fractions and similar groups in the Party which are in contact with problems of the young people should arrange special pre-Y.C.L. convention discussions. This is the best time for the Party branches to examine what forces they have in the Y.C.L. or doing youth work, and to see whether they are helping prepare the Y.C.L. convention, and building the Young Communist League.

The February issue of *The Communist* contains the full report of Gil Green to the last national Y.C.L. conference. The *Daily Worker* and the entire Party press is utilizing its columns for this discussion. Party members especially should not only read but actively participate in this discussion.

## The Spanish Campaign and Party Building

IN TOWN X— we had a very small unit numbering no more than twelve to fifteen members. The unit, with the exception of three new members, was long established but nevertheless could not involve itself in the life of the community and react to some of the problems which the workers of this town face. One of the main reasons for the lack of activity on the part of this unit was that there was no trade union movement in the town until recently, when the Steel Workers Organizing Committee came and began organizing steel workers and, so far, made a fairly good job of it.

With the development of the drive, particularly since election day, the tension and the fear on the part of the workers began to loosen up and larger numbers of them were ready to participate in the working class movement and, of course, this had its effect upon the work of our unit. In the first place, the comrades who are working in the mill are playing an important role insofar as actual organization is concerned. One of our new comrades was instrumental in recruiting over 600 workers into the union and is still going strong. In participating in this very important work, the activities of the unit likewise changed and instead of discussing every problem under the sun they began to concentrate on two issues: trade union organization and the Spanish campaign.

The comrades got out among the Spanish-speaking workers, who number about 800 to 900, and after several days were able to get some of these workers to form a committee in defense of Spain. To prove to these Spanish workers that the Party meant business, the unit organized an affair and collected \$25, and promptly turned that money over to the Spanish committee to start work with. Other language organizations such as the Hungarian and Portuguese agreed to serve on that committee. The local branch of the Workers Alliance likewise was involved in this work.

Our Party unit suddenly found itself involved in very important work, for which most of the responsibility rested with the Party. While being active in this campaign the comrades realized that the best assurance for the success of this campaign is the building of the Party among these Spanish-speaking

workers, who because of our activities became very friendly. The unit decided to call a meeting of the Party to which some of the most active workers were invited. At this meeting three of these workers joined the Party and promised they would bring some of their friends to the next meeting. At the next meeting, which was prepared in the better form, a leading comrade of the section was there and spoke on the Spanish situation, the position of the Communist Party and on the campaign of the C. I. O. in the steel industry. The discussion followed, mostly in Spanish. The workers present were well pleased with the activities of our Party and seven more joined. The Party unit, together with the Spanish committee (though not officially), organized a mass meeting for the defense of Spain and \$145 was collected and sent to the North American Committee.

At the present time, due to the fact that these Spanish workers do not speak English, we set up a Spanish-speaking branch of the Party as a temporary organization, where these workers will be trained for the Party and later shifted into the shop nucleus in the steel mill. In the opinion of these Spanish comrades there is at present a very good opportunity to build up the unit to about fifty or more members. With the exception of a few individuals the sympathies of the Spanish people in town, who are mostly steel workers, are with the Party and this, of course, is the result of the unit's ability to take advantage of a given campaign, to put forward the position of the Party and to understand the importance of building the Party in the steel industry. Whereas in the past our Party was practically unknown to the workers, at present generally and particularly among the Latin-speaking workers our Party is known for what is, and that is, the most active force in the organization of the unorganized and the mobilization of the widest possible support for the Spanish people.

# Mobilizing for International Woman's Day

EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION, C. C.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S DAY, originating in America in 1908, has become the symbol of struggle for women's rights among millions of women of the working class throughout the world. In America it is as yet a tradition to a comparatively small section of women. It must be our task to broaden our struggles so that International Woman's Day may become the property of women of the farm, mill, factory, office and household, of Negro and white women, so that its traditions will inspire the women of America to become part of a great People's Front against fascism and for peace, bread and freedom.

The designation of a special day devoted to propaganda among women was first conceived to be for the purpose of advocating woman suffrage which was then agitating the middle class women and for general agitation among working women. It was designated as the last Sunday in February.

Clara Zetkin, at an international conference of Socialist women in Copenhagen in 1910, proposed that this day become international. Comrade Zetkin then put this resolution into action in Germany and it was celebrated for the first time in 1911 in that country. The struggle for equal rights for women was only part of the struggle for the emancipation of the workers from capitalism and she called upon the women to mobilize and struggle for their special needs as well as for the improvement of the conditions of the toilers as a whole. The demonstrations in Germany were highly successful.

In 1914 Rosa Luxemburg rallied the women in Germany for the struggle against impending war and was arrested for her activity. On International Woman's Day the women of Germany demonstrated against the arrest of Red Rosa and against war. Huge demonstrations against war were held in many countries under the leadership of the Socialist movement.

On March 8, 1917, the women of tsarist Russia, defying the brutal terror of the police, left the factories and marched into the street demanding "bread and an end to the capitalist war". Their action was thus the forerunner of the great October Revolution. Throughout the entire Russian revolution and

through the bitter years of intervention and famine the women fought valiantly along with the men to maintain the Soviet power. In 1918 and 1919 International Woman's Day in the Soviet Union became the rallying cry for increased defense and against the international imperialist invaders. Today they enjoy the fruits of their struggle—equal with men in the building of socialism.

On March 8, 1936, International Woman's Day in Spain was celebrated by 80,000 demonstrators marching through Madrid under the slogans of liberation of women of Spain from capitalist exploitation and the menace of war and fascism. Pasionaria, the most popular and beloved woman in Spain, inspired these demonstrators.

In America International Woman's Day must spur us on to greater activities in the building of a broad progressive movement among women. This will be a bulwark against war and fascism and will weld the energies and fighting spirit of the women so militantly displayed on the picket lines, in demonstrations and strike struggles in recent years into a powerful force to win improved working conditions, protection of motherhood and childhood, equality and the ultimate goal of socialism.

The celebration of International Woman's Day this year should be directed to stimulate united activity among women for peace and greater support for Spanish democracy.

Where possible broad mass meetings should be held under united auspices of peace and civic organizations. Information on the Buenos Aires Peace Congress and on the Cause and Cure of War Chicago Conference should be given at these meetings.

Organizations like trade unions, women's councils, language women's groups, fraternal organizations, women's trade union auxiliaries, Y. W. C. A., Parent-Teacher Associations, various women's organizations should be encouraged to hold smaller meetings under their own auspices, where unity of the peace movement should be stressed.

Special forms of activity among women should be intensified prior to March 8 for the support of Spanish democracy. Women's picket lines at German and Italian consulates protesting against the murder of women and children by the fascists should be organized. Women's parades in the neighborhoods to support Spanish democracy should also be held.

The campaign for millions of cans of milk for the babies

of the mothers of Spain fighting fascism for democracy should be widely popularized, and canned milk collected in various ways for Spain.

There are thousands of women in many cities on sewing projects of the W.P.A. Immediate special attention should be given to organize these women. This work can best be done through the Workers' Alliance and the Women's Trade Union League.

Special attempts should be made to increase the sale of *The Woman Today*. It must become a powerful factor in the work to mobilize the women around their life problems, for peace and against reaction and fascism.

During the election campaign the slogans of the Party, "Keep America Out of War by Keeping War Out of the World", and "For Democracy and Against Reaction" had profound effect on masses of women. This sentiment must be used to bring large numbers of women into the Party. Women's meetings under the auspices of the Party should be held to which all Party women are asked to come and to bring their friends. These should be recruiting meetings. At these meetings popular information should be given on the situation of the women in the Soviet Union.

## International Woman's Day

ELLA REEVE BLOOR

OUR ENTIRE PARTY MUST UNITE in making the celebration of Woman's Day in reality a "red letter" day for our Party. We must not only review the history of our Woman's Day celebrations in many countries during the years since its inception during the Russian revolution. We must also emphasize in all our celebrations that this year is the twentieth anniversary of the victory of the workers and farmers of Russia, where they have been successful in establishing a rule of actual "life, liberty and happiness", for 170,000,000 people.

We greet the wonderful courage of the working women of Spain under the leadership of the great proletarian Communist woman Dolores Ibarruri, called by all fighters for democracy and freedom in Spain, "Pasionaria", daughter of a miner. This great woman has inspired the entire loyalist army of

Spain and those who support this army, not only by her ringing words, but especially by her actions whether free or in jail, everywhere, the masses of Spain love her, and fight harder because of her inspiration.

All our speakers on Woman's Day can tell their audiences of last Woman's Day in Spain, March 8, 1936, when 80,000 demonstrators marched in Madrid under the slogans of the Communist Party, demanding the liberation of the women of Spain from the terrible oppression of landlord-capitalist exploitation, the bitter lot of women, and the menace of war and fascism. Pasionaria, "the most popular woman in Spain", inspired these 80,000 marchers of Madrid last International Woman's Day.

What shall we say to these brave men and women fighters of Spain today in the battle front facing the fascists of the world? We greet you! We pledge ourselves to mobilize our women to organize in unions, in homes, in communities, to unite the women of America against our enemies, poverty, child labor, exploitation of women in all industries, unemployment, outrageously high cost of living, terrible housing conditions in every city in America.

We also pledge ourselves to mobilize our Woman's Day demonstrations everywhere for peace, and in every possible way to organize, educate, and strengthen our fight against fascism and war.

This Woman's Day in America marks a great step forward by the fact that large groups of women nationally organized have issued a call for a charter for equal rights for all women, this charter to become an international charter. A national convention will be held some time this spring, if possible.

In the meantime at our gatherings we can read and discuss this charter, especially as to its bearing upon special legislation for the proletarian women and children that will come up for consideration in state and national legislative bodies.

As a great help in the study and discussion of this charter order bundles of our united front magazine *The Woman Today*, February number. This will contain a complete copy of the charter, statements of various women as to what they think of it, and an article about it by Mary van Kleeck, who is one of the signers of the proposed charter.

In discussing this charter we must remember what Lenin said to Clara Zetkin, quoted in her *Reminiscences of Lenin*, page 54.

“Our demands are practical conclusions which we have drawn from the burning needs, the shameful humiliation of women, in bourgeois society, defenseless and without rights. We demonstrate thereby that we recognize these needs, and are sensible of the humiliation of the women, the privileges of the men. That we hate, yes, hate everything, and will abolish everything, which tortures and oppresses the woman worker, the housewife, the peasant woman, the wife of the petty trader, yes, and in many cases the women of the possessing classes. The rights and social regulations which we demand for women from bourgeois society show that we understand the position and interests of women, and will have consideration for them under the proletarian dictatorship. Not, of course, as the reformists do, lulling them to inaction, and keeping them in leading strings. No, of course not: but as revolutionaries, who call upon the women to work as equals in transforming the old economy and ideology.”

When Clara Zetkin reminded him that uncertain and timid minds might think our immediate demands “risky opportunism” and also that the demands might be wrongly drawn up or expressed Lenin replied very earnestly, protesting “that we must never be deterred by fear from doing what is correct and necessary.”

In all our preparations for Woman’s Day, of course, we must always remember to put forward the greatest constitution and program of all history, which has been translated into action, into the life of the 170,000,000 people, safe and happy because they have gained the victory over capitalist exploitation, the cause of all slavery.

In this great constitution with all its democratic safeguards we have this straightforward powerful law: “Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men”, and in that spirit we women of the revolutionary movement chart our course.

Equal rights, of course, and we are ready to take equal responsibility. Forward to a glorious International Womens Day!

*[List of reading material follows on next page.]*

### *Reading for Woman's Day Speakers*

*Reminiscences of Lenin*, by Clara Zetkin, *Memories of Lenin*, by his widow Krupskaya. *The Communist International*, July, 1936, article by L. Sylvia, "Leaders of the Spanish Proletariat", also in same number "The Soviet Constitution" and "Letters to Dimitroff" from the *Youth of Spain*. *The Woman Today*, February number. We shall print special articles in the *Daily Worker*, right along now, on "Women in Industry" such as "Women in Textile Mills" "Hosiery Workers" "Auxiliaries to Steel Unions", "Auto Workers", "Miners", "Women on the Farms", etc.

## The Seattle Waterfront Section

H. BAXTER

NO ONE CAN DOUBT THE CORRECTNESS of creating industrial units as a move in the direction of strengthening the Party in the trade unions and in the shops. But in many cases the idea prevails that just merely setting up industrial units will solve all problems. This conception is totally incorrect.

This form of organization is to coordinate the work of the unit and fraction, and thereby develop a higher political level of work. The results obtained on the Seattle waterfront—clarifying the Party program, the election campaign, other campaigns, recruiting and beginning to establish the citizenship of the Party in the unions are achievements accomplished through the industrial unit form of organization, although as yet far from satisfactory. There is a tendency in the industrial form of organization to limit activity to mere fraction work. This develops in different forms, if proper attention is not devoted to the unit. It is more sharply expressed in the fact that Party members in the trade unions become just "good trade unionists" forgetting they are Communists. This is particularly true of Party trade union officials and union leaders whose minds are occupied with hundreds of union details. These details are placed ahead of such basic problems as developing the independent role of the Party. Comrades who should be the leading comrades in the unit do not fill their role as such and contribute

greatly to the failure of industrial units to become active political bodies.

The fact that the industrial unit is a transitory form of organization whose role is to develop shop units is in many cases completely forgotten. This results in the industrial unit becoming either ineffective or disappearing as a Party organization.

Due to certain peculiarities of the maritime industry, the industrial form of organization will be necessary for an indefinite period. This form of organization has been developed and a Party section has been established on the Seattle waterfront. The section includes ten crafts at present: sailors, firemen, cooks and stewards, longshoremen, ship scalers, three different fish organizations, fish cannery workers, marine radio, ferryboatmen and warehousemen. Individual units have not yet been established for each specific craft, and shop unit organization is possible only in three instances; seamen, warehousemen and ferryboatmen. The others will have to remain as units based on the local unions. To date there are three regular industrial units: seamen, longshoremen, scalers, and two others in the process of formation: radio and warehousemen. The others are all temporarily in the seamen's unit. There exist additional complex organizational problems here that will not be solved in a day or month, but will require constant attention and further experimentation. However, with the experiences of organization already acquired in developing our present industrial units into functioning political bodies, solutions to some of the newer problems arising will be easier to find.

Taking the seamen's unit as an example there we find some of our best functioning trade union fractions, a certain amount of independent Party activity and fairly consistent recruiting.

In the industrial form four main points are considered as a method of procedure in developing the work. First, organization of separate fractions in each craft, where immediate union problems are discussed. Second, development of a political educational program for the unit, to prevent rehashing of fraction problems. Third, building of shop or ship units. Fourth, involving the leading comrades in guiding and giving proper leadership to the unit.

Following these points as a basis for developing the work, headway was made on the first two points, on the latter two very little. The work in the union improved considerably, and especially in one where the leading comrade was involved in

unit leadership. This comrade was able to come forward openly as a Communist, speaking on the radio on two occasions in the name of the Party on the waterfront strike situation. Red-baiters in this union were defeated time after time. The Party gained prestige and influence.

The educational program for the unit helped broaden the outlook of the unit membership and was a big factor in the recruitment of new members. More of the new members are now recruited not solely on the basis of the trade union work but on a broader political basis. More members began to discuss the Party on a broad scale, among the workers, instead of from a narrow trade union angle. More independent work of the Party resulted. It is obvious that many problems remain to be solved here, particularly the questions of building shop unit organization, and drawing more leading trade union comrades into the broader political work of the Party. However with the gradual improvement of fraction work, devotion of the larger part of the unit meeting to political discussion, the majority of the membership will be involved in political activity and this will have a direct effect upon the leading trade union comrades, helping them to become Party leaders instead of just union leaders.

So we see that merely establishing industrial units is not sufficient to solve the problems confronting the comrades in a given industry or union. It is a move in the general direction of finding a solution. It is therefore of vital importance to consider the nature of industrial units, that they are a form of organization that must be given the utmost attention and utilized to carry through the basic work of our Party, building shop units and functioning Party fractions in the trade unions.

## Building the Workers Alliance

C. J.

THE MERGING OF ALL UNEMPLOYED and W.P.A. organizations into the Workers Alliance was an outstanding achievement in the struggle for unity of the working class. This was the estimation of our Party and it has proven to be such in life. Our Party consistently struggled to bring this about and its efforts were crowned with success by the final accomplishment of the unified Workers Alliance of America.

However, the struggle for unity was not ended with the formal pact for unity and convention of last April in Washington. This our Party understood quite well. This was also understood by all class-conscious, honest elements in addition to ourselves. The obstacles to be overcome in the struggle for unity were:

1. The suspicions held against each other by the members of the former independent organizations, the Unemployment Councils and the former Workers Alliance.

2. The disruptive elements, most outstanding of whom are the Trotskyites, who entered the unified organization after all attempts by them to maintain a split movement were defeated.

Much water has passed under the bridge since unification was adopted. In the course of the struggle against the retrenchment program of the Roosevelt administration, influenced by the pressure of the reactionary capitalist class, we have been able to judge who are the sincere and devoted forces that can be relied upon to lead the struggles of the unemployed—to build the Workers Alliance and those forces which have the clearest vision as to the strategy to be followed in advancing the interests of the unemployed and Workers Alliance.

The unemployed and Workers Alliance workers played an active part in dealing the setback that reaction received in the November 3 elections. Dissatisfied as they were with existing conditions, they realized a threatening danger in the combination of reactionary forces behind Landon. A growing consciousness was expressed among this section of the population in their desires for independent political action, proven by the participation of the Workers Alliance in such movements in almost every part of the country. The Communists helped to give

more guidance in this direction and to strengthen the resistance of the unemployed and W. P. A. workers to every attempt made to weaken their positions or lower their standards.

The organized unemployed in the Workers Alliance went into struggle following the elections when the Roosevelt administration, betraying the mandate of the people, attempted widespread mass layoffs. This was successfully blocked by the struggles conducted, sit-in strikes, mass demonstrations, etc. The most important factor in this was the speed with which large sections of the trade union movement, civic organizations, liberal and progressive forces rallied to the support of the W. A. in resistance to these attempts to cut down W.P.A. This gave greater encouragement and hope to the organized W.P.A. workers to carry on an offensive for their demands.

President Roosevelt indicated a desire to propose only \$500,000,000 for deficiency appropriations. Later in his budget message, he raised it to \$650,000,000 and in a tricky manner even suggested the possibilities of \$790,000,000 (this to confuse and weaken the struggle of the labor movement against his retrenchment program). The Workers Alliance put forward its demand for \$1,040,000,000 (five months deficiency appropriations). This proposes a 20 per cent increase in wages and the addition of hundreds of thousands from Home Relief rolls to W.P.A. jobs. In the short space of three weeks, a tremendous demonstration was rallied throughout the country behind these demands, resulting in almost 3,000 delegates from twenty-five states arriving in Washington in the greatest demonstration of the unemployed in Washington since 1932. Over 200 trade union representatives were present in this delegation. This was an expression of the great desire among the masses to carry forward independent struggle to force through the mandate given to Congress and the President. It signified the growing unity of labor against reaction. Our Party was able to influence, lead and guide this development by its correct analysis of the situation.

As against this favorable development which has raised the prestige of the Workers Alliance to greater heights than ever before, we find the sectarian, disruptive and provocative slanders of the Trotskyites gnawing at the heart of the Workers Alliance with their stupid talk of "militancy", with their slanderous remarks of "fighting demonstrations" against people's lobbies to confuse (of course, unsuccessfully), honest fighters in the ranks of the unemployed. This was culminated in the distribution of a

leaflet of a so-called program against the leadership of the Workers Alliance just at the moment that we were preparing to go into this great demonstration in Washington. It was distributed to the New York delegation on its departure while in the air there was talk by the capitol police of the utilization of tear gas and the threats of police terror against the demonstrators.

With the growing successes and strength of the Workers Alliance, the activity of the disrupters increases. Their main field is among the ideologically weak Socialist elements. They have dragged some of these forces down into the mire and swamp of sectarianism and counter-revolutionary activities against this working class organization. Their defeat is in the fact that large sections of the W. A. realize their motives and intentions and despise them for what they are.

The organization of the Party forces has proven to be a decisive factor in influencing the growth of the unemployed movement. Where the districts of the Party have undertaken to give guidance, consistently assign forces to help in the organization of the Party fractions. The greatest advances have been seen. This is especially so in the instance of the New York district of the Party. Development of the Workers Alliance as one of the most important workers' organizations is decisive in the establishment of the People's Front. The program of the Workers Alliance can rally around it large sections of the community, a united front movement. This has been proven time and again, especially in the New York district.

Because the task of organizing the 200,000 project workers and the 150,000 relief clients has been put on a par with our trade union tasks, the New York district has for the past two years given serious attention to this work. A district commission or fraction has been established including representatives of the Party and the most important organizations (white-collar, unemployed, W.P.A., etc.) working directly under a representative of the district bureau, co-ordinating all our efforts toward our goal. A survey is taken from time to time not only of the political issues involved, but of the advances of the movement and organizational problems.

The greatest efforts are being directed toward establishing co-ordination among the trade union, the work of the Party, and the unemployed work being made a part of the work of the trade union department of the district. This has resulted in making possible and bringing through the trade unions a much

healthier understanding of the need for supporting the struggle of the unemployed as well as bring all the Party campaign into the organized movement of the unemployed and W.P.A. workers. By the time that this article appears, the New York district will have concluded a general Party conference on unemployment and relief which will include section committees, industrial unit organizers, branch organizers, trade union leaders and fraction secretaries as well as members of the district bureau, in addition to Party forces in unemployed work. Party recruiting is at a high level, relatively speaking, because of this attention. In all sections of the working class (white-collar, professional, etc.) people are being recruited into the Party and are valuable additions to our Party, the development of a broad mass Party. In conclusion, as one of the outstanding tasks set down by Comrade Browder adopted by the last plenum of our Party, the building of the Workers Alliance and the development of the struggles of the unemployed is a key question in the development of our whole Party policy. Therefore, let every district really apply this decision and, without question, the results will be gratifying in this period with the great possibilities showing themselves everywhere.

# Shop Work In Philadelphia

E. S.

IN THIS ARTICLE I shall deal with the tasks we have set ourselves and the steps taken which helped us to accomplish what we did in a comparatively short time. These experiences may be of great help to all comrades involved in shop work. I shall therefore deal with them point by point. My discussion will revolve around one important plant in Philadelphia with some 2,000 workers, one-third of whom are Negro.

This is the key to the whole problem. About five months ago two of us, leading members of the section committee, were assigned to work with the comrades in the plant. We came to the comrades not as supervisors or advisors who would attend their unit meeting occasionally; instead we came as full-fledged members of the unit and helped to carry into life the decisions made at the unit meetings. At times we were compelled to do most of the work. This work was not easy. It did not consist of many meetings, in fact very few meetings. At times it even brought on ridicule from some leading comrades who thought that we had taken a vacation from Party work. But our persistent work brought results, and today we can speak of our unit as a factor in the plant.

We set ourselves to visiting workers in their homes once, twice and dozens of times. We had to do it even with the Party members. The shift problem made it so much harder. It meant visiting workers at all hours of the day and night. We interviewed the leaders of the union; discovered their standing among the workers and their opinions. Thus we learned of the conditions in the plant; the grievances of the workers; the type of union leadership; and the strategy of the bosses in combating the union. After finding this out, we could easily react to the weaknesses of the union; we could expose the schemes of the bosses and their stooges; could give expression to the grievances of the workers. To all this we put forth our proposals and advice through our shop bulletin.

The shop bulletin became our main weapon in the plant, our mouthpiece, the speaker for the Party as well as the medium through which the grievances of the workers were heard.

During this period we distributed four issues of our shop paper, and the fifth issue is coming off in a few days. In the bulletin we dealt with such problems as discrimination against the Negro workers, the misery of the workers in the lower wage brackets, sanitary and safety conditions, the profits of the company in concrete figures and put forth the need for adjusting the wage scale, the role of the union as a semi-company union, etc. To all questions we gave our answers, and also gave the solution to the problems confronting the workers. We linked this up with the Party campaigns, particularly the recent election issues and the C. I. O. drive.

The shop bulletins have accomplished some important things and became very popular with the workers. Many workers have come to our office for a copy if they did not get it at the gates of the plant. "The bulletin is doing a lot of good for us men," this is the expression of many workers—even the conservative ones. That this is so can be seen from many gains that the workers made during the issuance of the shop bulletin. We partially stopped the discrimination against the Negro workers; the union sent a delegate to the A. F. of L. Tampa convention who fought there for unity; in the recent union elections from 20 to 25 per cent of the votes were cast for our people; and recently the company decided to grant a four cent per hour increase in wages to the workers. We consolidated the union, and kept on hammering for a 100 per cent union shop.

I wish to add here that with all these gains, our bulletins technically were very poor, because of lack of facilities. Also that through these activities we partly defeated the Red-baiting in the plant.

In dealing with the shop bulletins, I wish to add something on the nature of the material. While the central issues always remain—the shop and union problems, workers' correspondence, etc.—we must not fail to bring in the major campaigns of the Party as they apply to the shops. In addition, we must also set ourselves the aim of turning the bulletin into a mass educational weapon of the Party. Not minimizing in the least the importance of spreading the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* and the Party literature, we must still carry special educational features in the bulletin on the Communist Party, on various political and trade union problems, etc. In this case we find many difficulties, and primarily the fact that our comrades are not used to it or haven't the time for it. It would therefore be necessary to supply our comrades with a "Shop Bulletin Guide",

which would have these features ready for the comrades in the shop units.

### *Our Educational Work*

Our comrades in the shop units are in most cases very new in the Party. They need a lot of training and education if they are to become the Party leaders among the workers. They adhere to old traditions and training and may be easily misled by phrasemongers and demagogues. In visiting workers, we found ourselves confronted with numerous questions and problems. We had to discuss with them almost every problem facing the workers in the country. To cite only a few of them, war and fascism, the church, religion, the press, the political set-up in the country and the city, social security, Spain, trade union problems, the Negro question and white chauvinism. We also had to meet the women's problems, to meet their backwardness and win them over to our movement, so as to help our men comrades to carry on their work. In short you can see how important it is to train and educate our comrades in the shop units in Marxism-Leninism, generally, and in the policies and perspectives of our Party in America, particularly. This educational work will therefore have to be done in the unit meetings and through group study circles. This will mean more work for our leading comrades, but it must be done. We will also have to do away with the attitude of some of our leading comrades, that it is below their dignity to lecture or teach a small group of comrades, let's say three or five comrades.

I have already mentioned before that our past work was not very spectacular. What I meant by it was this, that during the five months we secured only three new members to the Party, bringing up the membership of the unit to six; we secured only a few subs to the *Sunday Worker*, and contributed only a few dollars to the Party election campaign fund. This is certainly not very spectacular and cannot be served as the example of good work. But when the unit begins to function as the Party in the plant, then the story is altogether different. If we undertake now to double our membership, to raise from \$25 to \$40 for the *Daily Worker* financial drive, to establish the regular sale of the *Sunday Worker* at the gates of the plant—these tasks having been accomplished will really be spectacular, in the sense that it will prove to the Party mem-

bership at large how important it is to concentrate on shop work. It will teach us the meaning of the words of Comrade Lenin, "to make every shop the fortress of our Party". We are now undertaking many other tasks, such as the task of surrounding the Party in the plant with a group of sympathetic workers in the form of a progressive group, of securing subscribers to the shop bulletin, etc. Our unit will soon play an important role in the C. I. O. drive to organize the unorganized as well as in other campaigns of the Party such as Spain, the Negro Congress, etc.

### *The Tasks of the City Committee*

The city committee has an important task to perform and must pay special attention to our shop units. What our section committee failed to do in the past must not be repeated by the city committee. Direct guidance through the appointment of leading comrades to work with our units, special care to the educational work in those units and even individual comrades, the monthly shop conferences for the exchange of experiences—all these will greatly facilitate this important work. Particularly must we supplement this work with local political campaigns such as our legislative program, the housing problem, etc. We must help our comrades to learn how to apply the Party campaigns to the conditions of the plant. The issuance of a "Shop Paper Guide" by the city committee and the creation of a better apparatus for the publication of the shop papers will be a great step forward.

In conclusion, let me add that it will be necessary for our trade union department to pay more attention to our shop units, to help them in formulating the correct policies as well as teach them how best to carry those policies into life.