

Party Organizer



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The Party in the Chicago Stockyards

By BILL GEBERT

THE Stockyards Section in Chicago is the most important section of concentration in the city of Chicago. It has a tremendous task to organize and lead the struggles of the stockyards workers.

The composition of the stockyards workers are Negroes, Mexican, Lithuanian, Polish, young native American workers, quite a large section of Irish-American. In short it is a decisive section of the proletariat of the city of Chicago. The stockyards in the city of Chicago are influential politically and economically in the life of the city. It is the dominant industry.

The stockyards workers have a tradition of militant strike struggles which have been betrayed by the treacherous officialdom of the American Federation of Labor. Today the conditions of the stockyards workers are such that there is a growing discontent and growing revolt against these conditions. Wages are on a starvation level. A section of the workers are working part time; there are thousands of unemployed stockyards workers. At the present time the stockyards are increasing in production somewhat, primarily as a result of the U. S. government orders for canned beef for the Army.

United Front Through Department Committees is Key to Problem

In the stockyards we have two shop nuclei. From time to time we are issuing a shop bulletin, the **Daily Worker** is being sold to some extent outside of the gates. There are weak union groups of the Packing House Workers Industrial Union and in addition there are unions of the A. F. of L. and a Stockyards Labor Council. The key to the stockyards problem is the united front from below of these organizations, through the organization of department committees. Our experience so far shows that this is the basic task confronting us in the Yards. These department committees will unite workers, members of different unions and unorganized workers, who are in a position to develop struggles around concrete problems, grievances and demands confronting the workers in the yards. This is a stepping stone towards

developing, preparing and organizing bigger struggles leading to mass struggles of the workers.

The second task is developing an opposition movement inside of the unions of the A. F. of L. and the Stockyards Labor Council, and in the course of these activities strengthening and building the P.H.W.I.U., as the majority of the workers in the stockyards are unorganized.

That the workers are ready to fight was demonstrated by the strike of the 800 livestock handlers a couple of months ago. This strike was supported by the masses of stockyards workers and if this strike was not spread, it was because we had not been a factor in building department committees and had not been able to establish a mass P.H.W.I.U. Today the livestock handlers are again speaking of action, because the 10 per cent increase in wages which was forced through militant action was given to them not as an increase of wages, but an increase of working hours corresponding to the total 10 per cent increase in wages.

In addition to the development of the work inside of the yards, it is advisable in this state of development to organize neighborhood groups of unemployed and employed and language groups (Mexican, Polish, Lithuanian, etc.), with the objective of bringing the workers through these means into the department committees to the union and Unemployment Councils. These are the tasks, these are the problems and how we are to tackle them.

Section Decisions Not Carried Out

First of all, let us examine some of the recent decisions made by the sections of concentration around the stockyards. In addition to the Stockyards Section, (Section 11), Sections 2 and 7 are also concentrating on the stockyards. At a recent meeting of the District Committee (January 27-28), Sections 2, 7, 11 and the Communist fraction inside the P.H.W.I.U. each pledged to recruit 10 stockyards workers into the Party, that is, to recruit before the National Convention of the Party 40 stockyards workers. Three weeks passed since the leadership of the Sections 2, 7, 11 and the fraction made this pledge. During these three weeks of "hard work" they were successful in recruiting three workers into the Party. At such a tempo of work it will take us to complete the task set by the Section Committees themselves, not until April 1st, but until New Year, 1935. The fact that we proceed in such a slow tempo reflects the weakness of the work in the stockyards among the masses of stockyards workers, unemployed and employed. We cannot say here, however, that a certain part of the membership is not active, but that the leaders of the Sections are not sufficiently alert to all the problems confronting the stock-

yards workers there, and are not able to mobilize the membership politically for work.

The District Committee of the Party and the National Committee of the Food Workers Industrial Union strengthened the forces by assigning two leading comrades to work with the comrades with the Section Committees and the Union. Unfortunately there is some tendency to consider that only those that were assigned are responsible for the work and shall carry on the work. There must be a change in this, involving together all the forces of Sections 2, 7, and 11 to accomplish the tasks set by the Section Committees themselves in the point of concentration, the stockyards.

The District Committee time and again has not only reviewed the work of the stockyards, but given necessary political guidance and help to formulate the policy and decisions and strengthened the forces to carry them through. Unfortunately not all the decisions of the District Committee have been carried through. At present, the District Committee must thoroughly discuss these questions with the Sections 2, 7, and 11, and the leading fraction in the P.H.W.I.U.

Stockyards Conference Proposed

It has been decided to organize a conference for the purpose of strengthening the work in the stockyards. The conference will have a mass character with delegates to the conference elected by the workers in the departments with the opposition groups inside the A. F. of L. and Stockyards Labor Council as well as delegates from the working class organizations, Negro and white, on the south side of Chicago. The purpose of the Conference will be the setting up of a committee to help to carry on the work in the stockyards. It is proposed to combine this conference with a demonstration of the employed and unemployed workers of the south side of Chicago to the stockyards demanding that the meat produced for the U. S. Army be distributed to the unemployed through the committees of the employed and unemployed workers. This task was unanimously accepted by the Section Committee and the leading fraction of the P.H.W.I.U. will bring results only if the preparatory work for the conference will intensify the building of department committees, and the organization of neighborhood language groups of the stockyards workers. When we will visit and penetrate not only organizations of the workers close to our movement but organizations of other workers, both Negro and white, young workers and women workers: when we will go to the churches and fraternal organizations, everywhere, for the definite purpose of rallying workers for the demands of the workers inside of the yards as well as the unemployed, then we will be able to build organization among the packing house work-

ers as well as the Party and Y.C.L. It is in the light of these tasks that the Stockyards Section Conference must be prepared, that these and other problems confronting our Party in the stockyards must be discussed by all units in the Stockyards Section and units concentrating on the yards. The section leadership must be held responsible for fulfillment of their pledge to the District Committee to recruit their quota of workers into the Party and increase the mass work in the yards. There must be also further improvement in the composition of the leadership in the Sections by drawing into the Section Committees the more advanced workers from the yards and unemployed workers who show initiative in their daily work among the masses. Carrying out this, we will at least make the first step towards improving the work in the yards.

This work in the stockyards section must not only be confined, however, to the Stockyards Section itself, it must become the task of the whole Party in the District. The C.C. placed the problem of the stockyards before the entire Party nationally. The Chicago District must give maximum attention to the problems of the yards. Every member of our Party, and fractions of all the mass organizations, must be mobilized to overcome the lagging behind of the work in this most important concentration point, the stockyards.

Winning the Negroes in the Struggle Against Unemployment

By M. WORK (Dist. 2)

THE solution of the Negro Problem, the successful mobilization of the American working class in the National Liberation struggles of the Negro people, the fight for full political, economic and social equality for the Negroes as an oppressed national minority, looms with decisive importance at this period. The resolution of the Thirteenth Plenum describes this as a period immediately preceding mass revolutionary struggles in all the ranks of the toilers.

We Have Not Won the Negro in Our Unemployment Struggles

This is seen especially in our unemployment work.

"It is the duty of the white workers to march in the forefront of the struggle for Negro rights."—(October Letter of the C.I.). But the Open Letter of our Central Committee had to state on this point: "... among our comrades there is a deep-going lack of political understanding of the necessity of strengthening our basis of the decisive sections of the American workers."

Unity among the toiling masses and especially in the decisive sections is absolutely necessary in the revolutionary struggle against American capitalism. This unity can be accomplished only by fighting for liberation and equality of the Negroes. Karl Marx, in his letter to the American workers, said: "Labor in the white skin cannot free itself while labor in the black skin is chained."

No Demands Against Discrimination in Rent Strikes

Negroes are most cruelly discriminated against in housing and rents. Six or seven adult Negroes in a three-room apartment is not the exception today. Not only are rottenest, bug-ridden, antiquated fire-traps set aside for and forced upon the Negroes but even for these apartments we are forced to pay more rent than the white workers have to pay for better apartments.

Thousands of rent strikes have been conducted by revolutionary individuals and organizations, and these were uniformly successful in winning their demands. Practically all of these have been conducted in houses inhabited by white workers.

Although these organizations and the leaders of the strikes know the universal discrimination against the Negroes on the question of housing and rents, and although the workers who accept our guidance in these struggles know of our program against discrimination of Negroes, almost in no rent strike have we raised the demand that Negroes shall be permitted to live in these houses under conditions of equality with the whites. Why?

Most of us are spoken of as "Reds" and Communists even in the streets shortly after we participate in these strikes. However, because there is a "deep-going lack of political understanding among our comrades," they miss this opportunity to rally the white workers in a struggle for Negro equality. They do not see clearly that in the concrete situation, Marx' statement becomes: "Labor in a white skin cannot free itself of high rents and rotten apartments while Labor in the black skin can be made to pay higher rents for the same apartments."

Naturally in many such strikes we will fail to win the workers to put forward this demand, but where we do succeed we will involve increasingly large numbers of workers and, in particular, large numbers of Negroes fighting in revolutionary solidarity with their white brothers not only for their everyday needs but also in the strategically most important struggle for Negro equality.

I took part in a rent strike in 1932 where the tenants were all white. In most of the houses on the block Negroes lived. The demands put forward were: (1) Reduction in rent.

(2) Better (specific) service in the house; and (3) No discrimination against tenants on Home Relief.

Party Members Should Lead Struggle

In order to involve the hundreds of Negroes there in the strike I raised the issue of Negro discrimination in the block and in the house. The Party member in the house did not respond to the demand. In the strike meeting I won the majority to support the demand. But the Party member, a leading figure in a revolutionary union, blocked the movement with the following argument. "The Negroes are not sympathetic. You cannot get them to help us in our strike. Our house has been organized for nearly three years and this is our third strike, but they won't do anything." We could not convince her even in the fraction meeting of the Unemployment Council.

But consider the Negroes. They lived in a block predominantly Negro, where they paid exorbitant rents for miserable accommodations. The **white** Communists had sold hundreds of **Dailies** and pamphlets on Scottsboro and Negro Liberation, and the white tenants in the all-white house had conducted two rent strikes reducing their rents from an average of \$28 to \$22. They didn't organize the Negroes to strike for lower rents and failed to raise the issue of breaking the jim-crow rules in their own house.

Should we expect the Negroes to come out and picket in the face of certain police terror to help the white workers reduce their rents to \$18?

No! But they would have been interested to reduce their own rents.

And it is precisely because we are revolutionary workers and understand the importance of Marx' statement that we **must** carry on the fight for Negro equality even when the Negroes do not appear to want equality!

The Lovestonite renegades classed the Negroes in the South as "a bulwark of reaction" and said that the slogan of "self-determination for the Black Belt" was leading the workers to a bloodbath. This was because they didn't understand the October Letter when they read that "**the white workers** must march in the forefront of the struggle for Negro rights." Not the Negroes alone, but the Negroes and the white workers must fight American imperialism! The renegades are now in a united front with the Socialist leaders who call now in the **capitalist** press for the cops to use their clubs on the workers, white as well as black. This danger must be fought with a deep-going political understanding of the Party line.

The Negro Problem is a National Problem

So little is the national problem understood that we have the spectacle of trade unions in Belgium and England investing their funds in enterprises which make their profits from slave labor in Africa (diamond mines, rubber plantations, etc.). Therefore it is no mystery that the majority of American workers fail to see the importance of fighting for Negro rights because they are an oppressed national minority.

I have been a member on several delegations to various officials but on only one of these did a white comrade seize on the issue of Negro discrimination and put up a fight for equality of Negroes in the specific situation which was the occasion of the delegation. This was Bob Minor on the delegation to the special session of the legislature in August, 1932. On Thursday, February 15th, however, on the United Front delegation to Daniels, the comrade who represented the Relief Workers' League, in an otherwise excellent protest, forgot the Negro discrimination on CWA jobs and consequently I had to spend a large part of the time which should have been devoted to the line of the Unemployment Council as contrasted with that of the Socialists, I had to spend this on discrimination of Negroes.

The most important aspect of our unemployment work and the Negro problem is the work of the trade unions. This must be dealt with in a subsequent article.

Our present Party discussions have to clarify and mobilize the comrades and the readers of our press for redoubled efforts in the struggle to win the white workers to a leading part in the fight to win the masses of the Negro people to the revolutionary struggle for National Liberation.

Chicago Section Learns About Railroad Concentration

By REVA WEINSTEIN (Section Five)

THE 13th Plenum Resolution analyzes the present situation as follows: "The Bourgeoisie wants to postpone the doom of capitalism by a criminal imperialist war and a counter-revolutionary campaign against the Land of Victorious Socialism."

It further outlines our tasks very clearly: "In fighting against war, the Communists must prepare even now for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, and concentrate their forces in each country in the vital parts of war machinery of imperialism."

Of special importance in the war machinery of American

imperialism are the railroads as the most important means of conducting war, not only as a means of transporting troops, but also supplying the army with the necessary food, ammunition, etc. The dependance of warfare on transportation raises the importance of the proletariat working in this field.

The role the railroad workers will play in fighting against war solely depends upon how seriously our Party will undertake the concentration work in this industry.

Section Examines Concentration Work

In line with the above analysis of the 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the bureau of Section Five began in a most self-critical manner to examine the work of our section in all its concentration points, and found the following situation in our major point of concentration, namely, the railroad shops:

1. The Section Bureau did not make a thorough study of its major point of concentration, but instead indulged in lengthy polemics and controversies with the leading comrade assigned to guide the Section in railroad work. This leading comrade was new in our District, and took it for granted that the comrades knew all about railroad work. An antagonistic feeling was created between them because of this misunderstanding and as a result no work was done for some time.

2. The Concentration Unit, although it had a very good group of comrades, had stagnated and developed a great deal of looseness and bureaucracy because of the fact that the comrade organizer was imported into the unit on the merit of having some experiences in railroad work. She lives in another section and had no personal contact with the comrades in the unit, nor with the workers around the shop and neighborhood all week long.

The Unemployment Council headquarters closed down. A general demoralization existed in the unit. Only very few of the members (18) were active.

3. In face of this situation in the unit and because of the fact that there seemed to be a possibility to recruit workers from the shop into the Party, the Section Committee set up an artificial shop unit as a base for recruiting from the shop, composed of three railroad workers. These comrades were unemployed for a period of from 2 to 12 years. To this "shop unit", a Section representative was assigned, who at no time previously had done any kind of railroad work, nor had any contact with railroad workers through the concentration unit. The leading comrades from the District were also assigned to this unit, and they all "stewed in their own juice" until the former shop workers

came to Section members, asking why they were transferred out of the Party, and practically stopped coming to unit meetings. One comrade was lost for a period of two months!

Bad Situation Remedied

The Section Committee proceeded to remedy this situation in the following manner:

1. By calling the entire membership of the unit to a special meeting where the comrades thoroughly discussed the situation in the unit in a real Bolshevik, self-critical manner.

2. By electing a new bureau, drawing in as organizer, a comrade who was doing some work among railroad workers, but who always claimed to be illiterate and therefore could not act as unit organizer, also two other comrades comparatively new in the Party. The Unit Bureau worked out a three months plan of work.

3. The Section Bureau assigned one of its members to work directly with the unit, dissolved the so-called shop unit and drew most of the comrades into the concentration unit.

4. The leading railroad comrade was assigned by the unit bureau to lead a discussion circle every unit meeting night for one hour on the question of concentration, and in addition he takes comrades assigned to visiting contacts with him and also teaches them how to approach railroad workers.

5. The Section Committee also undertook to establish a Section Headquarters directly in the neighborhood where Open Forums are to be established. At all times a member of the Section Committee is to be present there to give guidance to the unit and to the re-established Unemployment Council. At least two study classes are to be established. Railroad contacts were given by the Section to other units as well as the assignment of the distribution of the **Daily Worker** at certain points.

Accomplishments of the Unit Since its Reorganization

1. The unit is beginning to link up the Party campaigns with our contact work, such as the **Daily Worker** Drive, Lenin Memorial Meetings, etc.

2. Numerous contacts have been visited and followed up with the **Daily Worker**, the railroad paper, and literature.

The recent articles in the **Daily Worker** on the railroad situation helped the unit greatly in its work. It gave us something concrete to approach the railroad worker with. On the last Red Sunday, when a railroad article appeared

in the **Daily Worker**, 30 copies were sold and 100 distributed at the shop gates to the railroad workers.

3. One railroad worker was recruited by the unit with two more prospects, and one was recruited by the Section at an open membership meeting.

4. The headquarters were obtained and will be definitely established this week.

Shortcomings

1. Insufficient check-up within the unit.

2. Sale of the **Daily Worker** at shop gates and neighborhood route not yet definitely established.

3. Weak Lodge work, in the union.

4. No accomplishment on shop group.

5. Section Committee did not as yet sufficiently involve other units and mass organizations in railroad work, because of the fact that the other units and mass organizations were not made railroad conscious by the Section.

Immediate Tasks Being Carried Out in Connection With Strike Vote and Wage Cuts

1. Every contact in the possession of the Unit is being followed up.

2. The sale of the **Daily Worker** at shop gates.

3. Sale of railroad papers at the union lodges.

4. A leaflet to be issued on this question.

The general life of the unit is greatly improved. Attendance is good and the discussions are alive with all kinds of experiences of the comrades. There is a general outlook of carrying out the three months plan of work with some definite accomplishments, although a number of weaknesses exist.

This experience in Section Five proves that leading comrades in the District and Sections must become the driving force of our units (which means working with the comrades in the units!) if we are to carry out the Resolutions of the 13th Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and the Open Letter.

"Our strength is tremendous, and if we apply this strength to mass work, if we overcome our weaknesses, really get to work in the factories and plants and trade unions....., then despite the whole world bourgeoisie, despite fascism, we will overturn the whole world and assure the complete victory of the proletariat." Knorin, FASCISM, SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND THE COMMUNISTS, 13th Plenum of E.C.C.I., December, 1933.

Work in the A. F. of L. in Cincinnati

By N. FELD (Section Organizer No. 10, District No. 6)

AFTER the Extraordinary Party Conference and the adoption of the Open Letter, Section 10 of District 6 can definitely register some improvements. The Party in the city of Cincinnati has made a clean sweep of the Party's frayed ends by exposing and expelling the stoolpigeons and renegades, such as Berg, Brown, Davis and others. Since then the Party has begun to orientate itself towards really carrying out mass work among the unemployed and attempts have been made to organize the unorganized workers in the metal industry.

However there are still some tendencies to look upon some members of the Party as "no good" elements. In examining some of the individual comrades we find the following: 1. Very low political development. 2. No planned work whatsoever. Most of the comrades who are carrying on work are doing it because they are devoted and loyal to the Party. If they are unable to carry out some of the tasks, it is not because they are "no good"; it is because they are not doing the right kind of work which they are most fit to do. It is not that the comrades are "no good"; it is because the work and the tasks that we give to these comrades are not carefully planned. It is the task of the leading comrades in the units, sections and districts to see to it that every comrade should be given work which he or she is fit to carry out. When we will have done this, all these comrades no longer will be classified as "no good" comrades, but on the contrary, they will enjoy the work, and they will perform their duties much better.

What is Planned Work?

In order to do this we must plan our work, not only for the units and sections, but for every individual. What is planned work? Does planned work mean to draw up a series of activities for a certain period of time at the unit or section committees and forget about it within the next two weeks? Does planned work mean what we think we should do? Such plans, if they are not based on the abilities of the unit, section and individual comrades will never be accomplished. If we intend to have a plan of work, it must be understood that we must base the entire work upon our knowledge of a given territory or shop, that we must understand the needs, desire and moods of the work-

ers in the territory or shop. Many times we issue tens of thousands of leaflets in a given territory or shop and the workers do not come to our meetings. We make hasty conclusions that the workers are not ready for organization and some of our "bright" comrades make remarks like "let them starve, they do not feel it now, later on they will come to us." Such conclusions are wrong. We have seen that during the organization of the CWA workers we did not have a response at the beginning, but we were persistent in explaining to the workers, day in and day out, the whole "New Deal" and the unemployed situation. We found later that **whole jobs** came down to the office asking for advice and help. Then we took up the question with the workers and involved the workers themselves in the various committees and activities. The workers have gained many concessions, the movement around the CWA began to take on the character of a mass movement. Many of the workers joined the Party.

Another example is that for a period of time we have been concentrating in one shop. A group of about 15 was built but it did not grow and the workers began to become restless. The work in the shop had been conducted illegally. We came to a conclusion that since there are signs of interest in the shop about the union, it is no longer necessary to keep the union a secret. We took up this question and decided to call an open meeting. The workers responded. At the present time we see that there is more enthusiasm in the shop and in the meetings than ever before and the local is taking questions of conditions and wages. From these examples we can see that when we follow the moods and desires of the workers, they respond, but after all we cannot hold workers with meetings alone. They want to see the union in action and they feel that they are to be the ones to act. When a movement reaches a certain stage it will remain for a while on the same level and unless we advance this movement to a higher level it will decline.

Our Approach to the A. F. of L.

The main weakness in all our work is within the A. F. of L. We have a wrong approach towards this important work, not only underestimating the work, but complete capitulation to the difficulties. The indignation of the workers against the A. F. of L. leaders is at such a pitch that this indifferent attitude and unwillingness on the part of many comrades in the A. F. of L. is a crime. It is not a question of coming in and telling us of the betrayals. We know them. But why not take up these questions with the workers in the shops and meetings? Workers refuse to go to meetings of the A. F. of L. They refuse to pay dues. What are we

going to do about this? If we are going to repeat some paragraphs from the Open Letter, or C. C. Resolutions that "we must win over these workers", and at the same time do nothing to enforce this, it becomes just an empty phrase. Here I want to bring some concrete examples of how and how not to work in the A. F. of L. The agreement of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers expired. Jack Kroll, the manager, signed a new contract without the knowledge of the workers and in fact without even consulting the Joint Board. In the agreement there is a paragraph which states "that the workers have no right to make any stoppages". This means that the workers will not be able to take up any grievances in the shop directly, that the employers hereafter have the full right to discharge anyone on any pretense, that the destiny of the workers is entirely in the hands of the officials. We issued a leaflet exposing this sell-out. The leaflet appealed to the workers and stirred them into fighting mood. At one shop meeting more than ten workers spoke against the agreement, in spite of the terror on the part of the officials. But in order to utilize the sentiment of the workers against the betrayal, and in order to continue the fight against the agreement, in the sense of following up and advancing the pitch of the sentiment, we failed to do this. We failed to work out a more complete program such as cancellation of dues debts (where workers are behind more than 8 months and are unable to pay). We failed to consolidate and enlarge the Opposition of the rank and file. There was a sentiment for reduction in dues payments, reduction in the officials' salaries, etc. The workers want all these things. It is a burning problem for them. But we are satisfied and drunk with "success".

Confusion on Question of A. F. of L.

Aside from this many of our comrades are of the opinion that the A. F. of L. is "played out" and "there is no use to monkey around with these fakers." These comrades cannot and will not see that the A. F. of L. has built up a powerful machine which is working hand in hand with the employers to defeat the growing sentiment of the workers against the existing conditions. Many of the comrades are completely confused on the following questions:

1. Since the majority of the needle workers in Cincinnati are unorganized, only 25 per cent out of about eight to ten thousand are organized. Why build an opposition? Why not organize the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union?

2. Now that we are going to work in the A. F. of L. to organize the opposition movement, it means that we must help

the fakers to organize the unorganized, instead of organizing them into the industrial union.

3. If we do not help to organize the unorganized into the A. F. of L. it means that we are going there to break up the A. F. of L. unions.

I will bring some examples which may bring some light and clarify all these three questions to some extent. For a period of more than two months we took up all problems with a group of workers in one metal shop. This shop is organized into the A. F. of L. At the beginning we advised the workers to go to the meetings, and even some of the comrades advised them to pay their dues. We worked out all problems with them in the minutest detail. The business agent promised them everything but delayed keeping the promises from month to month, inventing all kinds of schemes. The workers got tired and stopped attending the meetings. Then the A. F. of L. announced a two dollar fine for not attending the meetings, and the workers decided not to attend the meetings at all, not to pay dues. What was left for us to do? Should we have continued to send these workers to the meetings? Of course not. We called upon the workers to take the matter in their own hands and promised that the S.M.W.I.U. would help them. The workers responded to our call. Now we have all possibilities that the entire shop will affiliate to the S.M.W.I.U.

Does this mean breaking up an A. F. of L. union? Well, the workers in the shop wanted to break long ago, and if we had continued to send these workers to the meetings we would have helped directly to disorganize their ranks, and it would have taken a long time to reorganize them all over again.

The A. F. of L. in the city of Cincinnati is the third if not the second strongest A. F. of L. organization in this country. To have an approach that the A. F. of L. is "played out" is a complete capitulation before the A. F. of L. and opportunism in practice. The work in our Section and in the entire District must be based mainly on the opposition work within the A. F. of L. and at the same time to build the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union.

Why do we not concentrate in organizing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers into the Industrial union, since the majority of the workers are unorganized? Because our concentration is the S.M.W.I.U. and not the N.T.W.I.U. Otherwise it will not be concentration. The fact proves that when we began to really concentrate and pay some attention to the work, we gained in the past three weeks right after the convention two locals and both locals are working openly in the shops. Since the last convention we trippled the membership in our union, and it is only the beginning.

We do not go to the A. F. of L. to break up the unions as some comrades may think. We go there to break the attempts of the fakers to betray the workers. We go there to win over the workers for a rank and file leadership, whether the workers are ready to affiliate to the industrial unions or not. Some of our comrades may think that to win over the leadership of an A. F. of L. union means to gain the control of the office. This is not so. To gain the leadership does not all the time mean to gain the control of the office. To be a leader does not necessarily mean to be a business agent or secretary. We can sit in the back seats and still be the leaders.

The question of how are we going to work in a correct and better way in the A. F. of L. unions has not been sufficiently dealt with in the discussion. This question must be clarified in a thorough manner so that all the Party comrades especially the comrades who are members in the A. F. of L. unions, will speed up their work and contribute their experiences to the **Daily Worker**. Our work of organizing the unorganized depends largely upon our correct work in the A. F. of L. unions. So long as we have a misunderstanding of our work in the A. F. of L. it will be difficult for us to gain accomplishments in the industrial unions.

Language Work in Youngstown Section

By JOHN ROMAN

Language Forces Should Be Made Instrumental In Rooting the Party in the Factories and Basic Industries

THE importance of giving our language fractions the proper orientation and of raising the political level of our "language comrades", who are permeated with all tendencies of federational-sectarianism, becomes apparent as we consider the large number of foreign-speaking elements in the basic industries and the great percentage of foreign comrades in the Party and especially in the concentration districts, sections and cities.

Let us take as a vehicle of discussion one of the most important concentration points, the Youngstown section.

What is—first of all—the composition of the working-class and that of the Party membership in this section? Overwhelmingly foreign. Steel is the main and practically the only industry of significance. Estimates concerning the foreign-speaking amongst the steel workers vary from 60 to 75 per cent. Three-fourths of the Party membership in the Youngstown section is estimated to be foreign-speaking.

These figures, even allowing for slight inaccuracy, speak for themselves. The significant role and double responsibility of the language comrades is obvious. But do our language forces have the proper orientation in their activities, do we possess the proper political understanding required for the fulfillment of the tasks?

Language Forces Lack Understanding of Their Tasks

Perhaps some of the "modest", "simple", "petty" everyday occurrences will be illustrative of the general attitude and political level:

One instance: The Section is in a chaotic situation because of the political and organizational bankruptcy of the previous Section leadership recently removed. Everything is upside-down, and great efforts are made to put things in order. The units are faced with urgent tasks. In unit No. — a South Slav comrade proposes the postponement of the unit meeting, because the language comrades are involved in rehearsing a play, and there is little time left to make the acting successful.

Another instance: A language comrade, on the evening of his local union meeting, goes to the headquarters of his "language-society", to warm his feet. Since he is the chairman of the local, he was asked as to the reason for not going to the local meeting. "Hell, it is too cold, there is hardly gonna be anybody, anyhow", he answered with a feeling of justification.

In the city of F—— non-party workers went to a comrade asking for advice because the workers were in a fighting mood in that particular steel mill and wanted to fight for wage increase. The comrade advises them to form committees, etc. The workers hand in a signed petition demanding 20 per cent increase in wages and they got it. Yet our comrades "forget" to bring these workers into the S.M.W.I.U., they are busy with "language work" and rehearsing a play, "Struggle on the Barricades".

In the city of Y—— we made a checkup of the membership of the Hungarian organizations under Party influence, and also of the readers of Uj Előre. We find that there are about 30 sympathetic steel workers, a good number of them employed in steel mills, Republic, Carnegie Sheet and Tube, etc. How many of them were asked to join the S.M.W.I.U.? None. We find that a number of our fraction members are working in steel mills. How many of them are members of the union? None.

Now these "petty" "everyday occurrences" characterize the situation. But since our language forces (the majority of the Section membership) are "concentrating" practically

all their energies in their language societies, one would assume that there at least we would find a mass movement of some sort. But do we?

On the contrary. The circle of their following is very narrow. We have a situation where a dozen communists "lead" 20 to 30 Party-sympathizers (Hungarians, etc.).

Language Work Isolated from Basic Tasks of Party

But why the isolation? Is it because we don't do work? No. Primarily because we go about it in the wrong way. Because of our failure to link up our activities on the language field with the basic tasks of the Party. Do our language forces in the Youngstown section properly participate or engage in systematic work in the factories, among the steel workers, on CWA jobs? Are they doing work among the unemployed? Are they working systematically in the reactionary organizations, where the great masses of indifferent misled workers are left to the mercy of the reactionaries, the fascists? National experiences on the language-field show that where this was done, the isolation of our language movement began to disappear, and new masses began to flock toward us. These experiences also show (New York, New Jersey districts) how the language forces can be instrumental in organizing shop nuclei, rooting the Party in the factories, etc., and by such activities in turn also securing new members and injecting new life and vigor to our lifeless language organizations.

There is a complete lack of understanding of this on the language field of the Youngstown section.

The general attitude of the language forces is characterized by incidents quoted above. There is a very low level of political understanding, irregular attendance and participation in the so-called general Party work, a shrinking from any activity that is not within the narrow shell of "society doings," their activities in the main are that of the old line of federalism. That is, limited to associating with their own friends, seeing the same faces year in and year out, having a dance and lecture here and there and of course giving financial support to their language press.

Needless to say that in a section where the overwhelming majority of the basic proletariat is foreign-speaking where almost the whole Section membership is that of the "language forces" such a situation as that in Youngstown is more than intolerable.

How to Improve the Situation

There are certain steps that could be taken immediately which would undoubtedly tend to improve the situation:

1. A systematic and thorough ideological campaign amongst the language forces to stamp out the federational-sectarianism. This should be conducted in their own specific language. The various Language Buros of the district could be of great assistance by arranging study courses for at least two weeks, where the fraction members and active sympathizers would get political education in a language they understand, and among other topics, the question of "federationalism" would be clarified.

However, actual results are attainable only if the Section leadership will carry out its decision of establishing very close contact with these fractions, giving personal guidance, checking the work, and systematically insist on carrying out the basic tasks. A Section representative should attend these fraction meetings, and regular meetings of all fraction secretaries should be an institution-like procedure.

2. An immediate putting into effect of the Party decision that all Party members eligible to union membership must join the S.M.W.I.U.

3. An immediate registration of the readers of various Party language press and the membership of the language organizations under our influence; to have a clear picture of our contacts amongst the steel workers. Since the S.M.W.I.U. in the section is still in the embryonic stage, a campaign of individual recruiting should be started. Through utilizing these contacts, that are "right in front of our nose" we could undoubtedly "discover" some valuable connections, and form some factory or department groups, as a preparation of the anticipated upsurge of steel workers. Also the setting up of "Build the S.M.W.I.U. committees" in language organizations would be of assistance.

4. A functioning Language Department should be established in the S.M.W.I.U. involving our language comrades in day-to-day concrete work amongst their specific nationality, and issuing leaflets and union bulletins in foreign languages, since thousands upon thousands of these workers do not understand English. And since the financial capacity of the union is very limited, the various language buros of the district should take upon themselves the task of translating and financing such material of union propaganda, in their own languages.

The above enumerated steps could be undertaken immediately, and would, it appears, improve the situation.

The Section leadership, because of the very character of its territory, must give immediate attention to the "language situation". The main responsibility lies with the Section leadership, because only the Section Committee by the virtue of being on the spot and able to give push and

guidance, can reorientate the work of the language forces. Experience shows that with proper methods of work "language forces" may become most instrumental in building the union, rooting the Party in the factories and among the basic strata of the proletariat.

And with the anticipation of the upsurge of the masses, this should and could be the case in the Youngstown section also.

The Work of the Baltimore Section

By S. HORWATT, (Org. Sec'y, Baltimore, Md.)

THE Open Letter has placed the Baltimore Party section on its feet.

Baltimore was one of the few demoralized Party sections in spite of its strategic importance in the marine and steel industries. Baltimore is also the heart and brain of the jim-crow lynch state of Maryland, (Euel Lee, Armwood, etc.), and as such is a basic center for the Negro Liberation movement.

The Section Committee, however, was not only not in a position to give leadership to the waterfront, steel and Negro liberation movement, but the section committee which in reality did not exist was literally isolated from the units and Party members.

This situation continued until a group of Party actives came together and decided (1) to call a membership meeting (December 24) with the only purpose of discussing the Open Letter, and (2) on the basis of the discussion to call another membership meeting for December 29th to elect a functioning section committee.

The discussion of the Open Letter opened the minds of the comrades and made them conscious of the tasks and responsibilities of our local section. As a result of the first meeting the second membership meeting, armed with political clarity, did not concentrate on "what was not done" but on **what is to be done**, and on this basis, in the most serious manner, has elected its section committee.

Since then, in a period of only two months, the Party will come to its section convention with at least one hundred new Party members, with a record of improvement in the organizational and political life of the Party units, with some definite achievements in bringing in the Party on the waterfront and to a lesser extent in the steel industry.

Work on the Waterfront

What has the section done in order to politicalize and strengthen the work on the waterfront?

1. It has established a functioning unit on the waterfront.
2. The section assigned the organizer and org. secretary to work with the unit and fraction.
3. The unit established a Party class and a trade union class.
4. The unit issues a bi-monthly bulletin.
5. The section and the unit raised in a political manner the question of the Negro liberation movement.

Since these things were done, we find at present on the waterfront the (a) best functioning Party unit, (b) more than thirty marine workers already recruited for the Party in four weeks, (c) it has established a political and conscious leadership on the waterfront, (d) a systematic educational campaign and struggle against jim-crow discriminatory practices on the waterfront as a result of which the M.W.I.U. has succeeded in organizing for the first time a Negro Longshoremen Local. It is interesting to note here that during the strike against the Munson line, the longshoremen local criticized the M.W.I.U. for not calling upon them immediately to help in its strike. This is a demonstration of how unity between Negro and white can be forged if we only give the necessary attention to it.

Now the Waterfront Unemployment Council took the initiative in calling a United Front conference to organize a federation of unemployed organizations. The M.W.I.U. is in connection with the Scottsboro campaign, also in the process of organizing an I.L.D. branch on the waterfront which will even more help the union in forging the unity of Negro and white workers on the waterfront. Only last week (Feb. 27) the unit decided to mobilize marine forces to help the S.M.W. I.U. in its present campaign. In short, by bringing in the Party on the waterfront the M.W.I.U. became what it should be, namely, the leader of working class struggles in Baltimore.

However, the Party must not become dizzy by its success on the waterfront. We must constantly be aware of the fact that our present achievements are due to the successful struggles on the waterfront. Therefore, in order to keep up the present position on the waterfront the Party must continue and even strengthen the forces in the struggle for one united Central Shipping Bureau controlled by the marine workers; to have the workers prepared to fight for the upkeep of the projects; to strengthen the Party by recruiting the best elements and to raise the struggle to a higher political level; for united action against the labor fakers and against

capitalism. Only by struggle will we be able to consolidate what we have gained and achieve what we are striving for.

Work in the Steel Industry

In the steel industry our union has organized a campaign (1) against the enforcement of company unions, and (2) for the mobilization of the steel workers in support of the Social Unemployment Insurance Bill. Though the S.M.W.I.U. has succeeded in drawing new members into the union, the Party recruiting here is very slow. This responsibility rests with the section committee for not giving the necessary help to our leading Party comrades in the union.

However, the section committee has recently assigned three comrades, including the organizer and agitprop director, and also two units which will help our fraction in its work. Now, in connection with the present campaign of the S.M.W.I.U. the section has mobilized the entire Party and has also sent out a call for a conference of mass organizations with the purpose of mobilizing all the possible help for this campaign. The section committee must be on the guard here not to lose the present possibility of building a real fighting S.M.W.I.U.

Other Work Neglected

When we come, however, to the work in the unemployed field, opposition work in the Amalgamated, I.L.G.W.U., railroad work, furniture union, contact with mass organizations, here, in this field of work, the section committee is entirely out of control in spite of the fact that we have a railroad unit, in spite of the fact that we have devoted Party comrades working in these organizations.

Only now has the section committee, through the Water-front Unemployment Council decided to call a conference in order to bring in some control and guidance in our unemployed work. As for the rest of the work mentioned above, nothing has been done by the section. The same is true about building the L.S.N.R. in Baltimore.

Does Concentration Mean Neglect of Other Work?

The reason for neglecting the above mentioned unions and organizations is, in my opinion, the fact that there is uncertainty in our ranks as to the question: **Does the fact that we have concentration work justify our negligence in utilizing and guiding our active Party forces in other fields of work?**

We have, for instance, a small Furniture Workers Industrial Union which if given better leadership could become a strong and militant union. We have comrades working in other reformist trade unions who if they were given correct leadership could have recruited members for our Party and

strengthened our trade union opposition work. We have mass organizations through which by giving Party leadership we could succeed not only in strengthening our mass base but also avoid the danger of having our organization, an I.W.O. branch, utilized by our Party enemies. In other words, our section committee must become clarified on the question of how to combine concentration work with all the fields of activities which the Party is facing. This question was raised in the presence of a District rep at a functionaries meeting. But the question was not answered clearly enough so that it would bring a turn in our work. In my opinion concentration work should not take the section away from its responsibility on other fields of work but on the contrary, the section should utilize all other strategic centers for the purpose of carrying through effective concentration work. Otherwise the section committee will practically weaken the forces which are involved in other activities.

Another question which interests our section is: Whether it would not be advisable and practical to make Baltimore a District. It is the opinion of many leading comrades that by putting Baltimore under the direct guidance of the C.C. it would strengthen the work here, it would avoid technical and organizational difficulties which hinder a lot the work and development of our Party in Baltimore.

Should Baltimore become a District then the distribution of forces into various sections according to the specific tasks in the sections would also solve many of the political problems which we face now.

With regard to our struggle for a united front and especially the exposure of the bureaucratic and treacherous top leadership of the S.P. in Baltimore, here the section practically failed to do anything in spite of the fact that the section made some concrete decisions after the S.P. City Committee, under the influence of the most yellow socialist leader in Baltimore, Dr. Neishtadt, had refused to unite with the Party on a program of action in solidarity with the Austrian workers.

The section committee, in line with the resolution of the C.I. and the Eighteenth Plenum Resolution of the Party, must come to the section convention with the sharpest self-criticism especially with regard to those tasks which were undertaken and were not carried out for the only reason that we have refused to carry them out.

The section convention must clarify before the Party the question of what is personal responsibility in the Party. Only by introducing section leadership, personal responsibility and a strict check-up. will our section overcome most of its difficulties in the struggle for winning over the workers of the basic industries, and the oppressed Negro masses.

Work Among Women in the Mining Fields

By A. S.

IN this period of decaying capitalism, and especially since the inauguration of the "New Deal," we find that more and more women are being drawn into industry. Women do the same work as men at the machine, and are forced to work for lower pay, thus reducing the standard of living of the working class as a whole. While this has always been the conscious policy of the boss class, it is being developed even more during the present economic crisis and the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Not only are the women forced to work at starvation wages, they are also forced to put in long hours and extra shifts. Unemployment among women workers is increasing due to speed-up and rationalization, thus lowering their living standards to a new level. Conditions among the Negro women are even worse than among the white. They are doubly exploited, given less pay and the worst jobs. All of these things, coupled with the fact that there are no provisions for the working women under the N.R.A. not only makes work among women doubly necessary, but also has created the need and desire for organization.

Women Want Organization

This urge for organization extends also to women who are not working themselves, but who see the need of helping the men in their struggle against the bosses. This can best be seen among the miners, many of whom have not worked for years, or at best are working part time. Most of them live in poverty in the company patches, cheated on every side by the coal operators and by the relief agencies. The resentment of the miners is growing, and they are now preparing for strike struggles. In the past struggles in the coal fields the women have played an increasingly important role.

In the last strike wave they helped to close down the mines, picketed with the men and took an active part in the meetings. They were often more militant than the men (Johnstown-Lorain Steel mine, where the women without the aid of the men pulled the mine on strike). The growing militancy among the women in the mining area, also expressed itself in the organization of the women's auxiliaries of the U.M.W.A. in the Frick territory since the last strike.

Although certain results were obtained in this work, an underestimation of its importance has hindered the consolidation of the women's auxiliaries and the carrying of the fight

for U.M.W.A. auxiliaries on the floor of the U.M.W.A. convention. The extent of this underestimation can be seen in the fact that one woman comrade carried out this work without any active help from the men comrades in the field.

Auxiliaries Formed Over Heads of Reformist Leadership

During the strike over 1800 women were organized into the auxiliaries. Because of the militancy of the women the district officials of the U.M.W.A. opened an attack against the auxiliaries with the attempt to smash them. In those towns where the Party defeated the red scare the auxiliaries were maintained. However, due to the underestimation of the work, and failure to continue it, more than 50 per cent of the organization has been liquidated by the U.M.W.A. officialdom. Local union seals were refused to the auxiliaries and the women were compelled to organize over the heads of the officials. The Lewis machine, continuing its betrayal tactics, is doing everything possible to keep the idea of organization from spreading among the women. On the one hand they openly forbid the organization of the women's auxiliary and on the other, they demagogically ridicule the men for permitting the "women to do the fighting for them." In spite of this, great numbers of miners' wives are building the auxiliaries and preparing for the coming strike struggles.

The program adopted at the Mining Party Conference for the mining fields points out the importance of building the opposition within the reformist unions (F.M.A., U.M.W.A. and the Anthracite Union). It also stresses the necessity of intensifying our fight within the company unions, which applies mostly to the captive mines. Much attention must be given to convincing the men who have been betrayed by the Lewis machine and driven into the company unions. The women can play an important role in this work, through their daily contact with the men, agitating against and exposing the role of the company unions. The women's auxiliaries are a vital factor in the building of militant and live oppositions. The women, both Negro and white, have during the strike shown their militancy and have exposed the role of the officials of the U.M.W.A. The Negro women, for the first time in the Frick territory were among the most active in the strike and in organizing the auxiliaries. With the extension of the women's organization, their influence will be a great step forward in building a mass opposition movement and toward the building of one united miners' union. We cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of our work among the women in the mining field. To speak of building the opposition in the U.M.W.A. without carrying on

the work of building the women's auxiliaries is merely phrasemongering.

Work Neglected by Party

The Party in the past has neglected the building of the auxiliaries especially in the Frick territory, and has failed to give support and guidance to the comrades who were carrying on this work and building the Party fraction in the U.M.W.A. with the result that where there were auxiliaries they have not been utilized to their fullest extent in building an opposition to the U.M.W.A. officialdom.

It is necessary for us to intensify our work in organizing the auxiliaries for the purpose of building and strengthening the opposition work. The Party must be mobilized to begin a drive to recruit into the Party the best and most militant women sympathizers, especially the Negro women. The building of strong party fractions among the women can be the only guarantee of successful work in the auxiliaries and the U.M.W.A.

What is to be Done?

It is necessary to immediately take the following steps

1. To build the Party and the YCL among the women and young girls, paying special attention to the development of cadres from among the Negro women.

2. Consolidate and unify the already existing organizations and spread the movement to other districts.

3. Work towards the building of a center for the auxiliaries.

4. To immediately call a conference of existing organizations for the purpose of adopting a program of action surrounding the preparations for the coming strike struggles. The main points to be brought forward in this conference are: (a) fight for official recognition and charter from the U.M.W.A. (b) map out a program of action against unsanitary living conditions in the company patches, against high prices in company stores, and forced trading, and against the discrimination against Negroes, etc. Our aim must be a united struggle for one national miners union; to unify the auxiliaries of the P.M.A., U.M.W.A., and N.M.U. for a militant national union.

By discussing the problem of building the women's auxiliaries in the mining fields as well as seriously discussing the most important phases of organizational tasks among women, we can begin "to get rid once for all of the underestimation of this work (among women), to get rid of the idea that this work is not part of general Party work."

Work in the Armed Forces

By X. Y., A Communist Soldier

WITH the rapidly developing preparations for war by the United States government it is of the utmost importance that we consider more seriously than ever before the task of work in the armed forces of the country, especially in the regular army. No Party member can deny the importance of this work—but very few Party members have any positive conception as to how this work is to be done. In fact, it almost seems that the average Party member is afraid of the soldier—that, in practice he already considers the soldier as the inevitable enemy of the working class; and that there is little, if any, possibility of developing a revolutionary movement among the regular soldiers until the workers take to the barricades. This is harsh criticism, but the results show that such an attitude exists.

The Party has failed to acquaint its members with the present day conditions of the soldiers; and thus it has failed to give its members the means of breaking through the isolation to which the soldiers are subjected by this economic system, and by the government. If this had been done in a systematic manner there is little doubt but that there would now be an active soldier's movement with good support among the mass of enlisted regular soldiers. The C.I. recognized this fact in the Sixth World Congress in 1928. In its resolution on "The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists" it gave very concrete directives on this work, directives which in so far as the regular army is concerned ("The proletariat's attitude toward Armies in the Imperialist States") the Party has failed to develop on a Party scale, involving all the districts in a coordinated plan of work.

It requires only a brief survey of conditions in the army to show us that there are great possibilities of creating a genuine revolutionary movement among the soldiers. On various occasions there has already taken place, without organized leadership, spontaneous actions in the matter of protests on mess (food), etc., which were revolutionary in character and could have developed into a definite movement. We find that as the mass of workers have received cuts and lower standards of living, so have the soldiers. We find that the cuts of the soldiers, since the depression, total well over 32 per cent; that these cuts have been put over by the most underhanded methods in gradual curtailment of food, clothing, bonuses, etc. At the same time there has been an increase of work for the soldiers in the army building program and the C.C.C., and a resultant cutting of pass and furlough privileges to a large extent. All this has caused strong resentment. There is little

sympathy for Roosevelt and the "recovery program." The N.R.A. is ridiculed by all the soldiers. They are ripe for Communist influence.

In carrying on work in the Army, its composition becomes especially significant. We find first that whereas this army is classed as a "voluntary" force it is made up of men who are volunteers in name only. Because of the depression the mass of the enlisted soldiers have been forced into the army just as countless other young men have been forced into becoming tramps. They are either young men who have lost their jobs, or who have had to quit school and couldn't get a job. They are much higher in standard than the men of the "old army" (1928). They lack political development or class consciousness, but this could be quickly aroused. They are keenly aware of their inferior position as soldiers.

How is Work to be Done?

There are several ways of carrying on work among the soldiers, the most important of which are the following: (a) direct contact with individual soldiers, and (b) mass distribution of Party literature to soldiers. There are others such as having Soldiers' Nights in workers' clubs, situated near the army posts, and the direct organization of soldiers' clubs. In adopting any of these methods it is of primary importance for the districts to secure a thorough knowledge of the army posts in their districts, the number of men and the branch of service on these posts, their convenience to centers from which work can be directed and all other details that are of strategic importance. Having obtained this data the districts can assign forces in such a way that the most important posts are covered and from them make contacts with the others.

Since direct contact with individual soldiers is the most successful method of work it is most necessary that comrades know how to make and secure these contacts. The districts will have to study the living conditions of the soldiers in each post, acquaint the comrades assigned to these posts with the issues they should stress. Particular attention should be paid to the matter of pay cuts (the pay is now \$17.85 for privates), the large laundry and tailor bills, the comparatively high prices in the Post Exchange stores, which are supposed to be non-profit; the lack of opportunity for advancement and the isolation that soldiers are subjected to, as well as any specific wrongs that may exist on each post. Most soldiers are very willing to talk about conditions on the "inside" and are interested in what's happening on the "outside". Comrades should engage them in conversation at every opportunity on busses, trains, in parks, or any place where they may be met. Where an active interest is shown on the part of the soldier his name should be taken and literature should be given or sent

to him with a view towards developing him into a permanent contact. One good contact on the "inside" can lead to any number of others in other posts. Of course the most thorough way to do this is for each district to enlist a few, reliable, developed comrades directly into the army, providing they don't make the mistake of considering that this is enough, and leave the outside work go. It is practically impossible to build a movement on the inside without strong support and cooperation from the "outside."

Party literature, the **Daily Worker**, small pamphlets, etc., can be distributed by units near army posts or where army men congregate. Usually such literature will be taken by the soldier and brought back by him to his post where it will be read by other soldiers, with interest and comment. By acquainting the soldiers with the Party we pave the way for good personal contact work.

There are numerous details that are peculiar to various localities that will be discovered by the districts as this work is developed, to which they will adapt their work. The thing to stress is that in this work there must be the greatest cooperation between the districts and the sections and the national committee both in the beginning and the following through of work on a coordinated plan.

Forward to a strong soldiers' movement in the U. S. Regular Army!

The Most Active Mass Workers Must Be Brought Into Leadership

THE Central Committee, in issuing its call for the National Convention of the Party, gave a short outline as to the composition of the delegates to the various conventions and as to the members of the incoming Party committees. There were many section conventions and some district conventions held in the past week; but the bulk of the conventions, especially district conventions, are scheduled for this and the following week-end. Fourteen out of the 20 districts will have their conventions on March 24 and March 31 week-end. We would like to re-emphasize the directives of the C.C. concerning the composition of the delegates and the Party committees.

The Open Letter states: "As delegates to all Party conferences, section and district conferences, and above all to the Party congress, there must be elected comrades who carry on active mass work and who have distinguished themselves in mass struggles."

This sentence of the Open Letter must be our guide in electing delegates. According to the directives of the Central Committee—"The decisive majority of delegates must be non-full-time functionaries of either Party organizations, trade unions, or other mass organizations. The majority must be shop workers, preferably from the basic industries as well as unemployed workers. From the point of view of the political importance of the particular district special attention must be given to the election of Negro delegates and delegates from among working women in the industries. Furthermore, the delegates shall include Party members active in the unions, particularly the A. F. of L. unions, in the Independent unions and of course comrades active in the T.U.U.L. unions and unemployed organizations."

Examining the composition of the delegates to the various section convention held during the previous weeks, we find that these directives were carried out by every Party organization. In the New York Section convention, we had a good representation of factories and the street nuclei sent their best and most active mass workers to the convention. These examples must be followed in the other sections and districts of the Party.

The Open Letter gives the directives for our Party concerning the composition of the Party committees to be elected in the units, sections, district and national convention. The Open Letter states that:

"Every Party member, and especially every Party functionary must be a real organizer of mass struggles in his particular sphere of work. From this standpoint, the Party must judge the activity of its functionaries, and must choose its leading bodies."

The sections and districts which have their conventions in the coming two weeks must follow these directives of the Open Letter very closely. We have to break away from our past bad traditions in electing our buros. In the past we have elected those comrades to the leadership of the units who could spare time for this function. Comrades who were leaders of organizations, unions, or unemployed organizations were not considered as candidates for such functions because they were "busy among the masses." The same wrong attitude towards this question also influenced the election of section leaders especially in the big cities.

In the New York Section conventions the Party succeeded in breaking away from this wrong approach in their elections of the new leadership. In one section they elected to the section committees the leaders of the unions that have organized shops in the territory of the section, and the leaders of the unemployed movement. In Section 2, for example, out

of 17 elected members, five are outstanding leaders of two unions, and two are leaders of the unemployed movement in the territory. The majority of the others are members of the biggest shop nuclei and two of the former members of the section committee.

In electing delegates to the National Convention and members to the section and district committees, the most thorough-going examination of the activities of the candidates is needed. Our slogan should be: Active mass leaders from the shops, from the unions, from among the unemployed, for the leaders of the Party!

“WHAT is now demanded above all of every Communist is one thing—the will for the struggle for power.

“The will to power means a stubborn, hard, self-sacrificing struggle to win over the majority of the working class, to form a revolutionary army of utterly devoted fighters for Communism.

“The will to power means stubborn work in defending the daily interests of the working class in the factories, the plants, the trade unions, the labor exchanges.

“The will to power means a hard stubborn struggle to win allies of the proletariat in the revolution, to win over the peasant masses, the masses of the petty bourgeoisie in the towns who have been ruined by the crisis, for he who does not think of allies is not facing the question of power seriously, is not thinking seriously about the dictatorship of the proletariat.

“The will to power means a struggle against war and fascism, for the defense of the U.S.S.R. and of the Chinese Soviets, for the defense of the German proletariat.”—Knorin, **Fascism, Social Democracy and the Communists**, 13th Plenum of E.C.C.I., December, 1933.

Youth Sections in Shop Papers

By AGITPROP DEPT.

THE Eighth Convention draft resolution on youth work states: "The Party must determinedly turn the Y.C.L. towards participation and leadership of the economic struggles of the young workers, especially strike struggles." And as one of the immediate steps in making the Y.C.L. broader than the Party: "To build a Y.C.L. shop unit alongside of every Party unit." The Party shop papers can and must become a powerful factor in carrying out these decisions.

Many of the shop papers issued by the Party nuclei pay very little attention to the problems of the young workers in the factory; in some cases the attention paid is very deficient and in many cases the youth problems are completely ignored. It is true that the aim of the Party and the Y.C.L. nuclei should be to establish youth shop papers, but at the same time, the leaving out of youth problems from the Party papers leads to a mechanical separation of the shop problems and does not link up the efforts of the Communists and Young Communists. We have for example the first issue of **The Organizer**, issued by the Packing House Section of the C.P. of Omaha, Nebraska. No youth problems are dealt with and the so-called youth page only has a greeting to the paper from the District Bureau of the Y.C.L. In the **Stock Yards Worker** of Chicago the youth question is not touched in any way. The **Gary Steel Worker** Vol 2 No. 5, mentions some youth grievances but does not deal concretely with the Y.C.L. and the solution it proposes.

The youth sections in the shop papers should not be the work of only the youth comrades who will themselves raise all of the youth problems. Dealing with the problem in this manner will not help to rally the adult workers for the defense of the interests of the young workers but will help to separate mechanically the problems of the youth from the general questions. The editorial boards of all Party shop papers should include a young comrade to edit the youth column, but its contents should be the collective work of the whole editorial board. It is in this way that a real link will be established and the young comrades will be developed. Working properly such methods will give the possibility to utilize youth issues for the development of the general struggle, and to raise youth demands and youth issues in connection with the struggles of all the workers as a means of rallying the young workers for the fight.

Every Party shop paper issued in a shop that employs young workers must endeavour to treat their conditions in each issue. Their grievances should be discussed and demands

raised. The paper should explain the role of the Young Communist League and should agitate for the formation of Youth Committees and Youth Sections. To guarantee this, every editorial board should have at least one young comrade and in every case, whether there are Y.C.L. nuclei or not, a responsible comrade should be assigned as the editor of the youth section. As a general rule we might suggest that every shop paper have:

(a) A youth section prepared by a responsible member of the editorial board.

(b) A young comrade on the editorial board who will help in the preparation of the youth section and also take part in the preparation of the rest of the paper.

(c) The youth section should raise specific youth grievances interweaving them with the grievances of all the workers.

(d) The paper should raise youth demands explaining them to **all** the workers and not **just** to the young workers.

(e) The paper should explain the role of the Young Communist League, not utilizing **only** the youth section.

(f) The paper should raise and explain the role of youth sections and youth committees, showing that this is a problem of **all** the workers and not just of the young workers.

(g) The paper should in its youth section popularize the Young Worker and call for recruitment for the Y.C.L.

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