

# PROLETARIAN BULLETIN

JANUARY, 1933.

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COMRADES:

This is a brief report of the Meeting of the National Executive Committee which took place at Detroit from Saturday morning, Dec 31st to Tuesday afternoon, Jan 3rd.

The first sessions were taken up with reports on condition of the Party and condition of Charles H. Kerr & Company. While it was shown that there has been some growth in Party membership, especially through the starting of new Locals, it was also shown that the financial condition of the Party calls for the utmost efforts on the part of all Locals if we are not to be severely handicapped for lack of the necessary operating expenses.

The experiences of the political Campaign in the state of Michigan were given careful consideration, and, while the vote was negligible (a little over 300 votes being reported for each of our Candidates) the N.E.C. was of the opinion that the Campaign itself was invaluable from the standpoint of practical experience and the propoganda that was carried into new places in the state. Several new locals were organized and contacts made for further expansion. It was our first State Campaign and the lessons learned will make it possible for us to set about the work in future by more direct and practical methods. More advance preparations will have to be made and more Campaign Funds collected.

The reports of Party activities throughout the Country indicate a steady progress and augur well for future expansion. A few of our Locals have practically remained stationary from a numerical standpoint and a few have slipped backward, but on the whole we have advanced. Our gains have been more substantial than our losses.

To meet the shrinkage of income the N.E.C. decided to continue the Campaign and Expansion Fund, as EXPANSION FUND. And, as a means of rendering greater support to the National Office a PENNY-A-DAY FUND was inaugurated. Locals are expected to elect or appoint a member or members to have charge of collecting this Fund and to send receipts to National Office weekly. Seven cents per member, or sympathizer each week, a small enough amount in itself, will be a great help to the National Office income if collected regularly and systematically. Special collection sheets will be gotten out for this Fund.

This Fund, designed to meet present conditions, is not intended as the main means of financing the Party. It is

only a means of helping to meet shrinking income resulting from so many members being on exempt stamps. The income from Dues has fallen considerably. Locals should devise ways and means of contributing more substantially to the EXPANSION FUND. We must have the means of growth.

#### PROLETARIAN NEWS.

The N.E.C also decided to call upon all Locals to make special efforts in relation to the circulation of Pro News. A subscription plan has been worked out, especially for our unemployed members. Any Comrade who may desire to participate in the new plan will be expected to secure 6 subscriptions at 50cents each. The securing of subs in these "Clubs" of six will bring in \$3. The Comrade will send \$2 covering the six subs to the National Office and retain the other dollar as commission, or if the Comrade prefer books instead a choice of literature to the value of \$1.25 may be had. All Locals are urged to line up as many Comrades in the work as possible.

The enlarging of Proletarian News or its more frequent appearance, or both, is entirely dependent now upon income, the main source for which must be through the locals. Local Flint is paying for 250 copies a month for free distribution. Other Locals are selling as many as possible of the bundle order and distributing the balance. At the present cost of the quantity printed, if we received 2cents for every copy it would just cover the printer's bill. Locals, where possible, should increase the size of their bundle orders, provided of course that they can pay for same.

Efforts will be made to improve the contents of Proletarian News. Comrades are urged to write more for the paper. The Editorial Board can do much better when it has a greater variety of articles at its disposal. Send more news of local activities, give details. Comrades in Chicago cant write about what is happening elsewhere unless the information is sent into the National Office. Give as much advance notice as possible. The paper usually goes to press the last week of the month. Pay for bundle orders promptly. Get Subscriptions.

#### CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY.

The report on Charles H. Kerr & Company showed the urgent need for the Party to raise money to pay upon its account with Kerr & Co for literature used up in Party building. A special letter is being sent to all Locals with practical detailed suggestions in this relation. Several books are out of print that should be gotten back into stock as soon as possible. At present 3 pamphlets are being reprinted. They are "Communist Manifesto", "Shop Talks On Economics", "The Right to be Lazy." The publishing house has been a great aid to the Party. The Party should make an effort to aid the publishing house. New pamphlets are ready for publication but there is no money for that purpose. Suggestions from Locals would be welcomed.

## NATIONAL CONVENTION

The N.E.C decided to call a Convention of the Party. It will commence on Saturday, May 27th, in the City of Detroit. It was further decided that the expenses of Delegates would not be guaranteed, but that some money would be raised, especially for Delegates from locals on Atlantic and Pacific coasts. However, that does not mean that efforts will not be made to meet as much expense as possible. A Convention Fund will be started at once.

## PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION.

In conformity with the usual practice of the Party there will be the period of open discussion. This pre-Convention Discussion will commence February 1st and close May 1st. Comrades who desire to take part in open discussion in writing should begin now and have it into National Office as soon as possible. The last of the written discussion should be in the National Office by May 1st.

The open discussion in the locals should not be started before February 1st and efforts should be made to close it by May 1st, after which time Delegates should be elected. The National Executive Committee will apportion delegates and notify all Locals before May 1st. More information can be had by Locals, not experienced in pre-Convention discussions, by writing to the National Secretary.

The purpose of pre-Convention discussion is to unsparingly criticise our own shortcomings, to the end that theoretical and tactical weakness be purged from the Party. However, the present position of the Party holds for our propaganda and agitational work. It is not suspended during the discussion period. The discussion is confined to the membership. Any sort of change can be advocated at the Local meetings, or through writing to the Party Bulletin. Locals can send Delegates instructed in accordance with the majority opinion of the Locals or they can send delegates uninstructed if they so desire.

While practically an unlimited range of discussion is permitted during this open period, the decisions of the Convention are final and binding upon the whole membership. After the Convention has taken a stand all differences of opinion are settled. The will of the Party, as expressed through its highest body, the Convention, must be the will of the entire membership. What is formulated and adopted as Party theory and practice must be strictly adhered to until the next period of open discussion arrives.

Comrades, now is the time to advocate the changes which you think the Party should initiate at the coming Convention. Care must be taken to see that Party discussion does not take place in the presence of non-members, or that the written discussion does not fall into the hands of strangers. Conditions today call for a thorough-going discussion of the Party in all of its aspects, both from an internal and an external point of view, but always upon the basis of Party loyalty, to build not to tear down, to strengthen, not to weaken, our Communist understanding and practice.

M O N E Y !

We have been trying to avoid discussion of this disagreeable subject, altho we have already hinted in this Bulletin that we are still in need of it. The beginning of 1933 saw our N.O Treasury below zero, in fact about fifty below.

On the matter of meeting obligations to the central machinery of our Party a sort of defeatist attitude has crept into the ranks of many of the Locals. The attitude could be expressed as follows "Money is so hard to lay hands on, why bother to try at all. Just let things drift."

The Party Constitution calls for a "weekly taxation of each local according to its ability to raise funds, this ability to be determined by the National Executive Committee."

This weekly taxation has been left more or less upon a voluntary basis. Some locals, the larger ones especially, just ignore this part of the Constitution, yet these locals want and do receive much N.O service. This is not consistent. Every Local in the Party should see to it that no week goes by without some-cash is sent to the National Office. If you cant send dollars send dimes, but send something. Even postal stamps are better than promises.

We quite understand the difficulties locals have in meeting local expenses, but if Locals quit at that point there will be nothing for the N.O to carry on with. Dont be quitters. The P.P is needed by the American workers more than at any time in the past, but we have to reach out to the workers, enter hundreds of places that so far have not heard of the Proletarian Party.

Party organizers today can and do move around on less than at any time in the past, but still they cannot move entirely without cash. The neglect of this important matter often results from the indifference of local officers. Each member of the Party can render a service to the National Office by raising the question in the Local meetings; "When did we last send CASH to the National Office, and how much?" And, again, "Wsn't there a few dollars we could send now?" Right at the present time it is not difficult to organize new locals, but organizers need to be sent out. Comrades, your consideration for the Party as a whole should come first.

## D U E S.

Our membership is higher than it was a year ago. We have some locals that we did not have then, but less money is now coming in for dues. This is because so many unemployed Comrades are on Exempt Stamps. This must be made up for by direct donations. Put your PENNY-A-DAY lists into circulation now. Plan a special drive for the PARTY EXPANSION FUND. How about it? LET US HEAR FROM YOU. BE A BOOSTER. BUILD THE PARTY BIGGER AND BETTER.

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week prior to the Convention. It was believed that a week's time would be ample to transact N.E.C business and make the necessary preparations for the Convention, but the situation existing in Local Detroit took up considerable time of the N.E.C. At its first session on Saturday morning August 27th it is reported that Local Detroit was torn with factionalism and that there were charges and counter-charges against ten members of the local and that an investigating committee of three comrades Novak, Landgraf and Schock (all N.E.C members) had been hearing complaints, charges and counter-charges and seeking to get to the root of the troubles for about two weeks.

A special Local meeting had been set for Monday Aug 28th to hear the report and recommendations of the special investigating committee. The N.E.C decided to attend that meeting. It lasted from 8 p.m. until the following morning at 3 a.m. The recommendation of the special investigating committee was that Sam Garrett be suspended for one year and that several others be severely censured. In view of all that the investigation revealed and what transpired at the special meeting of the local, the N.E.C reviewed the whole matter and decided to expell Sam Garrett from the Proletarian Party. The following members were suspended; Paul Jones for one year; suspended for 6 months Gale, Summerville, Wass, Field, M, Soeters, Ranner, suspended for 3 months, McNicol, Landgraf, Schock.

These suspended members were allowed to express their opinions of the N.E.C decisions at the Convention during the evening session on Wednesday Sept 6th. Several members took their suspension with good grace and conducted themselves as Communists should under such circumstances, while others whimpered and tried to excuse their factionalism, carelessness, gross stupidities, general anti-communist conduct and disruptive methods calculated to injure the Party. It now appears that at the first business meeting of Local Detroit following the Convention 21 members resigned, consisting of several of the disciplined members and their relatives and friends. The test of Communist discipline was too much for them. They showed their true character as sore-headed liberals, and social democratic sentimentalists. The Party has been negligent and certain locals, especially Local Detroit, have been exceedingly careless about whom it has admitted as members, and the sort of conduct it has tolerated. The Party had fallen down on the very important Communist essential, namely, Party purging. The result has been that groups of malcontents, composed at times of a variety of muddle-headedness, have been allowed to gather in certain locals until a clean out of the rubbish became imperative. The cleansing of local Detroit was overdue. Locals are beginning to realize that much more attention must be paid to the conduct of individual members and to resist the drift in the direction of opportunism or adventurism.

On the second day of the Convention reports of committees were commenced.

#### ONLY TWO FUNDS.

On the basis of the Financial Committee's report it was decided by the Convention that in future there will be only two National Office Funds. The first will be the Press Fund and the second the Maintenance and Expansion Fund. The Locals are to decide in their own way as to how to raise the money for these two funds but their necessity to be recognized and compliance with the quotas named by the Convention to be practically obligatory. The quotas decided upon are as follows.

**PRESS FUND.**

To be raised each month by Local Detroit \$5, Chicago \$3, Rochester \$2.50, Flint \$2.50, Boston \$2, Los Angeles \$2, San Francisco \$2, Oakland \$1, Dayton \$1, Elkhart \$1, Grand Rapids \$1, Niles 50cents, Benton Harbor 50c, Big Rapids 50c, Jackson 50c, Buffalo 50c--- Total \$25.50.

**Maintenance And Expansion Fund  
(Monthly quotas)**

Detroit \$20, Chicago \$15, Flint \$15, San Francisco \$12, Rochester \$15, Boston \$12, Milwaukee \$4, Elkhart \$8, Niles \$2, Grand Rapids \$4, Big Rapids \$2, Los Angeles \$8, Buffalo \$4, Jackson \$4, Hanover \$2, Benton Harbor \$2, South Bend \$1, Dayton \$3, Oakland \$4, Leslie \$1--- Total \$138.

On the above funds locals are expected to pay as promptly as possible. Locals that fail to pay one month will have their quota charged against them for the next month, therefore, to prevent a debt from piling up locals should plan systematically to take care of their quota.

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**REPORT ON FUNDS FOR SEPTEMBER.**  
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	Quota	PRESS FUND	Paid \$	Owing
Detroit	\$5.00		\$5.00	\$5.00
Chicago	" 3.00		" 3.00	
Rochester	" 2.50		" 5.00	
Flint	" 2.50		"	\$2.50
Boston	" 2.00		" \$1.00	" 1.00
Los Angeles	" 2.00		" 4.00	
San Francisco	2.00			" \$2.00
Oakland	" 1.00			" \$1.00
Dayton	" 1.00			" 1.00
Elkhart	" 1.00			" 1.00
Grand Rapids	" 1.00			" 1.00
Niles	" .50		.50	
Benton Harbor	" .50			.50
Big Rapids	" .50			.50
Jackson	" .50			.50
Buffalo	" .50			.50

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Total \$25.50 Received \$19.50 Owing \$16.50  
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**MAINTENANCE AND EXPANSION FUND.**

	quota	Paid \$	Owing
Detroit	\$20.00	\$20.00	\$20.00
Chicago	" 15.00	" 9.10	" 5.90
Flint	" 15.00	" 25.00	
Rochester	" 15.00	" 15.00	
San Francisco	12.00		" 12.00
Boston	" 12.00	" 3.00	" 9.00
Milwaukee	" 4.00		" 4.00
Elkhart	" 8.00	2.50	" 5.50
Niles	" 2.00	2.00	
Grand Rapids	" 4.00		" 4.00
Big Rapids	" 2.00		" 2.00
Los Angeles	" 8.00	8.00	
Buffalo	" 4.00	4.50	
Jackson	" 4.00	4.00	
Hanover	" 2.00		2.00
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	\$127.00	73.10	64.40

Maintenance and Expansion Fund (brought forward)				
		\$127.00	\$73.10	64.40
Benton Harbor	Quota	\$2.00	Paid \$	Owing \$2.00
South Bend	"	1.00	"	1.00
Dayton	"	3.00	"	3.00
Oakland	"	4.00	"	4.00
Leslie	"	1.00	"	1.00
<b>Total</b>		<b>\$138.00</b>	<b>Received \$73.10</b>	<b>Owing \$70.40</b>

Locals should immediately try to pay balance owing for September that their quotas of these funds will not accumulate and be so much harder to pay later on.

### CONSTITUTION, ETC.

Considerable time was taken up at Sunday sessions with the report of the Committee on Constitution. Several important changes have been made in the Party Constitution and these will be incorporated in a new printing of the Constitution soon. The balance of the Sunday session was taken up with report of the Committee on the Negro Question. An adjournment was made at 7 p.m., until Monday at 10 a.m. so as to give Committees time to work.

The Monday sessions were taken up with Resolutions Committee Report and further discussion of the Negro question, the reading of Thesis on Objective Condition, then the communication from the Communist Party (Opposition) suggesting unity was taken up and a Committee elected to report back to the Convention.

The Thesis on The Negro Question, adopted by the Convention will appear in October issue of Proletarian News, also the terms the Convention suggested as a basis for the negotiation of unity with the C.P.O. The Thesis on Objective Conditions and other matters passed upon will appear in the pages of this Bulletin or sections to follow. Some of the material has to be gone over by the Executive Council and the Manifesto and Program, condensed from Convention Theses, after being approved by the N.E.C will be published first in the Bulletin and then later printed in Pro News or in leaflet form.

On Tuesday Sept 5th the sessions opened with further discussion on the question of Unity with C.P.O., further reporting by the Constitution Committee and discussions and motions on same taking up most of the day.

On Wednesday Sept 6th the morning session was mainly devoted to further work on the Constitution. In the afternoon session the Agrarian Question came up and practically the whole evening session, until 12-15 was taken up with the hearing on the N.E.C discipline as applied to Detroit members the Convention upholding the action of the N.E.C.

Thursday morning session spent some time on the Agrarian question, Unemployment, and Proletarian Youth League. At the opening of the afternoon session Comrade Anderson presented his resignation from the Party. He also submitted the resignation of Saraine Lowe. The resignations were accepted by the Convention.

5 The report of the Organization Committee was accepted. It will be printed in full in the Bulletin. A plan for the Marxian Labor College, recommended by the Organization Committee, was adopted. A thesis on Objective Conditions was also adopted and will also be published in the Bulletin and probably also in Proletarian News.

The question of "Immediate Demands" was much discussed but received little support. However it was contended that some Comrades in the Party had adopted an anti-immediate demand attitude. Upon this question the following motion and amendments were made.

"Motion made and seconded that the Party at this time does not insert any immediate demands in its program", "Amendment made and seconded that the Party accept partial demands in principle but does not see fit to formulate any demands at this time." "Amendment to amendment made and seconded that the Party at this time does not insert any immediate demands in its program but does not exclude the possibility of a condition in the future when the Party will adopt immediate demands. Amendment to amendment carried."

In the evening session the election of officers took place. The following 15 Comrades were elected as members of the National Executive Committee, M. Prizant, I. Tishler, C. Jelset, M. Will, F. West, W. Camfield, E. Walker, C. M. O'Brien, A. Wysocki, A. Sanger, A. Bielakos, B. Hochrien, A. Brown, H. Gardner, R. Youngblood.

The following were elected as alternate members of the N.E.C. (1) James, (2) Finch (3) Singler (4) Andress (5) Wagner.

For National Secretary, there being but one nomination, Comrade Keracher was elected by acclamation.

A report on Unemployment and also a thesis on the Agrarian Question were adopted.

On the last day of the Convention, Friday Sept 8th, the Report of the Committee on the Communist Party (opposition) unity offer was submitted and after much discussion an offer of unity with the C.P.O. (as appearing in November issue of Proletarian News) was adopted by the Convention.

Several matters were referred to the N.E.C for completion (1) The Party Manifesto and Program (2) United Fronts, (3) Class War Prisoners (4) Fascism (5) The War Danger, and a motion was made that "they be published as soon as possible."

On the Communist International, Comrade Prizant, in presenting the San Francisco thesis on the subject, says that the Committee is divided in opinion.

"Chair rules that members of the Committee shall make summaries of their opinions--Keracher, Novak and Babbitt for endorsement with criticism, Novak saying that criticism should be specific, and Prizant and Camfield for not endorsing the C.I."

"Motion made and seconded that majority report be accepted, including statement by Novak, as a basis for Proletarian Party position regarding the Communist International.

"Amendment made and seconded that the following be added "Which means that we criticize its errors and state



them in public on our platforms and in our press."

"Amendment to amendment that the N.E.C. outline in statement the points of agreement and disagreement with the C.I. for the benefit of Party speakers and members generally. Carried."

Amendment carried motion carried."

"Motion made and seconded that the question of United Fronts be handed over to the N.E.C to make a statement for benefit of members in conformity with opinions expressed by the Convention. carried."

"Motion made and seconded that we re-affirm our position on Labor Unions" Amendment made and seconded that we rescind the ruling made by the last Convention that no P.P member join a T.U.U.L Union." Amendment to amendment made and seconded that before any member of the P.P join a T.U.U.L Union they shall appear before their local executive committee to get instructions. carried--amendment carried--motion carried."

Under Good and Welfare Comrade Keracher summed up the work of the Convention. Comrade Tishler pointed out the danger of individualism and appealed for unified action in carrying out the decisions of the Convention. Several other Comrades spoke. The Convention adjourned ,Friday Sept 8th at 6-30 P.M.

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W A N T E D .

Old old mimeograph machine has been hard to work lately. We have had it about 10 years, and it was a used machine when we bought it.

If any Comrade knows of a usable machine that might be donated or loaned to the party it would be a great help. The recent Convention decided to get out a theoretical periodical to be mimeographed. With our machine in its present condition it will not be possible to do very good work. Comrades, please look around and see what you can do in the way of securing a machine for the Party.

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Another Bulletin will follow just as soon as we can spare the cash for paper and postage.

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## NATIONAL OFFICE WEEKLY FUND.

Total Received to April 15th			\$51.36
April 26th	Local	Chicago	2.15
" 29th	"	Elkhart	2.00
May 3rd	"	Chicago	1.20
" 9th	"	Elkhart	1.00
" 10th	"	Chicago	1.80
" 16th	"	Chicago	1.10
" 23rd	"	Chicago	1.70
" 24th	"	Rochester	2.00
June 5th	"	Elkhart	2.00
" 6th		O.W. Bergquist	1.00
" "	"	Chicago	.70
Total Received			<u>\$ 68.23</u>

## PROLETARIAN NEWS GUARD FUND.

Total Received to April 13th			\$59.90
April 24	Local	Jackson	2.00
May 24	#	Rochester H. Wollenhaupt	1.00
"	"	B. Feld	1.00
"	"	E. Korchein	1.00
"	"	B. Tishler	1.00
"	"	J. Conta	1.00
June 3rd	"	Milwaukee H. Olquitz	2.00
Total Received			<u>\$ 68.90</u>
June 8th	Local	Flint	10.00
			<u>\$ 78.90</u>

## CONVENTION FUND

Boston	Quota	\$30	\$14.50
Rochester	"	40	
Buffalo	"	30	
Detroit	"	100	
Flint	"	30	30.00
Grand Rapids	"	20	
Niles	"	10	
Benton Harbor	"	10	
Mishawaka	"	10	
Elkhart	"	10	4.50
Chicago	"	60	24.90
New York	"	10	
Jackson	"	10	3.50
Hanover	#	10	
Danville	"	10	
Milwaukee	"	10	
Los Angeles	"	30	
San Francisco	"	50	5.00
Mecosta County	"	10	
		<u>\$500.00</u>	Received <u>\$ 82.40</u>

## BULLETIN FUND

May 29th	Local	Boston	\$2.00
June 8th	"	Flint	10.00
Total Received			<u>12.00</u>

DAY'S WAGE FUND		
Received to March 28th		\$8.00
A. Wysocki	Chicago	2.00
R. Kobesco	"	1.00
J. Keracher	"	2.00
T. Anderson	"	4.00
A. Sanger	"	1.00
Total Received.		<u>\$ 18.00</u>

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PARTY EXPANSION FUND

April 11th	Local Flint	\$10.00
" 22	" "	10.00
		<u>\$ 20.00</u>

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PRE- CONVENTION DISCUSSION.

Our Problems  
(by Leo Sherwood, Local Buffalo)

Let us analyze the situation of today. First, what is confronting the working class as a whole? Second, what is confronting the Party?

What method are we to apply so that we can find out how the mass of workers think and what to expect of them under certain conditions. The method we are to use is close and constant connection with workers and their organizations. This gives us an opportunity to understand and analyze the workers. With this contact we will be more able to use correct slogans and appeals in our effort to win them over.

This method brings two results; First, it popularizes the Party, chance to sell the paper, distribute leaflets, get members for the Party and win the respect of the workers. Second; It is the proving ground for us as to whether we are using our theoretical knowledge in a practical way.

Members who have failed should look themselves over and see what is the matter. Might it be their personal approach to the worker or are they simply too lazy to make an effort?

I think the conditions in Buffalo are about the same as in other industrial centers. In Buffalo one-third are unemployed one-third working part time. Wages have been going down 20% from one year to another since 1929. In the meantime the welfare has been working 100%. Relief is given to the extent of \$3.50 to \$8.00, depending on the size of the family, per week. Their rent is paid too. They also receive enough coke.

Taking the situation as it is, on its downward trend, we would expect mass awakening, but such is not the case. Economically speaking, the workers are in a bad shape, but their ideas are still in the past, "prosperity period." The "new deal" by Roosevelt and return of beer gives them new hopes. Until the bubbles fade and the contradictions within the system become

greater, we cannot expect mass awakening. In the meantime, we must get recruits from the workers for our meetings and Party.

## II How Are We Managing The Party?

We have many shortcomings and faults that we can remedy. First, our paper. We got to have a paper and therefore must support it. It is our means of education and united action for the Party. The Locals should order the amount they can sell and pay for their quota. In this way the paper will come out on time. A fund should also be set aside for use in support of the paper only. If the local is getting the paper and not paying for it, there is something wrong with that local. The members should be able to sell at least 5 copies of each issue.

We should have more system in the matter of routing our Party speakers. Keracher, Renner, Novak, S. Loewe, Anderson, Larson, Gardner by all means should make more speaking trips, if we expect the Party to grow. Comrades, let all of us pull together for a self-disciplined, militant, Proletarian organization.

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### Need For Change (by R. J. Landgraf, Local Detroit)

The Proletarian Party has reached a stage in the revolutionary labor movement of America to seriously take stock of our Party structure. While it may have well filled the bill in the past, the rapidly changing objective conditions makes it absolutely necessary to plan well for the future. In order to have a membership informed and disciplined on Marxism, the Party machinery must be so geared as to take care of the inevitable influx of new members, with little or no knowledge of what it is all about.

At present many new members attend one or two windy business meetings and leave in disgust, and quite naturally so, as the average American worker with no previous organization experience cannot locate himself. Every issue that comes up on the floor of a business meeting and is thrashed out, reflects in the mind of the new comer a personal conflict. He leaves the meeting confused and demoralized. Remarks, such as "What's the use, they are all fighting among themselves" is common, and rightly so. He does not understand the issue nor the persons involved. That the Party machinery needs overhauling and a planned program on organization put into effect is obvious. This is the work of the coming Convention.

### How is this to be accomplished?

The need for an auxiliary organization is here, a training camp for prospective members of the Proletarian Party. The writer, at the last Convention, sponsored the organization known as the Marxian Labor College. It was adopted. You may find it in the minutes, of last Convention, but no place else. Detroit made a feeble attempt to carry out this Convention decision. It is true that Local Detroit has popularized the name Marxian Labor College, with good results, but this does not alter the fact that

the Marxian Labor College has not functioned as a real organization. Why? The organization is incompetent and needs overhauling. I would propose to the next Convention the organizing of the Marxian Labor College on a dues-paying basis, with dues stamps placed in book, 15 or 20 cents a month.

Any person interested in the Labor movement, and wishing support the Marxian Labor College, could become a member of this organization. Wherever a Local of the Proletarian Party exists, a dues collecting Secretary could be appointed either by the N E C or the Local Executive Committee. Instructors for the classes could be supplied by the Local Executive Committee, with the approval of National Executive Committee.

The Marxian Labor College, as an auxiliary organization of the Proletarian Party, must be controlled from the top down, while the parent organization is based on democratic centralization and built from the bottom up.

Study classes must be conducted every week, twelve months of the year. Applicants for membership in the Party must show study class work in the Marxian Labor College for at least six months, for persons with no previous experience in the labor movement before being admitted to membership in the Party. Exceptions could be made by the Local Executive Committee, where conditions warranted. The Marxian Labor College will serve as the logical recruiting ground for the Party, and a financial aid to the Party as a whole. Comrades, let us not fall asleep on the job. This can and must be accomplished.

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The Negro Question  
( by C.M.O'Brien, Local Los Angeles )

In Europe where some of the states had within their borders several definite nationals (Russia, Austria, etc) the socialists were obliged to define their position on the national question. The distorters of Marxism wrote books and theses on this subject. Of course the Bolsheviks did not agree with their conclusions. Stalin was assigned to write a Marxian thesis on this subject, which he did in 1912. This correct Marxian position on such an important problem was of great service to the Bolshevik party, especially during the war, and more particularly since the seizure of power.

The old Marxists used their distorted views to defend the fatherland of the imperialist states, under the pretense of the Marxian defense of nationalism.

The movement in America never gave serious attention to the national question. Though there has been plenty of need for it, especially since the American-Spanish war. Even the Proletarian Party has scarcely gone beyond taunting the American section of the C.I for their distortion of this question.

Krupskaya, in her article about the 50th anniversary of the death of Marx, calls our attention to the fact that Lenin emphasized the importance of the national question. The national question like everything has a history. It varies according to time and circumstances.

## The Negro Problem In America

About 1923- and 24, the C.I. began to seek for a Marxian approach to the Negro Problem in America. They have the great advantage of having at their disposal in the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute the writings of those great thinkers, much of which is not yet in English. In 1923 the C.I. adopted a resolution, which was further elaborated in 1930, that the national question furnishes the key for the most correct Marxian understanding of the American Negro problem.

Some of our members who were very ill-informed on the national question and the history of the Negroes in America, jumped at a number of very ridiculous conclusions? I admitted my ignorance about both of these questions. But, I argued that our Party from its inception, and even before when we were the Proletarian University, had endorsed the theory of the C.I., that when we became informed on the national and Negro questions we would surely find the position of the C.I., to be correct .

It takes me a long time to understand anything that is new. I have purposely refrained from speaking in public on the Negro question, and I have advised other Comrades to do likewise, until our Party has made a decision. Recently I am convinced that the position of the C.I. on the Negro question is a real Marxian position.

Some of our members make the mistake of judging the C.P. distortion to be the C.I. position. From the C.P. the Comrades can get Stalin's 1912 thesis on the National Question, which he further elaborated in 1924. You can also get from the C.P. the pamphlet with the resolution by the C.I. in 1928, and the further elaboration in 1930 on the Negro problem. You do not need to pay much attention to what Browder and Hathaway has to say, but I would advise a careful study of the articles by Harry Haywood and James Allen, in the C.P. magazine, the Communist.

Our Party cannot any longer ignore these questions. Every member should immediately inform themselves so they can intelligently instruct their delegates to the next Convention.

Engels, when chastising the social-democrats for their abstract conclusions on important political questions, said "\*\*\*\*  
\*\* What other result might be expected under the circumstances except that at the decisive moment the Party will suddenly find itself helpless, that lack of unity and clarity will prevail on questions of decisive importance for the very reason that such questions have never been discussed."

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### Regarding The Party Press

( by Isidor Tishler, Local Rochester )

It is regrettable that John Schachinger could not discuss the question of the Party Press without the spirit of carping which he allows to penetrate his otherwise good article in the March bulletin. If we are to improve the Press or the Party as a whole, we shall have to recognize one proposition, i.e. that we can not consider one certain cause or one certain individual as

being responsible for our shortcomings; we are all equally at fault. If our paper lacks in good current articles it is most likely due to the fact that Schachinger and Tishler and the rest of us are either incapable as writers or are too lazy to write. If the paper does not come out on time it is only because of insufficient funds and this in turn is only because some Party members evidently think that the N.C. can raise money by some sort of magic. (Appropos of this, the Feb. and March bulletins disclose the fact that during these two months only \$6.00 came in from Detroit).

Some of Com. Schachinger's criticism is well placed but most of it is in the nature of fault finding and picking; while the slur at Com. Keracher is entirely uncalled for and unjustifiable. Good constructive criticism is always in order but mere unfounded grumbling can accomplish nothing. Com. Schachinger may not know it, but the question of the Party press receives a great deal of attention at the last meeting of the N.E.C held in Detroit a short time ago. There are four Detroiters on the N.E.C and I hope Schachinger has enough confidence in our executive body to realize that we did not sit there and tweedle our thumbs. Practically all the "solutions" he advises were proposed by various members of the N.E.C (and this not for the first time), were thoroughly considered and the conclusions reached were calculated to correct as many of the existing shortcomings as possible. We found the question of "money" which he so blithely waves aside, as one of our greatest obstacles; and the stuff is harder and harder to get as the depression deepens.

To compare our Party to the S.P. or the C.P. is not only unfair but highly misleading. Both of them have access to funds which we do not have, and their press is heavily subsidised as Schachinger certainly should know. As far as the reading matter contained in the S.P. or C.P. press, id Schachinger thinks it is superior to ours he is very much mistaken, unless he is looking at it from a reporters point of view. The S.P. stuff is nothing but rotten reformism while the C.P. material is a conglomeration of confusion expressed in sensational slogans. If the Proletarian News is not perfect in every way our writers at least make a serious attempt to write from a Marxist viewpoint and our Editorial Board is always careful to maintain a high level of Marxian analysis.

The N.E.C. is working on the proposition that while it would be most desirable to have two papers, a popular current weekly and a theoretical magazine appearing quarterly (I proposed the very thing to the N.E.C. some six or seven months ago), until such a time as this wish becomes a reality, our next best bet is a periodical containing material of both sorts, current and theoretical.

And what does Schachinger mean by implying in his "solution" that "all work on the press must be voluntary, etc"? Doesn't he know that all work on our paper has always been voluntary except for a short period when Jelset was supposed to be getting \$10 a week? And doesn't he know that even the National Secretary's job, in practice is almost "voluntary", since he does not always get his munificent salary of \$20.00?

Without going into a detailed discussion of all of Schachinger's suggestions, which as I said above, are not new, it seems to me that basically his dissatisfaction is the result of a disjointed, right wing, localistic attitude. The Comrade should try to realize

three things ;first the business of the Proletarian Party is not merely to grow, but to GROW AS A COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION based on democratic centralism###, perfecting itself as an instrument of revolution; secondly, while we certainly should do everything in our power to improve both the Party press and the Party as a whole, we need not necessarily ape either the S P or the C P; thirdly the Party and the National Office do not exist for the convenience of Local Detroit or some other one Local but on the contrary, all Locals of the Party must learn to subordinate their autonomous considerations, which crop out from time to time, for the good of the Party as a whole---and this must be done even if it hurts the ego of this or that individual or this or that committee.

By all means let us improve the Party and our Press, but let us do it as Marxists and realists, not as sentimental evangelists.

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Some Of The Problems For The  
Coming Convention.  
(by Stanley Novak, Local Detroit)

A revolutionary Party must review its work in the past and present, pointing out the errors and accomplishments. It must very carefully and critically examine the changes in the objective conditions, party tactics in relation to the new conditions, party structure and the facilities in carrying out its work. Such frank and open critical examination of the entire work of the party is absolutely necessary to the success of the revolutionary movement. Without it the party cannot become the vanguard of the revolutionary working class.

The coming Convention should be a landmark in the development of our party. It is confronted with a much greater task than any of the previous conventions. This Convention will demonstrate as to whether our party is capable of making rapid changes to adapt itself to new conditions, and whether it is flexible enough to make rapid changes, to analyse correctly the objective conditions, work out concrete slogans and methods of approach to every major problem, to build machinery for carrying propaganda on a much larger scale than in the past.

The Proletarian Party, like the entire Communist movement, is a result principally of two factors, namely the Russian Revolution and the complete collapse of the Second International. These two events helped greatly to expose the shallow and very reformist character of the Socialist Party of America and to demonstrate its inability to become the leader of the revolutionary proletariat in the struggle for power.

The capitalist economy in Europe had reached the peak of its development on the eve of the World War. Since 1914 capitalism in Europe has been definitely on the decline. The post-war stabilization of capitalism, which took place beginning with 1923 and ended in 1929, was only partial and of short duration. It had never fully recovered from the injury inflicted by the World War. In the United States capitalism made the greatest expansion in the history of this country since 1923. During this period of expansion conditions were unfavorable to a large revolutionary movement among the native American proletariat. It was extremely



difficult to work out specific revolutionary tactics applicable to the peculiarities of the American situation, due to the relative security of the American workers during this expansion period.

The Communist Party, lacking in understanding of Marxism and Leninism, imported slogans and specific tactics from the Communist Parties in Europe, overlooking the difference in the stage of economic and political conditions of capitalism in Europe and America. The Communist International, influenced chiefly by conditions in Europe, was greatly handicapped in comprehending the peculiar problems confronting the revolutionary movement in America. The Proletarian Party, due to considerable understanding of Marxism, avoided the error of transplanting tactics from abroad. Our Party made more effort to work out tactics adapted to the American conditions than any other Communist group. However, our achievement was far from being satisfactory.

Our propaganda in the press and meetings was extremely general. We made too little effort in analysing definite and concrete problems as they came from day to day. We spoke and wrote of the capitalist society in general. Theoretically we were a political party. However, the limitations of our activities placed us in the category of a propaganda organization. During the period of prosperity this was, to some extent, inevitable since the objective conditions were unfavorable for a large revolutionary movement, the movement being in the propaganda stage.

This condition was more of a shortcoming than an error in the past; but were we to lose sight of the great change which has taken place, and not mould our activities to be applicable to this new condition, it would then become a serious and unpardonable error.

The revolutionary movement is confronted with several important problems, to which it must give a correct, detailed explanation and work out a method of approach and concrete slogans. Following are some of these problems.

#### 1. Unemployment:

In addition to a general explanation, we must point out the degree of unemployment from time to time, and analyse charity and the capacity of the ruling class for maintaining this charity. We must point out the nature of the unemployed councils and their struggle against unemployment, and work out a definite plan for our participation in the unemployed councils.

#### 2. The Farmer Problem:

We must review the general development in agriculture. In this field we must answer the following question: "What revolutionary possibility do the farmers possess?" We must connect up the struggle for the revolution with the immediate and concrete demands of the farmers. A method of approach to the farmer has to be worked out, as well as the building up of the necessary machinery to carry our propaganda among the farmers.

#### 3. The Negro Problem:

We must examine the conditions in the South and particularly the so called "Black Belt." In this field we must answer the question of whether the negro in the Black Belt constitutes a national

question or a class suffering from a pre-capitalistic form of oppression. The conditions of the Negro workers in the North must be examined. We must work out slogans applicable to the Black Belt and to the negro workers in the North.

#### 4. The Communist International and its American Section:

We must make an analysis of the tactics of the C.I. throughout the world. Also, we must critically examine the Communist Party of America. In the past we have been too mild in our criticism. In the future a more militant policy should be adopted in exposing their stupid tactics. We should constantly bear in mind however, that criticisms, to be effective, must be fundamental in character and honestly directed.

#### 5. The Proletarian Youth League:

We have made several attempts to establish a youth organization in different locals without success. At the coming convention there will be, for the first time, several locals of the youth organizations represented. The convention must work out a national structure for the Proletarian Youth League, and work out a plan for building up a national organization. Never before has the insecurity of the youth ##### been as apparent to the youth itself. The convention should spend considerable time on the problem of youth organization.

#### 6. The Proletarian News:

In building up the Party we must have a better paper. The Proletarian News is not a theoretical periodical, as it was not intended to be one; and its appearance but once a month renders it a very inadequate propaganda paper. While the articles deal with current problems, yet they fail to serve the purpose because they reach the reader long after the particular event is well known. The Party must have a paper appearing weekly. Some provision should be made for a permanent editor; a committee giving their spare time cannot produce the kind of a paper we need. Our propaganda paper should deal more with current and concrete problems. For theoretical purposes we should have a bulletin coming out once a month to supply the necessary theoretical and tactical information to the membership. The writer realizes the limited facilities in the National Office. Such a Party bulletin does not necessarily have to be mimeographed in the National Office. As Local Detroit is in possession of considerable office facilities, such a bulletin could be mimeographed in Detroit under the jurisdiction of the National Secretary, through the N.E.C members located in Detroit.

#### 7. The National Office :

The Party is suffering from too great concentration of the Party's work in the hands of one man, the National Secretary, who is expected to be the Party's theoretical spokesman, writer to the paper, speaker, organizer, and a stenographer. It is impossible to find a man with all these qualifications. We need a greater division of the work in the National Office among the members of the N E C . Until our Party systematically divides its work among a larger number of its members it will not become a large organization.

We have worked in the past on the theory that centralization necessitates concentration of work in the hands of a few people, chiefly the National Secretary. We must remember that democratic centralization presupposes a division of work.

The N E C should make political statements on events of importance from time to time. The Locals should be supplied from the National Office with detailed plans of the Party's tactics in various fields of activity. The theory prevalent, that the members themselves should know the Party's position on all matters, should be definitely abandoned.

The Executive Council should appoint a committee to write a draft of the Party Manifesto. This should be printed in the Party "Bulletin" for a general discussion. Through this method the Party as a whole would participate in the production of the Manifesto. To write such a Manifesto on short notice between the sessions of the Convention is a very difficult task. We should give a great deal of time to this most important document of the Party.

### 8. Utilizing Ability Within The Party.

We have never made decisive effort to make use of the ability among the Party membership. We have comrades with considerable speaking and organizational ability, who are practically inactive through no fault of their own. The Party must assume responsibility for their inability, due to the fact that we have made insufficient effort and had no organized plan for utilizing such ability.

We have in the Party a number of women comrades who have considerable knowledge of the movement and some speaking ability of which the Party has made very little use. Plans should be worked out for using the capabilities of these women comrades as well as the men.

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COMRADES: - There is quite a few more articles for the Bulletin. It takes time and cash to get it out, especially the latter. Locals are urged to send cash so that paper and postage can be covered. It has simply been the absence of cash that has delayed the prompter appearance of the Bulletin. Comrade Sanger has given much assistance on Bulletin work and on this issue Comrade Finch from San Francisco has been busy at the mimeograph machine.

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