

(COPY)

MANUAL FOR USE IN THE NATIONAL GUARD

Distribution and location of Manual --- All Copies to be Strictly Registered.

Instructions on how to get into the National Guard.

The Young Communist League sends certain specially selected comrades into the National Guard for the following reasons.

1. By far the most important is the task of winning over the young workers and members in the National Guard to help the workers in their struggle. It is necessary to recruit members, for the YCL and revolutionary unions, to carry on propaganda in the National Guard, to make the guardsmen lose confidence in their officers, and generally to desintegrate and lower the moral of the National Guard.
2. To benefit by the military training given in the National Guard. This gives our comrades special training in arms which can be used by them also to train other workers.
3. To secure information concerning the movement of troops, improvements in equipment and technique of warfare, war preparations, etc.
4. When war starts it immediately places a number of communists in strategic positions, which enables us to carry on revolutionary work among their soldiers.

It should be borne in mind that the first task listed is by far the most important and immediate one facing the revolutionary workers in the Young Communist League at this time.

Selection of Place to Join

This question seems very simple, it is really most important that a proper place of enlistment be considered in selecting a place to get into the National Guard.

1. Strategic position. We should choose past members of the National Guard and good workers. Here the objective conditions are better. It is important to get men who can work among office workers and students.
2. Military importance. Certain armories control important industrial areas or are in working class sections. We must also consider which regiments are generally used against workers; where riot duty is taught continually; which outfits have the most modern equipment or in short, those places that can be easily used against workers and at the same time used in warfare as Infantry, Aviation, some Cavalry.
3. Location. Near a section of our YCL or CP. While this is not a basic question, nevertheless we should consider how the units will be able to work in and around this armory.

National Guard Manual (Cont.)

Selection of Comrades to Join the National Guard

We must select our comrades for the NG carefully for the following reasons work in the National Guard is very important and responsible; the term is three years, this work is mainly illegal, and unreliable or irresponsible comrades are liable to get into 'trouble' with military and police authorities. The following things must be considered in the selection of comrades for the service:

Since it is illegal, do not try to enlist our comrades under age; this might cause attention being brought to us by the authorities.

Enlist for thirty-six months. (however we should not apply this mechanically.)

Type -- Whenever possible our comrades should correspond to the social and national composition of the outfit. Example. Where there are Italians we should try to send Italians; Americans where there are Americans; workers where there are workers. However, this should not be made an excuse not to send comrades into certain outfits because we do not have ideal comrades. Wherever possible we should send comrades in.

Responsibility and reliability--before sending any comrade into the National Guard we should know as much as possible about him. Be sure he is reliable. Check up on him to make sure he is not a stool-pigeon or provocateur. This is very essential.

Development--we should be sure that those people whom we send into the NG have an idea of the fundamental principles of our movement, what it stands for, its program. If he is too raw he may not be able to resist the boss propaganda and show the guardsmen where it is wrong.

Personal make-up-- Whomever we send in should be a 'good mixer' who can make personal friends. It is necessary for the comrade to be able to carry on individual agitation. He should be cool and level headed. (not hot headed.)

How to Join

Our comrades should join in the usual way and not appear different from other fellows who join the company. Before any comrade is sent down to join an outfit the Anti Dept. should find which company they want the comrade to join. He should join that company if at all possible.

The comrade should go to the company room in which he is to join. He should talk to the fellows. He should be seen by different men once or twice. Soon after he will probably be approached by the 1st Sgt. or some Sgt. to join. He should so do. However, he should talk to the men, get some dope on the outfit. Then he can say, "So and So told me about the outfit and I want to join it. If questioned closely the comrade can say he likes to drill, he likes military training, he likes camp, etc., or any number of reasons.

National Guard Manual (Cont.)

It is necessary to answer many questions. Wherever possible our comrade should give accurate information. Any sworn statement, which turns out upon investigation to be false may be used against us. However if the situation is such that the Dist. Anti thinks false information should be given then the comrade should be allowed to do so. Questions are asked concerning place of birth and citizenship, age, arrest, diseases, occupation, etc.

What To Do Immediately Upon Joining

The first task of our comrade is to become acquainted with his outfit, and it is necessary to know the following preliminary information concerning the regiment.

1. The name and number of the regiment.
2. The name of the commanding officer.
3. The number of your battalion.
4. The commanding officer of your battalion.
5. Names of the officers of your company.
6. The first sergeant of your company.
7. The names of all the men in your squad or gun crew.

This general information is very necessary in order to get along in the company. Such information can easily be gotten. The comrade should learn the armament and type of weapons of this company.

Here it is necessary to point out that we want our comrades to be good soldiers, i.e., proficient in their work as soldiers. This is necessary because, first it gains the comrade more respect in the eyes of his fellow guardsman; second, it is to the advantage of the movement that our comrade should know and thoroughly understand his military duties.

Now comes the main task immediately after joining. Each company is like a little community. The comrade should study his company. He should determine for himself which are the cliques that run the outfit, who are the kickers, who are the bootlickers and dog robbers, which of the men in his company are workers, office workers, city employees, clerks, etc. After carefully analyzing your company and getting to know the habits of as many of the men as possible, it is your job to pick 2 or 3 fellows upon whom you will work. Comrades should realize that it is futile to try to work upon the whole company at once.

Making Friends

While it is necessary to work systematically upon one or two men in the outfit, our comrades should be friends with as many as possible. We should not attach ourselves to any one clique, or hang out only with one group. Our comrades should be on good terms with as many men in his company as possible.

Usually there are special nights when the men of the company come down other than drill nights, for boxing, basketball, etc. Although it is not

National Guard Manual (Cont.)

compulsory to attend, every one of our comrades should go down to the armory on these nights and cultivate the friendship of the men. If the men gather in one particular street or vicinity we should be found there. After the comrade has been in the outfit about two months the Dist. Anti should discuss with him the composition of his company, who are the good men, the bad, etc.; where do the men hang out, where do they congregate, where do they go to after drill is over.

Work on Special Contacts

It is necessary to carefully analyze the character and social conditions of the person we are to work on. Where does he live? how many in family? does he work? what are the conditions on the job? Is he married? what are his troubles? With this information our comrade can do a good deal. We must go out with this contact, go to movies, see him outside of drill, go to dances with him, go to our affairs with him, discuss with him, bring literature, etc. However every point we speak to him about must be around his own conditions primarily as a young worker or farmer and his relation to the National Guard. We will deal with this later.

What are the Issues to Raise

Here it is necessary to point out that the members of the National Guard are soldiers once or twice a week, the rest of the time they either work in factories, or the fields or are unemployed. It follows then that we must approach them on the general issues of the working-class. What are the main issues facing the American workers today?

Unemployment -- This is a basic question for those young workers in the NG. Many of them are unemployed and they are attached to the National Guard by the expectation of getting one dollar per drill. Not only is it important to raise this issue because those young guardsmen are out of work but because they are receiving riot training in most regiments of the National Guard for use against unemployed workers and strikers. This is a most important fact which must be brought home to the guardsmen. The best way to speak about unemployment is when some demonstration has been held in the locality of the armory, when an eviction has taken place and especially when in the course of a conversation with him you find out that he is unemployed. It is necessary to ask him "Would you shoot down your father or brother if they were out of work?" The normal answer will be that he would fire over the heads or some other form of passive resistance. Then it is necessary to raise the question of the need for the men to organize. However this will be raised in another section of this manual.

Local Strike Struggles: Very often discussions take place in the Armories about these strikes. It is the duty of our comrades to work up sympathy with these local strikers. This discussion should not be brought up abstractly but in relation to the outfit where there is danger of the outfit being called out for strike duty, where another regiment of the National Guard has been called

National Guard Manual (Cont.)

out, etc., especially when the question comes up that there is a danger of using the men of your or any other outfit.

Because these young workers are affected by their daily conditions we must also recruit them for the unemployed councils and revolutionary unions, and actively draw them into the daily struggle.

Grievances in the Outfit

The grievances in the outfit center around the following basic questions, altho there are many variations of this in the different outfits.

Pay Checks -- For many reasons the pay-checks are often withheld from the men. The reasons given are for example, pay for dress uniforms, fines, affairs of the company and any number of other reasons. We must raise the question of "Full pay checks, no deductions". This is a specially good demand in all cases where the fellows are in need of the money as a result of unemployment. There will be resentment, especially when the pay-off comes and the men find their money to be short. It is necessary to capitalize this and raise the need for organization with the men to see that they get full pay checks.

Extra Drill -- Very often when the drill of the outfit is not satisfactory to some high official the outfit is forced to drill overtime. Sometimes this lasts an hour or more. This is very common with the field and heavy artillery when something is wrong with the rack that elevates or depresses the gun.

Fines -- On the slightest excuse some captains will fine men - fine for absence, wearing no-regulation articles, insubordination, etc. The men are very much opposed to these fines and will kick. It is our duty to utilize these things to draw them into struggle.

Additional duties -- Sometimes men are forced to go on parades, act as firing squads at funerals, etc.

Veterans and Bonus. This is a live question among all regiments of the NG. The NG. are very sympathetic to the bonus marchers. This is a good issue to link up with the role of the Army and National Guard. It is necessary to explain to the National Guard the real meaning of the coming war and their particular role. The war preparations as shown in the NG, should be explained to the young workers. For example the new equipment issued the outfit, new forms of tactics, extra drill, strict check-up on addresses, intensified maneuvers, etc.

After we are acquainted with the fellows in discussing unemployment or conditions in a certain factor we can bring in the Soviet Union. It is up to our comrade to bring these things to his friends in the guard.

National Guard Manual (Cont.)

Concerning the question of war between America and Japan: we must explain to the workers that this war is not for the benefit of the young or older workers. This is a war for the imperialists. Here it is necessary to bring in the ex-Service men and how they were treated after the war. We must bring forward sharply the fact that they are to be used as cannon fodder for the interest of Wall Street.

Methods of Agitation. Illegality.

How these issues are to be brought before the men. Before anyone of our comrades can speak to a man on these questions he should know him. He should have some interest in speaking with you. The conversation should be as between friends.

It is not necessary for you to expose yourself as a Communist while discussing these questions. You can say you read so and so in a newspaper, or you heard that etc., etc., etc. The duty of a young Communist in the NG is to gain the confidence and respect of every guardsman. This is the basic prerequisite in order to carry on any real work. You must be able to show the young workers in the guard that you understand what is going on about you and whatever you say is based upon good sense.

Actions to Correct Immediate Grievances

It is possible in the NG to secure the correction of many grievances of the enlisted men. This can be done by united action of all the men in the company. However there must always be some organization or preparatory work before any of these actions. Example: Assuming that you are not getting your full pay-check; after speaking to some of the men it is decided to fight for a full pay check. When you are told to sign the pay-roll none of the men sign until they have received their pay check. Then if the officers want any money the men tell them to go to hell. Such a demonstration however must be organized beforehand. It will bring the proper results. The same thing can be applied in case of additional drill: by united action of the men, they can stop drilling at 10 o'clock and thus drill only the required amount of time. It is important to bear in mind that such actions must be organized in advance and before they are scheduled to be carried out the men should know about it and agree to it. Our comrades must work this out with the other men in the company. You must bear in mind that these grievances can be changed by united action. The same can be done in the case of fines. Some men are fined arbitrarily by their captains. We can prevent this by simply refusing to pay the fine or sign the pay-roll until you get your full money. In order to be fined a captain must call a summary court martial, make out papers, etc., a thing which most officers will not want to do because it reflects to some degree upon their ability to command their regiment.

These actions against small grievances can be carried thru, it must be remembered, only when a large number of men in the company are behind the plan. One or two men alone cannot force concessions from the officers. It is necessary to bear this in mind. Our comrades alone going to the commanding

National Guard Manual (Cont.)

officer will not get results. In order to carry thru anything of this sort it is necessary to have the confidence of the men. This brings us to the next important question:

How to Gain the Confidence of the Enlisted Men

In order to win over the NG the Young Communists must work with them and be with them as often as possible. It is necessary to win the personal friendship and confidence of the young workers in the guard. We must find out when the men hang around the armory; what they do on nights other than drill; what clubs they belong to. We have to be in with them, not strangers whom they see once a week at drill. You must play in their neighborhoods, belong to the same clubs, and be with them. They have to see you continuously and you must be with them always. This individual personal work should require most of your time.

When you select the man you are going to work on, it is necessary for you to have in mind a definite plan that you will follow: what are you going to speak about, how you are going to raise it, etc. This sounds very simple but you will find that you must definitely plan out and analyze every step you are going to take. You must know the personal habits of the men, his social and family conditions and background, what he does for a living, etc. In order to know all this and carry on your work, you must be with these young workers at all times.

ORGANIZATIONS OF COMMITTEES AND CLUBS

It is our aim to organize the guardsmen into some form of organization. This organization should take the form both of committees for interests of the guardsmen and also clubs of some nature. Very often you will find that the men in an outfit want sports, social life, etc. On organizational forms we must be very flexible and give the men what they want. Our main form of organization is the company committee. These committees should be organized around certain grievances and issues and must be of a broad united front character.

When you have spoken to some of the men in your company and you have gained some influence there, you can suggest the idea of a little club. It is not even necessary for you to suggest it, you can get some other guardsman to suggest it. This should be a rather loose organization and should consist not only of men of your company but also of other companies. It should discuss the grievances of the men as they arise and also have some other activities to keep the men together because they are not in uniform every day of the week.

However this is not yet an immediate problem. This will be discussed further in future documents of this department. We wish to raise the question in your mind so that when you see the need of such an organization in your company, battery, or troop you will take the necessary steps. Such organizations are very broad and should include all enlisted men regardless of their political opinions, etc.

National Guard Manual (Cont.)

Company Associations

In most regiments of the National Guard each company has a civil association. Generally the captain of the company is the President, some sergeant or officer is the treasurer of this association. The men pay so much from every pay check into this organization.

The purpose of the organization is to provide additional funds for the mess fund in camp, hold entertainments, etc. The enlisted men have very little to say in these organizations. Auditing of the books of the fund are given very rarely and in average perfunctory manner. The open discussion takes place in the form of the captain speaking and making comments. It is your job to utilize these organizations in our work. Our tasks are many.

1. In cases where there is obviously mishandling of funds and no reports are given, we must raise the question of regular reports and auditing every six months by a committee of enlisted men elected at a general meeting. This action can be brought to the attention of the men by showing them that their money is involved.
2. Speakers are making proposals at these meetings: It is not always necessary for us to try and make suggestions of benefit to the enlisted men, but we must get other men also to do this. Whenever we have suggestions to raise, always discuss them with the men in the outfit and see what they have to say.
3. Try and get elected to some of these organizations with the support of the rank and file of the men.

Distribution of Literature Inside

This is a task of great importance for our comrades inside the outfit. Distribution of literature inside is of value only if our comrades are not caught or suspicion for the distribution does not fall upon them. It is better to have no distribution than to have one which exposes our people in the outfit. (Except on certain special occasions such as crucial strikes, mass meetings, etc.)

It is necessary to know fully the details of your armory or (camp) in preparation for distribution inside. The comrade should study the best places for distribution and the least chance of getting caught. For example: Lockers — are they in a place where leaflets may be put into them without exposing yourself? Are they near the officers' quarters? Is there a sentry on watch? How many people are necessary for such distribution? Latrines — the same thing applies. Do the men frequent the latrines? etc. Company room, stables and garages — Can the leaflets be left in such places where the men will be able to get at them before the officers see and confiscate them?

National Guard Manual (Cont.)

Every comrade will have to study his armory thoroughly in order to work out the best methods of inside distribution which is far superior to outside distribution both in effect and in quantity distributed. Every young Communist in the NG should consider it one of his most important tasks to work out plans for a distribution (either by himself and other men or by outsiders) in his own outfit.

How to Work in Camp

Camp gives us one of the best opportunities for carrying on work in the Company. In camp you are really soldiers for the period of your camp. Camp gives you an opportunity to work on your men to the fullest extent for there you are with them 24 hours a day.

Before going to camp each comrade in the NG should work out together with the district Anti committee, how he is going to work there. You must first prepare for communication with the district while you are in camp. The Anti Dept. should give you a private address to which you should send your mail.

In camp your work must center around two things: Conditions in camp. Where the conditions in camp are such that the men are dissatisfied, it is necessary to organize a struggle against them. For example: Bad food is a common grievance in most camps, from which you can get the sentiment of the men. Do they like the food? What can be done about it? Should you raise the question with your best friends in the committee to see what can be done about it. If the food is very bad you should suggest to your committee the idea of not leaving the mess hall until you get something better. Not to drill or even possibly, refuse to do the work until you get good grub. It is a good idea to try out the men on this point and see what they will do. If the men act in unison and stick together nothing will happen to the men. They will get their demands. Suggest to the committee that the authority is in the hands of those who have the interest of all the men at heart and those are not the officers.

Food is not the only question. There are such things as excessive drill in hot weather, work extra hours, restrictions to quarters, and various other questions which arise in camp. You must use your initiative and organize with the other fellows to get conditions. This can be done in nine cases out of ten. Here you must get up a representative of the men, go to the skipper and tell him what you want. If possible get up a petition from the men who are backing you.

Then there is the task of systematic agitation of a few fellows whom you want to recruit for the YCL. These fellows should be selected by you before you go to camp. Plan out a definite method of approach to them. In camp you should associate with the fellows you want to win over. However, remember do not separate yourself from the mass of men in the company. It is also necessary to warn the comrades against becoming part of any clique or group in the company because this will tend to isolate our comrades from the other men in the company.

National Guard Manual (Cont.)

Many good friendships can be made by you in camp. Association with the men in the company will be of great value to us in our future work.

Another important phase of the work in camp is much contact with the regulars. You should try to become personal friends with one or two of them in your fort. Visit their barracks and company rooms. Find out what are their conditions, what are their grievances, etc. You should try to make them want to see you again. If possible correspond with them while you are in the city. This is a very important phase of the work in camp. The main method of work among the regulars will be thru personal contact. Try to make friends with your instructor (not NG but from regular post), go out with him when the occasion offers. However do not neglect your work with the men of your own company in order to get in touch with the regulars.

You should remember to send the district all movements that your outfit makes especially all detailed information when they are returning home so that they can be met with a leaflet, etc.

Relationship of NG to other work in YCL

When you are sent into the NG this is your main work in the League. If you do this work properly you will not have very much time for any other work. Not only must you attend every drill and special mobilization but you must pay close attention to what is taught you in the armory by the non-coms. It is necessary for you to be a "good soldier". A person who is in the outfit and does not know his 'business' will not be able to command the respect of many men. To work in the NG means to go to the armory when the men go there, drill or not drill. Make yourself part of them.

Work in the National Guard is not legal work. Therefore we choose only good comrades. It is of no value to have someone in there who will be exposed to the officers without any support among the men. A comrade who is in the NG should not speak or take a leading part in open air meetings or open demonstrations except when he is taking men down there, etc. He should not be known openly to the police, etc., as this will cause suspicion and it is important that the other comrades in his unit and section have no suspicion of his being in the NG. Any comrade who boasts that he is in the NG and the reason why he is in it, in the presence of people not in the work, is considered a traitor to the Party and to the YCL. This is secret work and it requires secrecy. A number of workers who are in the NG become members of the YCL. These should be questioned before taking out their YCL membership in the NG and about their NG membership. Effort must be made to teach these comrades their task in the NG but not inform them at the time of the comrades inside. While emphasizing that work in the NG is illegal work and very responsible we wish to point out that it cannot be considered from the same light as work in the army.

Recruiting for the Mass Organizations and the YCL

This is a basic task for any one in the NG. Recruiting should be done on the basis of systematic work that you have carried on with one or two particular men. It is necessary to bring in the campaigns of the YCL to the

National Guard Manual (Cont.)

armory. However, this is done by personal, individual agitation. You should be sure of your man before bringing him into the YCL. It is often best to take him to some demonstration or meeting before bringing him into the YCL. The other comrades of the unit must now know that he is a member of the NG. You must be systematic on this point: work on a man either until you get him into the League or you are sure that he will not join.

Form of Organization in the NG

Communists in the NG are organized into fractions. These fractions consist of all the comrades in one regiment. They are under the supervision of the district. The fraction has at its head an organization or secretary who calls the comrades together. The meetings should be held every two or three weeks. The fraction discusses all the work in the outfit. It takes up the work of each individual comrade and discusses his tasks. It also co-ordinates the work at the NG from the outside.

ADDENDUMWhat is the NG

The National Guard consists of the organized militia of every state in the union. It is nominally under the supervision of the Governor of the state. However, since 1916 the NG was federalized. It is now under the supervision of the Militia Bureau of the War Department. The National Guard consists of about 180,000 men. It is an integral part of the US Army. Together with the regulars it is the first to be called into service. In the plans of mobilization, the National Guard is expected to form 3 field armies. It is trained and directed by the same officers who train the regulars.

In addition to the role of the NG as part of the war machine it is used in conjunction with police and troopers against strikers, or unemployed. Its use as a strikebreaking agency has been very marked in the last few years.

The NG is made up primarily of workers and farmers. It is one of the most important sections of the war department and police machinery.
