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*Radical Periodicals in the United States*  
*1890-1960*



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# Party Organizer

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1931



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1968



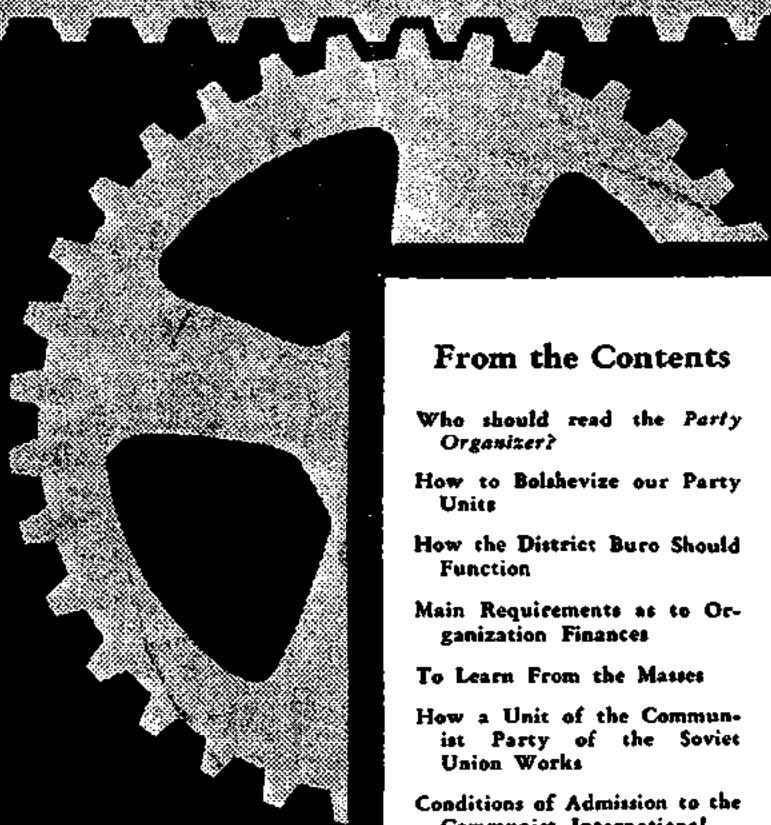
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# Party Organizer



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Who should read the *Party Organizer*?

How to Bolshevize our Party Units

How the District Buro Should Function

Main Requirements as to Organization Finances

To Learn From the Masses

How a Unit of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Works

Conditions of Admission to the Communist International

Vol. IV

FEBRUARY, 1931

No. 1

*Issued by*

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

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# PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. IV

FEBRUARY, 1931

No. 1

## WHO SHOULD READ THE PARTY ORGANIZER AND WHY

**T**HE *Party Organizer* should be read by every functionary of the Party, by every member of a Party Committee, Bureau, Commission and Department, and finally by every leading and active Party member.

The material and articles in the *Party Organizer* are of immediate practical value for the Party Committees, departments, units and classes on Party Structure. The *Party Organizer* is a guide to action in the solution of tens of hundreds of day-to-day organizational problems confronting the Party. The *Party Organizer* must and will serve the Party Committees and Organizers as the practical guide in tightening up the Party apparatus and developing the structure of our Party on the basis of Bolshevik organizational principles.

### For Party Members Only

The *Party Organizer* is an inner-Party organ. It is to be read by Party members only. The practice of selling it to non-Party workers, especially at mass meetings, must be discontinued. While there is nothing conspirative nor confidential in the *Party Organizer*, nothing that we need to hide from the masses, we must, however, differentiate between agitational and propaganda literature for the non-Party masses and inner-Party literature for Party members written for the purpose of improving the Party.

### Who Should Write the *Party Organizer*

The *Party Organizer* is supposed to be a monthly magazine. Yet it comes out only every now and then. For eight months the *Party Organizer* did not appear, yet not a single D. O., not a single Party Committee, not a Party member inquired why it does not appear or when will it appear. It



- Organize functioning unit buros.
- Organize Hunger Marches.
- Organize Lower Rent movements.
- Concentrate on Shops.
- Organize Shop Committees.
- Organize Shop Nuclei. Etc., etc., etc.

Not only must our leading Party Committees tell the lower units *how* to accomplish their various tasks, but each of the tasks must be *carefully and systematically prepared*. The first step in any campaign or any organizational improvement is to make the Party leadership or the Party active (leading cadre) thoroughly clear and acquainted with the problem.

Each important organizational change or inner-Party improvement (even though it comes from the CC as our instruction) must be thoroughly discussed in the leading committee or the Buro, with the most important functionaries and active comrades, and finally in the units.

The discussion should be so carried out that each succeeding discussion may have the benefit of previous discussions through resolutions, outlines and introductory summaries of discussions.

Following such ideological preparation and clarification the necessary changes should be put into effect under careful supervision. The changes must be periodically reviewed and studied, corrected and supervised. Especially is this important now in the series of organizational improvements which the Central Committee and District Committee are conducting in order to adjust the Party organizationally to its multiplying tasks in the present situation.

Today when a Party Committee proposes an organizational improvement or an important campaign they must always keep in mind that its effective realization depends on their ability to tell the lower units *how* and *why*.

seems that the *Party Organizer* did not satisfy a definite need in the Party.

Yet it is obvious that from the standpoint of organization our Party is poverty-stricken, inexperienced and loose to an alarming degree. The *Party Organizer* must become a weapon in overcoming these fatal organizational weaknesses.

**But**

the *Party Organizer* must reflect the life, the problems, the growth and experiences of the entire Party. In addition to editorship and guidance from the Center, the comrades in the field, the active comrades in Party Committees, departments and units must write to the *Party Organizer* about their problems, experiences and viewpoints.

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## STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF PARTY UNITS

### HOW TO BOLSHEVIZE OUR PARTY UNITS

**WE** have still many remnants of the old practise of "improving" our Party by writing resolutions, issuing mimeographed (and in capital letters) instructions, supplementing these with "must," "unconditional," and a lot of other hard and official sounding words. We will never Bolshevize or improve the Party or its work by written instructions. Even in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union each campaign, each organizational change, each important improvement is preceded or accompanied by an extensive ideological preparation.

We want our Party to become like an army, a Bolshevik army, who while understanding the policy behind each decision is prepared to carry it out with military promptness, without any hesitation or question and further, to carry out the decisions with Bolshevik judgment and maximum effectiveness.

Some of our District Committees send out instructions to units and sections of the following kind:

## THE ROLE AND TASKS OF THE UNIT BURO

(From *The Organizer*, District No. 2)

THE organizational principles of the Comintern lay special emphasis on the proper structure and functioning of the basic units of the Party. The effectiveness of our Party depends largely on how well our lower units function. The weakest link in our Party organization in New York is the unit meeting. Two, three and four hour meetings are wasted on small organizational details which in any other Communist Party are decided by the Unit Buro.

The unit Buro in all Communist Parties must be the leading committees which make decisions on all problems. *The decisions of the Unit Buro are binding on the unit membership.* The Unit Buro decides which problems shall be discussed and acted upon by the unit meeting. But the Unit Buro, like the Section Committee or the District Committee, has authority and power to make binding decisions. While the unit meeting has the right and power to change any decision of the Unit Buro, such cases take place when the Unit Buro is incompetent and unfit to be the leading committee of the unit. The Unit Buro in a Bolshevik Party makes decisions on at least 90% of the problems and questions of the unit. These decisions become the decisions of the Party unit and not recommendations to be discussed and again voted upon by the unit as a whole.

The basic change in the role of the Unit Buro must be made in our Party as the prerequisite for the improvement of the inner life of the unit and the bolshevizing of the Party units. Democratic centralism in our Party does not mean the false democracy where every question is discussed and decided by the entire unit. For instance the following tasks on the agenda under normal conditions should be decided by the Buro:

Division of work for the week. Arrangements for street and shop gate meetings. Assignments of committee for Daily Worker, etc. Transfers and leaves of absence. Disciplinary measures. Selection of chairman. Reports of committees. Report on activities of comrades.

At first it is important that the report on activities of members shall be made at the unit meeting and the Buro should further arrange that reports of certain committees shall also be made at the unit meeting. This change is absolutely needed but it must only be made after a thorough discussion in the unit and further, it must be made gradually.

The District Committee and the Section Committees will pay close attention to this change. Unit Buros shall keep the Section Committee closely informed on the progress of this work. While the change in the role of the Unit Buro is the most important, the District Committee has made a series of decisions that flow out of this change and help to further improve the life of the units. They are as follows:

1. One meeting in one room.
2. Meeting of buros in private homes.
3. Shop and factory nuclei start their meetings not later than 7 P. M.
4. Street nuclei meeting not later than 8 P. M.
5. Meetings shall not last more than 2½ hours.
6. The Unit Buro appoints chairmen of the meeting. A good chairman is a prerequisite for efficient work at the meeting.
7. The Buro should set a time limit for every point on the agenda and this time limit must be observed.
8. The Buro reports on the problems on which it was decided to have a discussion.
9. The communications from the Section or District shall not be read unless they are marked by the committee "To be read at unit meeting."
10. Payment of dues and financial transactions shall be a point on the agenda in the middle of the meeting. No dues payment shall be allowed during the meeting while the other points on the agenda are being taken up.
11. From now on we shall have 5 members for the Unit Buro.
12. The Unit Buros must meet at least a day before the unit meetings.

## DISTRICT LEADERSHIP AND GUIDANCE

### HOW THE DISTRICT BURO SHOULD FUNCTION

**M**EET outside of headquarters. Frequent change of meeting place. Only Buro members and those invited by secretariat should attend. Meetings to be held weekly on permanent night of week.

Points on agenda to be thoroly prepared beforehand by the secretariat and the departments. On each point the Buro to be presented with a brief, concise report and draft proposals as the basis for discussion.

The task of the Secretariat is not only to determine what shall be on the agenda of the Buro but to discuss beforehand and prepare concrete proposals on each subject. On important campaigns the Org. Dept. shall prepare a draft plan of the campaign and the tasks of other departments for the Buro.

#### What Shall Be on the Agenda

Usually, only one or two basic problems should be considered by the Buro at one meeting. Each Buro meeting should consider at least one trade union problem at each meeting. Each department shall draw up a plan of work for 3 months in coordination with the District Committee 3-months planned work and have it approved by the Buro. The progress of the plan of work should be reviewed and finally reported on at the expiration of the 3 months period. Time limit of discussion should be sent for each point on the agenda. Discussions must be strictly limited to the subject in question. Do not try to take up a dozen problems at one meeting. Minor problems must be decided by the Secretariat.

#### PLANNED WORK AND CALENDAR PLANS

**M**ANY of the District Committees do not differentiate between Resolutions on Immediate Tasks of the Party and Plans of Work. You know what a resolution is too well, except that you make it ten times as long as it should be. Plan of Work means exactly what it says—a Plan. If you are asked what activities does your district plan for the next

3 months, you wouldn't (or perhaps you would) cite a list of resolutions to explain the importance of the Unemployment Campaign, T.U.U.L., L.S.N.R., etc.—but, you would say that during the next three months you can plan certain campaigns, establishment of day-to-day tasks, improve inner life and structures of the Party, build new units, sections, etc., and approximately achieve so much result, and then you would indicate where and how much result you expect and why. And that is precisely what a Plan of Work means.

Then if you are asked how you were to proceed you would, or at least should, point out that each dept. would outline its tasks and work out a Plan and each section would do the same and also each unit. Then each committee and department, seeing that they have so many tasks and in order not to forget some and to treat all in proper sequence, would first of all divide responsibility among its members and work out a *Calendar Plan* of dates when each task would be taken up and elaborated and decided upon by the given committee or department meeting.

A Calendar Plan should be worked out by each District on the Unemployment activities, etc. A Calendar Plan for the month should be worked out by the Buro for its agenda and not work out the agenda the last minute. A Calendar Plan should be worked out for all inner-Party meetings so that you don't have so many conflicts.

The importance of Planned work is that at the end of the Plan you can check up and see to what extent it was realized and why not. *Every District shall formulate its Plan of Work in such a way that it ends March 31, after which date the entire Party shall be put to work on a synchronized 3-Month Plan of Work.* And thereafter a new Plan every 3 months, starting from the C.C. down to each unit.

### ASSIGNMENT OF PARTY TASKS

*(Resolution of District Buro, C.P.U.S.A., Dist. 2)*

**T**HE major task of our Party is the building of the revolutionary unions of the Trade Union Unity League. No less than 80% of the Party activity must be directed toward the building of the T.U.U.L.

The above correct policy of our Party must be concretized and definitely translated into bolshevik organizational steps, measures, methods and tasks.

The main task of our Party of concentrating on the shops and basing our activity in and around the shops, factories, and mines is the further concrete formulation of our task of building the revolutionary unions.

Each shop nucleus has the concrete task of working in the shop with the immediate main object of building a shop committee which is the basic unit of the revolutionary union.

The fact that the overwhelming number of our Party units are still organized on the territorial basis makes the principal task of these units the concentration of their activities on a specific shop in their territory, again, with the main concrete object of building a shop committee in the factory in addition to the agitation for other Party slogans and campaigns and winning the workers for the Party and establishing a shop nucleus.

In the shops the building of the T.U.U.L. must express itself in the concrete formation of a shop committee of a specific revolutionary union—metal, needle, food, etc.

#### Task of Every Party Member

Every Party member must be a member of a revolutionary union.

Every Party member must attend his union and shop meeting.

Every Party member must attend at least one fraction meeting monthly.

Every Party member must recruit workers for the revolutionary unions.

Every Party member must agitate for the revolutionary unions in the mass organizations where he is a member and in the shop where he is working.

Every Party member must attend Party unit meetings and pay dues.

Every Party member must give at least one evening to direct Party work under the guidance of the unit in addition to the unit meeting.

The above in general are the tasks of each and every individual member of the Party without exceptions. These are the tasks that fall under the general policy of "Every Party Member Must Build the T.U.U.L."

#### Assignment of Tasks Among Party Members

In addition to giving each individual Party member the tasks outlined above, it is of utmost importance that the members of our Party be given as their major task some specific activity in the building of the revolutionary unions, the Party, and other mass organizations.

To this end the District Committee has adopted as a principle the division of our comrades among the various activities of the Party in such a way that the largest possible number of comrades are released for the direct and indirect work of building the revolutionary unions and the Party.

We have in our District over 100 different mass organizations. Up to the present time the individual comrades decide for themselves in which of these organizations they would devote the major part of their time.

Bolshevik organizational principles provide that the Party through the Units and Sections shall determine the specific activity and the organization for each individual comrade.

In this way the Party assigns a given number of comrades whose major task shall be actively in the I.L.D., the revolutionary unions, the cooperatives, the Party unit, the fraternal organization, etc.

On this basis the District Committee in consultation with the leading fractions of our mass organizations has assigned a definite number of comrades for each organization under



our guidance or in which we are conducting work. The actual number of comrades to be active in the given mass organizations is based on the actual needs of the organization and the number of available comrades best fitted for that particular activity.

On the basis of the list of comrades submitted by the leading fractions of the mass organizations the Section Committees shall choose those comrades who shall give their major activity in the given organizations.

Great care must be exercised in the assignment of tasks so as to divide the most capable and responsible forces among the most important organizations. While the revolutionary unions must be supplied with the best forces available, care must be taken to retain reliable and developed comrades in the Section leadership as well as to include leading comrades in the unit bureaus so that the Party organizations are organically connected with the life and struggles of the revolutionary unions.

It must be borne in mind that the building of the T.U.U.L. unions is not confined to the unions alone but that the comrades actively engaged in concentrating on the factories and shops are also directly engaged in the work of building the revolutionary unions.

#### **Checking up the Activities**

The reorganization of activities and assignments on this basis will be a process that must be carefully supervised by the units and Sections and extreme care must be used to prevent mechanical application. However, with this system in actual operation the Party units will have a complete record of the activities of all members and will be in a position to actually check up on the activities and determine the results of these activities and the development of the individual comrades.

The units as well as the fractions in the mass organizations will regulate the activities on the basis of the amount of time each comrade has been assigned to the given organization.

### PARTY MOBILITY

ONE of the larger aspects of safeguarding the Party consists in improving the inner life and the structure of our units. The perspective must be to have units of 10 to 15 members so as to enable them to meet in private homes.

In those cities and Districts where we have the old practice of meeting in halls the first step shall be to get the unit buros to meet in homes. Following this or simultaneously the smaller units and without exception the shop units shall meet in private homes.

All units without exception immediately must be reduced to a maximum of 25 and gradual steps by transfer and reorganization to 15. This shall be done by not increasing the membership in units of 10 to 15 and by organizing new units and transferring members from larger units.

The organizer of a small unit can memorize the names and addresses of his members and can generally check up on these activities much better, and what is more important, can notify them personally of meetings, tasks, etc.

The units further should be sub-divided into working groups of 3 to 5 with a captain in charge. These groups shall be given specific tasks as groups and function regularly—let us say one group shall be given as a task to sell the Daily Worker at a certain factory, or two groups together shall be responsible for the organization of street meetings, etc.

This subdivision within the units gives the Party still further safety and the necessary mobility. We don't have to wait until the unit meeting to mobilize the Party nor depend on the mail to bring them to a meeting.

Frequent emergency mobilization of the Party must be carried thru the system of personal notifications.

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### AGAINST BUREAUCRACY

ONE of the important obstacles to the development of new Party cadres is the presence of bureaucracy in the leadership of some of our Districts. While bureaucracy manifests

itself in many forms, the most outstanding expression lies in the *narrow leadership*.

In some of our Districts and Sections we still find the one-man leadership and sometimes its extension to two or three comrades. In these cases the leader of the given Party committee being undeniably the most developed comrade, completely fails to draw the local comrades into the leadership, into sharing of responsibility and the elaboration of policies and solution of problems. This type of a leading comrade prepares all materials and proposals alone and presents them to the Party committee without previous discussion or collaboration with other committee members.

In some cases two or three of the most developed comrades take upon themselves the right to make all decisions beforehand and monopolize the leadership among themselves. Under these conditions the remainder of the local comrades are either politically terrorized into silence or made to act the part of messenger boys for the "leadership." In some cases this practice results in bitter antagonism where the smallest shortcomings and petty matters are made into issues over which a struggle develops against the leadership. In other cases the situation is accepted as the road of least resistance.

And in all such cases the political and theoretical development of new cadres is criminally, if not intentionally, neglected.

### Collective Leadership

Our all too insufficient cadre of leading comrades who have had the opportunity of developing their capabilities in the course of Party activity must undertake to share their development and experience with the rest of the Party. Every leading Party comrade must systematically and consciously assist the lesser developed members of a given committee or unit in carrying out their tasks and becoming a part of the leadership. Collective leadership implies close collaboration of all the comrades of a given Party committee.

The District Organizer must discuss the Party problems and tasks with the comrades before the committee meetings. He must deal with the newer Party members in a comradely

spirit and consciously strive to teach them how to solve problems, how to apply the line of the Party in practice, how to become Party leaders and organizers.

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## CENTRAL CONTROL COMMITTEE DOCUMENT ON FINANCES

### MAIN REQUIREMENTS AS TO ORGANIZATION FINANCES

The Central Control Commission of the Party has repeatedly circularized all Districts with the demands for proper financial policies and records, and while, no doubt, certain improvement can be recorded, especially as far as the District offices themselves are concerned, many serious shortcomings still persist quite generally.

It is the duty of every Party member who is charged with financial questions or records, be it in the Party or in any other workers' organizations, to know and to observe certain main requirements, the disregard of which is bound to bring bad results.

#### Financial Policies

The extreme financial difficulties, under which the Party and other revolutionary workers' organizations are operating, has produced a "hand-to-mouth, we'll-get-through-somehow" policy with attendant laxity and irresponsibility, which militate against a fundamental all-around improvement of the situation, and which are absolutely impermissible.

Failure to look ahead, to plan in advance and to estimate the income as well as the expenditures (cutting the latter down to the lowest possible figure), results in waste and inefficiency and incomplete utilization of resources; while the impermissible irresponsibility of failing to meet financial promises and obligations not only further disrupts the finances by destroying sources of income and credit, but invariably damages the organizational and ideological influence of the organization.

To get out of this vicious circle, to establish the foundation for an improvement of the financial situation, it is

necessary to pay the greatest attention to financial policies: proper budgets must be drawn up and strictly carried out, utmost economizing must be enforced (cutting of staffs, cutting of rents and of all other expenses), and strict financial responsibility must be established.

### Budgets

At the outset it must be understood that the drawing up of a proper budget is not a matter of mere figures, of mere averaging of income and expense items for the preceding period and their correction to the current conditions as they happen to be. All this has to be done, of course; without this the budget would be hanging in the air.

The important part, the constructive side of the budget, however, lies in a thorough and systematic analysis and planning of the organization finances.

All sources of income must be carefully scrutinized. Concrete steps and methods must be outlined for raising the regular income from dues, per-capita tax, literature and supply sales, etc. Plans must be drawn up in advance for getting regular contributions (sustaining fund), for certain periodic financial drives, for big income producing affairs and meetings, etc.

After that, the expense side must be gone over item by item, and they must be cut down to where they will be within the income possibilities of the organization. Special attention must be given to the main regular expense items, such as wages, rentals, traveling expenses and subsidies.

The practice of putting on full-time functionaries without considering the financial possibilities for their wages, of saying that one "is entitled to \$30-\$40 per week" when there is not enough income for even \$10 per week, in some instances not even for meals,—this practice is absolutely impermissible and invariably results in the demoralization not only of the individual comrades involved, but also of the work to which they have been assigned.

Wages, which have been agreed upon, within the Party scale of \$25-\$40 for full-time responsible functionaries, and

commensurate with prevailing general rates for technical assistants, *must be paid*.

This means that the number of full-time functionaries and technical assistants must be cut to come within the budget limits (even though it may require some retrenchment in activities also) and at the same time steps must be taken and plans made for voluntary (free service) and for part-time workers.

#### Financial Records

In the circumstances of living "from hand to mouth," of never having any surplus funds on hand, and of accruing large amounts of "unpaid wages," quite often it has been found that responsible functionaries have completely neglected to keep proper financial records and vouchers.

This is absolutely impermissible, and no argument can stand in the support of such neglect, not even the excuse of ignorance.

The Central Control Commission demands that the following minimum requirements in this respect must be satisfied without fail and without any exceptions by every Party member who, as responsible functionary or as technical assistant, has to deal with organization finances in all Party units and committees as well as in any other workers' organizations or institutions.

Any Party member who fails to comply with these minimum requirements after their publication in the PARTY ORGANIZER will be subject to disciplinary action.

#### Cash Received

1. For every amount of money received, an official receipt in duplicate must be issued; original—to payer; duplicate—to be kept for entry and auditing purposes.

2. All receipts are required: (a) To be numbered in advance; (b) To show from whom money was received; (c) When; (d) How much; (e) What for; and (f) The official signature.

3. If a receipt is issued in error, it should be marked "void," and the original should be attached to the duplicate with indication of the number of corrected receipts or other reasons for cancellation.

4. From every receipt issued (for every amount of money received) an analyzed entry must be made in a columnar cash book, showing—(a) Date; (b) Receipt number; (c) Name and explanation; (d) Analysis of what the money was received for (through special columns and a general column); and (e) Total amount collected on each receipt.

It is desirable to show also which moneys were deposited in the bank, and which were used for direct payments.

The special columns should be reserved for frequent items, a column for each kind, such as—dues, initiations, assessments, literature, donations. All other items, for which no special columns are provided, are to be shown in the “general” column together with full explanation needed for an analysis of this column at the end of each month.

#### Cash Paid

5. For every amount of money paid out, a proper evidence of payment must be obtained (or provided for, as in case of payment by check) together with full explanation of what it was for (either on the receipt itself, or on the check-stub).

6. When payment is made directly (not through bank check), failure to obtain a properly signed detailed receipt is entirely impermissible. The *only* exceptions to this rule are— (a) Traveling expenses, on which, then, there must be a detailed voucher signed by the comrade who made the trip, giving dates, fares (from —, to —), other detailed expenses, and also the purpose of the trip; and (b) Small items of postage, supplies, etc., where the obtaining of a receipt is practically impossible, in which cases the comrade himself should make out a signed voucher giving full itemized information;—but this should be the exception, not the rule.

7. When payments are made by checks, the returned cashed check is sufficient evidence of payment, except (a) When it is drawn to “Cash” or similar designation of “pay to the bearer”; (b) When it is drawn for traveling expenses; and (c) When it is drawn for an irregular extraordinary expenditure. In all these cases there must be filed with the returned check also receipts and vouchers as described in point No. 6.

8. For every amount of money paid out, an analyzed entry

must be made in the columnar cash book, in the same manner as described for cash received under point No. 4. (If payments are made sometimes by checks and sometimes by cash, which is not advisable, then there should be a separate "total" columns for each kind of payments).

#### Assets and Liabilities

9. On the back pages of the cash book (or in a separate book, or in an orderly file), there should be kept an up-to-date record of all *assets* (furniture, typewriters, accounts receivable, loans receivable, etc.), and also of all *liabilities* (loaned property, loans payable, accounts payable, unpaid wages, etc.)

#### Monthly Statements

10. A monthly statement of at least the cash received and cash paid must be drawn up *every month*, in an analyzed form along the following lines: *Cash Received*: Dues Rec'd, Initiations Rec'd, Assessments Rec'd, Literature Sales, Button & Supplies Sales, Proceeds from Mtgs. etc., Donations Rec'd, Subsidies Rec'd, Loans Payable Rec'd, Loans Receivable Repaid, Transfers & Exchanges Rec'd;—Total Rec'd during the month, Balance at the beginning of the month;—Grand Total.

*Cash Paid*: Dues Pd., Initiations Pd., Assess. Pd., Literature Purch. Wages Paid (with notation of amount unpaid), Traveling Expenses, Rent, Light, Office Maintenance, Stationery & Supplies, Postage, Telegraph, Telephone, Loans Receivable Given, Loans Payable Repaid, Transfers & Exch. Paid;—Total paid during the month, Balance at the end of the month;—Grand Total.

It is understood, of course, that further subdivisions and other accounts are to be kept to meet the peculiarities of each office or institution.

It must also be understood that *full* amount of dues, initiations, etc., must be shown. If any items are covered by subsidies, then the total amount of the subsidy must appear in cash received, and it must be shown also in the cash paid (added to the separate items on which the subsidy was applied).



### Transfer of Offices to New Functionaries

11. The rather common practice of leaving one's post without proper transfer of office to the new functionary is absolutely impermissible. The old functionary *must* turn over to the new functionary in an orderly and systematic manner—  
(a) Full information and materials about current and pending work; (b) Full information as to future plans and as to the office routine; (c) All financial information, books, properties, accounts, etc.

12. Every effort should be made by the old functionary to have his books up-to-date and to turn over to the new functionary an audited statement showing income and expenses, balance on hand, assets and liabilities, etc.

13. Only in exceptional circumstances can the old functionary be permitted to leave without turning over *audited* books and accounts. In such cases, however, there should *at least* be established a clear and definite cut-off; that is, from what point the new functionary takes over the receipt book and other books (in what condition); how much cash on hand and how much in the bank (a bank statement must be obtained, even though it should be in the middle of the month, and a reconciliation be made with the check book); also schedule of other assets and of all liabilities.

14. The responsibility of the old functionary then remains for whatever discrepancies may be disclosed in his work and books by an audit, which *must* be arranged within a few days. The cut-off is very important for the determination of the responsibilities of the old functionary.

15. The new functionary must keep in mind that he is not starting with a "clean slate," but that there is such a thing as continuity of the office. It means that he is taking over not only the assets of the office or institution, but also its liabilities and obligations.

## MATERIAL FOR PARTY STRUCTURE CLASSES

### SOME RULES FOR CONDUCT OF PARTY STRUCTURE CLASSES

(1) Content of the subject, methods of conducting class, material to be read, composition of students and the instructors must be thoroughly discussed beforehand.

(2) The instructor wherever possible should be organically connected with the organizational problems of the Party.

(3) The students shall be picked by the Party Committee; to be composed mainly of unit organizers, organizational secretaries, etc. This should not eliminate having additional classes of volunteers.

(4) The class should consist of fifteen to a maximum of twenty students.

(5) The class must be conducted on the laboratory system, that is, the students shall gain their knowledge mainly by systematic reading, observation and experiments which are to be guided by the instructor. While introductory lectures are necessary, it must be strictly understood that the class is not conducted on the basis of lectures.

(6) The subject shall be divided into a number of topics. Reading material indicated for each topic. The instructor gives an introductory lecture for each topic which is followed by a ten to twenty minute report by one of the students, after which a discussion takes place into which all students must be involved if necessary by direct questions. The instructor sums up after each topic.

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### LITERATURE ON PARTY STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION PROBLEMS

THE Central Committee is at present preparing considerable material on Party Organization Problems. In the near future a number of pamphlets, among them, the *Party Workers Handbook*, will be published.

For immediate use for the Org Departments and Party

Structure classes, the following material is on hand and will be sent to the Districts or outside sections at ten cents per copy:

*The Structure of the Russian Communist Party.*

*The Org Resolution of the Third Congress of the C.I.*

*About the Work of Factory Nuclai.*

Several other titles are in preparation. *Vassiliev's Pamphlet* is in the hands of every District Organizer who must see that every Section Committee has at least one copy available. This pamphlet is to be used by instructors of classes only.

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## MASS WORK

### TO LEARN FROM THE MASSES

"Did you have contact with young workers before you joined the League?" Answer: "Oh, yes." "Did you retain and develop those contacts after you joined the League?" Answer: "No, I did not." These are answers to questions put to one of the students at the New York District Training School on their day of graduation.

This peculiar situation of young workers joining the League and then losing their contact with the masses is not only a specific League occurrence, but it is also in many instances true of the Party. How shall we explain the fact that workers who come to the Party as a result of the Party's general mass activities, after they are attached to a Party unit and become active in the unit, lose their contact with the masses? This is primarily due to the fact that the life and activities of the units separated from the mass activities of the Party, that the unit does not establish itself as a leader in the class struggle in its respective territory. The result is that many new members lose their mass contacts and lose the habit of mingling with the masses and begin to lead the same sectarian life that the Party unit is leading.

Instead of nursing and developing the mass contacts brought in by a new member, the life and activities of the unit is, in

many instances, carried on in such a manner that these valuable contacts are lost.

Another young fellow who is in the Party for about nine months stated, "I was sitting at a meeting and I wondered what the heck was going on." If at times, there was a political discussion in the unit, it was carried on in such an abstract manner that it was of no benefit to the Party membership in so far as increasing its understanding how to better orientate themselves on questions and make them more fit for mass work.

The above incidents are given in order to emphasize the various points stated in the Plenum resolutions which must result in organizing the work of the Party units in such a manner that the question of activities, the building of shop nuclei, the following up of mass contacts, will result in the establishment of the unit as a leader in the class struggle. Coupled with that, systematic political education carried on by the units must be most intimately linked up with the day to day activities of the Party.

\* \* \* \*

At the above mentioned graduation of the students of the N. Y. District Training School, the main discussion as to what the students have gotten out of the school concentrated around the question in what way, the school made them more fit for mass work. Linked up with this was a second question, what were some of their non-Bolshevik habits which would make it difficult for them in their contact with the masses. The students, in a very self-critical manner, stated that the tendency to be impatient with the masses, clannishness, a "know it all" attitude, a tendency to issue instructions instead of convincing the masses and learning from them would make it difficult for them in their contact with the masses. All of these, of course, are definite bureaucratic tendencies.

In our contact and work amongst the masses, we must always be guided by the following Leninist conception:

"First of all, that the Party must have a good ear for the voice of the masses, must pay close attention to

their revolutionary instinct, must carefully enquire whether the policy is sound—and must, therefore, be ready, not only to teach the masses, but to learn from them.

This means, in the second place, that the Party must from day to day win the confidence of the proletarian masses; that, by its policy and its activities, it must secure the support of the masses; *that it must not order but persuade*, helping the masses to become aware by their own experience that the Party policy is right; that it must, therefore, be the guide, the leader, the teacher of the proletariat." (Stalin).

*Not only to teach the masses, but to learn from them*, is a Leninist approach to the winning of the masses and establishing contact with them. *Not to order, but to persuade*, another fundamental conception of winning the masses to an understanding of the correctness of the Party policy.

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## RECRUITING WORK

**P**ARTY members must be most persistent in moulding the minds of individuals on political questions, taking advantage of the slightest opportunity for that—the dinner, the way home, special walks with individual workers who display interest in the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions. *In recruiting members at the time of mass campaigns the Communist Parties must endeavor right now to carry the daily agitation among individuals to join the party in the factory.* The existing factory can be strengthened and new ones organized primarily and chiefly by means of persistent individual recruiting work in the factories. The influence of the Party can be given organized forms with the help of such work and the new elements who will join the Party as a result of it will not be people who enter after an enthusiastic speech by some Communist orator only in order to withdraw the next day, but sound revolutionary elements who will have a clear understanding as to why they join the Communist Party and what they are going to do when accepted.

If working class members will be recruited on the basis not only of a simple explanation of the aims and objects of the Communist Party but also by drawing sympathizing workers into the daily work of the basic factory organizations, the best results will be obtained and the most progressive elements of the working class will join the Party, and people capable of carrying out the instructions of the Party in the factory with regard to the mobilization of the masses and their preparation for the common struggle of the working class will be best able to do so.

### BEWARE OF ISOLATION

**I**N one city in District — where we have three Unemployment Councils of about 400 members, the City Committee of the Unemployed Councils decided to mobilize the unemployed and march them to the City Hall to demand jobs from the official in charge.

The City Committee, composed of the leaders of the unemployed movement simply forgot to take the necessary organizational steps to mobilize the unemployed. No mass meeting was called, no leaflets were distributed, no agitation carried on.

At the City Hall about sixteen of the leading members of the Unemployed Council appeared. Realizing their isolated position they quickly decided to call themselves the elected delegation of the unemployed. They were all given jobs and put to work by the city the same day.

The Unemployment Councils were left without a leadership at least for a period. There would be a different story to tell if they organized at least the 400 members to accompany them to the City Hall.

### QUOTATIONS FROM LENIN

“To folks who are used to morning gowns, slippers, to a family life of sensuous indolence, formal statutes (constitution) seems as something repressive, narrow, burdensome and base, bureaucratic and feudalistic, restraining the free process of intellectual debate.

Discipline and organization, so indigestible to the bourgeois intellectual, are particularly easily assimilated by the proletariat because of the very fact of factory training.”

**AGITPROP ACTIVITY****RAISING THE POLITICAL LEVEL OF COMRADES**

**I**T is about time that we stopped repeating the time worn phrases of "politically backward" and need of "raising the political level" of our Party comrades. The leading Party Committees must work out plans with their agitprop departments and begin doing something in the direction of helping our comrades in their theoretical development.

Here are a few elementary suggestions that are prerequisites before any further serious steps can be taken:

(1) Every Party member must unconditionally have at least one evening a week for reading.

(2) Every new Party member must be given at least two evenings for reading and class work.

(3) Agitprop departments and directors must understand that inner-Party education, classes and personal guidance to self-education is one of their major tasks.

(4) The tendency to keep the active comrades busy at practical tasks seven evenings a week must be stubbornly combated by the Party committees, units and members.

(5) Party education, whether in form of classes or individual-reading is *Party work* and must be treated as such, must be regulated and comrades be assigned to classes, assigned evenings for readings, as a matter of discipline.

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*Place your sub with the Unit literature agent*

**\$2.00 per year—\$1.25 for 6 months**

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## FROM INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCES

### HOW A UNIT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION WORKS

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is entirely organized on the basis of shop, factory, mine, collective farms and institutions. In the larger enterprises the basic unit is the Department Nucleus. In the average factory the Party membership is around 10% of the workers (1928).

General membership meeting of the nucleus is held about once each month. The Nucleus Buro composed of from 7 to 15 members is elected by the membership meeting every six months. The Nucleus Buro meets weekly.

The leading functionary of the nucleus is the secretary of the Buro. The small committee which acts on problems between Buro meetings is called the "troyka"; it is equivalent to the secretariat and is composed of the Secretary, head of the organization department and head of the agitprop.

The Nucleus Buro makes plans, conducts activities and makes final decisions binding on all members of the Nucleus. The Nucleus Buro selects the Org Commission and the Agitprop Commission which meet weekly. These departments or commissions are composed of from 7 to 9 members.

The Nucleus Buro upon its election draws up a six-months plan of work based on the tasks of the Nucleus in the next six-month period. This Plan of Work is worked out in some detail for the first 3 months and is further elaborated in a monthly calendar plan to indicate what problems will be taken at the various meetings of the Nucleus Buro. Using the Nucleus Buro plan of work as the basis, the Org and agitprop commissions work out a plan of work as well as a calendar plan. In the Plan of Work the main tasks of the departments are indicated and one or more of these tasks is assigned to each member of the departments.

The fractions in the unions (the shop committees), in the I.L.D. (Mpor), etc., also work out plans of work for the respective mass organizations, all of which are organized on a factory basis. The Nucleus Buro decides who shall head the various mass organizations as well as who shall compose the leading committees of the mass organizations.



(This is done by proposing a list of Party and non-Party workers to the meeting of the given mass organization, who are elected by ordinary voting.)

The meeting of the Nucleus Buro or of its departments is carefully prepared beforehand. Each committee meeting is presented with draft plans and proposals as the basis for discussion and final decision on each point of the agenda.

For instance if the Buro decides to improve its patronage over a collective farm, the comrade in charge of the patronage committee will draw up proposals, consider them in the committee and bring final proposals to the Buro for approval.

If the educational work in the factory is to be improved, the agitprop will work out a plan for classes, shop paper, lectures, etc., and bring the plan to the Buro. If there is a situation where some comrades have too many tasks and others too little, the Org. Dept. will study the activities of all comrades and propose necessary changes to the Buro. Even in this case the work of the Org. Dept. is so subdivided that one comrade is specifically in charge of supervising the tasks of all comrades in the Nucleus and he brings definite proposals for changes to the Org. Dept. meeting.

At the end of 3 months the Buro hears the reports of its secretary and its departments on the activities for the past 3 months and the degree to which the Plan of Work was realized, and the next meeting will already be presented with another 3-month plan of work.

At the end of six months, election takes place for the new Nucleus Buro. This is preceded by the discussion of the report of the Buro to ascertain whether or not the tasks for the 6 months were carried out.

## COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENT

Conditions of Admission to the Communist International  
(Adopted by the Second Congress held in Moscow August, 1920)

THE First Constituent Congress of the Communist International did not draw up precise conditions of admission to the Third International. At the moment of its convocation only Communist currents and tendencies were existent in the majority of countries.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International, however, assembles under different conditions. There are now in most countries not only Communist tendencies and groups, but definite Communist *Parties and organizations*.

The Communist International more and more frequently receives applications from parties and groups that, but a short time ago, belonged to the Second International, and now seek to join the Third International without really being Communists. The Second International has completely collapsed, and the various intermediary factions and groups of the "center" are trying to lean upon the growing Communist International, hoping at the same time, however, to preserve a certain measure of "autonomy" that will enable them to pursue their old opportunist or "centrist" policy. The Communist International has become the fashion. The desire of these leading groups of the "center" to join the Third International is indirect evidence of its influence on the majority of the class-conscious workers of the world, and that its power is strengthening every day. The Communist International consequently runs the risk of being weakened by the adhesion of wavering, lukewarm groups that have not as yet abandoned the ideology of the Second International.

It must be remembered that in some of the larger Parties (*i.e.*, in Italy, Norway, etc.) the majority of whose members adhere to the Communist attitude, there still remain considerable reformist and social-pacifist elements that await only the moment to revive in order to begin an active "sabotage" of the proletarian revolution, and thus give a new lease of life to the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

No Communist must forget the lesson of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The Hungarian Communists paid dearly for

their unity with the so-called Social-Democrats of the Left.

For these reasons the Second World Congress of the Communist International considers it essential to lay down definite conditions for the affiliation of new Parties, as well as to point out to Parties already affiliated the duties which affiliation involve.

The Second Congress rules that the conditions of affiliation to the Communist International shall be as follows:

1. General propaganda and agitation must be of a definite Communist character and correspond to the program and decisions of the Third International. The Party Press must be edited by reliable Communists who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be spoken of as a mere hackneyed formula. The facts of everyday life must be systematically recorded and interpreted by the Party Press in such fashion as to make the necessity of proletarian dictatorship self-evident to every worker, soldier and peasant. All periodical and other publications of the Party must be under the control of the central executive of the Party, independently of whether the Party is legal or illegal. Wherever the adherents of the Third International can gain access and by whatever means of propaganda are at their disposal—in the columns of newspapers, at public meetings, within the Trade Unions and Co-operatives—it is essential that they denounce not only the capitalists, but also their allies, the reformists of every color and shade.

2. Every organization desiring to join the Communist International must be bound systematically and regularly to remove from all responsible positions (in the Party, committee, editorial staff, trade union, parliamentary group, co-operative society and municipal council) all reformists and supporters of the "center" and to replace them by tried Communists, even at the risk of supplanting, for a time, "experienced" men by rank and file workmen.

3. The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is reaching the threshold of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal machinery which at the decisive moment will do its duty by the Party and in every way possible assist the revolution. In

every country where, in consequence of martial law or other exceptional laws, the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully, a combination of legal and illegal work is absolutely necessary.

4. A persistent and systematic propaganda is necessary in the army, where Communist groups should be formed in every military unit. Wherever, owing to repressive legislation, agitation becomes legally impossible, it is necessary to conduct such agitation illegally. Refusal to carry on or participate in such work should be considered as treason to the revolutionary cause and incompatible with affiliation to the Third International.

5. A systematic propaganda is necessary in the agricultural districts. The working class cannot achieve victory unless it gains the sympathy and support of the agricultural workers and unless other sections of the population are equally utilized. Communist work in the agricultural districts is of paramount importance at the present moment. It should be carried on by Communist workmen of both town and country who have connections with the rural districts. To neglect this work or to leave it to untrustworthy semi-reformists is tantamount to renouncing the proletarian revolution.

6. All Parties desiring to join the Third International must renounce not only avowed social-patriotism, but the false and hypocritical social-pacifism as well. They must systematically demonstrate to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, neither international arbitration nor conferences regarding the limitation of armaments, nor the "democratic" reorganization of the League of Nations will be capable of saving mankind from new imperialist wars.

7. Parties desirous of joining the Communist International must recognize the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the "centrists," and must advocate this rupture amongst the Party membership. Without this condition a consistent Communist policy is impossible. The Communist International unconditionally and peremptorily demands that such break take place with the least possible delay. The Communist International cannot tolerate the suggestion that such avowed reformists as Turatti, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hillquit, Longuet, MacDonald and others

should be entitled to membership in the Third International. This would make the Third International merely a counterpart of the Second.

8. On the question of colonies and oppressed nationalities, an especially distinct and clear line of conduct is necessary in the case of Parties in countries where the bourgeoisie possesses colonies or oppresses other nationalities. All Parties belonging to the Third International shall be in duty bound to denounce without reservation the colonial policy of their respective imperialists, and to support, not in words only, but in deed, the movement for Colonial independence. They must demand the withdrawal of their imperialists from such colonies, cultivate among the workmen of their own country a genuine fraternal attitude towards the working population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and conduct a systematic propaganda in their own army against every semblance of oppression of the colonial population.

9. All Parties belonging to the Communist International must carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies and other class organizations of the workers. It is necessary to form Communist groups within those organizations in order, by persistent and lasting work, to win them over to Communism. These groups must consistently expose the treachery of the social-patriots and the vacillation of the "centrists." These groups must be completely subordinated to the Party as a whole.

10. All Parties belonging to the Communist International are bound to conduct a relentless struggle against the Yellow Amsterdam "International" of Trade Unions. They must propagate insistently amongst the organized workers the necessity of a breaking with the Amsterdam International and joining up with the new Red International of Trade Unions adhering to the Communist International.

11. Parties desiring to join the Third International must inspect their parliamentary groups in order to remove therefrom all unreliable elements and must subordinate such groups to the direct control of the Party executive. They must demand of their representatives that they shall devote their activities entirely to the interests of real revolutionary propaganda.

12. All Parties belonging to the Communist International should be based on the principle of democratic *centralization*. In this acute period of civil war, the Communist Party will be able fully to discharge its duty only if it is thoroughly well organized, if it possesses an iron discipline, and if its executive enjoys the confidence of the Party members, who are to endow the executive with complete power and authority.

13. The Communist Parties operating in colonies where Communist activity is legal should make a periodical inspection of their membership roll in order to eliminate the petty middle-class elements which may penetrate the Party ranks.

14. Parties desiring to join the Communist International must render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggles against counter-revolutionary forces. They should conduct an organized and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to make or handle any kind of military equipment intended for use against the Soviet Republics, and should also carry on, by legal or illegal means, a propaganda among any troops sent against the Workers' Republics.

15. Parties which have hitherto stood upon the old Social-Democratic programs must immediately draw up a new Communist program applying to the special conditions of their country and in accordance with the resolution of the Communist International. Such program shall be endorsed by the next Congress of the Communist International or by its Executive Committee. In the event of the program of any Party being rejected by the Executive Committee, the Party concerned shall have the right of appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

16. Resolutions adopted by the Communist International and its Executive Committee are binding on all affiliated Parties. The Communist International, operating in a period of acute civil strife, must be centralized in a more effective manner than was the Second International. At the same time the Communist International and its Executive Committee must, in all spheres of their activity, have regard to the variety of conditions under which the different Parties have to work and struggle, and obligatory resolutions should be passed only on questions on which such obligatory resolutions are practical.

17. In conformity with the foregoing conditions, all Parties

about to join the Third International must change or amend their names and be known as: The Communist Party of such-and-such country, section of the Third Communist International. This is more than a mere matter of name and form; it is a political question of great importance. The Communist International has declared war upon the whole capitalist system and the old Yellow Social-Democratic parties. It is of vital importance that the workers should be able to distinguish clearly between the Communist Parties and the old official "Social-Democratic" and "Socialist" parties, which have deserted the cause of the working-class.

18. All the leading Press organs of every Party are bound to publish the more important documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

19. All those Parties which have joined the Communist International, as well as those which have expressed a desire to do so, are obliged, as rapidly as possible, and in no case later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, to convene a special congress in order to discuss these conditions. In addition to this, the Executive Committee of these Parties should take care to acquaint all the local organizations with the regulations of the Second Congress.

20. All those Parties which at the present time are willing to join the Third International, but have so far not changed their tactics in any radical manner, should, prior to joining the Third International, take care that not less than two-thirds of their Committee members and of all their central institutions consist of comrades who have made an open and definite declaration, prior to the convening of the Second Congress, as to their desire that the Party should affiliate to the Third International. Exceptions are permitted only with the approval of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The Executive Committee has the right to make an exception also for the representatives of the "center," as mentioned in paragraph 7.

21. Those members of the Party who reject the conditions and the theses of the Third International are liable to be excluded from the Party. This applies particularly to delegates at the Special Congress of the Party.

# Party Organizer



## From the Contents



Party Life and *Party Organizer*

We Need a Change in Our Methods

Points on Party Discipline

Holding New Members

Work Among Negro Masses

Inner Party Education

A Lesson from Soviet Elections on Planned Work

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No. 2

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A



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# PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. IV

MARCH, 1931

No. 2

## PARTY LIFE AND PARTY ORGANIZER

THE aim of the Central Committee is to make the *Party Organizer*, a monthly magazine for inner-Party discussion, clarification and guidance in improving the structure, functions and work of the Party. If the *Party Organizer* is to serve this purpose it must be the collective work of the entire Party and must be regularly read by every active member of the Party.

The February issue was written in its entirety by the comrades in the Central Office. Moreover, the circulation of the *Party Organizer* was limited only to about 20% of the Party members, due to very poor efforts of the Districts to circulate it in spite of the extremely low price of 5c per copy.

The problems raised and treated in the *Party Organizer* are daily being discussed in the Party Life column of the *Daily Worker*. Leading and active Party comrades are urged to write for the Party Life column as well as for the *Party Organizer*.

The Party has acquired rich experiences in its recent activities. The Party has made substantial progress in new territories, among native American workers and farmers, among Negro masses, etc. Hundreds of new problems arise daily in our activities. Our methods of work are improving in many Districts, especially in new territories.

On the other hand sections of the Party are going backward, bureaucracy develops in some Party Committees, the turn to mass work is hindered by inadequate leadership, by "leftist" and opportunist practices, etc. Exchange of experiences, merciless self-criticism, development of new methods of work and analysis of our weaknesses must proceed side by side with our increased activities in all fields of work.

The *Party Organizer* and Party Life in the *Daily Worker* must become a decisive factor in transforming our Party into the leader of mass struggles of the American workers.

**MID-WESTERN ORG-AGITPROP CONFERENCE**

By R. B.

**T**HE Org-Agitprop Conference of the mid-western Districts clarified a whole series of key problems and created a firmer basis for the improvement of the Party organization as the leader of the multiplying mass struggles. The Conference confined its discussions to the inner-Party organizational problems, inner-Party education, development of cadres, new members and literature connecting, however, all these problems with the day-to-day activities of the Party.

The discussion on the work of the basic unit, the Unit Buro, departments of Party committees, planned work and methods of leadership, reflected the fact that our District and Section Committees are paying close and systematic attention to these problems and that considerable improvements in the structure and work of the Party are being achieved.

The discussions on Agitprop activities, however, indicate that this most vital activity is still in its most elementary stage of development and seriously affects the successful carrying out of the activities and campaigns of the Party.

**Organizational Unclearity**

The Conference established that our Party has not carried into effect the Org Resolution of the Third Congress of the Comintern, the Resolution on Bolshevization of the Parties of the Communist International adopted at the Fourth Congress of the C. I., the resolutions of the second Org Conference of the C. I. held in April, 1926. Further, the Conference clearly proved that the above resolutions are but little known even to our leading Party Committees. Consequently the present attempts to improve the structure of the Party in line with the needs of the growing mass activities does not proceed on the basis of a clear and uniform plan provided by the Comintern.

Social democratic forms, practices and conceptions are still present in the Party and particularly express themselves in the lower units and departments of Party committees.

### Basic Unit of the Party

While the Conference established the role, tasks, structure and methods of work of the basic unit, the discussion revealed a whole series of social democratic conceptions and practises still in existence.

The discussion emphasized the discrepancy between the activity, initiative and influence of a Party unit in a small town and a Party unit in a large city. The Party unit in a small city (where usually there is but one unit) actually plans, prepares and leads the struggles of the workers and conducts work on its own initiative even though this work is only of an elementary nature. The unit in a large city like Chicago, Detroit or Cleveland, however, functions solely as a working group that carries out the instructions in most cases of the District Committee. In either of the cases the Unit Buro may not function; however, in the small city the geographic isolation from the District puts before the unit the problem of developing its own initiative and activity within their territories.

### The Unit Buro

The task of developing the initiative of the lower unit revolves around the establishment of unit buros and the clarification of the role of the unit Buro. In most of our Districts the conception prevails that the Unit Buro is a sub-committee of the unit that prepares the agenda for the unit meeting on the basis of all too-detailed org letters and instructions from the District Committee.

The Conference established that the Unit Buro is a leading Party Committee in the same sense as the Section Committee or the District Committee, that the Unit Buro is elected every six months and composed of the best comrades in the unit. The Unit Buro subdivides its tasks on a departmental basis and selects the Unit functionaries to be in charge of the various phases of activity. The Unit Buro meets weekly, plans the activities of the unit for the given week and assigns tasks to all Unit members for the week.

The Unit Buro draws up a plan of work for the unit out-

lining the tasks of the unit in the given territory or factory. The Unit Buro makes decisions that are binding on the members of the unit. The functioning Unit Buro carrying out a concrete plan of work in its given territory or the factory under proper and correct guidance of the Section Committee, is the key to the development of the initiative and effective work of the basic units of the Party. (The problems of departments of the Party Committees, Plans of Work, Org Letters and methods of leadership will be taken up in separate articles.)

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## PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION ON THE INNER LIFE OF COMMUNIST PARTY UNITS

**O**NE of the principal tasks in Bolshevization of our Party is to overcome the organizational looseness and opportunist attitude to Party discipline, the remnants of which still cling to our Party. The weakest link in the structure of our Party is the basic unit. The weekly dues payments, the weekly unit meetings, the organization of unit buros and the activation of all members are some of the measures taken by the Party to put our basic units on a Bolshevik organizational basis.

In examining the life of our units, a decisive improvement is obvious over the old forms, methods and activities. However, our units still have many serious shortcomings, most of which are of an organizational character. Most of the weaknesses hinge around the unsatisfactory functioning of the unit buro. The Unit Buros in a Bolshevik Party are actually the leading committees of the basic unit, they make decisions within the scope of their activity that are binding on the unit members. The unit buros possess authority and power to make decisions on all phases of work and determine which of the unit problems shall be discussed and decided upon by the membership meeting of the unit.

The unit membership meeting has the power to review, re-

verse or approve the decisions of the unit buro. However, such actions do not take place under normal conditions unless the buro is composed of comrades who are incompetent or have serious political differences with the unit as a whole.

The above is a correct application of the principle of democratic centralism in a Communist Party. Our unit buro up to the present time met and discussed all the problems and formulated proposals for each of these problems which were brought into the unit and again discussed point by point and finally voted upon. The result was that the initiative and the authority of the unit buros was not developed and their effectiveness was destroyed. Today we still have the situation where the agenda of a unit meeting contains 10 to 15 points and the meeting lasts 3 to 4 hours most of which is spent on details of relatively small importance, each of which should have been finally decided upon by the buro.

The unit buro being composed of the most developed, active and reliable comrades is best fitted to take action on the detail routine problems of the unit as well as to outline the main political activities. This method of work leaves the unit meeting free from details and creates the possibility for a thorough discussion of the main problems.

The unit membership must recognize that after a unit buro is elected as the leading committee of the unit it must have the necessary authority and power to make binding decisions. The essence of the principle of democratic centralism consists in the democratic election of the leadership and accepting and fulfilling of the decisions passed by this leadership whether on the unit, section, district or national scale.

The meeting of the unit membership is held for the purpose of clarifying the membership on the main tasks of the Party and assignment of work and activity to members for the period between meetings. Only such problems are placed before the membership meeting which will result in the improvement of the work, raising of Bolshevik efficiency and the theoretical level of the unit. By improving the inner life and functions of our unit, we create the basis whereby we

can draw the majority of our members into active participation in Party work.

The new Party members who enter our units must see and feel that membership in a Communist Party is a serious matter. Our Party machinery must work with clocklike precision and Bolshevik efficiency on the basis of political clarity and iron discipline of all its members. The non-Party workers who accept the leadership of the Party also expect and want to see our Party work carried out in a true Bolshevik manner.

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### WE NEED A CHANGE IN OUR METHODS

By E. S.

SINCE the Twelfth Plenum our Party made tremendous gains toward Bolshevization. Our mass basis broadened, new blood began pouring in, and the inner life of our units improved considerably. Yet organizationally, we still lag fearfully behind, and one of the contributing factors is the bureaucratic machine and practices still persisting in the Party.

*Figures tell the story.* The Party apparatus in P—— proper, with a dues-paying membership of 250, consists of five District departments, three Section committees, eleven Unit Bureaus, a number of language bureaus and top fractions in unions, ILD, etc. Thus the total of functionaries reaches close to 125. But these comrades are also leading workers in the mass organizations (at least nominally). Each department, committee or organization necessitates a number of meetings. As a result we find the Party composed of functionaries and Party work embodied in meetings, no possibility of continuity of campaigns and the need for mobilization of the Party for one task at a time at the expense of the rest. I shall cite here at least two recent examples of this method. The work among the language speaking workers was neglected for a while. The District decided to improve the situation, and an apparatus of close to forty comrades was built up. The *Daily Worker* went into a subscrip-

tion drive, and again a new apparatus of forty was created. But these comrades of necessity are the same active comrades available.

This apparatus only hinders the work of the Party. It tends to inactivity, since no results can be achieved under such conditions, to isolation from the masses and even inability to speak to workers. They find themselves confronted with a dilemma which they cannot solve, which may be summarized as follows: Is it possible for one to be at two to three meetings in one night? Why is a member of the Party supposed not to read the Party literature or why must he isolate himself from the workers as soon as he enters the Party? The inevitable result is that this worker either drops out of the Party or joins the cadre of the "passives." This method of work will be suicidal, if the Party is compelled to work under changed conditions.

*Some suggestions.* The Party must adopt the principle of less meetings and more direct contact with workers. While it is necessary to have functioning departments in the District and Sections, the Units need not departmentalize the work. A Unit Buro of three can take care of all its work, provided it uses the calendar plan and division of work among members of the unit. The principle of three to a committee (Troika) would greatly diminish our apparatus. If a plan of action is adopted for a certain period (month or two), it shall no longer require meetings to discuss the same plan over and over again, but shall be a matter of carrying the plan into life. We must make our fractions real Party fractions, dealing with the Party campaigns and bringing them forward systematically in the mass organizations.

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### THE THREE MONTH PLAN OF WORK

**B**EGINNING April first our entire Party will begin functioning on a more or less uniform quarterly plan of work.

Each District Committee, Section Committee and Unit shall work out a Plan of Work for the months of April, May and June. Likewise each department of the respective District and Section committee shall do the same.



The purpose of a synchronized (starting and ending simultaneously for the entire Party) Plan of Work is to enable the Central Committee to give better guidance to the activities and to check up on the shortcomings, achievements and work of the Party.

The Plans of Work will coincide with the semi-annual elections of Section Committees and Unit Buros. While the elections take place every six months, the Plans of Work and begin every three months, so that the Units, Sections and Districts can regularly and more frequently review their work, analyze the weaknesses and take steps in the following three months to improve the work.

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### SAFEGUARDING THE PARTY

ONE of the chief recommendations in Ham Fish's report was to increase the powers of the Department of Justice to spy on the Communists. But everybody knows that such recommendations do not have to wait for any approval from Congress but are put into action first, and approved afterwards. At the same time the police terror is increasing greatly in many Districts. In one District, the police arrest any new functionary "just to get acquainted." In another, the police chief told our comrades "I thought you fellows were modern and here you go talking about old things like the Constitution!"

As far as our inner organization is concerned, this means to us just one thing: we must tighten up our whole apparatus! Looseness of methods, carelessness, negligence, all these must go. All information such as names and addresses of members, lists of contacts and sympathizers, inner Party documents, etc. must be kept in such a way that they cannot get into the hands of the police. No functionary should *ever* have any papers, address lists, etc. upon his person when he goes to a demonstration, or on the picket line. And don't think that this applies to the Party organization only. It applies every bit as much to the revolutionary unions and other sympathetic organizations.

Some functionaries still carry around all their Unit (or Section) records in their pockets or brief case, day in day out. This practice must be stopped at once. Bring with you to your meeting only those papers *which are absolutely essential* at that meeting. Remember that our own carelessness and negligence may be more dangerous than the activity of any stool.

In general the period we are approaching requires that our functionaries learn new methods of work, new habits of personal conduct, stricter discipline, and more rigid execution of instructions, in order to safeguard the Party apparatus. We shall touch on some of these phases in later issues of the *Party Organizer*.

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## CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION DOCUMENT

### Points on Party Discipline

**E**VERY Party member should be thoroughly familiar with the extracts from the Statutes of the Party which are printed in all membership books.

Every Party member should know the following points pertaining to Party discipline, and should be guided by them at all times:

¶4-1. The Communist Party, like all sections of the Comintern, is built upon the principle of democratic centralization. . . . Election of the subordinate as well as the upper Party organs at general meetings of the Party members, conferences and conventions of the Party. . . . Acceptance and carrying out of the decisions of the higher Party committees by the lower, strict Party discipline, and immediate and exact application of the decisions.

¶12-1. The strictest Party discipline is the most solemn duty of all Party members and all Party organizations. The decisions of the C.I. and the Party Convention of the C.C. and of all leading committees of the Party, must be promptly carried out. Discussion of questions,

over which there have been differences, must not continue after the decision has been made.

The "leading committees" of the Party are: (1) The Unit or Nucleus Buro; (2) The Section Committee and Section Bureau; (3) The District Committee, Bureau, Secretariat and the District Control Commission; (4) The Central Committee, Polbureau, Secretariat and the Central Control Commission.

The decisions and instructions of the central bodies of the Party are obligatory to all other committees and to the whole membership of the Party. It is the duty and the right of the District leading bodies to concretize and to apply these decisions and instructions as far as the Sections, Units and membership in their respective Districts are concerned. The same rule applies down the line to the Sections, Units and individual members. Refusal to act in accordance with the line laid down by higher committees of the Party, or refusal to carry out specific decisions and instructions, issued by the leading committees of the Party within their respective jurisdictions, are absolutely impermissible.

This is fundamental in a revolutionary fighting organization, like the Communist Party; and from this it naturally follows that, after a decision has been made, it is not permissible to continue discussion as to whether the decision is correct and as to whether it should be applied and carried out or not.

It must be understood at the same time, however, that questions and explanations as to the basis and the meaning of a decision, and discussion as to the best ways and means for applying and carrying out a decision, are still in order and necessary. Sincere and whole-hearted execution of decisions presuppose real understanding and acceptance of same, and cannot be secured in a mechanical manner.

### Appeals

Every member, as well as a lower Party committee, have the right to appeal against a decision (including disciplinary measures) to a higher Party committee, with the understand-

ing, of course, that every appeal must be based upon sincere grounds and arguments.

In order to expedite the handling of an appeal, a copy of it should be simultaneously furnished to the committee, against whose decision it is directed.

It must also be distinctly understood that the making of an appeal does not release the member (or committee) from obligation to carry out the decision in the meantime, if immediate execution is called for. An exception to this rule is possible only when the committee, against whose decision the appeal is directed, specifically agrees to await the outcome of the appeal, before insisting upon the carrying out of its decision.

### **Charges and Investigations**

Charges and suspicions must not be raised and spread in an irresponsible manner, but must be made to the proper Party committee preferably in writing; and after a decision on same has been reached, they can not be raised and voiced again, except to a proper Party committee and upon new facts and evidence.

Neither can an individual member of the Party proceed to make investigations against another member, without first consulting a proper Party committee and getting its permission and instructions.

Before disciplinary action is taken against any member of the Party, he (or she) is entitled to a hearing; and all essential facts must be established, upon which a decision can be based.

All decisions for expulsion must be fully reported to the District Control Commissions, and by the latter to the Central Control Commission; and wherever there exists the possibility of non-approval by these higher Party committees, the decisions must be considered only as recommendations, which are not to be put into effect until they are properly passed upon by the District and Central Control Commissions.

The spreading of various charges and suspicions, instead of their being brought to the proper Party committees for investigation and decision, is very detrimental and disruptive to the Party organization and Party work.

## RECRUITING AND KEEPING NEW MEMBERS

### HOW TO ACCEPT NEW MEMBERS

**W**E must learn from our past mistakes. Don't recruit just application cards. Concentrate on good fighting proletarian types of workers. All new members must be accepted in the nucleus by a vote of the nucleus. To handle this, every nucleus must have a Membership Committee of three. This Committee meets before the nucleus meeting and calls in the applicant to question him. If not satisfied with the first examination, delay entry one week and visit home of applicant but inside of two weeks every applicant must be acted upon. In this way we help to keep out unfit elements. However, we warn against unnecessary delay.

Before being accepted every applicant must pay initiation fee (50c or 10c) and 10c for membership card. After the applicant has attended one meeting and has been accepted, he must get his membership book without delay. Every new member must be given free a copy of "Revolutionary Greetings," together with the new membership book.

### How to Keep New Members

The following should be the guiding points:

1. Proper functioning of Nucleus-Buro-apparatus, so as to organize work of meeting, etc.
2. Every meeting must start at 8 P. M. sharp and adjourn not later than 11 P. M.
3. The Nucleus Buro is to assign an old member to every new member for periods ranging from one to two months. This must not be done mechanically. The new member must not know about it. The old member should be held responsible for getting to know him, helping him, show him how to work, suggesting what to read, etc. When it comes to choosing committees for distribution of literature, visiting, new members, etc., the Buro should assign these same two comrades.

4. At every nucleus meeting have at least one hour for political discussion on subject suggested by the District or Section.

5. Before the Nucleus meeting, the Agit-Prop director should have an informal meeting of all new members on basis of the questions sent out by District Agit Prop.

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### HOLDING NEW MEMBERS

By H. G.

**I**F our Party did not lose new members, its fighting power would be increased. Now, accepting this, and granted that a worker has joined, how is he to be retained in the Party and developed?

Firstly, it must be realized that it is a political Party. The Party is not a trade union open to all, regardless of ideology.

A new member is attracted to our Party by its ideal of Communism. It is necessary to develop that germ of Communist ideology into a thoroughly theoretically grounded Marxist-Leninist political conception. Theory must not be the monopoly of the Party leadership, but diffused throughout the Party which is the leadership of the class.

Secondly, never forget that, while the new member is on probation before the Party, *the Party is very definitely on trial before the new member*. It must justify the appeal it made to him to join. It must not conduct itself through the acts of members he meets and the Unit he attends, in ways which discourage and destroy the Communist ideal which attracted him to join.

Thirdly, while the worker has joined the Party, there are forces against which he had to struggle and overcome, to join—forces which still exert pressure to make him drop out again. *Individual attention* given by the Party comrades and Unit will help in maintaining and increasing the attraction of the Party to him.

Fourthly, the Unit, and the comrades in the Unit, are absolutely required to differentiate between new members and

old members in all phases of relations between the Party and the individual members. By this we do not mean that new members are to be looked upon with suspicion. The stupid "bull horrors" of old members and their repellant coldness toward new members has driven countless workers away from our Party and must be stopped. To bring the new member firmly "to anchor" in the Party, he requires special treatment. What are some of the things to be done?

a) An old comrade must, wherever possible, be appointed by and held responsible to the Unit as a "friendly guide" to personalize relations with the new member, to "buddy up" with him as much as possible in Party work *and in spare time*, to explain things he doesn't understand or direct him to those who can, to find out what arguments by his family or friends influenced him against the Party—and to overcome them sympathetically but persistently (not forgetting that old ties, especially family ties, are not easily disregarded), to discover his capacities and their limitations, to make him feel at home in the Party, win his confidence *for the Party* as his greatest loyalty. When such is done, the Unit must give due consideration to reports and recommendations from the old member as to what is required to keep and develop the new member. This is a very serious task for old members, and must not be treated frivolously.

b) Cut out any "snobbery." Because a worker doesn't understand what the "Third Period" is, he is not to be laughed at. He may fight better than those who laugh.

c) While we must draw in new members into active work the nonsense of smothering new members with work and electing them to responsible posts the functions of which they don't know, the first time they appear in the Unit, must be stopped. In a New York unit, the first time a man and his wife who had just joined the Party, attended a unit, they were both made functionaries of the Unit and given assignments of work and meetings enough to keep both occupied seven (perhaps eight) nights a week. What must workers think of the Party which promotes them so quickly to posi-

tions *they know that it knows* they cannot effectively occupy? Which abruptly orders them to change the whole arrangement of their private life?

(d) The new member is—strange to say—usually more respectful toward discipline than many old members, and more reluctant to decline tasks asked of him even when they seem unreasonable, or beyond his capacity. He takes the Party seriously, and it should exercise great care to avoid driving him away by violating what he regards as common sense. His capacities and limitations, physical, family and ideological, should be especially considered. There is too much taking for granted that if a comrade can walk and carry a Party card, he is both physically and politically equipped for any herculean task.

(e) The nature of the study and reading of new members must be carefully estimated. Further, it is nonsense for literature agents in the unit to force new members to buy literature they cannot assimilate. A worker takes home to his wife (who may be hostile to the Party) a piece of literature—in one case it was an *Inprecorr* with Varga's Economic Report—which neither can understand. Elementary classes, discussions on current policy, and simple reading must be provided, and new members are usually extremely anxious to learn.

(f) The new member is ordinarily enthusiastic about the Party and tries—sad to say more spiritedly than old members—to convert all his friends. He furnishes the Party contacts and expects it to help him. If it does not do so, he becomes disheartened. If it does not aid him to make over "his world" and does not give him a "new world," he turns back to the old world, the non-party world.

(h) The life of the Unit is the occasion that the new member has to judge from as to whether he wants to participate. If it is disorderly, boresome, pointless or carried on stupidly or bureaucratically, he is repelled and drops out in self defense. Never forget that, even though old members may be hardened by long suffering to bad unit meetings, the new member will not stay to endure the ordeal.



### BLOCKING THE DOORS OF THE PARTY

*The letter below from a sympathizer of the Party in a small town is typical of hundreds of workers and poor farmers who are persistently trying to join our Party. This letter was accompanied by seven applications for Party membership. This is the fourth time these workers are trying to join the Party.*

*Three times the District Committee placed obstacles in their way. This is a clear example of how bureaucratic methods in some of our Districts block the doors of the Party to new members.*

*Each week hundreds of applications of workers are sent to the Districts and most of them meet the same fate. A formal letter is sent to them with formal bureaucratic instructions that cannot be carried out even by the old units in the larger cities.*

*In most Districts there are hundreds of applications for Party membership lying in the apparatus while these workers anxiously wait and finally realize that the Party apparently does not want new forces.*

#### The Letter

The Communist Party,  
New York City.

We, the undersigned workers and farmers, wish to join the Party of our class. Please send us more information on how to go about it.

Since the *Daily Worker* has been introduced here in ——— a number of workers here have signified a desire to organize. As the best informed among them previously had known of any form of radicalism only thru reading the old *Appeal to Reason* years ago, or seen accounts of Communist demonstrations in the capitalist press, we thought it best to start a study club. Mrs. V—— is allowing us to meet in her home, which is not large enough, but we cannot afford to hire a place.

I lent some of my books and each member is to explain to the club something from them that he has read, in this way we are hoping to train our speakers at the same time that we are studying the subject. We meet Thursday evenings and next week R—— will attempt to explain "commodities" after reading the first chapter of Marx's Capital. The week after that L. B. will talk on "The Communist Manifesto" and "Principles of Communism." The meetings are the first ever to be held in this country in Open Forum Style so far as any of us know. Undoubtedly we are proceeding in a manner that is very incorrect, but it is the best we know how to do, and so far we have been unable to get much cooperation from D—— (probably on account of our great distance—95 miles and our small size—1250 population in village).

Most of us thought we would like to join the Party and have therefore signed the enclosed application, but we are all so poor that I doubt if any of us will be able to pay any dues for some time to come. For instance, Mrs. V——, a widow, owns a farm of 27 acres entirely within the village limits, so that her taxes are very high and she is afraid that she will be unable to pay her taxes on it this year. A friend asked my father if she had anything to live on, saying that he had been to see her on business and found her grinding roasted corn to make "coffee" with. Her son K—— is a cripple, his legs paralyzed from the knees down so that he cannot walk without crutches (had infantile paralysis when 18 months old). He earns a little money repairing automobiles when he can get such jobs to do, and in the summer does what work he can on the little farm; he pitches hay while sitting down, picks cucumbers on his hands and knees while carrying the pail in his teeth, etc. However he is a hot talker and I think he will make an effective speaker when he learns a little more about communism.

R—— has his aged and childish mother to support on the miserable pay given to unskilled labor around here, but I am told that they have been unable to pay any rent on the miserable shack they live in for the past five years. He seems to regard \$1.25 per day as good pay when he can get it, for much of the time this winter the only work he could get was

at "cleaning fence rows" at which the men can seldom make more than 35c per day. Mr. A—, a neighbor to Mrs. B, is now out of work entirely. E. C— used to be a "wobbly," but thinks the Communists are better; he is a laborer on K—'s farm. Perhaps we are not very good material for the Party, but I hope that you can use us to get something started, there are others who would like to join, but it is impractical until we can get a place that is larger and more centrally located.

If we can't get into the Party, perhaps we can organize something else. Comrade M— asked me to organize an unemployed council, *but would not tell me how to do it*; and besides, practically all of the poor folks here are working long hours for little or NO pay (e. g. cutting stove-wood *on shares* in order to keep warm and cook).

*This is my fourth application to the Party.* In answer to my last one (last summer) I received a letter from you saying that you had sent instructions to D— to admit me. I received a request from D— for Initiation Fee and Dues, but as I had been unemployed for 18 months (I have no license and don't know where I can get the money to get one— am at present living off from dad) I could not pay even 10c per week regularly, *and they answered they would admit me to a unit when they organized one in my neighborhood.* I hope that you can get one started soon, either here or in K—, or that you can at least give us instructions for doing more effective work than we can do in our little study club. All the small towns around here are in hard circumstances. A neighbor who used to live in W— came back from a visit there yesterday and said that they had to feed 170 pupils at the schools there every day—which, in spite of the chronic poverty of these small cities, seems to shock all the 100 percenters immensely—to think that "Americans" have to accept charity on such a scale. Hoping you will be able to help us work more effectively, I remain

Comradely yours,

O. H. O.

## MASS WORK

## WORK AMONG NEGRO MASSES

(Examples of how not to work)

— 1 —

SOME of our leading comrades, although realizing the necessity of doing work among the Negroes, have the conception that this work could only be done as long as a Negro comrade is in charge. Comrade W. S. in a District found it very difficult to have the District Committee establish a District Negro Department. The comrades declared that they were short of leading forces and that the only capable comrade to head the department was a Negro League comrade who was involved in League work. This we objected to along with the League. The result was that the comrade was removed from District Negro work and no one else was put in his place and the department was liquidated. No white comrade could even be found to head this department.

Now the League has sent a Negro D. O. and the District Committee sees fit to establish a District Negro Department by placing the League D. O. at the head. Because he is a Negro comrade. The comrades have the conception that he must head the Negro Department. This is wrong. A comrade who is a League D. O. properly discharging his duties cannot give any time to establishing and activizing such an important department as the District Negro Department. White comrades can be trained for this work.

— 2 —

Comrade J. said we are too formal about our work among the Negroes. He said we have a Section in which live very few Negro workers, yet we have elected a Section Negro work Director and in reality there is no work to be done among the Negroes in our Section.

It is essential to elect a Section Negro work Director and committee for those sections which are isolated from the Negro population because in those sections the white workers

must be drawn in to support the struggle for Negro rights. The Section Negro departments and the District Negro departments do not only work among the Negroes but they are for transmitting of the general Party campaigns and activities among all workers and especially to draw in the white workers in the struggle of the Negro masses.

— 3 —

In a certain section, the Unemployed Council has a great following among the Negro workers. At the Lenin Memorial meeting over 200 of these workers were in attendance. The comrades of the section remarked that just as soon as we get time, we are going to build the L.S.N.R. group out of these workers. These workers have been drawn into the Unemployed Council because of its activities in fighting against evictions. They are to be engaged in the every day struggles and campaigns of the councils and are not to be drawn into L.S.N.R. groups. We do not recognize transfers of such sorts. It is true that these workers will give support to the paper and the L.S.N.R. but not so mechanically do we just transfer them.

In the New York District it became a debatable question as to whether the Party or the L.S.N.R. should be in the forefront in waging a struggle against an attempted lynching of a Negro worker in New Jersey. The majority of the comrades were of the opinion that the L.S.N.R. should be in the lead as this would give it an opportunity to build a group in the District and that the Party could give support.

While debating this question all comrades were, however, agreed that 2 *leading Negro comrades* should be sent to New Jersey to organize this struggle. The question of selecting a white comrade for this work never even entered their mind. So accustomed are we to relegating work among Negro masses to Negro comrades that even the defense of a Negro in danger of lynching is left to Negro comrades.

The Party is the leader in the struggle for Negro rights. The work of the party in this fight is not relegated to the L.S.N.R.

## 6 P. M. COMMUNISTS

### (The Task of a Communist in the Shop)

**T**HE majority of our Party members become Communists only after working hours, around 6 P. M. In attempts to realize the slogan of "Rooting the Party in the Shops" our Party Committees overlook the fact that the majority of our comrades are actually in the shops. Because we don't have the required number (from 3 to 5) in a given shop to form a Shop Nucleus, we fail to give tasks to the individual comrades working in the factories and mines. The problem of how our comrades shall carry on communist agitation and propaganda in the shops *only arises after a nucleus is formed*. If no shop nucleus exists comrades are attached to street nuclei and given various tasks that at best begin after working hours.

This is one explanation why we have so few shop units and a further explanation why we are unable to win new members from the shops where individual comrades are working. We have today individual Party members in no less than 5,000 factories, mines and mills (taking into consideration the unemployed, housewives and miscellaneous).

### How to Work in a Shop

Our Party Committees (District Committee, Section Committee, Unit Buro) must establish that the first and main task of each comrade is to carry on work in the shop where he or she is employed. This must become a definite part of the plan of work of each Party unit.

Detailed weekly guidance and instructions are to be given to each member *what to do in the shop and how to do it*. The Unit Buro shall ascertain in what shop each comrade is working, what are the conditions, grievances, etc., and give close guidance and advice to each comrade on how the work is to be carried on inside the shop.

The Unit Buro shall arrange discussions in the Unit meetings of the activities, problems, difficulties and methods of conducting work in the shops. The Unit Buro shall fur-

ther check up on the activities of the comrades in the shops to determine what assistance is needed and what possibilities exist in the shops that perhaps require the assistance of a shock brigade or the concentration of the entire unit, issuing of a shop leaflet, holding shop gate meetings, etc.

Too often our lone Party comrade in the shop is entirely isolated. He often considers the workers too "backward," "indifferent," "contented," and "hopeless." He fails to become "one of the crowd," fails to cultivate intimate friendships with the workers next to him. At noon he sits in a corner and reads a pamphlet while eating his lunch. Riding home in the street car he again reads or silently contemplates on the "terrible backwardness of American workers," and finally, when he meets the Party comrades in the unit or some committee he breathes a sigh of relief, he feels "at home" at last.

#### Win the Individual Worker

While it is important to leave the *Daily Worker* and leaflets in the dressing room, toilet, on the conveyor, this is not enough. Our comrades must mingle with the workers freely, become a part of the workers, discuss all problems with them and carefully guide the discussions into economic and political channels. Especially must the Communist mingle with his fellow workers at noon time and participate in the general discussions and conversations that take place.

The more advanced workers are to be singled out and cultivated, and should be given a copy of the *Daily Worker*, invited to meetings, etc.

A worker recruited direct from the shop is the most valuable recruit for the Party. The close contact based on friendship and daily meeting in the shop is retained with him. He joins the same unit and personally knows at least one comrade who brought him into the Party. Such a worker remains in the Party and creates the basis for the formation of a Shop Nucleus, Shop Paper, Shop Committee, and he further has the advantage of knowing other workers in the shop who can be brought into the Party.

While we cannot underestimate our general activities, unemployed work, mass meetings, demonstrations, mass organizations, etc., we must remember that the working class is in the shops, that our primary approach to them is through our comrades and sympathizers in the shops and by unit concentration on the shops and this primarily on the living economic issues such as wage cuts, speed-up, etc., which we best learn by studying how to approach the worker in our own shops.

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## AGAINST BUREAUCRACY

To whom it may concern:

RECENTLY a leading functionary of the Party was removed from his post because of serious bureaucratic tendencies. This comrade to this day is not convinced that he acted like a bureaucrat. He explains his inability to establish collective leadership and mobilize the membership for work on the grounds that the local comrades "disliked" him, that they were not bolsheviks, they failed to carry out decisions, etc. Bureaucracy is one of those diseases that the person who has it never is aware of.

We have lots of elements of bureaucracy among our leading comrades. This is largely due to our inexperience and immaturity. It is because we have relatively few mature bolsheviks. Bureaucracy manifests itself in numerous forms. There are some comrades that become extremely dignified when assigned to a responsible post. They feel that all comrades "below" them must show great respect and honor to them, accept their opinion and shortcomings as the last and final word on every subject.

This dignity and artificial importance repels the proletarian rank and file of the Party. Sometimes we see a case where a comrade from the shop approaches a District leader for advice and is sternly told to go to the Unit or Section organizer, often on the pretext that "I'm very busy" and with an air of importance that would fit a young Napoleon.



The most serious effects of bureaucratic tendencies among the leading comrades results in that they stand as barriers to the development of collective leadership and firm authority for the Party Committee. The rank and file of our Party are simple, frank, honest and unassuming proletarians. On the whole our comrades are good, loyal and disciplined Party members ready to carry out work assigned to them if it is explained *how the work is to be done*. Our comrades both, thru proletarian instinct and as Communists, recognize the need and the role of Party leaders and leading Party Committees.

However, our comrades expect our leaders to be bolsheviks, to possess ability, initiative, energy, self-sacrifice, devotion as well as a proletarian comradely attitude to rank and file comrades. Party functionaries must bear this in mind always. A Party functionary is not only a political leader and organizer but also a bolshevik teacher. His task is to systematically develop new forces, draw new comrades into leadership and establish his authority on the basis of effective mobilization of the Party for action.

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### SYMPATHIZERS' MAILING LIST

**E**VERY unit must have a list of sympathizers and contacts from its territory.

The systematic canvassing of working class neighborhoods which is carried on prior to election campaigns, Red Sundays, Daily Worker drives, signature campaigns, etc., must be utilized to make contacts for further work.

When canvassing the comrades find a sympathetic worker, his name and address must be saved for the units and efforts made to bring him into the union, ILD or Party. A list of names of sympathizers is useful when calling open forums, mass meetings, etc. Such lists can further be supplemented by issuing blank cards at meetings and asking workers to sign them.

## AGITPROP ACTIVITY

### INNER PARTY EDUCATION

THE inner Party education is not separated from the mass work of the Party. On the contrary. It must be so understood and organized that it will activize the Party membership by raising their political level.

At the time of the Zinoviev-Trotsky bloc the opposition was quoting Lenin to prove their anti-Leninist position. Comrade Stalin at that time told them that this method will not help. Why? Because, as comrade Stalin pointed out, the publication of Lenin's writings accessible to the entire Party membership, enables it to understand and judge the Leninist position of the Central Committee as against the non-Leninist position of the Zinoviev-Trotsky bloc which was distorting Leninism.

Democratic centralism is based on agreement with the line of the Party. Understanding of the line of the Party creates conviction. This in turn creates enthusiasm and devotion to the tasks growing out of the general line of the Party. The understanding of the basis of the line of the Party, how to apply it in practice, prevents the development of deviations, of attempts to revise, to develop a different line, or crystallize and organize an opposition to the line of the Central Committee.

The popularization of Marxism-Leninism, not merely for the top, but for the entire party membership, is one of the very most important conditions in enabling the Party membership to understand the line of the Party in order to increase their mass activities.

Why are mistakes repeated, continued and persisted in? Mainly because of lack of a Bolshevik method of self-criticism. Leninist self-criticism is based on an analysis of the basic causes which gave rise to the mistakes. It means to analyze the objective conditions in which the mistakes were born, as well as the subjective factor (organization, political maturity) which accentuates the mistakes. Only in such an approach lies the guaranty of not repeating the mistakes, of overcoming the difficulties. *Without Leninist training, there can be no Bolshevik self-criticism.*

Bolshevik self-criticism is not merely based on the fact that one is more virtuous or honest than the other or more ready to admit the mistakes. Why is it that many with the best intentions and even anxiety to admit mistakes, so readily continue and deepen the very mistakes they a while ago repudiated? Any wonder, that very frequently mistakes are admitted, merely to relieve our conscience so that we may continue making the very same mistakes with an easy conscience. Where lies the guarantee that self-criticism will not degenerate into catholic confessionalism, that one will not react subjectively to criticism, to one's mistakes? This guarantee is to be found in the acquiring of the Marxian-Leninist method.

Achievements in certain fields of Party work are the exclusive property of the limited circle of the fortunate ones. Mistakes made in one District are repeated in another. Why such a state of affairs? Because of the inability to exchange experiences. The failure to exchange experiences is not mainly due to technical organizational shortcomings in relating them, but primarily because of the failure to generalize these experiences in order to draw lessons from them.

Why is it that so many comrades in the shop don't "notice" bad conditions, fail to sense the moods of the masses? Not only because of isolation from the masses, but also because of insufficient political training to be alert to the conditions and understand their meaning and grasp their significance.

We speak of local initiative, of developing local struggles on the basis of local issues. But so many issues exist and very few are "noticed."

The inner Party education must be so understood and organized that it really improves the mass work of the Party on the basis of raising the political level of the entire Party membership. We cannot develop the inner Party education on the basis of "Thou must study." We must also remember that study is not an easy matter. It requires concentration, attention and time. We must therefore so organize and develop our inner-Party education, that it will both create the understanding and need of study and make possible organizationally the carrying through our organizational program.

*In the next issue we shall deal with the methods of education.*

## MATERIAL FOR PARTY STRUCTURE CLASSES

### BOLSHEVIK ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLES

#### *From an Outline on Party Structure from the Soviet Party Schools*

*Importance of working class organization.* "The power of the working class lies in its organization." "Unorganized the proletariat is like nothing, organized it is everything." "Organization increases the power of the proletariat tenfold." (Lenin: *Spontaneity and consciousness in the labor movement.*)

*The organizational forms of the Party are determined by its role in the revolution.* The Bolshevik Party has been built up as a militant Party to direct the proletarian revolution, while the Menshevik Party as well as the social democratic and "socialist" Parties in the capitalist countries have developed as Parties playing the role of an opposition to the bourgeoisie. Hence the united, monolithic, centralized, disciplined, iron Party of the Bolsheviks and the loose, flabby, makeshift Party of the Mensheviks.

*Flexibility of organization.* The organization forms of Bolshevism are not the end, but a means to the end. The Party must adjust the organizational forms and methods of its work to the tasks and conditions of the concrete situation (the illegal and semi-legal period of struggle, the civil war, the period of peaceful reconstruction, etc.) The Party is a "living organism" and its organization must therefore be *flexible* while always retaining unity of leadership, will and action.

While changing the forms and methods of its work in one or another degree, the Communist Party is built upon the following fundamental organizational principles that have been adopted by the Comintern for all of its sections:

1. *Democratic centralism*, by which is meant:

(a) A uniform principle and form of organization of all the Party organs from top to bottom.

(b) The existence of an authoritative Party center, direc-

tion from one center, and all lower Party organs being obliged to comply with the decisions of the leading Party organs.

(c) Full initiative allowed to the local Party organizations within the limits of the general Party directions and decisions (autonomy in the solution of local problems).

(d) Electiveness of all Party organs.

The principle of democratic centralism during the different periods in the history of the Russian Communist Party and the different practical forms in which it manifested itself during the epoch of the absolute monarchy (illegal party) and during the civil war (strict centralism, appointeeism, Party mobilizations, appointments to different places, fighting orders).

2. *Inner-Party democracy.* All higher Party organs are elected and are responsible to the lower organs, freedom of criticism within the Party, encouragement of initiative and activity, (training of activists), collective direction and collective execution. The question of discussions in the Party.

Different views and tendencies on the question of inner-Party democracy: "broad democracy," "consistent democracy" of the economists and Mensheviks; the Trotzky opposition in 1923, the neo-Menshevik opposition. Distortions of the principles of inner-Party democracy and democratic centralism: suppression of criticism, formal elections, etc. on the one hand, and anarcho-syndicalist tendencies and the struggle against them, on the other.

3. *Party discipline.* Payment of membership dues, attendance of meetings and conferences, fulfillment of assignments, subordination to Party decisions (majority rule). Also: devotion, thoughtfulness, consistency, self-sacrifice, responsibility of every member for the Party and of the Party for each member.

Combination of discipline with freedom of discussion, provided minority accepts the rule of the majority. The mistake of opposing inner Party democracy to firm Party direction and discipline (Trotzky's view of discipline). The particular importance of Party discipline during the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the struggle against breaches of discipline.

4. *Party unity.* The ideological and organizational unity of the Party as the basis of Party organization. The essence of cliquism and Lenin's struggle against it. Federalism and its incompatibility with the organizational principles of Bolshevism in relation to the structure of the Party. The inadmissibility of fractions and groupings within the Party. The main opposition tendencies within the Party unity. The necessity of the monolithic solidarity of the Party during the struggle for power and particularly during the dictatorship of the proletariat. The inadmissibility of legalizing other Parties under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The necessity of maintaining the Russian Communist Party as the only and absolutely united Party.

5. *Active membership.* The Second Congress of the Party as one of the stages in the struggle for active membership; the dispute over paragraph 1 of the constitution. The importance of the dispute over paragraph 1 and the connection between the question of active membership and the composition of the Party and the rate of its growth. The changes of paragraph 1 at the subsequent Congresses. Active membership and the responsibility of every Party member for the work with which he is charged. Accountability before Party organs and the control of the latter over the fulfillment of the Party work by the Party members.

6. *Industrial principle.* Essence of industrial principle and history of organization of factory nuclei by the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. The factory and mill as the foundation and citadel of the Party. The distinction from the West European social democratic Parties in organizational forms (street, local, territorial units). Reasons why social democratic parties organize nuclei on territorial basis (adaptation to election campaigns). Industrial principle in organizational nuclei and the question of the Bolshevization of the Comintern Parties.

## FROM INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCES

### A LESSON FROM SOVIET ELECTIONS ON PLANNED WORK

**S**OVIET elections take place in the factories. Just prior to the Soviet elections, let us say in Leningrad, in each factory there is a discussion of the report of the Deputies to the Soviet from the given factory. The final discussion and actual election takes place in a hall with all workers from the factory present and they always participate 100%.

Prior to the general meeting and elections the nominations and discussion take place on the departmental basis. The workers from a given department of the factory may spend a number of evenings at these discussions.

In the course of the discussions of the year's work of the city Soviet the workers formulate instructions to the incoming Soviet Deputies. These instructions range from building a municipal hospital to improvement of street car service. The instructions are gathered from all departments, read and approved by the general meeting and given to the newly elected Soviet Deputies as instructions of the workers that must be carried out by local or city Soviet. The sum total of instructions from all the factories are thoroughly studied and classified in the meetings of the Soviet Deputies and divided according to the departments of the Soviet as tasks that must be carried out during the course of the year.

Just before the year expires and new elections take place, the Soviet compiles a book of all the instructions it has received and indicates which of the factories made each instruction. The instructions are numbered and next to each instruction is a column which shows which of the instructions were carried out, which were begun, which were not taken care of and why. Thus at the end of the year the workers in a given city have a complete list of all their instructions together with a report of how and to what extent they were carried out.

In addition to the yearly publication of the instructions and results the Soviet Deputies report at least once each month to the factory from which they were elected (and in which they continue working) how the instructions are being carried

out. Workers at these meetings of course ask questions as to what is being done about his particular instruction, so that there is a close control and check up by all the workers.

### Our Plans of Work

The Plans of Work of our Party must be formulated by the respective Party Committees, departments and units. Each plan of work must briefly indicate what is to be accomplished in the forthcoming three month period, the points are to be numbered and the plan is to be used as a guide to the activities of that period.

Frequent check-up must be established at least monthly, so as to assure that all tasks are being carried out.

At the end of the 3-month period the Plan of Work must be analyzed point by point and indicated which point was carried out, which begun and to what extent realized, and which neglected and why.

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## SOME PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION

*(From Vassiliev's Pamphlet)*

### What Kind of Workers the Party Needs at Present

THE circumstances of sharpening class struggle which are growing up demand a new qualification of the leading Party workers. As before, we need speakers, writers, treasurers, formulators of resolutions and so on. But above all we now need organizers closely connected with the masses, devotedly giving themselves to the cause of the revolutionary organization of the masses, not reckoning with any difficulties and hindrances, not reckoning with days and hours of holidays and with questions of personal comfort and well being. "It is essential to have a system of recruiting responsible comrades from those Communists who live the workers' life, know it inside out, know how to define without making mistakes in relation to any question, at any moment the mood of the masses, their real desires, the demands of the masses, who know how to determine, without any tints of false idealism, the level of their consciousness and the strength of



the influence of this or that prejudice or survival of former times, who know how to win for themselves unlimited confidence of the masses by comradely relations with them, by taking pains to satisfy their needs." (From the resolution on the trade union question of the 11th Congress of the C.P.S.U., point drafted by Comrade Lenin).

In the concrete conditions of the moment we must add to those demands put forward by Comrade Lenin another demand—the ability unceasingly and mercilessly to struggle against social-fascism, social-democracy and the whole Second International at present acting as the fundamental force of the fascist dictatorship and bourgeois reaction, as the open enemies of the working class. Further, more than was ever the case, the successes of the working class movement must now be measured by the degree of the breaking up and disorganization of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals. Party leaders incapable of guaranteeing the development of these successes must be changed for those who have given proof of their ability to carry out the tactic of the united front in winning over to the side of the revolution the masses of social-democratic workers and members of reformist and yellow unions, whilst at the same time carrying on a merciless consecutive ideological and organizational struggle against the social-fascist leaders.

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# PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. IV

APRIL, 1931

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## PREPARING FOR MAY DAY

ON the eve of the great international proletarian holiday the workers of the world are faced with major burning problems of unemployment, hunger, terror, wage-cuts, revolutions and the impending attack against the Soviet Union.

May Day must be a day of struggle against capitalism on all fronts on these issues. The preparations for May Day must take the form of intensification of all our day to day activities with special emphasis on the organization of workers in the shops into May Day Committees, TUUL Unions, Shop Committees, Grievance Committees and the organization of Unemployment Councils, League of Struggle for Negro Rights and all our mass organizations, at the same time recruiting the best elements into the Party.

Over a million workers took active part in our unemployment struggles and activities. Tens of thousands of workers are and were on strike under our leadership since last May Day. Tens of thousands of Negro workers actively participated or sympathized with our movement for Negro Rights.

A hundred thousand workers voted Communist last year. About 150 thousand foreign born workers read our press and take part in our struggles. 40,000 copies of the *Daily Worker* reach about twice that number of workers each and every day. Another 100,000 read *Labor Unity*, *Liberator*, *Labor Defender*, *Young Worker*, etc.

These masses of proletarian fighters must be mobilized to DOWN TOOLS and take part in our May Day demonstrations in the form of May Day strikes, marches, parades, demonstrations and mass meetings. Preparations for these vast demonstrations can only be conducted successfully on the basis of continued and intensified struggle reaching a high peak of international proletarian unity on May Day.

The United Front Conferences must include representa-

tives from all workers' organizations and groups, especially from the shops.

### **Test of Our Organizational Ability**

Mobilization for this year's May Day will be a real test of our organizational ability. As Communists and Bolsheviks we are leaders and organizers of the masses.

Ever growing masses of workers accept our leadership. We must undertake this responsibility and organize these masses for struggle.

Half a million workers took part in our Feb. 25th demonstrations.

On May Day we must not only double, triple and quadruple this number but organize them into powerful disciplined marches and parades.

Not only must May Day witness a vast quantitative increase but in addition we must achieve a profound qualitative improvement in our work.

Primarily the Party Committees (Central Committee, District Committees, Section Committees, Unit Buros) are responsible for these tasks, but each individual Communist must acquaint himself with our organizational problem in mass work. Each comrade must thoroughly study the C.C. Org. Directives for May Day and Regulations for Marches and Demonstrations.

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## PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION

## NEW FORCES CAN BE DEVELOPED

PAUL CLINE

*(Kansas)*

"WE have great objective possibilities—wonderful prospects to build the Party—workers are ready for struggle and organization—new Units can be organized—but we cannot take advantage of these opportunities unless you send us a capable, developed comrade to take charge of this work."

This is the burden of scores of letters pouring into the Central Office from the Districts, into the District offices from the Sections and into Sections from the Units.

Comrades, this "ingrown-toe-nail" approach to the problem of shortage of functionaries must be rooted out of the Party. It is a false mechanical approach having nothing in common with Leninist organizational practice. Districts, Sections and Units must once and for all realize that the solution to their "functionary problem" will come not as a result of making stirring appeals for help from above, but as a result of painstaking efforts to develop new forces from below! Only by turning in this direction can we increase the quantity as well as quality of our functionaries. Only in this way can we refresh the leading cadres with new, healthy, energetic elements, so badly needed, especially in the main cities of the larger Districts.

In some of the younger Districts decided progress has been made towards developing new functionaries. In one of the Western Districts, four of the leading functionaries are in the Party *less than a year*. The *Daily Worker* agent has been a Party member only seven months, yet the District is right near the top in the *Daily Worker* drive. The District T.U.U.L. Secretary has been in the Party eight months and the I.L.D. Secretary—three months. Also two of the Section organizers in important areas have each been in the Party five months. Yet new effective methods of work are being developed here and the District is making good progress.

### What Is To Be Done

(1) The Districts, Sections and Units must understand that the functionary shortage is country-wide, and that the only way to overcome this shortage is by developing local material. It is true that the Center and Districts can transfer comrades about, but the sum total of forces is not increased regardless of how much shifting is done.

(2) The Party must realize that within the ranks of the new members and the more advanced proletarians who must be drawn into the Party, there is an inexhaustible supply of functionary material. This material must be consciously sought for, dug out, sorted out, and developed.

(3) The alertness and readiness of the District Organizers, Organization Secretaries, and other leading comrades to detect new members with qualities of leadership, and to develop these qualities, is of key importance.

(4) Assigning these new promising comrades important work and then letting them sink or swim on their own efforts— is usually disastrous. District Organizers, Organization Secretaries, Section organizers and other leading comrades who are too busy doing work to spend time in helping and advising the new functionary, are guilty of crass organizational opportunism, are allowing the whirl and pressure of daily work to get the best of them.

(5) Self-study groups and individual studying for these promising comrades must be particularly encouraged. The article in the March *Organizer* on "Raising the Political Level of the Comrades," applies especially here.



## FUNCTIONING UNIT BUROS

By J. H.

(Chicago)

THERE prevailed a tendency, which to a certain extent is still propagated among certain comrades, that the reason why certain Units do not function or rather function very poorly is that the Unit members are "no good!"

Under the heading of "no good" quite a lot of explanation is given—"the comrades are sick"—"the comrades are lazy"—"the comrades are busy in fraternal organizations"—"going to work early in the morning," etc.—up to the point of saying that the comrades are not developed politically enough to understand the tasks of the Party and of every individual member.

While all these explanations for inactivity might be true in cases of some individual comrades, they are entirely incorrect for the Unit as a whole, and even in the case of the individual comrades on whose behalf the explanation of "no good" was formulated, the situation is not as alarming as the reports indicate.

The fault for the inactivity of a Unit or certain members lies within the leadership of that particular Unit. The Unit Buro should be the body which stabilizes and divides the work among the Unit members. A good Unit knows its members and acts accordingly. When certain comrades go to work early in the morning, it is not advisable to assign them for morning distributions, or let us say to sell *Daily Workers*. Comrades who can't go in the morning are to be utilized in the evening. The point in question is that the Buro should know its members and divide the work accordingly.

The explanation of "laziness" or that comrades will try to avoid work under various pretenses is incorrect. A Party member is more than willing to do something for the Party and is anxious to do his share of work for the Party, and when a comrade refuses to do work, it is usually due to his unclarity on the subject and too often is due to the bureaucratic and mechanical method of assigning work to him.

A good functioning Nucleus Buro should know thorough-



ly its members and assign tasks to them according to their time, capacity and ability—should work out a concrete plan of action on not only what is to be done, but also how it should be done.

A glaring example of the above mentioned can be taken from Section No. 5, Chicago. Unit 503 was considered the worst unit in the Section, due to individual squabbles as to “why pick on me,” and “why shouldn’t comrade so-and-so do it?” etc. The opinion of the Unit Buro was to transfer out nearly all the members from the Unit and to get in new ones. However, before the Section committee had an opportunity to put the recommendation of transferring comrades who did not live in that territory into effect, a sudden change occurred, and now we see that not only did Unit 503 collect a large number of signatures for the mayoralty campaign, developed a weekly *Daily Worker* route, and is having good political discussions at every unit meeting, but at the last meeting a challenge for revolutionary competition in the Lenin Recruiting drive was made to unit 502, which is considered one of the best.

The reason for this change can be mainly attributed to the Unit Buro—which is carrying through the tasks that a Unit Buro should carry through—it is planning out work and dividing it most effectively among its members.

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### SAFEGUARDING THE PARTY—II

It is necessary for every Party member to *be* a Communist all the time, but it is not necessary for a Party member always to *advertise* that he is a Communist. When organizing in a shop, for example, a Party member may tell sympathetic workers that he is a Communist, but when the boss or the foreman is around, he keeps that information to himself.

But there are other ways of advertising, besides just talk. For instance, in preparing for a demonstration some time ago, in which we expected to be attacked by the police, the New York District Buro had to issue categorical orders to the membership to come to the demonstration wearing hats and dressed like ordinary American workers. Why was this necessary? Because the police had come to connect this

going-without-hats, and a certain type of careless dress and get-up (women as well as men) with Communists, and when the fighting began, they were in the habit of specially picking out and smashing the heads of the Communists, instead of the whole mass of the workers becoming involved in the defense of their demonstration.

Dress may seem like a little personal thing that is nobody else's affair. But the fact is that those Party members who do not do so now (especially the youth), should dress like ordinary American workers. From the practical viewpoint alone, they will find it will improve their approach to the workers. But in addition to this, it is high time that all our members learned to go around without being identified as Communists. When we are at meetings, or in action, we show ourselves; but when doing preparatory work, or going to or from meetings, it is absolutely unnecessary, and under some conditions, positively harmful for us to identify ourselves as Communists. We must learn to come and go from meetings without attracting any special attention.

And in this connection, we cannot condemn too strongly the practice prevailing everywhere among our comrades, of all piling into two or three steady restaurants for coffee after every meeting. In the first place it advertises the fact that they have just come from a meeting nearby. In the second place, devoted comrades who would rather die than let in a dick to a Party meeting, will calmly spill out everything over their "coffee-and," and will engage in hot arguments about what was proposed, what was voted down, and what is going to be done, without the slightest regard as to who may be sitting at the next table.

We must all begin to act a little more like serious Bolsheviks, and rid ourselves of all these personal prejudices, failings, and indulgences that hinder or endanger the work of our Party.



## RECRUITING AND KEEPING NEW MEMBERS

### THE COMPLAINT OF A NEW MEMBER

WE ARE re-printing a letter of a new member which appeared in the German *Party Organizer*. The complaint of this new Party member of our German brother Party holds even more true for our Party in dealing with new members.

"In the period of a year, I was approached by various members of the Communist Party to join the Party. On the basis of their agitation and my own convictions, I finally decided to join the Party.

"But the moment I joined it, their interest in me disappeared completely. They 'work' on one to join the Party and they are interested in him only up to the point of his joining, then their aim being realized, they busy themselves with other tasks. In my opinion, this is absolutely wrong. On the contrary, it is precisely with the joining of the new member to the Party that the interest should increase.

"Paragraph one of the Party Statutes which speaks of the participation in the daily activities of the Party as a condition for membership in the Party, has very little meaning if the Party satisfies itself with merely collecting dues from the new members. In this way, the comrades are being trained to become indifferent and therefore later on one should not complain of the passivity and lack of interest of the new members.

"I believe that with very little effort the new members can be made to become part and parcel of the Party. When the membership card is being given to the new member, he should be urged to state what special knowledge or capacities he has, whether he has contact with farmers or other sections of the population, what is his free time, what are his inclination for work, and whether he has special desires for particular phases of Party work.

"When in the Party work, if there is a comrade who takes it upon himself to work with the respective new member, he should help him out to participate in the respective Party ac-

tivities and also give him the necessary pamphlets and literature which would assist the new Party member to participate in Party work.

*The Comrade who wrote this letter offered valuable proposals which, when applied, will help our Party to solve the problem of constant "turn-over" of membership in the Party. Comrades must write for the "Party Organizer" about the concrete measures taken in the Districts to meet the justified complaints of the new members.*

### HOW TO EXTEND THE INFLUENCE OF THE PARTY IN THE SMALL INDUSTRIAL TOWNS

S. N.

(Wilkesbarre)

**H**OW are Party Units formed and the influence of the Party extended in towns where we had no Units in the past? In the Anthracite Section we have gained 75 new members and five new Units since the first of the year and the basis has been laid for three Units which will be organized in the next two weeks. Here are a few concrete experiences of our Party's work in the Anthracite:

An unemployed conference was called in M., Pa., (a town of 6,000), on January 25th. A call was issued, leaflets were given out for this conference which were short and contained a few plain demands. These leaflets were given out in towns within a radius of 25 miles of the meeting place. At the conference we spoke about the conditions of the miners very concretely. After the meeting we asked the workers present to leave their names if they wanted to help in building our movement. We were surprised to see so many workers present from the small surrounding towns. Some of these small towns we had to look up on the map as we did not know where they were. We told these workers we would come to them and organize them.

We did not wait, but went to these places within two days, and succeeded in organizing a Unit of 13 members in K., Pa., (town of 6,000), which has now grown to 20, and there we got contacts for another nearby town and we now have applications of 6 workers in C., Pa., (a town of 12,000), to form

a Party Unit. In cases where workers come to our meetings and give us contacts, it is most important to *act quickly*; do not let the contacts remain mere contacts.

Many comrades say, "what is the use of organizing these new workers into the Party, if they don't know much about the Party, and haven't read Marx and Lenin, they will not stay." This is wrong and results in only further waiting until somebody comes to "lead" these workers.

The problem is how to develop this new fighting material and keep them in the Party. Especially in the Anthracite is this a problem where the section covers 125 miles. The Units are far apart and the Section Committee which is located in W. cannot solve the problems for the lower Anthracite which is 75 miles away from the Section committee. This in itself brings the danger that we will have "one man leadership" and we will not develop new forces.

We are trying to solve this problem in the following manner: the Section Committee will have to be small but composed of reliable comrades, one or two from the Lower Anthracite and from S— and the rest from W—. This Section Committee will meet once a month and will take up the problems confronting the whole Section. Contacts with the Units will be established thru the Section Organizer, by calling a meeting of the Unit organizers in the 3 different regions of the Section. At the meetings with the Unit organizers, problems confronting this particular region will be discussed and work for the Units planned for the following two weeks. Along with the Unit organizer, one or two comrades from each Unit are to attend these regional conferences, and after the particular problems for that region are solved, then some basic principle question will be taken up and discussed. This will give the new comrades an elementary understanding of our movement and will make them more capable to carry on the work of the Party. With this training of Party functionaries it would be very good if the Workers School or the Organization Department would send a comrade here for a period of one month or six weeks to conduct a circuit school on a systematic plan, covering town by town, Unit after Unit. This would hasten the political understanding of the new members.

Another question that we are confronted with is "Why is not the Party the driving force in building the National Miners Union?" Many comrades solve this question by saying, the Party members do not want to do union work, or they are afraid of this work. This is absolutely wrong. *The reason is, the wrong form of our Party organization.* For example, we have a Unit of 30 members in S—, housewives, building trades workers, printers, and miners, all in the same Unit. The comrades who are miners work in four or five different mines. To merely tell this Unit to build up the Union, or to keep on repeating that "every Communist must be a member of a trade union," and to expect to build the union in this manner, means to adopt a purely mechanical approach. With our Party Units organized on the basis of towns there can be no serious talk of building the organizing committees of the National Miners Union, or opposition groups within the United Mine Workers of America.

We have had a few experiences that many of these comrades are willing to carry on Party work. The comrades ordered 2,000 *Daily Workers*, and worked up to 3 A. M. distributing leaflets for the February 25th demonstration, which shows that with concrete guidance the comrades are willing to work. Now our task is to organize these comrades on the basis of mines where they work. Then we will be able to concretely take up the task of building the union and our Party. We will come *face to face* with the problems of the miners *and we will be compelled to solve them.* When our Party is organized on the basis of mine Units, we will have more Units of the Party, it is true, but we will be able to give them leadership through the organizers' regional conferences mentioned above.



## MASS WORK

### EXPERIENCES OF THE WORKERS' EX-SERVICEMEN LEAGUE

By E. LEVINE

THE following experiences of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen League and the response of individual ex-servicemen should be given particular attention by every comrade in the Party and particularly Party functionaries.

Last March, when the veterans' bureaus and the American Legion were planning to interfere with our May Day demonstrations in New York City, ex-servicemen in these organizations opposed any interference and partly, as a result of that, the opposition was a complete failure. In our May Day demonstrations there were over 200 workers, ex-servicemen, as a definite section, with slogans along this line:

"In the last war we fought for the bosses; in the next war we will fight on the side of the workers and for the defense of the Soviet Union."

In the election campaign in New York City the Workers' Ex-servicemen League was one of the united front organizations supporting the Party campaign. In New Brunswick, N. J., where the Party had difficulties in holding meetings, the Ex-servicemen, with the assistance of other workers, finally established the precedent that meetings of the Communist Party would be held. The Ex-servicemen not only participated in physically defending the meetings but their speakers from the platform pointed out the need of supporting the Communist Party as against the capitalist parties.

The hunger marchers in New York City to Albany were given invaluable assistance and the entire march was disciplined and militant due to the fact that a large number of Ex-servicemen and Workers Ex-servicemen's League members participated in it. From the very beginning the bosses tried to interfere with the hunger march, refusing permits to hold demonstrations in Yonkers, the first city in the line of the

march. After several attempts of the Unemployed Councils and other workers' organizations to hold preliminary meetings, the Ex-servicemen were finally able to get a permit and held a demonstration with over 5,000 workers at the time the hunger march came through Yonkers.

In Albany the Ex-servicemen showed a real revolutionary resistance and fighting spirit which contributed to keeping the hunger marchers well organized even though they were brutally attacked by the State police.

In the State of Washington, in the logging country, the rank and file members of the American Legion unanimously passed resolutions supporting the National Unemployment Insurance Bill, over the head of their officers.

These few instances are concrete examples of the possibilities of organizing a mass organization of the Workers Ex-servicemen who will not only fight for their immediate demands, such as the cash payment of the bonus in full and against the last bonus steal, but are willing and ready to unite with the other workers in their every-day struggles.

This condition creates for us the next step in building up mass organizations among the four and one-half million war veterans and other Ex-servicemen, and to connect it up with the every-day struggles of the workers. The Workers Ex-servicemen's League is the first step towards building up such a mass organization.

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## ORGANIZATIONAL EXPERIENCE IN THE SOUTH

ONE of the hardest jobs in the south is to overcome the bitter antagonism that the white workers have for the Negro workers. Capitalist propaganda sure has worked. Negro workers are not only super-exploited by the white ruling class, but are in fear of the white workers. Hundreds of Negro workers will tell you: "We are with your program 100 per cent — all of us. If necessary, we are ready to die. But we want to be sure the white workers won't turn on us." The Negro workers, never having had the slightest reason to think they have, or ever would have economic, political or social equality in the South, are fast becoming conscious of the necessity of drawing in the white workers into the struggle for their immediate demands and equal rights. The large majority of Negro workers of the South are probably ready now to join our Unemployed Councils, revolutionary unions and other organizations.

It is of little use to say to the white southern worker, "Negro workers must have economic, social and political equality," unless we can show him why; and this must be done through actual, concrete experience. For instance, two weeks ago we had a mass meeting of white and Negro workers, called by the Unemployed Council. Even one of the Party members objected to putting a Negro worker on the Committee to present demands to the city council, saying: "The white workers won't stand for it." However, when it was brought out at the meeting that the Negro workers who were present were also unemployed, starving and cold, were also exploited and oppressed by the same ruling class, the workers unanimously voted to have one put on the Committee. Later, when the Committee met, it was brought out that the city council might be willing to allow the white members of the Committee in, but keep the Negro member out. Again the Party member, and the other white workers thought in that case, only the white workers should go in. However, when it was explained that the committee was elected by and represented both the white and Negro workers, and should stick together, that the Committee shouldn't fall for this discrimination and trick of the Council, etc., the white workers agreed that they should all either go in or all stay out.

Yesterday, two of the white members of the Committee met with the Negro member. Their conversation was as follows:

White worker: "The white and colored workers are going into this thing together. We're going to enlarge the Executive Committee. If the colored workers want 10 members on the Committee, they should go on. If they want 20 members on it, they should go on. We're going to work this out together."

Negro worker: "If the white and colored workers are going to organize and stick together, if it's like you say, we sure will get somewhere."

The South should be flooded with leaflets and articles in all our papers and magazines, explaining in the simplest terms why the boss-class is trying to keep white and Negro workers apart, and the need for them "to organize and stick together."

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## WORK AMONG NEGRO MASSES

### HOW THE LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS IS BEING BUILT

**I**N ORDER to carry out the correct line which was laid down at the St. Louis Convention of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and recently restated in the Central Committee Resolution on the Negro question, it is evident that our methods of work must be radically changed.

One of the grave dangers pointed out by many comrades is the apparent "Jim-Crow" character of the L. S. N. R. affiliated groups. Comrades state that it is difficult to draw white workers into the groups but easier to obtain mass organizations of white workers to affiliate to the L. S. N. R.

A group affiliated to the L. S. N. R. with a membership of 20 Negro workers and two white workers instituted new methods to draw individual white workers into their groups to support the struggle for Negro rights. The members of this group popularized the March 14th issue of the *Liberator* among the foreign-born workers. This issue carried a cut and a news article on the mass trial of Comrade Yokinen; the attempt of the government officials to deport Yokinen was

mentioned in the news article. The members of this group were able to convince 10 white workers of the necessity of their joining their group and supporting the struggle for Negro rights and the campaigns initiated locally by the group. A special meeting was called by the group to discuss the deportation of foreign-born workers and the special persecution of the Negro workers. A special call was sent to the white workers living in a certain territory to attend this meeting and participate in the discussion.

Points raised during the discussion such as the concerted drive of American capitalists against all workers, pointed out the necessity of a joint struggle of black and white. At this meeting 8 or 10 Negro workers joined the group and five foreign-born white workers.

In a large industrial center the Negro reformists were conducting a sharp campaign against the foreign-born workers and raised the slogan for the Negro workers, "Don't trade where you can't work." Five members of the L. S. N. R. group began to visit Negro and white workers who live within a territory covering four square blocks. A leaflet was issued exposing the role of the Negro reformists and their collaboration with the white ruling class. To a special meeting called to discuss this drive of the Negro reformists, the white workers in attendance outnumbered the Negroes. Many of them joined the L. S. N. R. and immediately began to assist in distributing leaflets and visiting workers with whom they were acquainted, with the intention of drawing them into the group. One worker writes that a white worker who joined the group stated that an editorial in the *Liberator* entitled, "Save Yokin, Demonstrate March 28th," was instrumental in causing him to see the necessity of his joining the group.

### WORK AMONG WOMEN

#### *How to Work in the Shops*

By A. D.

**D**URING International Women's Day campaign we have had experience how to begin work in shops where we had practically no contacts. We want to give here an example of work in a factory in Cleveland.

The Department for Work Among Women in Cleveland in drawing up the plan of work during the campaign chose three factories for concentration, in the different sections. A plan of work for each factory was worked out by the Department. One member of the department was assigned to each factory. This comrade brought to the Section Committee the plan of work for the factory, and the Section was the instrument which coordinated the work of the Woman's Department, the Industrial Union, the Young Communist League and the Councils of Unemployed in the factory.

Through periodic meetings held at the factory gate and distributing the *Working Woman*, *Daily Worker*, etc., the committee was able to make contacts—some of the committee assigned for work at the factory rode home after work with the more sympathetic women, and were able to find out the real conditions of the women in the factory, their problems and special grievances. These grievances were put in special leaflets given out by the Section at the factory gate. The contacts of the leaflet were concrete in form, as for example: The issue of women being forced to stay out of the factory until noon if late one minute and being deducted one half day's pay. Forfeiting the two weeks' yearly vacation if they did not return to the factory at 12 o'clock on the day that they were late. The women were called upon to demonstrate at the factory on March 6th at noon against these conditions imposed upon them. The response of the women was so good that without a single Party member or TUUL member inside of this factory we were able to get the women to literally cover the factory with leaflets on the inside, and to arouse sentiment and discussion on this issue. The bosses called out squads of police which surrounded the factory and locked the doors so as not to permit the women to go outside to the demonstration and to listen to the speakers. Women came to the windows and asked the speakers to address them because they could not get out. This is, of course, only the very beginning of real work at this factory, and the contacts made during the time will only be of value if they are systematically followed up through personal approach and in a quiet manner, beginning to group two, three or more women and to discuss

with them their problems in the shops and how to further carry on organization among them.

This will not be difficult providing the comrades assigned for this work will recognize that it takes time and systematic effort to get real results in the shops and will not rely only on meetings and demonstrations. The Department for Work Among Women in the Districts should periodically get the report from the comrades assigned to work at factories as to the progress, and to develop a plan for future activities.

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## SHOP ACTIVITY

### WHAT IS A SHOP COMMITTEE

JACK JOHNSTONE

**W**HILE it is necessary to understand what is a shop committee, it is far more important to know the process of *building* a shop committee. First, if we recognize that the shop committee is a high form of organization, a basic form of the united front from below in the factory, is the form of organization in the factory through which the Communists and the revolutionary unions carry forward the struggle for every-day demands of the workers in the factory, that the shop committee, whether a department shop committee, or a shop committee, elected to represent the shop as a whole, is the fighting, elected, leading committee of the workers,—then it is not difficult to understand the necessity of organizing the workers in unorganized factories into more elementary forms of organization which will lead to the more complete form—the shop committee.

However, it is also necessary, while setting up the more elementary form of united front organization, which has the shop committee as its organizational objective, to keep always to the forefront the building of the revolutionary unions, in the factory, mine, etc. A mine local for every mine is the basic unit of the National Miners' Union, but the Mine (Shop) Committee is not elected by the Union, but by the miners working in the mine, on the basis of the united front, on a program of action based on the conditions in that mine. Thus

we have the Mine Committee as the basic organization for united struggle, elected by the workers in a mine irrespective of union membership, and as the basic dues-paying membership unit of the National Miners Union. The Mine Local, through its program, officers, executive committee and membership meetings, always strives to draw every worker in the mine directly into the union.

As in mining, so in steel, auto, packinghouse, etc., although the process of building shop committees may differ in each industry, this depending on prevailing conditions.

What are the preliminary steps that must be taken in the building of a shop committee? First and foremost is to know something about the conditions in the factory—the hours of work, speed-up, etc., which means making contacts with the workers. The care taken to make and give guidance to the first contacts is just as important as the developing and broadening out process that results in building of a shop committee, resulting in strike struggle.

As a rule, the calling of mass meetings is not the first approach, but is the high spot in a campaign. To reach the workers in a given factory where we have no contacts depends on the ability of the comrades from Units, Unions, or Leagues assigned to that particular factory. For example, the making of contact in one factory by a *Daily Worker* or *Labor Unity* agent, who entered into conversation with those who bought his papers; by another comrade who spent his meal-hour eating and talking with the workers in the restaurant. Another enterprising young comrade got contacts by playing ball with the workers outside the factory gates. Contacts can also be made by general leaflets, etc. There are hundreds of ways of approaching the workers and making contacts, the best mass approach, however, is unemployment which deeply affects the workers and is feared by the whole working class.

However, there is one elementary task that our Party has not yet learned in the building of shop committees and that is *the working out of daily tasks for the individual members of our Party in the factory where they work*. Concentration does not mean the neglect of this important work. For example, our Party in District 2 is located in 1200 factories, most of them individual Party contracts in the factory. In the factory, most of them are inactive, outside the factory they

may be very active, yes, they may be even trying to get contacts in other factories, but the very obvious task of carrying on Communist activity inside the factory in which they work is lost sight of completely. They are too busy. They have tasks for every night in the week: Unit Buro on Monday, Unit meeting on Tuesday, Section Committee meeting on Wednesday, sell the *Daily Worker* on Thursday, concentrate on another factory on Friday, winding up the week with a Red Saturday and Sunday house-to-house canvass—all of which is good, according to a plan. But what about the 8 to 10 hours they work in a factory every day—nothing! Despite the fact that this work is their individual concentration point for from 40 to 60 hours per week. So, we have contacts in many factories, and an analysis of the membership of the Unions, Leagues and sympathetic workers' organizations would show that we have tens of thousands of contacts that are not, but can be utilized.

From the making of contacts to the development of a shop committee is not necessarily a long slow process, nor is it a similar process in every industry, although the general line and objective are the same—the organizing of the contacts into a department or shop organizing committee, the development from this stage into a grievance committee, and finally into a shop committee, always having in mind the building of the Union or League in that industry; or if there is no Union or League covering that factory, into a Trade Union Unity League of that particular factory, based on a dues-paying membership as the basis for the union that will be formed.

The development of contacts into organized committees to carry on work within the factory must be studied. For example, we have set up a number of committees for the organizing of the stockyards, but they did not materialize. Why? Because we generalized too much, we tried to cover the whole stockyards, when we had contacts in a couple of departments only. In these huge plants the development of department contacts into grievance committees and, finally, into department shop committees, and the development of department strikes, is very important and can become the starting point for a strike in the whole huge stockyards factory.

The every-day grievance of the workers is the important basis upon which must be built these struggles of the workers,

not only the propagandizing of the grievances, but leading the struggles for the correction of the grievances. Sometimes grievances are corrected, wage cuts held back or defeated by the weight of the propaganda carried on in the factory by the grievance committee, which may not have been elected and which may be known to only a few of the workers, but nevertheless have the full support of the majority of the workers. The objective, of course is to draw the workers of the department or factory into support and election of the grievance committee. When the organizing campaign has developed this far, the grievance committee, whether on a departmental or factory basis, develops into a shop committee. It must be understood that we are not setting up a whole series of committees—they merely express periods of development: contacts, development of contacts into elementary organizing committees, development of organizing committees into grievance committees, development of grievance committees into shop committees.

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### SHOP AND STREET PAPERS

**I**N case the *Daily Worker*, etc., were suppressed, the shop and street papers of the Party would become one of our main means of reaching the workers. We must therefore bear in mind the special importance of developing these means of mass agitation, not only by beginning the formation of an extensive network of shop and street papers, but by taking definite measures to provide for their continuance and extension. To this end the following definite measures should be taken:

1. Every District and every Section should have a shop paper committee, extending this work, and exercising proper control over it.
2. Within one month every Section should own a duplicating device. (Details on the type to get will be forwarded in the near future).
3. Launch a campaign for every important Unit to have a duplicating device.
4. Make a census of the equipment that can be put at the disposal of the units when necessary.



The aim is that every Unit in the Party should either own a duplicating device or have one at its free disposal in its territory. Various mass organizations will permit the units to use their machines; sometimes these organizations buy new ones and discard the old ones, some of them have old machines which they no longer use, stored away somewhere, which can be put in shape with a cost of a few dollars and used by the unit.

It is easy to see how useful this will be. If ten units issue shop or street papers at a thousand each, we already have ten thousand papers without the cost of printing.

In Hamburg the German Party had 500 shop and neighborhood papers early in 1930, when the Party organ, the Hamburger Volkszeitung was suppressed for a period of ten days. During this period our shop and neighborhood papers came out daily with an average circulation of 1,000 each, which meant that the 30,000 copies of the Hamburger Volkszeitung were replaced by 500,000 copies of shop and neighborhood papers during this period of suppression.

While the American Party is not yet in a situation to duplicate such an achievement, still we must have this in mind as our goal, and take steps to accomplish it.



## AGITPROP WORK

## ON TRAINING OF FUNCTIONARIES

By SAM DON

ONE of the very first and immediate problems that confront us is how to acquaint our functionaries with the nature of the tasks given to them and how they are to be carried out. The existing great fluctuation in our cadre of Unit, Section and District functionaries, is not only due to the poor selection and ill fitting of comrades for certain tasks. It is also due to the fact that we do not explain to the assigned comrades the nature of their tasks and how to carry them out. The result is that the assigned comrades become quickly demoralized and pessimistic and the leading comrades become disappointed in their selections. We suggest the following immediate steps:

1. Separate classes with the following functionaries: Organizers, TUUL Organizers, Fraction Organizers, Negro Work Directors. The classes should be held once a week, for a period of from four to six weeks. The study period should not last more than one to two hours. At these classes must be taken up the general line of the Party in connection with their respective tasks, the *immediate* general activities and campaigns in line with their respective tasks. In addition to general material, these classes should take up the various immediate resolutions. These resolutions should be taken up in light of the immediate tasks and experiences.

While we do not suggest the establishment of regular monthly classes for the other functionaries, such as Agitprop, Woman's Work Directors, etc., however, one or two meetings should be held with these functionaries to discuss with them the general nature of their tasks.

The above suggested classes and general discussion meetings do not by any means exclude the need of meeting regularly with the respective functionaries in order to take up and check up on *specific* points. Whenever a new functionary is elected, the respective head must have a personal talk with

the comrade, to acquaint him or her, with the tasks and encourage these comrades to do the work.

2. In order that our functionaries should be able to mobilize the membership for the various activities and campaigns of the Party, they must have a broader *political* understanding of the campaigns. We must, therefore, develop a system of functionaries' conferences before we initiate important campaigns. Whenever the Party, as a result of experiences and study, adopts a new line of action, devises new forms of activities and improves on the old forms, it must first of all be digested by the functionary bodies in the various Districts. Every important mass activity, strike, etc., must be studied carefully in line with the general resolutions of the Party and the C. I. The lessons drawn must become the property of the entire membership, and the functionaries must be the first ones to digest the lessons. The functionaries' conferences can become one of the training grounds for the raising of the political level of the active comrades.

3. The beginning of a systematic training for the active functionaries in the Districts was so far mainly confined to various District schools and haphazard, short-lived classes. It goes without saying that a most negligible number of comrades were involved in these schools. We therefore suggest the establishment of week-end schools. These schools should last for a period of from four to six weeks. The Sections should select the students, who must be approved by the District. The following can be adopted as the basis for the week-end school: (a) Elementary political economy linked up with the present economic and political situation; (b) The organizational problems and the present campaigns of the Party; (c) Strike strategy; (d) Struggle for Negro Rights. From time to time lectures should be given on political current problems. Reading material must be considered as one of the most important forms of study in these week-end schools.

The comrades, who are selected for the week-end schools, will retain their active positions for the period of the duration of the school. At the same time, we must be careful not to overburden them with work, and if possible, to release them from some phases of their activities, so that they may have more time for study.

*The instructors must take their responsibility seriously. This means they must prepare well.*

4. On a limited scale we should attempt to organize a few self-study circles. The self-study circles will to some extent help us to solve the problem of lack of instructors. The circles should be based on the study of some important resolution, as the Strassburg resolution, or some of the Marxist classics, as Value, Price and Profit, Lenin's Imperialism, etc.

5. While in the headquarter cities of the various Districts some attempts are being made in the training of functionaries, insofar as their out-of-town sections are concerned, they are completely neglected. *The establishment of circuit classes must be at once initiated.* The various forms dealt with above should be applied to the out-of-town Sections. Of course, they will have to be adjusted in accordance with the local conditions.

6. *The reading of the Party literature, of the works of Marx and Lenin, must become the very basis of our entire system of training functionaries.* In connection with the above mentioned forms the reading of literature must be placed in the very centre. Personal guidance and encouragement must be given. The comrades should be advised what and how to read. After all, self-study must become the backbone in our system of training functionaries. And without the reading of the appropriate literature, no self-study is possible. *Unless the comrades are made to understand the need of reading and unless the Party will provide and make accessible to the comrades the necessary literature, all our talk and discussion on the training of functionaries will remain an empty phrase.*

#### A TASK OF THE AGITPROP

By R. B.

*(District and Section Agitprop Departments Take Special Notice; Unit Agitprop Directors Especially)*

**E**VERY member of our Party must become a leader, an organizer, a Bolshevik. To be worthy of membership in the Party of Lenin, to bear the proud name of Bolshevik, every member of our Party must strive seriously and systematically to understand the theory of proletarian revolution.

Active participation in the class struggle under the direction of the Party is the basic prerequisite for membership in the Communist Party. But the prerequisite for effective activity is the understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory upon which the program of the Communist Party is based.

Every Party member must be ready to carry out every decision of the Party with promptness and precision. And every member must understand the meaning and implication of every decision that is carried out.

### Regulation of Theoretical Growth

Just as the Party regulates the activity of each and every Party member, so the Party must guide and regulate the political and theoretical development and growth of every one of its members.

The basic unit of the Party decides in which mass organization a member shall be active, on what committee he shall function, whether or not he shall speak or sell the *Daily Worker*, his task in a demonstration, etc., etc. These activities are carried out as a matter of Bolshevik discipline, they are checked up and results noted by the unit. The unit further discusses the results of the activities of its individual members and how to improve the methods of work to attain still better results. *But the theoretical development of the Party members is left to chance, to the individual initiative of each member.*

### Reading and Study as Party Work

The old, time-worn and formal phrase of "raising the low political level" of members will only assume any meaning when the Party, from the District Committee down to the Unit Buro, recognizes that reading, discussions and study are Party work that must be planned, regulated and carried out the same as any other Party activity.

When the Party tasks of an individual member are listed such as: attending unit meetings, paying dues, union activity, work in the shop, selling the *Liberator*, etc., the following must also be included: *reading the Daily Worker, reading of a given pamphlet, the Communist, Inprecorr, attendance of classes, etc.*

### The Agitprop Director

The *Daily Worker* Agent in a unit insists that at least half of the comrades sell the *Daily Worker*, the Trade Union organizer demands that every Communist join a union, attend fraction meetings, etc.

But does the Agitprop Director insist that every comrade be given a task to read the *Communist* or a given article in the *Communist*? Does he insist that at least one evening be assigned to each comrade to study, and further, does he inquire and check up on what each comrade reads and how he is progressing?

The Unit Agitprop director, among other things, is responsible for the theoretical development of the comrades in his Unit. Especially is this the case with new members. A new member for instance is so anxious to understand Leninism that he may buy Lenin's volume on Empirio-Criticism and read it without any previous preparations.

You can imagine the results.

### THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

(Reprinted from PARTY ORGANIZER, February, 1930)

THE Bolshevik Party always concentrated its attention on the work in the factories, and on establishing nuclei in them. Already in the period of the 1905 revolution and after, the Party Committee knew precisely how many workers there were employed at a particular factory, what were their conditions, and how many members of the Bolshevik Party, the Menshevik Party, and Social-Democrats, and the sympathizers with the respective Parties there were in the factory. It was principally in the factories that the Bolsheviks conducted their work. There they led the strikes and all the conflicts of the workers with the employers (mass trade unions arose in Russia only at the time of the 1905 revolution). This gave the Russian Social-Democratic Labor (Bolshevik) Party the opportunity to take the lead of the working class struggle and induce the masses of the workers to follow it. The Party organized meetings in the factories, or at the factory gates and it was from the factories that the workers streamed out to demonstrations and to the barricades.

## MATERIAL FOR PARTY STRUCTURE CLASSES

*(Excerpts from Vassiliev's Pamphlet)*

*(Continued)*

### Department of Party Committees

The following are rules with regard to the internal structure of Party Committees.

Party Committees must set up the most important departments and besides the departments, the most important functions of the general apparatus of Party Committees should be distributed between members of the Party Committee. The departments which should be organized under the Party Committees are those mentioned in the decisions of the 1st and 2nd International Organizational Conferences: Org. Department, Agitprop, Women's Department, Trade Union Department, etc. These departments should be constructed as commissions. One of the members of the Party Committee should undertake the responsibility for the work of the department. But every department should be made up of several comrades drawn in from the most active and capable rank and file workers from the factory nucleus. Such departments are necessary for two ends: first, in order to prepare proposals on any question for the meetings of the Party Committee. In accordance with the accentuation of repression and the introduction of illegality for the Party, the preparation for the meetings of the Party Committee will take on a more and more serious importance. Already at the present time all Party Committees should assume the firmest course towards short sittings, well prepared beforehand—half an hour, an hour, as a rule. In accordance with this, as a second necessity, we must begin to work up a firm discipline on the tongue, to learn and learn over again to talk as little as possible, not to waste time in long speeches. It is also important to aim firmly at short resolutions, as in this respect a real scandal is to be observed in our Parties. Endlessly long resolutions are written which in many cases, because of their length, are not put into force. As an example of the kind of absolutely impermissible

## MATERIAL ON PARTY STRUCTURE CLASSES 29

relation to Party work it is necessary to point to the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Plenum of whose C.C. in 19—wrote a resolution 500 pages long. Naturally, even the members of the Central Committee cannot remember what is written in these resolutions, and even more, these resolutions are inaccessible for the mass of Party members. How are they to be brought to the notice of members of completely illegal Parties? This is not to be thought of. As a result the Party remains without any resolutions or any directions. The Bulgarian example is quite an exceptional one because of its absurdity. But other Parties also write very long resolutions. If we look at the resolutions which the Russian Bolshevik Party wrote in their underground period, we can see that all these resolutions, including resolutions on the questions of armed uprising, on the question of a provisional revolutionary government, or relations with the bourgeois Parties, etc., at the very most do not take up more than two pages each. It is true that all these resolutions were written by, or in any case, edited by Lenin, and Lenin of course stands alone. Let us suppose that we cannot write as briefly, but by real honest trying we can manage to write our resolutions not more than twice as long.

The departments should help the Party Committee to prepare the meetings of the Party Committee in order that the Party Committee may decide as quickly as possible the questions which are on the agenda. In addition, these departments help the Party Committee to educate new leading workers by attending the meetings organized by the department, and by taking part in the consideration of the questions which are on the agenda, the members will learn how to decide these questions, thus training themselves for independent leading Party work. Through the departments the Party Committee may single out and prepare new workers and with them strengthen the leading cadres of the Party.

### **Shock Groups**

The practice of the Y.C.L. has recently given rise to the methods of so-called shock troops or shock brigades. This method of shock brigades could be usefully carried over into the activities of the Party. The term "shock brigade" is not in itself



very good. Shock brigades are organized in the factories in the U.S.S.R., the Communists working in the factories organizing shock groups around which non-Party workers are gathered. But the Communist Party is the advance guard of the working class, i.e., it is in itself *the* shock group of the working class; to create within the shock advance guard of the working class yet other shock brigades is of course at bottom not correct. But this is what IS correct. In the Party organizations of capitalist countries, numbers of Party members are not drawn into the every day work. Every Party member belongs to a unit, which meets once in two weeks or once a month, and in between these meetings Party members do not perform much Party work, in many cases, in fact, have no Party tasks at all. This happens because in the given unit at the given time, there is not much internal work, while other sections of Party work may at the same moment have important militant tasks before them. It is for the Party Committee to keep on combining Party members into different groups for the concentration of forces upon the most important section. Having performed a given task such groups or brigades are broken up or reconstructed into other groups for taking up new work. The general aim in creating such groups should be the strengthening of Party work in the big enterprises of the most important sections of industry. Here, on this problem, the full attention of the leading Party organs must be sharply directed in the near future.

#### The "Active" of the Party

Putting every Party member, every Party worker, in his most suitable place—that is the kernel of the question, as Lenin liked to express it, and the Party organizer, in order to hit the nail on the head, must learn to put every Party member in his right place, whilst remembering that Party members cannot be shuffled around like pawns or children's bricks, which can be placed in any direction. One Party member is suitable for the organization of an illegal printing press—he must be used for this, but he may not be suitable as a propagandist, and if he is sent to carry on propaganda, this will prove of such a nature that two other propagandists will have to be sent to put his work right. Another comrade, a fine propagandist and agitator, who knows

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how to explain in the most popular way the most difficult political problems, or the most complicated political slogan, is a bad conspirator and if he is assigned to conspirative work he will bring harm to the Party. Therefore, the Party organizer must in the most careful way study the human material with which he has to deal, in order to know to what concrete task that human material can best be applied. In the first place all opportunists, laggards, phrasemongers, bureaucrats, etc. who are still present in the leading cadres of the Communist Parties must be shown their proper place, which is not in leading work, and in many cases not even within the ranks of the Party. In the immediate future, if we are going to guarantee really a serious change in our Party work, we must carry out a serious renewal of the leading cadres by changing unsuitable workers for new forces, who have grown up, are growing up and will continue to grow up in the depths of the working class. In this direction we must be very bold, not being afraid to promote to leading work young comrades who have shown themselves capable organizers of strikes and demonstrations. We must be very bold in making use of the creative experience of the revolutionary proletarian masses, for this experience has been and will always be the most decisive in the work of the Communist Parties and the whole of the Communist International. It was not for nothing that Marx said that every practical step of the workers' movement is more important than a dozen programs. Nobody can accuse Marx of underestimating the importance of theory in the working class movement, but if Marx, with all his great demands for theoretical clarity on the fundamental principles of the working class movement, nevertheless said that every practical step of the workers' movement is more important than a dozen programs, that must emphasize the deep importance of using the revolutionary experience of the masses. We must remember, for example, that the idea of the Soviet power is not the invention of genius of our great leader Comrade Lenin, but that this method and this form of organization of the working masses and the organization of the working class State was created by the initiative and creative sense of the working masses. Lenin, the leader of genius, took this idea which had been given birth to by the creative powers of

the wide working masses, explained it and developed it. The lesson of the Russian Revolution must be a lesson for all Communist Parties and for all Party organizations. Every Party organization in the most attentive way must follow what the mass of the working class is creating in its revolutionary self activity, in the process of the class struggle, in order to put into motion those new forms which the working class creates, organizing around them the rank and file workers who have come to the fore, place these workers in leading positions and in this way open new roads to the working class movement, raising it to ever higher stages. A concrete example: the French proletariat without any directions from the C.C. of the Communist Party of France brought forward as a method for preparing a strike, and leading a strike movement, Workers' Congresses. This was done first by the miners of the North of France in the autumn of 1928. Then the C.C. of the C.P. F. and the Unitarian Confederation of Labor considered the question as to whether this was good or bad and with the help of the workers from the Congresses, carried thru an excellent mass strike, with a clearly expressed political character. In every Party all such facts must definitely be seized upon and made use of in the widest possible manner.\*

\*In the May issue of the PARTY ORGANIZER will appear the first instalment of a series of excerpts from Comrade Sorin's book entitled "Lenin's Teachings about the Party." In the complete absence of material on this important subject, in book or pamphlet form, for wide circulation among the Party members, the comrades are urged to carefully preserve all the copies of the PARTY ORGANIZER.



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# Party Organizer



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- An Explanation Due
- Safeguarding the Party III
- How to Act Under Arrest  
and Police Terrorism
- On Making Contacts
- Fighting White Chauvinism
- How We Built a Shop  
Nucleus
- Some Lessons of the Mining  
Strike
- Lenin's Teachings About  
the Party (Excerpts from  
Book by V. Sorin)

Vol. IV

MAY, 1931

No. 4

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A

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# PARTY ORGANIZER

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Vol. IV

MAY, 1931

No. 4

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## An Explanation Due

**T**HE Constitution of the Party is now completed. A special Commission of the Central Org Department has conducted a number of meetings and discussions and made a thorough study of the Constitutions of the Comintern and of the German C.P. and the C.P. of the Soviet Union.

Our old Party Constitution was considerably revised by this Commission after being examined in the light of the above documents.

Arrangements were made to have the Constitution approved by the Polburo in time for publication in the May issue of the PARTY ORGANIZER. But, due to the fact that a series of important activities and problems intervened and a number of leading comrades had to leave for the Districts, the Polburo could not consider the Constitution in time so that the plan of publication as outlined for the PARTY ORGANIZER could be realized.

*The Constitution, however, will appear in the June issue of the PARTY ORGANIZER.*

In view of the fact that we planned a double issue for May and the 10 cents for each copy has already been collected, the May issue is enlarged and in place of the Constitution we are printing a larger section of Sorin's pamphlet on *Lenin's Teachings About the Party*. This is a translation from a C.P.S.U. org pamphlet and is very valuable material for new comrades, for classes and also for every Party comrade.

Due to the unavoidable change of plans, the June issue will be a regular size issue, will contain the Constitution, and will sell for 5 cents a copy.

Incidentally the comrades will be interested to know that

the PARTY ORGANIZER is growing in circulation each month as per the following figures:

February .....	2,500
March .....	3,500
April .....	4,500
May .....	6,000

Every single copy was sold out (cash in advance of course) and we were short about 400 each month.

C. C. ORG DEPARTMENT.

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## Central Committee Assessment

**T**HE C.C. receives the bulk of its finances from dues payments. Half of your dues is always turned over to the C.C.

With this income the C.C. finances all the expenses of the Central Office, it sends C.C. representatives to Districts, helps the new and weaker Districts and Sections by subsidies, it publishes the Party papers and magazines, etc., etc.

With the growth of our activities, mass struggles and opening of new territories, the financial drain on the Central treasury greatly increases. Practically all the new Districts must be subsidized for the period until the Party and its mass organizations are firmly established.

The weekly dues payments were originally put into effect to make it possible for the C.C. to finance its extensive activities without special assessments. However, the deep economic crisis, unemployment, part employment and wage cuts have affected our Party comrades and our sympathizers severely and cut the dues income and donations by more than half.



The number of Party members is steadily growing. The dues payments are growing in number. But the amount of dues payments is steadily declining. In the last year, for instance, the amount of money for dues payments has been cut in half.

Comrades who are unemployed receive exempt stamps and the number of these are increasing. Comrades who work half time naturally pay only half of what they paid before. Comrades whose wages are cut again pay less dues. Our sympathizers contribute less because they are as bad off as we are.

### **But Our Work Must Go on**

This very condition that cuts down our income increases the possibilities for Party work and puts greater responsibility on the Party and all its members.

The C.C. in this situation has made every possible effort to cut down all expenses without sacrificing the most vital activities. The wages of the C.C. workers were long ago cut in half. At present many of our vital activities suffer because of lack of funds.

The *Daily Worker* as well as other Party publications face suspension almost every day. The situation is becoming desperate.

The Central Committee is determined that our work shall not suffer because of financial reasons. In face of this situation, the Central Committee is making every possible effort to raise the necessary funds.

The decision to put into effect the present assessment was made with full knowledge of the difficult situation of our Party comrades. Each Party member must recognize the extremely difficult financial situation of the Party and promptly come to the assistance of the Party by paying the assessment in full as early as possible.

The assessment should be collected in its entirety during the month of May and under no circumstances later than the first weeks of June.

The assessment will be five times the average weekly dues payment.

# PARTY STRUCTURE



## We Must Develop the Initiative of Our Units

By J. H. (*Section 10, District 2*)

**T**HE question of overcoming the organizational weaknesses of the Party Units is the important problem before the Party. Our Unit Buros are still spending a half-hour in making up the order of business. Our Units are still spending more time in discussing technical questions than the real political problems that are before them. The functioning of the Unit depends very much on how its work is prepared by the Unit organizer and Buro.

In order to be able to overcome this, we must be clear on what the functions of every functionary in the Unit are, especially those of the Unit organizer. At the last Unit Buro meeting I attended as section representative I found the following: The Unit organizer came down to the Buro meeting unprepared. He did not read the Section letter before the meeting. He did not decide on the important problems before the Unit that were to be taken up at this meeting. He did not prepare his proposals on the different problems. The result was that it took the Buro about 20 minutes to make up the order of business. Then, after the order of business was made up, since no concrete proposals were prepared for the problems that came up, it took the Buro twice as much time to make up the decisions for the Unit.

It must be clear to every Party member and Unit organizer especially, that the Unit organizer as the most politically developed comrade of the Unit must always know what the important problems are before the Unit at this specific time, which are the weak functionaries who need more attention and guidance from the Buro, and bring up these problems before

the Buro, call these functionaries periodically to Buro meetings and on the basis of concrete, prepared proposals, discuss at the Buro how to plan and carry out the work better. The Unit organizer must read the Section organization letter before the Buro meeting. He must work out the order of business accordingly by taking into consideration the Section instructions and the specific problems of the Unit that must be taken up at the meeting.

At the same Buro meeting the Unit organizer, after working out a concrete plan, proposed the following order of business for the Unit: Minutes, Report of Buro and discussion. In place of making out an order of business for the Unit that should reflect the problems that are before the Party as well as of the workers in this city at the given moment, as May First, Election Campaign, and the building of unemployed branches around the concentration point and giving the Buros proposals how to carry on this work, the Unit organizer combines this under the "Buro report." This mechanized way of taking up work at the Unit kills the initiative of the members. The members do not see the important problems before the Party. They do not see that at this given meeting the problems are:

(1.) How better to prepare the May First demonstration by connecting it up with the specific conditions of the workers in the city.

(2.) How better to bring the election campaign of the Party before the workers, exposing the Socialist Party and capitalist politicians.

(3.) By learning from the experiences of the canvassing in building the Unemployed Branch, the canvassing of relief as well as leading the unemployed workers in their struggles for immediate relief. We must drop this mechanical way of bringing down Buro decisions to Units by putting them on the order of business as "Buro report."

We must make up the order of business for the Unit so that every Party member will see the problem of the Party before them at the given moment. This will develop the initiative of the members, draw them in to planning the work of the Unit and help to activize them in the work.

## General Structure of the Party—Chart No. 1

**T**HE diagram on the opposite page gives a general picture of the relations of the Party Nucleus to the higher Party Committees and their relative positions. At the top we have the Central Committee with its various organs: Polburo, Orgburo and Secretariat which maintain contact with and issue instructions to the District Committees. There are 18 Districts in the Party.

The District Committee through its Buro or the Secretariat maintains contact with the Section Committees and issues instructions to the Section Committees.

The Section Committee maintains contact with and issues instructions to the Street and Shop Nuclei (units).

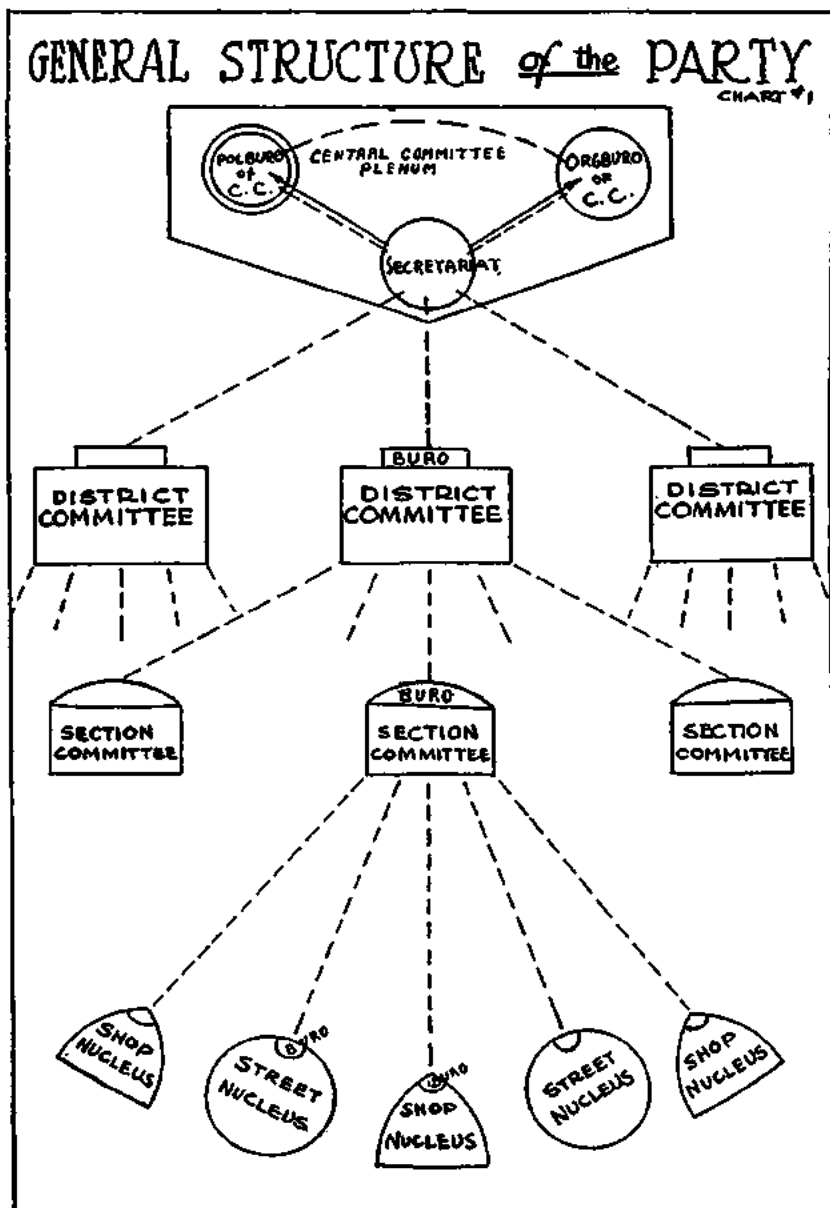
The Street or Shop Nucleus has a Buro which is the Party Committee of the Nucleus and plans work for the entire Nucleus and its individual members.

### SAFEGUARDING THE PARTY—III

**A**N essential phase of the safeguarding of the Party is the safeguarding of the Party leaders. "Every good leader enables the working class to save a mass of energy, effort and blood in the class struggle. . . . The Party must protect its leaders in the same way as the brain is protected against injury," says Comrade Sorin in his pamphlet *Lenin's Teachings about the Party*.

The Syndicalists, I. W. W.'s etc. on the other hand were so impressed by the treachery of the rotten leadership of the Second International (Socialists), and by the danger of developing a wide gap between the leaders and the membership that they altogether denied or minimized the role of the leadership. This was never a Bolshevik principle. Time and again, Lenin emphasized the value of Bolshevik leaders.

Many of our comrades, however, still suffer from syndicalist ideas on this question, and thus throw difficulties in the way of safeguarding the Party. Many comrades think that a demonstration cannot be called a real success unless it ends



up with at least the District Organizer in jail. If he is still free to carry on the Party work, they feel that somehow or other he has shirked his task of "leading" the demonstration. This is, to put it mildly, sentimental nonsense, and has nothing in common with Bolshevism.

Despite this however, a case happened recently in one district, where despite the explicit instructions of the Central Committee that the D. O. should not personally lead a certain demonstration, the District Buro voted that he should. In some other districts, the D. O.'s find it difficult to keep the leadership of the Buro if they try to carry out the instructions of the Central Committee about not exposing themselves. All such nonsense should be stopped. We are not a Party of demonstrations, but a Party of organization and struggle. Our leaders are judged on the basis of their ability to organize and develop struggles, not on the basis of how many times they have been arrested.

This does not mean our mass actions are left without responsible leadership. It is the task of the Buro to classify the leading comrades; those who are the best agitators and best-known figures among the masses should lead such actions, while those who are the best organizers, or who have the organizational threads and connections in their hands, must not specially expose themselves, and should not become specially known to the police. Once this classification is made, it must be stuck to. These are not matters of choice but of Party assignment and duties. Under no conditions should both the D. O. and the Org Secretary lead a demonstration.

Every leading committee must take all possible precautions against raids etc. Buro meetings should not be held in the Party headquarters. In addition, it is the task of every leading committee to insure continuity of leadership. In case most of the Buro members are arrested and kept in jail, others must be co-opted to take their place (with the approval of the higher committee). Even if all are arrested, the Buro must have nevertheless made such preparations that a new Buro begins to function immediately. In this way the attempt of the bosses to smash up our organization by depriving it of its leaders will fail and the organization will continue to function.

# Central Control Commis- sion Document

## How to Act Under Arrest and Police Terrorism

**W**ITH the continuation and the deepening of the crisis, which is accompanied by a great sharpening of the class struggle, the fighting organizations of the working class are subjected to ever increasing vicious attacks from various government agencies.

Injunctions against strikers, mass arrests, deportations, police raids upon workers' organizations and gatherings, and brutal beatings of those arrested are daily occurrences in various parts of the country.

And while the Communist Party and the revolutionary unions, as well as other working class organizations, are fighting in the open, are not concealing their aims and tactics; it is the capitalist government itself that is trying to outlaw them, is trying to drive them underground.

Not only that, but in their attempts to terrorize the workers and to force them patiently to submit themselves to wage cuts and speed-up, and to unemployment with its attending misery, starvation and suffering, the "red squads" and the strong-arm thugs of the police pay no attention to the laws and constitutional guarantees of the capitalist government itself.

In this situation, it is of the utmost importance for all class-conscious revolutionary workers to have a clear understanding and firm determination as to certain fundamental policies and rules of conduct which they should follow in order to protect themselves, their organizations and their fellow workers and comrades from the frame-up and intimidation methods of the ruling class.

Every member, and especially every leading member, of the Communist Party, of the revolutionary unions, of shop organizations and strike committees, as well as of all other workers' organizations, must be ready and determined to do and to bear everything for the protection of the revolutionary

proletarian movement from the attacks of the capitalists and their government.

He must keep in mind and observe at all times the first basic general rule to safeguard from the police and from the agents of the bosses all important organization documents, instructions, mailing lists, leading functionaries, etc.

He must not carry around with him such papers and addresses any more than absolutely necessary.

He must not keep them in well-known and easily accessible places where raids and arrests can be expected.

When arrested and subjected to beatings and torture, he must insist upon his constitutional right to refuse to answer any questions before being brought to court, and he must insist upon his right to consult a lawyer, whom he can select himself.

He does not have to answer even such questions as to whether or not he is a member of the Communist Party or of some other working class organization.

At the same time, of course, he should realize the fact that his legal rights will not be respected by the police thugs and third-degree experts, and that the only thing by which he can defeat all their wiles and tortures will be his moral courage and stamina, and his steadfast will power not to give in.

He must refuse to give to the police any information whatever, regardless of what methods and brutalities they may employ to break down his physical and moral resistance; not to believe their claims, or yield to their promises; not to give any promises to them, even though determined not to carry them out.

No credence should be given to the claims of the police that they have obtained "confessions" from some other comrades. That is a favorite method of the police, by which they try to sow distrust among the workers, try to break down their morale, and by which the police try to get confirmation for their conjectures and guesses, or for some information, obtained from unreliable stool-pigeon sources, which even in their own eyes cannot be trusted without confirmation.

Another trap frequently employed by the police, when all



their brutalities and tortures fail to break down the refusal of the arrested comrade to give them any information right then and there, is to offer cessation of beatings and to promise immediate release against the mere promise of the arrested comrade to stop his activities in the revolutionary movement, or to leave the city, or to report to the police in the future upon the plans and activities of the movement.

This is a clever stratagem on the part of the police, because the arrested worker may yield to it, may give the promise without intention of keeping it, and with the idea that this would be a good stratagem on his part in fooling the police.

In the end, however, such promises, though given in words only, do not fool the police, but serve their purposes, and are apt to turn out very detrimental to the movement and to the worker himself.

Having obtained such promises from one worker, the police will try to get them from others also, and, if resisted, will subject them to additional brutalities.

Having succeeded in breaking down the morale of a worker once, however slightly, the police will try to break it down further the next time they lay their hands on him, and will be so much more ruthless in their efforts to do so. Not only that, but the realization of this, the constant fear of reprisals from the police is apt to have very demoralizing effect on the comrade in his future activities.

And also, the information about the "promise" is apt to become known, to be spread by the police itself or by disruptive elements, and thus destroy the confidence which a worker must have among his fellow workers in order to do effective work for the movement.

The best policy all round, the policy that has been tested and found correct in many years of experience in the revolutionary movement in old Czarist Russia and in present fascist Poland and Italy, is to refuse steadfastly to give any information whatever, any promises, or any concessions or satisfaction to the police.

Later, when a comrade may be brought to a court trial, he should *still remember* that he cannot be forced to testify against himself.

If he is known as a leading member of the Party, or, if he is known even as only a rank-and-file member of the Party, denial of such membership may be futile and harmful.

While still guarding against giving any information which the government may want for use against the Party, or against other workers' organizations, the aim should be to turn the trial into an open tribunal for the spreading and propagating of Communist ideas and aims.

In each particular case, however, the detailed plans and policies to be followed in court trials, are to be worked out by responsible Party committees.

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## Correction

**I**N the April issue of the PARTY ORGANIZER, on page 18, appeared a splendid article on the Shop Committee, written by Comrade Jack Johnstone.

The line of this article expresses the position of the Party and the TUUL on the Shop Committee.

However, due to a typographical error a wrong formulation crept into this article. You will notice that on the last line of page 18 and continuing on top of page 19 there is a confusing sentence. This is a decisive sentence because it changes the meaning of the Shop Committee and confuses it with the Shop Branch of the Union.

The following is the corrected paragraph as approved by Comrade Johnstone:

“Thus we have the Mine Committee, the basic organization for united struggle, elected by the workers in a mine irrespective of Union membership, and we also have the basic dues-paying membership of the National Miners Union, *the Mine Local*, which with its officers, Executive Committee, Membership meetings, its program, always strives to draw every worker in the mine directly into the Union.”



## On Making Contacts

ONE Sunday night a YCL unit in Copeland Hall, D—, had a dance. At this dance there were some 5 or 6 young Ford workers. The unit was working on the organization of a sports club. Right at the dance we decided to make an appeal for all workers who wanted to learn any sport to come to a meeting on Monday, where everyone could learn and practice. All workers were to be eligible for the meets and the games.

At the meeting we found these Ford workers among the crowd and when volunteers were asked to supply some equipment, amongst those who volunteered was one of the young Ford workers. Then a few minutes were spent in discussing the standing of competition and it was the amateur and the workers' control of activities that won the greatest sympathy from those workers present. A definite precedent was set that only the majority vote of the club could decide any matters of the club.

At the first practice night these young Ford workers were amongst the learners. The only thing they knew was that they wanted to box and to play baseball. The practice nights following found these young Ford workers bringing some friends with them, all anxious to learn and compete in the games and meets. At the last practice there were about 10 young Ford workers among the 25 or 30 present and most of them joined the club.

Now that these young workers are involved and drawn into the club they naturally aim to develop it and increase its membership. This is the orientation of the entire membership. Their contacts are Ford workers because they live and work in the same neighborhood. With the leadership and co-operation of a YCL fraction they will become more class

conscious and active in getting more young Ford workers into the club.

This club may now be considered a Ford Factory sports club. The future membership is a Ford workers' membership. We must remember that a factory club is a club that has the membership predominantly from a given factory, although it need not be 100 per cent factory membership. Even the non-factory membership can be used to recruit the elements we aim to reach, if the YCL members are on the job.

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## On Fighting White Chauvinism

*By W. G. B. (Greenville, S. C.)*

**A** GREAT obstacle to organizing the workers in the South is white chauvinism. Race prejudice is so deeply rooted in many places that workers will absolutely refuse to attend meetings where Negroes are present. The majority of these whites are still full of "democratic" illusions and white supremacy stuff.

On the other hand 80 per cent of the Negro workers are apparently ready and willing to follow our leadership, when we prove to them that we mean what we preach. But very often they are skeptical; and rightly so. They will say: "If you mean what you say, where are the whites? Why don't they meet with us?" Even one Negro comrade once remarked: "I would like to meet with the whites when they meet." This shows that some of them still think we have them Jim-Crowed in the Unemployed Councils and even in the Party in spite of all our preaching about race equality. This is a very bad situation and one that must be overcome immediately.

Why does such a situation exist? Because here in the South, both the Party and the Unemployed Council (our only mass organization) are mainly composed of Negro workers. In many sections we have failed utterly to win over any appre-

ciable number of white workers, not because they don't believe in our economic program but mainly, as numerous white workers tell us, because of the "nigger" question.

Thus the breaking down of race prejudice, the fight against white chauvinism in all its hideous forms is the chief and immediate task of the Party and the revolutionary organizations, and is a prerequisite to building mass organizations of both Negro and white workers.

This is a task that cannot be accomplished by dogmatically insisting upon the Party position and flaunting a few slogans of race equality, self-determination, etc. in the face of the workers. But it must be faced concretely and by constantly educating the workers and consistently fighting chauvinism in all its forms.

This hydra-headed monster crops up in various and unexpected places, often by workers who claim to fully accept the Party's position. They refuse to openly take a stand against white chauvinism when the subject is brought up; or will even say: "Well, I don't mind the Negro myself, but I know the Southern people. They just won't organize with the Negroes. We had better go slow."

Such a tendency must be fought vigorously. But how to do this so as to win the white workers and not drive them away is very important. To simply expel a Party member is not enough. Nor is it enough to drastically criticize a rank and file worker or bitterly denounce his white chauvinist tendencies. Often this helps to drive white workers away from the movement. The problem is a deeper one: We must educate the workers to the basic reason of why race prejudice has been instilled and taught to the workers by the bosses, and show them the economic necessity for the unity of all workers upon an equal basis.

A point in question occurred recently in a National Textile Workers Union local. In this mill of 700 or 800 workers only four or five were Negro workers (firemen, janitors, etc.). Two of these wanted to join the NTWU. When the question of their application was brought up at least 50 per cent openly opposed taking the Negro workers in. Some even said they would leave the organization if Negroes were allowed to meet

with the white workers. Only two, who were Party members, openly fought for the admission of the Negro workers. The arguments of the opposition waxed warm.

What should the organizer have done? Would it have been wise to dogmatically insist that the Negroes be immediately accepted and let 50 per cent of the members leave the organization? (Such has happened in some instances).

Here's what the organizer did: He asked that the question be left open until the next meeting for further discussion. In the meantime he visited as many of the members as possible, talking to them individually, showing and pointing out to them the necessity of Negro and white workers organizing together; and explaining how the bosses keep the workers divided by means of race prejudice, etc. The result was that the next meeting there was a solid block that was prepared to argue for the admission of the Negro workers. Thus by perseverance and education in a concrete way white chauvinism was to a great extent broken down and at the same time the white workers remained in the union that otherwise would not have done so had a more crude and dogmatic method been adopted.

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## Our New Children's Magazine

**T**HE Party must now take up seriously how best it can help build the *Pioneer* into a mass organ among the working class children. The issuing of this organ is the first step in the making of the turn in this important phase of Party work.

It is first necessary for all Party Districts to take a real hand and real control in the work of building up the *Pioneer*. Strict check-up must be made upon those youth and adult comrades engaged in the work. The fraternal, union and other mass organizations must be instructed to set up an apparatus within their organization which shall utilize their particular connections and contacts in order to distribute and build up the magazine.

We should see to it that a corps of technicians be built up around the magazine who shall write for it, and at the same time be used in the actual organizational work among the children.

An intensive drive must be worked out in each District for subscriptions, since that is the one way in which we can establish actual paid circulation and regular readers. In this the Party must take a direct hand, meeting with those responsible for the work, and giving them all assistance in mobilization.

The Party should instruct all fractions in organizations to have the magazine adopted as an official organ of the particular branch, with a resolution passed to that effect. The organization at the same time goes on record for a certain amount to be ordered each month.

Adult organizations and Party units should arrange affairs for the magazine, in which the *Pioneer* organization must assist them.

In each District an apparatus on a District scale should be set up which is to handle the magazine, taking full charge of the campaign to build it, developing lively correspondence and involving technicians who will also be used in the organizational work.

Our work among the children has long been merely a topic for discussion. It must now become a practical task. The *Pioneer* is being checked up regularly by the Central Committee, and each Party organization must consider it a vital Party organ for which they are particularly responsible.

It is not only possible to use the *Pioneer* effectively in order to win the working class child. But it can as well be used to win wide support from all sections of the working class.

# Rooting the Party in the Shops

## How We Built a Shop Nucleus

By H. G. (Birmingham)

**T**HE following manner of building a shop unit is just one of the many ways shop units can be built. The shop is a metal plant in the South, employing about 300 men, of whom 200 are Negroes. The white workers, like in other plants, are given the best jobs with best pay, such as foremen, mechanics and helpers. White workers also have a separate place to punch their time clocks, separate drinking fountains and places to eat. The Negroes are given the jobs as laborers and shovellers, etc. Their scale of pay runs \$1.90 for ten hours' work and they mingle with the white workers while at work only.

The above unit was started by a comrade who reported he had six Negro friends who were buying the *Southern Worker*, all of whom worked at this plant and wanted to join the Party. They showed their willingness to do Party work by contributing Workers' Correspondence articles, distributing the *Southern Worker* and Party leaflets inside the plant. These workers were called to a meeting and organized into a unit and this comrade assigned as the organizer of the unit. In a period of only a few weeks' activity they had recruited four more members. The Party has started a consistent distribution of leaflets inside the plant, calling on the white workers to unite with the Negroes in the Metal Workers League, against discrimination, for equal pay for equal work, for safety conditions, etc.

Because of the fact that this southern city has prisoners at work on the chain gang, digging slag (forced labor), the vicinity of this plant is patrolled by armed guards, who among their other duties must see that the Communists create no disturbance. This requires, of course, all inside distribution of



leaflets and papers. Comrades of the unit are given the following instructions for inside distribution: (1) Distributions are never to be carried on the same day each week, but must be staggered. (2) Comrades distributing must have free access to department where they are to distribute their quota of leaflets so as not to excite suspicion by going from one department to another. (3) When distribution is once started it must be carried on quickly, no leaflets to be kept in one's pockets, clothes, etc., in case of search. Names and addresses of white workers are turned over to white comrades who call discussion meetings of these contacts, explaining in detail the reasons why the boss constantly carries on propaganda in favor of race prejudice.

After Fish made his investigation this company is becoming peeved at the ability of the Party to reach over the fence and despite all their guards and spies to have its propaganda distributed in the shops. They have appealed to the Department of Justice for help.

In the following manner new members are brought into the Party: (1) No candidate to the Party is ever brought to a meeting of the unit without his membership being proposed at a previous meeting in which his voucher reports, (1) how long he has known him; (2), is he a member of the church or any other organization (this is necessary as the preachers are used by the steel trusts as spies); (3), was he ever a scab; (4), was he a member of a union or political Party; (5), what has been the nature of his Party activity before making known that he wanted to join the Party. The unit on this basis accepts or rejects the applicant.

As was pointed out, there are many ways to build shop nuclei, but usually we overlook the fact that by instructing members to consistently sell Party papers to shop workers and systematically talking with them we can come in contact with class conscious workers and draw them into the Party and its activities.

## Building a Y.C.L. Shop Nucleus

**T**HE Y. C. L. in C— was out to build a shop nucleus in the Premier plant. The question was how. The Premier plant is in a section called C— where until recently the Y. C. L. had no contact. The only sympathetic organization there was a Hungarian Sick and Death Benefit Society.

It was decided that a Youth Center be built in C— and through this to build up the nucleus in the Premier plant. Through the sympathetic organization contacts were gotten with a small group of young workers. A place was found that was suitable for a Youth Center. These young workers with whom the League had gotten in touch, some of whom had joined the League, were not at all sectarian. They knew that in order to have a Youth Center they had to get clubs and sport organizations of young workers to make this center their meeting place.

They began to visit the clubs in the neighborhood. A sport club was formed that decided to meet in the Center. A club of Negro girls, who had been meeting in a Jim Crow hall, was visited and they were very much pleased with the idea of a young workers' center, run and controlled by the youth themselves. Aside from visiting the clubs in the neighborhood and getting them to make the Youth Center their headquarters, committees went from house to house telling the workers why a Youth Center was needed and asking them to support it financially and to make the Youth Center their recreation center.

C— has 10 big factories. Most of the workers living in this section work in these factories. By getting the young workers to support the Youth Center we were able to get in touch not only with many workers in the Premier plant but in the other plants.

The Y. C. L. in C—, which started out with three members, has grown to 25. The League in this section cannot remain a street unit. By recruiting the best elements from among those young workers who come to the Youth Center, the Y.C.L. got into its ranks youths from the factories in

the neighborhood. The first shop nucleus has already been built—that in the Premier plant and there are now members in the League working in the other shops. This has been our first concrete experience with Youth Centers. Until C—, we have talked much about youth centers, but have not built them. The building of Youth Centers must become an immediate task for every District as a means of carrying out their task of building shop nuclei.

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## Some Lessons of the Mining Strike

By F. BORICH

**O**UR Mine Nucleus of 9 members was instrumental in calling the strike of the H— miners against a wage cut. But the first day of the strike the Nucleus ceased to be a factor in the leadership of the strike. When the strike was 10 weeks old the Party members fought against the Party line.

What was the main reason for this?

The District Committee and our organizers, instead of working out the policy with the Nucleus, mobilizing it for the leadership of the strike, proceeded to formulate and carry out the policy without even consulting the Nucleus. The Nucleus met only 3 times during the 10 weeks of the strike. The result was: actual demoralization and liquidation of the Nucleus.

The District Committee, not seeing its own mistake of ignoring the Nucleus, began to consider to secretly organize a new Mine Nucleus in an attempt completely to eliminate the old one, because "the members were no good." But if the Nucleus was good enough, with a little help from the Party and the Union leadership, to organize the strike, it certainly was good enough, again with the help of the Party and the Union leadership, plus new forces that sprang up in course of the strike, to lead the strike.

The fault for such dangerous developments lies not so

much with the Nucleus, but with the Party and the Union leadership, which entirely neglected the Nucleus.

In the G—A— miners' strike, involving 25,000 miners bitterly opposed to the UMWA leadership, practically the same mistake was made. For the first 7 days of the strike the Party membership played no role in the strike. All the work has been done by 3 of us "organizers," but without actual results. The Party leadership was completely isolated not only from the striking miners but also from the Party membership.

When the strike was one week old a well attended Section Convention of the Party was held. There was a good discussion on general trade union work but no discussion on our immediate tasks in the strike. Therefore the Convention could not and did not mobilize the Party for a determined struggle to win the miners for our leadership.

After the Convention adjourned, the 3 "organizers" again began to do the work, the Party membership being excluded from the activity. Some of the comrades even went on a drunk for several days. The "organizers" were busy day and night, but again: no real progress.

Then we began to analyze the reasons for our inability to start a mass movement to fight against the betrayal of the strike. A general membership meeting of the Party was held. During the discussion it became clear that most of the comrades did not understand the Party line. Some even disagreed with the line. One comrade admitted to Lovestoneites that our line was "wrong." Since the membership was not convinced of the correctness of the line it was impossible to mobilize them to *carry out* the line.

At the membership meeting all the comrades were made clear on the line and convinced of its correctness. Mobilization immediately began. Two of the comrades were assigned to organize a rank and file meeting in the mine where we had no meetings before. In several hours of work they succeeded in getting over 50 miners to attend—the biggest organizational meeting held in the course of the strike. And what is still more important, they took care of the meeting themselves, presented correctly the line of the Party to the miners,

and mobilized them for a struggle against the betrayal of the strike. In other mines the same thing took place.

These experiences show: (1) That the Party membership must be thoroughly acquainted with the line of the Party; it must be convinced of its correctness; and must understand how to apply it; (2) that the first task of the organizers is to involve every Party member in the work, giving each one a specific task to perform every day in mobilizing the workers for our line; (3) that the Party units must meet as often as necessary to discuss new developments—and in present-day strikes there are new developments every day; (4) that only by involving the entire Party membership in struggle can we secure the leadership of the workers.



## SHALL WE ISSUE A DICTIONARY?

CONCEIVE of a worker who just joined our Party and overlooks all the shortcomings of the meeting, threats of control commission, opportunism, etc., and just sits there quietly and listens and tries to understand what is going on.

Assume further that he is the average new member who doesn't know anyone in the unit, and no one in the unit, as usual, pays any attention to him. He will listen carefully and wonder what we are talking about because every third word we utter will be unintelligible to him and he will make mental notes of the following terms and abbreviations:



Comintern	Secretariat
IWO	Chauvinism
Radicalization	DO
Krestintern	YCL
Left Sectarianism	LSU
RILU	Concentration
Agitprop	FSU
Polburo	Profintern
Deviation	TUUL
NEC	ILD
LSNR	Proletariat
Social Fascist	Self-determination
MOPR	Inprecorr
WIR	Worcorr
Control Commission	Shock Troop

Let us use plain, simple, proletarian language so that the workers can understand us and let us not be too lazy to say League of Struggle for Negro Rights instead of just LSNR, at least when new members are present.

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## READING SUGGESTIONS

*Party Structure* problems and methods of work are closely analyzed by Comrade Williamson in the May issue of the *Communist*. He deals principally with the situation in the Chicago District, citing some valuable experiences and methods used by District No. 8 to overcome the weaknesses in Party work. District No. 8 is the best functioning District in the Party in many respects and each District has much to learn from this article.

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*Unemployment Work* of the Party is at a very low stage at the present time. All the aspects of this problem have been closely discussed in the Polburo recently. Most of the District Buros have discussed ways and means of improving this work. The average Party comrade who is called upon to actually carry out this work rarely has an opportunity to attend the meetings where these discussions take place. However, in the May issue of the *Communist* Comrade Hathaway has an excellent and simple article dealing with this problem from the standpoint of the role of the Party in mass work.

While Comrade Hathaway's article deals principally with unemployment work, he also lays down the Bolshevik interpretation of the role and tasks of mass organizations as transmission belts of the Party to the masses.

Most comrades have an idea that the *Communist* contains heavy theoretical articles; however, this is no longer the case as you will find when you read the May issue.

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*Pioneer* magazine is out and it will do you good to read it. Here is a fine Bolshevik children's magazine that children can really read and understand. Buy a few copies and hand them out to some kids that you know.

## To Our New Party Comrades

(NOTE: Hundreds of new militant workers are joining the ranks of our Party daily. Many of these new comrades have had no previous working class education or organizational experience. It is very difficult for these new comrades to understand our Party. The theory of proletarian revolution—Marxism-Leninism—is hardly understood by our old members. The terminology (difficult words), the structure, the methods of work, the duties of members, the traditions of our Party, the knowledge of all these most of us have gained after being active in the Party for years. In this section of the PARTY ORGANIZER we shall deal with many of these problems from the *standpoint of the needs of new Party comrades*. New members are urged to write to us and ask such questions and explanations as they require and every effort will be made to answer these inquiries in each issue. The older Party members are also urged to write for this section and raise the problems that arise in their activities among workers who are ready to join our Party )

### DEAR COMRADE:

We surely expect that you have been given a copy of the Central Committee letter entitled *Revolutionary Greetings*, and have carefully read it. If by any chance you have not received it, write to your District Office or write direct to the Central Committee.

By joining the Communist Party you have become a member of the most powerful world-wide revolutionary movement that the world has ever known.

One of your greatest tasks is to retain close contact with your fellow workers in your shop, neighborhood, lodge and every organization or gathering place where there are workers. The power of our Party lies in the ability to influence millions of workers with whom we have direct and personal contact.



You no doubt feel that you have entered a new world when you joined the Party. This is true when you view it politically and ideologically. But always remember that you are still a worker living in the present capitalist world, in which millions of workers live and suffer.

Your job is to win every worker whom you personally know for the Party.

Don't abandon your friends even though they still go to church every Sunday

Don't sneer at your friends just because they are slow to accept our point of view.

Don't isolate yourself from the many worker friends in the shop, in the club or whatever other workers' organization you were a member of before you joined the Communist Party.

Go slow, but make a persistent effort to win everyone you know for the Party. Every Party comrade can bring at least one new member into the Party within one month. And write to us of your experiences and difficulties.

Fraternally yours,

R. BAKER.



# Lenin's Teachings About the Party

(Excerpts from Book by V. SORIN)

## THE PARTY

**WHAT** is the Party? The briefest answer will be as follows:

"Our Party is a union of the class conscious, advanced fighters for the emancipation of the working class." (Lenin, *Socialism and Religion*, 1905.)

In greater detail the answer might be as follows: By a Party is meant a voluntary association of people with similar political convictions and fighting by similar methods for the reorganization of the life of society in accordance with their views, expressing the interests of a definite class. Once a certain number of people with common political views and a common understanding of the social life jointly decide to fight together for their convictions, they constitute themselves into a political Party, organize a political union, organization, society. Such for instance is the Party of the Bolsheviks, the Party of the Mensheviks, the Party of Socialist Revolutionists, the Cadet (Constitutional Democratic) Party, etc.

"In order that the mass of people belonging to a certain class might learn to understand their interests, their position, to pursue their policy, it is necessary immediately and at all costs to organize the advanced elements of the class, even should these elements originally constitute an insignificant fraction of the class." (Lenin, *How V. Zasulitch Is Killing Liquidationism*, 1913.)

"The organization of the advanced elements" is a Party. Here is what Lenin wrote about the Party:

"The Party is a sum of organizations connected into one. The Party is the organization of the working class divided up into a network of various local and special central and general organizations."

The Party as such is an organization created by the work-

ing class to defend its interests. The Party is divided within itself into a number of big organizations which are divided in turn into smaller ones. For instance, our Party (the political organization of the proletariat) is divided up into several dozens of provincial organizations. Each provincial organization is divided up in turn into several District or country organizations, the latter into smaller bodies (nuclei).

Approaching the question from a different angle, it may be said that our Party is the Party of the working class. The most advanced, class conscious, revolutionary workers join it. They see further ahead than the rest of the workers and understand the interests of their class better than the others. For this reason the Party represents the vanguard of the proletariat, its advanced detachments, going ahead of the class and leading the latter.

*"The Party is the class conscious, advanced section of the class, its vanguard.*

*The power of this vanguard is ten, hundred and more times as great as its numbers.*

*Is this possible? Is it possible for hundreds to excel the force of thousands?*

*It is possible and it does so when the hundreds are organized.*

*Organization strengthens the forces tenfold. . . .*

*More and more forces of the proletariat are awakening to social and political activity. It is necessary patiently to explain to them the role and importance of the Party, to prove to them the necessity of joining the Party.*

*Non-affiliation with the Party is a bourgeois idea. Affiliation with the Party is a socialist idea." (Lenin, *The Socialist Party and the non-Party Revolutionaries*, 1905.)*

The bourgeoisie train the workers in a spirit of indifference to the political struggle, in an anti-Party spirit. They try to make the workers think that they do not need any Party, they try to develop among the workers a prejudiced attitude towards the Party. The bourgeois views still influence many of the workers. We must combat these views and oppose them by our slogan: For the Party, for Party affiliation.

### The Class and the Party

It is very important that the two conceptions, that of the class and that of the Party, should not be confused. In order that there should be perfect clarity on this point, let us recall the strictly scientific definition of a class.

“By classes,” Lenin wrote, “is meant a large group of people distinguished by their place in the historically determined system of social production, by their relation (usually fixed and formulated in laws) towards the means of production by their role in the social organization of labor and therefore by the methods by which they get their share of the social wealth and by the size of this share. Classes,” Lenin adds further, “are such groups of people, one of which is capable of appropriating the labor of the others thanks to the difference of their places in the system of social economy.” (*The Great Beginning*, 1919.)

The above extract has been taken from a pamphlet written in 1919. Here is another extract on the same question, written in 1902:

“The essential distinction between classes is the place which they hold in the social production and therefore their relation towards the means of production. The appropriation of one or another share of the social means of production and their use for private industry, for industry selling its product, such is the basic distinction of one class of modern society (the bourgeois) from the proletariat, which is deprived of the means of production and sells its labor power.” (Lenin, *Vulgar Socialism and Populism Resurrected by the Social Revolutionists*, 1902.)

Between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat stand the petty bourgeoisie, who are particularly numerous in Soviet Russia (the peasantry): this is a *class* of small owners, of small commodity producers. Such are the three fundamental forces of modern society: the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and the

proletariat. *The classes are not divided up by walls and do not represent anything absolutely homogeneous.* If a further division is to be made, say *within the peasantry*, we will find there at least three noticeable groups: (1) poor peasants with little or no land, approaching in their position the proletariat; (2) rich peasants (kulaks), the village bourgeoisie; (3) the middle peasants.

The city bourgeoisie may also be divided up into a small, middle and big bourgeoisie. The proletariat may also be "pure" and "connected with the peasantry." Hence society contains numerous social "groups" and "layers," but all of them come under the description of the three *principal forces*: the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Among the advanced representatives of the class or group, ideas and thoughts arise giving expression to the conditions, sentiments, interests, strivings and tasks of the class or group. Thus is formed "class consciousness" or "ideology."

"It is not the consciousness of the people that determines their environment, but on the contrary, the social environment determines their consciousness." (Marx, *A Contribution to the Criticism of Political Economy*, 1859.)

People holding similar views group themselves around a certain political ideology. They form themselves into Parties expressing the interests of the given class or of a part of the class.

"Usually, or in the majority of cases, at least in the modern civilized countries, the classes are directed by political Parties." (Lenin, *Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism*, 1920.)

### **The Party as an Organization of the Minority of the Class**

The Communist Party represents the most class conscious, advanced, revolutionary section of the working class. It constitutes a minority of the proletariat, and this cannot be other-

wise in capitalist society, where the working class is oppressed; after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie much time will pass before the proletariat will become morally consolidated, will rid itself of the heritage of capitalism and will join in its majority the Party. Under capitalism only a minority of the workers are class conscious.

“In capitalist society even the advanced class, the proletariat, is incapable of creating a Party comprising the entire class.” (*The last words of the “Iskra” tactic*, 1905.)

At the second congress of the Communist International Lenin explained this idea in particular detail to the foreign comrades:

“During the epoch of capitalism, when the working masses are subjected to endless exploitation and are incapable of developing their human abilities, the most characteristic feature of the political labor parties is the fact that they embrace only a minority of their class. The really class conscious workers represent a minority of the workers in capitalist society. . . . Only this class conscious minority is capable of leading the working masses.” (*Speech at the Second Congress of the Comintern, on the role of the Communist Party*, 1920.)

Our Party too still represents a minority of the working class. But with the consolidation and development of our industry, with the growth and development of the working class this minority will be growing more numerous every year. A few more years will pass and the Party will develop to very impressive dimensions. Still later it will embrace the majority of the proletariat.

### **The Party and the Leaders**

“Political parties are governed, as a rule, by more or less stable groups of the most authoritative, influential and experienced people, elected to the most responsible

positions and known as leaders." (Lenin, *The Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism.*)

The Party as a whole, the Party as such, leads the working class; the Party is governed by leaders. If the Party is the vanguard of the working class then the leaders are the advanced post of this vanguard. The wiser, more experienced, more devoted, more farsighted the leaders, the better for the working class. The importance of the leaders manifested itself particularly in the case of Lenin, who enjoys an entirely exceptional, unparalleled prestige among the masses of workers and peasants throughout the world. Lenin's great genius left its impress not only upon the entire activity of the Russian Bolshevik Party, but also upon the entire international revolutionary movement as a whole.

Every good leader enables the working class to save a mass of energy, effort and blood in the class struggle. The more experienced, authoritative and farsighted the leaders, the more confidently does the Party move, the more quickly does it find a way out of every difficulty, the more successfully does it maneuver and change positions, issue slogans to the working class, determine the current tasks, etc.

The Party must protect its leaders in the same way as the brain is protected against injury. The German workers failed to protect Liebknecht and Luxemburg against the white guard officers and this loss very painfully affected the development of the German Communist Party. The West European Communist movement has not yet produced any very great, influential and authoritative leaders, and this circumstance makes itself very strongly felt in the development of the Communist Parties in Western Europe; they would not make one-tenth of their mistakes if they had leaders such as the Russian Bolsheviks have.

The bourgeoisie understands very well some of the things which the backward workers of Western Europe and America

fail to understand, namely, that the leaders constitute one of the most important and essential elements in the development of the revolutionary movement. The bourgeoisie, therefore, deliberately and systematically strive to deprive the working class of its leaders; the assassination "according to plan" of Karl Liebkecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Tischko-Jochiges; the search for Lenin by the Russian White Guards after the "July Days" of 1917 for the purpose of murdering him, and the attempt on his life in 1918 by the socialist revolutionary who was a political agent of the bourgeoisie; the murder by the bourgeoisie of hundreds and thousands of leaders of the labor movement in various countries during the epoch of the capitalist offensive (since 1920).

In order to weaken, demoralize and disorganize the labor movement, it is enough to smash its head, to destroy its leaders; the bourgeoisie understands this very well. If it is impossible, inconvenient or dangerous to kill the leader, then it is necessary to undermine his authority among the working masses, to defame his name, to slander him. During the July days the bourgeoisie fabricated and published false documents in an attempt to prove that Lenin was a German spy; the endless lies and calumnies published by the foreign white guard press about the leaders of the Soviet power, have the same end in view, that of demoralizing the working masses.

No serious movement ever takes place without leaders. Even a small strike is directed by some leader. Even a "spontaneous" movement, a riot, has some leaders who unexpectedly rise to the top and disappear as quickly and without leaving a trace. The bourgeoisie, too, has its leaders. It is fully aware of their importance in the class struggle. People such as Lloyd George and Poincare personify the entire experience, the entire wisdom, the entire political artfulness of their class. Great, experienced, authoritative leaders (both of the workers and of the bourgeoisie) are not born in a day. They are developed in the course of the struggle, they grow with it, they are tested by the masses in the course of many years and decades, being thus filtered and singled out from among the mass of would-be leaders.



The leaders are no "heroes" capable of miracles; the masses are not a "mob" whom the "hero can lead wherever he desires." The leaders are not the "spirit" breathing life into the "dead matter" (the masses). Anyone who imagines the relations between the leaders and the Party in this way is a mystic and superstitious man who had better go to church and sing in the choir than belong to the Communist Party. Our conception of the role of leaders contains not a drop of mysticism in it.

### Freedom of Criticism

Inner Party discussion of the various questions is impossible without a critical analysis of the different measures and their comparison with other proposals. What are the limits of criticism within the Party? To what extent is "freedom of criticism" to be allowed? It is certainly necessary to criticize the mistakes and errors of the Party policy, institutions and individual members but this criticism must conform with certain conditions, namely, *it must never depart from the basis of Bolsheviks, it must never deal a blow at its foundations, but must be constructive and to the point.*

If we are convinced Bolsheviks and uphold all the ideas of Leninism we not only can but must subject to ruthless criticism everything that appears as a diversion from or distortion of Leninism. But the Party cannot help fighting by all measures that "freedom of criticism" which represents a "free" advocacy within the Party of petty bourgeois views and ideals hitting at the very foundations of the Party.

Freedom of criticism is a natural rule of Party life. How can the members of the Party fail to criticize the Party bureau or committee if its work is poor, if it makes mistakes, etc.? How can they fail to criticize if they see blunders being made? Without criticism there can be no Party. There is no need of speaking of such criticism; it is necessary, it has always been allowed, and always will be. But the Party members must be warned against the special slogan of "free criticism." The history of the Party shows that this slogan has always been used as a cover by the petty bourgeois groups and currents attempting to secure the right of "freely" preaching

petty bourgeois views within the Party. This the Party cannot allow. There is a difference between criticism and criticism. There is businesslike criticism and there is criticism that forces upon the Party petty bourgeois ideas. We are in favor of the former and opposed to the latter.

At the end of the past century and beginning of the present century a tendency existed in the Marxian literature which made its slogan "freedom of criticism." This slogan was "fashionable" and very attractive. Indeed who would have the courage to declare: "I am against freedom of criticism" and thus become branded as a reactionary? Lenin quickly exposed this tendency.

"Freedom is a great word but under the banner of 'freedom of trade' the most plunderous wars have been carried on, under the banner of 'freedom of labor' the working class has been robbed. Such internal falseness is contained in the modern meaning of the word 'freedom of criticism.'

"'Freedom of criticism' is freedom for the opportunist tendency in the social-democracy, freedom to transform the social democracy into a democratic reform Party, freedom to permeate socialism with bourgeois ideas and elements." (*What Is to Be Done?* 1902.)

In our own days the slogan "long live freedom of criticism" serves as a cover for the opportunists, as was the case, for instance, during the last discussion when the opposition attempted to revise Leninism. When the opposition was made to understand this it replied: "Yes, you are afraid of free speech. Is there to be no criticism in the Party?"

Whenever the question of criticism is raised the workers must be careful to see what sort of criticism is being proposed, whether the kind that helps the Party to strengthen its foundations or the one which leads to petty bourgeois views filtering themselves into the Party.

Let us return to Lenin. Upon exposing the petty bourgeois tendencies of those who demanded "freedom" of criticism, i.e., freedom of undermining the fundamentals of Marxism, Lenin continues:

"We are going in a close bunch along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and we are almost constantly forced to move under their fire. We have joined together through a free choice precisely in order to fight the enemies and must be careful not to slip into the neighboring swamp, the inhabitants of which always condemned us for separating ourselves into a distinct group and choosing the path of struggle rather than that of conciliation."

In speaking of the Bolshevik attitude towards the "freedom of criticism" we cannot help citing Lenin's remarkable thoughts on this question expressed in 1905. When the Party began to go over to legal, open organization Lenin raised the question of subordinating the entire Party literature to the control of the Party, which had not always been the case in the past. Since there were grounds to expect protests on the part of some "vehement supporters of freedom" Lenin found it necessary to state the view of the Party on freedom of criticism and its limitations within the Party:

"Everybody is free to write and say whatever pleases him without the least restrictions. But every free association (including our Party) is free to drive out those members who make use of the name of the Party to preach anti-Party views. Freedom of speech and press must be unabridged. But the freedom of association must also be unabridged. I am obliged to allow full freedom of shouting, lying and writing anything in the world, in the name of freedom of speech. But you are obliged to allow me, in the name of freedom of association, the right to conclude and cancel an alliance with people saying one thing or another. The Party is a voluntary association which would inevitably collapse, first ideologically and later also physically, were it not to purge itself of those of its members who advocate anti-Party views. But to determine the distinction between Party and anti-Party views there is the Party Program, the tactical resolutions of the Party and its Constitution, and finally the

entire experience of the international social-democracy, of the free international associations of the proletariat whose Parties always contained certain elements or tendencies that were not entirely consistent, not entirely Marxian, not entirely correct, and who therefore always carried out regular 'purgings' within the Party. It will be so in our Party as well, the followers of bourgeois 'freedom of criticism' must know this; now our Party has suddenly become a mass Party, we are now experiencing a sharp change towards open organization, now the Party must be inevitably joined by inconsistent people (from a Marxian point of view), perhaps even by some Christians, possibly also by some mystics. We have strong stomachs, we are die-hard Marxians. We shall digest those inconsistent people. Freedom of thought and freedom of criticism within the Party will never make us forget the freedom of the people to group themselves into voluntary associations known as Parties." (*The Party Organization and Party Literature*, 1905.)

There is no other place in the entire Bolshevik literature so clearly, so precisely and so consistently stating the views of the Party upon freedom of criticism. By the way, Lenin fully realized that the entire Party cannot consist of simon-pure revolutionists, without the least petty bourgeois mixture. Formally, we are all members of the Party, all equals, all Bolsheviks, all Leninists. As a matter of fact, however, the petty bourgeois rivulet makes its way within the Party. What the attitude of the Party towards the petty bourgeois element must be has been adequately shown in the above quotation from Lenin.

One more quotation on freedom of criticism. In 1920 the Italian "socialist" Nobs advocated the freedom of supporting opportunist ideas in the Communist International:

"You are 'free,' Comrade Nobs," Lenin wrote, "to defend those views which you are defending. But we are also 'free' to declare those views petty bourgeois prejudices, injurious to the cause of the proletariat and useful to capital; we are also 'free' to refuse to enter into an alliance or as-

sociation with people defending those views or a corresponding policy." (*False Talk of Freedom*, 1920.)

### Party Unity

In order that the working class might maintain its dictatorship in Soviet Russia the strongest unity is necessary in the Party. Were the Party to split up into several parts bitterly contesting for influence, the working class would be unable to keep power. Our power lies in the fact that the Bolshevik Party acts and fights as one man. The political enemies of the proletariat were divided up during the years of the civil war into numerous Parties. They were opposed by a single Party of the proletariat, the Bolsheviks. One of the reasons why we were able to defeat our enemies was that we succeeded in maintaining our ranks intact.

There was a great danger of a split in 1918 when a fraction of a group of Left Communists was organized. The question of the unity of the Party became highly strained in 1920-21 when the Party experienced a grave internal crisis; the Party majority (Lenin, Zinoviev, Stalin, Kamenev and others) were forced to conduct a stubborn fight upon a whole series of groups and fractions which demoralized the Party.

For the third time the Party went through a serious crisis during the last discussion (November, 1923-January, 1924) shortly before Lenin's death. The remnants of the old groupings joined hands and with Comrades Trotsky, Saprionov, Preobrazhensky and others at their head started a fight upon the main group of Bolsheviks consisting of Lenin's disciples and playing the leading role in the Party. The discussion was very bitter and revealed the presence of a petty bourgeois tendency within the Party. The labor nuclei in their overwhelming majority closed their ranks around the Central Committee of the Party, around the "Leninists," giving a firm and resolute response to all attempts to shake the unity of the Party.

Let us now pass on to a study of the resolution on Party unity adopted by the 10 Congress of the C.P.S.U. by a motion from Lenin. We shall deal with each point of this resolution separately. This resolution, which was written by Lenin, rep-

resents one of the most important documents of Leninism; it determined the Party policy for the entire epoch of the proletarian dictatorship.

By the time of the 10th Congress the Party became clearly aware of the entire danger of the discussions connected with bitter group and fractional strife.

“The solidification of the Party, the elimination of oppositions within the Party is the political conclusion to be drawn from the modern situation.” (*Speech at Tenth Congress of the Party, 1921.*)

Thus Lenin defined our Party tasks.

“The Congress draws the attention of all Party members to the fact that the unity and solidarity of its ranks, the establishment of full mutual confidence among the Party members and the securing of really coordinated work and of real unanimity among the vanguard of the proletariat, is particularly necessary at the present time when a number of circumstances have combined to strengthen the wavering among the petty bourgeois population.” (*Resolution of Tenth Congress on Party Unity.*)

Lenin demanded from all Party members unity and solidarity above all. Within the Party there must be absolute confidence in each other, and confidence will exist only if there is real agreement among the various members of the Party, if all of them feel themselves members of a single Party. No confidence is possible if we belong to different fractions and groupings when we inevitably regard the member of any other group as a political antagonist, an enemy, an alien. If I am really a member of the Party, a Bolsheviki-Leninist, I cannot of course have any confidence in people who set up groupings within the Party and demoralize and disintegrate it.

We must have team work, Lenin maintained, personifying the unity of the Party. When the Party splits up into groups and fractions carrying on bitter discussions there can be no team work among them. During periods of group fighting all constructive work becomes impossible for the efforts

of the contesting sides are directed in securing victory for themselves.

Fractional strife (left-wing communism in 1918; the group of democratic centralism, the workers' opposition, the discussion on trade unions in 1920-21; the Trotsky-Preobrazhensky-Sapronov opposition in 1923-25) always caused enormous damage to the Party work.

The Party must have unity; did unity really exist in the spring of 1921? Lenin says:

"Yet even before the general Party discussion on the trade unions certain signs of fractionalism manifested themselves, the appearance of groups with special platforms and with tendencies to isolate themselves in a certain measure and set up their own group discipline."

Sometimes the followers of groupings within the Party say, "We are for groups but against fractions," thus creating the impression among some inexperienced comrades that groups and fractions are different things. "Why," they claim, "are we for fractions? Do we not know that fractions are harmful to the Party? We are merely for groups and this is quite a different thing." This reminds us of the Spaniard who said that the belief in God is humiliating to all intelligent people, but that the belief in God's mother is quite another thing. There is absolutely no essential difference between fractions and groups. Fractions and groups are one and the same thing. In both cases organizations are created within the Party which regard themselves as something distinct from the Party. If this distinction is not very sharp, if it has not gone too far, then we are dealing with a group; if it has, we are dealing with a fraction. But this division is entirely artificial and tentative. The "left-wing communists" for instance constituted a full-fledged fraction; they refused to comply with Party decisions, they published their own journal, they had their own buro, yet they called themselves a group.

Let lawyers engage in the "scientific" differentiation between groups and fractions, the Party is opposed to both groups and fractions. The Party is opposed to any of its members assembling separately from the rest of the Party, having their

own committees or buros, drawing up their own platforms (resolutions, programs on any of the questions) establishing their own group or fractional discipline, etc.

"It is necessary for all intelligent workers merely to realize the harmfulness and inadmissibility of any fractionalism which inevitably leads to the weakening of the team work and the strengthening of attempts of the enemies who have grafted themselves onto the governing Party to deepen the division and utilize it in the interests of the counter-revolution."

It should be pointed out that Lenin went on record not only against fully developed and organized fractions but also against "any fractionalism." The Party must see the danger and nip in the bud all attempts at fractional organization.

The following must be clearly understood. It is not at all a question of the Communists always and under all circumstances favoring unity of the labor Party, always condemning splits and fractionalism. Whenever a Communist revolutionary fraction develops within any foreign social-democratic (menshevist) Party and starts a fight against the majority, going as far as to split the Party or withdraw from it, we support such a fraction and such a breach of unity. Up to 1912 we were in one Party with the mensheviks, always fighting them and splitting with them on several occasions. Such a policy was quite lawful, for we defended Bolshevism, Leninism, against the opportunists and collaborationists and worked for the creation of a powerful united centralized Marxian Party.

At the Second Congress of the Party (1903) where the social-democrats split up into Bolsheviks and mensheviks, the latter raised the banner of a "revolt against Leninism," constituted themselves into an opposition to Leninism. Lenin wrote on that occasion:

"An uprising is a splendid thing when the advanced elements revolt against the reactionary elements. When the revolutionary wing rises against the opportunist wing, it is good. But when the opportunist wing rises against the revolutionary wing it is bad." (*One Step Ahead, Two Steps Back*, 1904.)



That is just the point. Under Lenin's leadership, the Bolsheviks created a mighty Party of the proletariat, a genuinely revolutionary Marxian Party. As long as this is so all groupings and fractions within the Party are anti-Marxian, anti-Leninist, anti-Bolshevik, petty bourgeois. And the Party cannot let them shake its foundations. For "when the opportunist wing rises against the revolutionary wing, it is bad."

All the hopes of our enemies are based upon the expectation that the Party will split some day, that a strong petty bourgeois fraction will eventually develop within it and destroy its unity. Therefore every time that a fractional struggle starts in the Party the bourgeois attempts "to deepen the division and utilize it for the object of the counter-revolution," as Lenin said. In such cases the bourgeoisie will always praise the opposition, encourage it, advise it to fight to the end, etc.

"The utilization by the enemies of the proletariat of all diversions from the strictly consistent Communist line was shown with particular clarity during the Kronstadt revolt when the bourgeois counter-revolution and the white guards in every country of the world suddenly demonstrated their readiness to adopt the slogans even of the Soviet system if only this could be instrumental to overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, when the socialist revolutionists and the bourgeois counter-revolution as a whole made use of the Kronstadt slogans of revolt, ostensibly in the name of the Soviet power, against the Soviet Government in Russia."

The Kronstadt insurgents declared that they are Soviets without Communists, without the dictatorship of the proletariat. It thus appeared that they too recognized the Soviet power, only with some slight changes. The bourgeoisie immediately grasped at this "diversion from the strictly consistent Communist line" declaring itself in support of the Kronstadt insurgents and of their Soviets.

"Such facts fully show that the White Guards successfully strive to be more 'radical' than Communists if only it can weaken and undermine the bulwark of the proletarian revolution in Russia. The menshevist leaflets in

Petrograd on the eve of the Kronstadt insurrection also showed how the mensheviks took advantage of the differences within the Russian Communist Party to encourage and support the Kronstadt insurgents, the social revolutionists and the White Guards, representing themselves as opponents of insurrections and followers of the Soviet power only with some slight modifications."

Lenin then proceeds to define the tasks of our Party propaganda.

"The propaganda on this question must consist on the one hand of a comprehensive explanation of the damage and danger of fractionalism from the point of view of the unity of the Party and of the unanimity of the proletarian vanguard as the fundamental condition of the success of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and on the other hand of the explanation of the peculiar character of the latest tactical methods of the enemies of the Soviet power."

The chief danger of fractionalism lies in the fact that every fraction or group is the embryo of a new Party within the Bolshevik Party. If fractions were to be allowed all of them would contest each other for influence and control. Each fraction would strive to establish those views which it advocates. But our Party is not a mere underground organization but a governing organization, it holds in its hands the machinery of government, the trade unions, the Red Army. Were two fractions to be created in the Soviets, trade unions and army, the result would be that the Soviets, the trade unions and the army would split up into two hostile camps and in the case of the dispute being sharpened it might be solved by the force of arms. This would mean the end of the Soviet power and of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. The mensheviks and Bolsheviks had also once constituted two fractions within an officially single Party, had also fought for domination among the working class, but in the end settled their historical dispute by an armed fight.

Lenin never tired of repeating that every diversion from the Party line, if not stopped in time, may lead too far.

"Every little difference may develop into a big one if it is insisted upon, if it is moved to the forefront, if every root and ramification of the dispute is sought. Every little difference may assume an immense importance if it should serve as the starting point towards certain erroneous views and if these erroneous views are combined by reason of new additional differences, with anarchistic actions leading the Party to a split." (*One Step Ahead, Two Steps Back*, 1904.)

This was written during the struggle between the Bolsheviks and mensheviks after the 2nd Congress of the Party (1903). The same idea was repeated again in 1920.

"A slight error may be developed into a monstrously great one if it is insisted upon, if it is 'led to the end.'" (*The Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism*, 1920.)

The danger of differences was again urged by Lenin with great force and clarity in 1921, shortly before the 10th Congress, during the heat of the discussion on the trade unions.

"It is well known that big disputes frequently arise out of the most insignificant of the slightest differences of opinion. It is well known that a tiny wound or even a scratch such as any one of us has had on dozens of occasions in the course of his life, may develop into a very dangerous, sometimes even mortal disease if it begins to inflame, if it develops into blood poison. The same thing occurs in every dispute, even of a personal character. It also happens in politics. Any difference of opinion, no matter how slight, may become politically dangerous if the possibility develops of its growing into a split, especially if it is a split capable of shaking and destroying the entire political edifice, of leading to a train wreck, to use Comrade Bukharin's metaphor." (*Once More About the Trade Unions*, 1921.)

The differences become particularly dangerous when they

are connected with the formation of fractions isolating themselves away from the Party. Every grouping may develop so far as to split away from the Party, for every struggle has its logic. It is therefore necessary to remember Lenin's demand for a comprehensive explanation of the injuriousness and danger of fractionalism from the point of view of Party unity.

Lenin also demanded that the "peculiarity of the latest tactical methods of the enemies of the Soviet power" should be explained. What does this new policy of the bourgeoisie consist of? Lenin explains this as follows:

"Having convinced themselves of the hopelessness of the counter-revolution under open White Guard banners these enemies are making every effort to utilize the differences within the Russian Communist Party to advance the counter-revolution one way or another by having the power transferred to the political groups which stand nearest, by appearance, to the Soviet power."

The bourgeoisie is incapable of overthrowing us in open battle. It therefore changes its policy and supports those who appear to be near to the slogans of the Soviet power, but who diverge just a little bit away from the Bolshevik line.

"The propaganda must explain the experience of the preceding revolutions when the counter-revolution supported the petty bourgeois groupings most closely approaching the extreme revolutionary Party in order to shake and overthrow the revolutionary dictatorship, thereby opening the road for the complete victory of the counter-revolution of the capitalists and landlords in the future."

During the great French Revolution the counter-revolution took advantage of the fractions formed within the victorious revolutionary (Jacobin) Party, supported the "moderate" wing against the "extreme" wing of the same Party, and thus overthrew the extremists as well as the moderates. The mod-

erates proved to be an unconscious weapon in the hands of the counter-revolution. The modern bourgeoisie would be very happy of course if a "moderate" wing were to spring up in our Party demanding the "mitigation" of the dictatorship, etc., and overthrowing the "extreme" Leninist wing. But the hopes of the bourgeoisie will remain futile. Let us go back to Lenin's directions:

"Every organization of the Party must strictly see to it that the absolutely necessary criticism of the Party defects, the analysis of the general line of the Party, the summing up of its practical experience, the verification of the errors, etc., should be directed not at a discussion in the groups developing on the basis of some "platform," etc., but at a discussion by the entire Party membership. To this end the Congress directs the regular publication of a 'Discussion Sheet' and of special books."

Lenin does not prohibit the criticism of the Party defects; on the contrary, he regards such criticism "absolutely necessary." But he says: If you have anything to say about our defects, if you have any thoughts or ideas about the Party policy, about the methods of correcting our errors, do not pick up a group which meets apart from the Party, conspires, whispers into each other's ears only to come forward sometime later with a "platform," but submit your ideas to the entire Party membership for discussion. This is the only correct way of deciding Party questions.

Defects in the Party must be criticized but at the same time:

". . . anyone advancing some criticism must take into consideration the condition of the Party, surrounded as it is by enemies, and must strive to correct the errors of the Party by direct participation in the Soviet and Party work."

Lenin pointed out the limitations of criticism, stating that it must not have an irresponsible character. It must be remembered that our criticism is heard not only by our friends and supporters, by the workers and peasants, but also by our

enemies. Our criticism must be such as to help the Party to discover and remedy its faults without furnishing a weapon into the hands of the enemies. Criticism for the sake of criticism is worthless. Do not merely criticize the defects, but help to remove them by your cooperation.

Fractions and groupings represent a great danger to the Party but this danger is even enhanced when fractionalism penetrates the Central Committee of the Party, when the fraction is headed by Central Committee members who oppose themselves to the rest of the C. C. No cracks must be allowed to develop among the leading Party layer. For this reason the 10th Congress adopted, on a motion by Lenin, the following decision kept until recently in secret: The joint Session of the C. C. and the Central Control Committee has been empowered to reduce C. C. members to candidates and even to expel from the Party any C. C. member violating the Party discipline or "engaging in fractionalism," such a decision requiring two-thirds of the vote. Since during the last discussion the danger developed of fractionalism springing within the Central Committee itself the 13th Party Conference decided to make the above point of the resolution on Party unity public.

At the 11th Congress of the Party (1921)—the last Congress attended by Lenin—representatives of the former labor opposition who attempted to organize a new group just before the Congress, came out with speeches in justification of their activities. In this connection Lenin again dealt with the question of Party unity.

"There are some things with which you cannot play about; there are such things as the unity of the Party. We must not waste time playing at Party unity. We know that we are losing a good deal from this struggle within the Party. This lesson must not be forgotten!"  
(*Speech at Eleventh Congress, 1922.*)

# Party Organizer



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# PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. IV

JUNE, 1931

No. 5

## Inner Life of the Units

J. PETERS (*Dist. 2*)

**S**INCE the establishment of the Unit Buros and their authority in the unit, the inner life of the Party has somewhat improved. But it is yet far from being satisfactory. Some of the Unit Buros are not functioning properly or are not functioning at all. This basic organizational defect creates an impermissible situation in the unit. It is true that in many units the entire buro was changed since we discussed the role and task of the buro. A discussion in the unit as to how and why it is necessary to change the situation is very important. A few outstanding bad features of our unit meetings are:

1. Meetings start half an hour to an hour later than they are called for, because the unit leadership is not there, or else we wait for more comrades to come.

2. In many units we spend hours to find out whether the last week's assignments were carried out or not, and to assign comrades for the next week's work.

3. There is too much time wasted settling for literature, tickets, *Daily Workers* and dues.

4. The report of the unit organizer includes every activity of the unit for the whole week. The unit organizer gives this report in one breath. In one unit, for example, the unit organizer, using the Section org. letter as a basis of his report, spoke about the Scottsboro case, unemployed campaign, Daily Worker Drive, Party assessment, shop activity. Then one comrade got up and proposed to accept the report of the buro and that settled the report. In the best case a very general discussion is started on all the various problems without any concrete results.

5. We have in almost every unit one or two comrades who will never miss a chance to take the floor. Their destructive criticism and petty quarrelings disrupts the work

of the unit and creates an atmosphere which makes it almost impossible to work.

6. The comrade who is assigned to lead the discussion is not prepared and many times only reads the outline. The report is dull, dry and never induces the members to discuss the problems.

No wonder that a new member is quickly disillusioned. Instead of a disciplined army of the working class he finds a loose organization.

The unit members must discuss this problem and sharply criticize the Unit Buro if it fails to prepare the unit meeting.

Criticize the Section or District Committee if they fail to give proper guidance.

Criticize the individual members if they continue to disrupt the unit meeting with their destructive actions.

Criticize the functionaries if they are not prompt, if they neglect their duties. And remove the unit functionaries if the criticism does not help.

What shall we do to overcome the very bad situation in the units?

1. The Unit Buro should work out concrete proposals to the units. The agenda should be made up on the basis of the problems to be discussed in the units—for example:

- a) Scottsboro case.
- b) Concentration work.
- c) Daily Worker Drive.
- d) Unemployment.
- e) Discussion.

The members of the Unit Buro should divide among themselves the various points on the agenda, bringing the proposals of the Unit Buro to the unit—for example the Agitprop director reports on the Scottsboro case, the unit organizer on the concentration point, the org. secretary on the Daily Worker drive, etc. After each report the proposals of the Unit Buro shall be discussed, amended and supplemented.

2. The meeting must start promptly at the time it is called. The unit functionaries must be there at least half an hour before the unit meeting. Do not wait for more members. Start with those who know their bolshevik duty. Criticize the rest for their lateness. The meeting shall not last longer than 2½ hours. The points on the

agenda shall be timed—for example: 40 minutes for the Scottsboro case; 20 minutes for the *Daily Worker* drive; 20 minutes for the concentration work; one hour for discussion.

3. The Unit Buro must prepare the individual assignments and give them out to the members quickly. Those members who are not present and who are assigned by the Unit Buro shall be informed about the assignment by the captains of the groups of five.

The check up on the last week's assignment can be done before the unit meeting starts, or even during the meeting by the org. secretary in the following way. A comrade who is assigned gets a slip of paper about his assignment. He has to bring back the slip of paper at the next unit meeting and give it to the org. secretary who checks it thru the record activity sheet. Those comrades who did not attend to their duty shall be called to responsibility.

4. The settlement for tickets, dues, etc. shall be taken care of before the meeting starts. The comrades come to the unit meeting one by one and the org. secretary and functionaries should utilize the time before the unit meeting to take care of these technical matters. A special point on the agenda for 5 or 10 minutes will make it possible to take care of those members who came late.

5. Transfers, leaves of absences, shall be taken care of by the Unit Buro.

6. The discussion shall be prepared a week in advance. The members shall be told what material they shall read during the week for the discussion. The reporter shall get guidance and material from the section agitprop director for his report.

7. Prepare special discussions on unit problems. The work of the individual members in the shop, the inner life of the unit, mass work of the unit.

8. A lot of unnecessary discussion will be eliminated if the org. secretary would know what major tasks the members have and would know about their activity in the mass organizations to which they are assigned. The up-to-date record activity sheets will solve this problem.

## Distribution and Check-up of Party Tasks

We are reprinting below a copy of a letter sent to all units in District No. 8 on distribution of Party tasks and check-up on their fulfillment. We are also reproducing the form Fraction Activity Card used in that District. As the problems taken up in this letter are characteristic of the Party generally it is reprinted for the benefit of the entire Party. District, Section, and Unit Buros should consider it thoroughly.

\* \* \*

COMMUNIST PARTY—DISTRICT No. 8

*This letter should be  
read at Unit meetings  
and studied by Buro.*

May 15, 1931.

**T**O ALL UNITS:

Dear comrades:

Everywhere in the Party we meet the cry of too many meetings—too much work loaded on a few comrades and none on others. In the Unit, when it comes to assigning work, excuses of every kind are given—some good, some bad. In order to overcome this we are telling each Unit and Section, if any of their members have work elsewhere, so that they will be able to check up.

The following basic rules should be remembered:

1. To belong to the Party, one must be active where the Party assigns each comrade and not where individuals personally may desire to be active.
2. Every Party member must be active in a specific field of work. Those who are not willing to do work must be ousted.
3. The main emphasis on mass work must be in the shop to build and extend activity of Shop Committees, among the unemployed and to build Unemployed Councils, and the building of the Party.
4. Every member must belong to the Unions or Leagues of the TUUL.

FRACTION ACTIVITY CARD					Book No.	
	Trade Union Attendance	T. U. Fraction		Other Mass Fract.		Remarks
		Attendance	Activity	Attendance	Activity	
June						
July						
Aug.						
Sept.						
Oct.						
Nov						
Dec.						
Jan.						
Feb.						
March						
April						
May						

**RULES FOR HANDLING FRACTION ACTIVITY CARDS**

1. The assignment of each comrade's main activity is for the Party to decide and not the individual member.
2. The nucleus organizer should have a list of all members and what organizations they belong to and what organization their main activity is to be in.
3. Each comrade in mass organization should be given a fraction activity card.
4. The number of the Party member's book should be written on the Fraction Card to serve as an identification.
5. The fraction secretary is held responsible by the District Committee for keeping a strict checkup which is entered on this activity card.
6. The nucleus buro should review all fraction activity cards at least once a month.
7. To indicate attendance the fraction secretary should write in "yes" with initials--if comrade did not attend leave space blank.
8. Record of carrying out activity decided upon by the fraction will be recorded by writing in "yes" with initials. If comrade fails to carry out activity write in "no" with initials. If no activity was assigned, leave blank.

*Form of Fraction Activity Card used in Chicago District  
(Lower part of cut is reverse side of card)*

In connection with the proper distribution of work among all members, the following basic rules should be applied:

1. Every member must be a member of a Party Nucleus and attend regularly each week.

2. The Nucleus to which each member belongs is charged with the duty of checking each member's activity, regardless of who the member is, or what work he is doing.

3. Unless notified by District or Section, every member is at complete disposal of Nucleus. *Statements by individual members that they are assigned by anyone other than District or Section Committee is to be disregarded by Nucleus.*

4. In addition to attending nuclei meetings, every member who is assigned to fraction work in any mass organization, or to Section or District work must give one night weekly to direct Nucleus work.

5. Members not assigned to a mass organization fraction or to specific Section or District work, must give a minimum of two nights weekly to Nucleus work.

6. When you are notified that a comrade is very active in some field of mass work, don't elect that comrade to your Unit Buro. Some comrades, even though assigned to mass work (providing it is not marked "very active") can be utilized for Unit functionaries.

7. Don't load work on a few comrades. Distribute the work and involve everybody. For absentees at meetings the Nucleus Buro has received instructions how to bring them to meetings.

8. In assigning work, distinguish between old and new members. Don't daze the new member with too many tasks at once.

9. Every new member must be advised to read and study two nights a week. Nucleus *must give new members guidance in reading.* Old members to have one night weekly to study as a part of their Party work.

10. Every member of a Party fraction shall receive a Fraction Activity Record Card, which is to be reviewed by Nucleus Buro at least once a month (see sample of card).

### Immediate Attention

We are giving to each Section Committee the list of their members who have been assigned to specific fraction

work in mass organizations or to District work. We will indicate the degree of activity. Take this list and compare it with your Section Membership list and then go through it yourself, assigning the main work of comrades you need for fraction work in organizations in your territory. Do this jointly with Unit Organizers. Indicate also who is active as Section Functionaries. Then divide and give list to each nucleus as a guide for its daily assignment of work to members. Stress importance of every member attending weekly and doing some task which he or she is best fitted for. Then see proper check-up and control system is introduced. The Section must check up on functioning of fractions in mass organization in its territory.

In case of any difficulties or problems, get in touch with Org. Department of D. C.

Put this plan into immediate effect.

**ORG. DEPT.**  
**District Committee.**

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## What Is a Plenum?

A Plenum is a

A **PLENUM** or a **PLENARY SESSION** of the District Committee, Central Committee or the Executive Committee of the Communist International means a full meeting of all members of these respective committees.

**AN ENLARGED PLENUM** of a Party Committee is a session to which leading comrades, not members of the Committee, are invited to attend and participate in the proceedings of the meetings but who have no right to vote.

## Development of Self-Initiative of the Party Units

By J. C.

**A**MONG the greatest obstacles in the development of self initiative in the lower units is the mechanical way of pressing decisions from above onto the lower units. "The unit must" is the usual expression used in communications to the units and by the representatives of higher committees to the units. Our unit membership has the utmost confidence in the correctness of the decisions of the higher committees, which is very good, but though they get a dozen "the unit musts" at every meeting, little effort is made to give the unit any understanding of why and how they must do certain things. As a result of this, individual Party members leave unit meetings without an understanding of how all tasks assigned can be carried out.

Conducting the meeting on this basis, where all the directions of the unit must come from the communication or representative, usually eliminates the need of the unit membership searching for the most effective way of doing the work and also brings a situation of the Unit wherein it depends entirely on instructions before undertaking any activity.

Here in this District we have some outstanding examples of this sort of unit functioning. The system of personal contact has been turned into personal conducting of meetings to so great an extent that in the absence of a representative to a unit it is certain that no meeting will be held. In one instance when the representative to the unit came late, he found that ten members were there about an hour ago and left without holding the meeting because of his absence.

We are now taking steps toward correcting this, first by holding meetings every week of the unit organizers to discuss with them the work of their units and to train them how to lead the unit meetings. We are instructing the comrades who are representatives to the units from higher committees to leave the comrades of the units to conduct the meetings, to train individual comrades in the units and to be responsible for the organization of a Unit Buro capable of leading the work in the unit.



# How to Stabilize Finances in the District

By C. ROSELLE

**A**S THE Party enters into and carries on more organizational work, it finds more and more difficulty in financing and keeping up the district apparatus, issuing leaflets, sending out organizers, keeping full time functionaries, etc. The income of the dues of the Party is inadequate, due to the fact that many Party members are unemployed and receive lower wages, many of them receiving exempt stamps. While more members come into the Party the amount paid in dues is proportionally lower. The income from the affairs is smaller and in some cases they bring a deficit. Especially now, a good financial committee must be established which should work out a budget and plans as to how to cover it.

It was very correctly pointed out in the February issue of the *Party Organizer* we are still operating on a "hand-to-mouth, we'll get-through-some-how" policy. A good example can be given from our district where the League organizer when told to get up a budget and to establish a Finance Committee answered, "What we need is the money, and what good will a budget and Finance Committee do." It took quite a while for the Finance Committee in our District to clear the road for the stabilizing of the finances in the District, but we are now in a more or less better situation than we were before.

We have succeeded in drawing in quite a number of sympathizers who are paying regular so-called pledges, which amount to \$300 a month, outside of supporting affairs and being themselves the initiators of affairs for raising funds for the Party. We have organized them on a territorial basis with committees in charge. Also a city committee has been established with representatives from all the sections.

We have also succeeded in making the fraternal organizations pay the Party 10% of the income on affairs. With a little pressure that was used lately in some of the organizations the motion for the 10% for the Party was fully accepted, and now it is unnecessary to send comrades to them. They send their amounts in themselves.

# Central Control Commission Document

## Reminder on Finances

**I**N the February issue of the PARTY ORGANIZER the Central Control Commission published a statement on the main requirements of planning and keeping records of organization finances.

Every Party member who has to deal with organization finances was instructed to comply with these requirements, and especially, under threat of disciplinary action, was obligated to satisfy certain minimum demands as to financial records.

These demands are so simple and indispensable, that there can be no reason or excuse for non-compliance with them.

Neither is it permissible to delay the change that may be necessary to carry them out, until the old records are straightened out.

### Minimum Requirements

Very briefly summarized, the minimum requirements are as follows:

For every amount of income of cash received, a *duplicating* receipt must be issued on the spot, giving all necessary information.

For every amount of expenditure, of cash paid out, a properly signed voucher must be obtained and kept for entry and auditing purposes, which also must give full information about the expenditure.

A CASH BOOK must be kept, into which all cash received and cash paid items must be entered chronologically (day by day) and without delay.

Monthly statements of cash received and paid must be prepared promptly after the end of *each month*, and the monthly statements must show the income and expenditures in an analyzed form (so much total received for dues, for literature, from donations, etc.; and so much total spent for dues, for literature, for wages, etc.).

A record of assets and liabilities must be kept.

Periodic audits must be arranged for, and in transfer-

ring an office to a new functionary all funds and financial records should be audited and transferred in a systematic and orderly manner.

### Immediate Check-up Necessary

Those comrades who have not yet acquainted themselves with the financial requirements published in the February issue of the PARTY ORGANIZER, should do so now.

All leading committees, and especially all District Control Commissions must make a quick survey and see to it that all functionaries and technical assistants within their jurisdiction are properly planning and keeping records of all organization finances entrusted to them.

Disregard of the rules laid down by the Central Control Commission is apt to reflect very harmfully upon the political and organizational influence of the Party and must not be countenanced.

## There Is No Struggle too Small (Lenin)

*(From Resolution of 3rd Congress of C. I.)*

**C**OMMUNISTS must be mobilized in full force, especially in times of strikes, lockouts and other mass dismissals of workers, in order to take part in the workers' movement.

It would be a great mistake for Communists to treat with contempt the present struggles of the workers for slight improvements of their working conditions, even to maintain a passive attitude to them, on the plea of the Communist program and the need of armed revolutionary struggle for the final aims.

*No matter how small and modest the demands of the workers may be, for which they are ready and willing to fight today with the capitalists, the Communists must never make the smallness of the demands an excuse for non-participation in the struggle.*

Our agitational activity should not lay itself bare to the accusation of stirring up and inciting the workers to nonsensical strikes and other inconsiderate actions. The Communists must try to acquire the reputation among the struggling masses of being courageous and effective participators in their struggles.



*"Serious politics begins not among thousands but among millions."—Lenin.*

## August First Preparations

**A**UGUST FIRST this year must witness the most gigantic mobilization of the working class against imperialist war the Party has yet undertaken. Preparations must be immediately gotten under way. Part and parcel of the preparations must be the mass sale and distribution of the new pamphlet *War Against Workers' Russia*. Failure to order the full quota of these pamphlets and to organize their sale and distribution reflects a serious underestimation of the war danger, particularly against the Soviet Union, and lack of any serious preparations for August First. This pamphlet must be sold widely among the workers, particularly in the shops and in workers' organizations. It must be sold not only in the headquarters city but in every city and town where we have contact, laying the basis for broad, August First United Front Conferences and anti-war committees. Sections and Units which have not yet received this pamphlet should immediately inquire from their Section and District Committees as to their quota and what steps are being taken to get them. Section and Unit Buros must lay concrete plans for shop gate meetings and sale of this pamphlet, for canvassing workers' organizations, and for cooperating with the Districts in financing large purchases of this pamphlet. The first quotas must now be doubled. At least 100,000 of these pamphlets must be sold and distributed by August First. Wherever serious attention has been given to this work, this excellent 32-page, two-cent pamphlet sells very rapidly among the workers.

## The Party Leaflet — Its Policy and Construction

**T**HE Party leaflet is not a mechanically constructed advertisement for which a definite formula can be applied, but there are some fundamental principles which, if understood, can guide a functionary to more quickly master the art of leaflet construction. It is only with this view that the following is submitted.

A leaflet issued by the Communist Party to the masses of workers (whether a general leaflet or one issued to some specific section of the working class, such as workers in a certain shop or industry, unemployed, Negro, women, military, etc.) is a political document in which the Party analyzes a given situation and tells the workers how best to take advantage of the opportunity to fight, whether for some gains or to prevent losses. Because the leaflet is a political document it must clearly and correctly present the line of the Party.

Those comrades active in the drafting and formulation of leaflets should keep posted on all events of a local, national, and international character. These comrades must make a regular habit of studying Marxist-Leninist works, the *Communist*, *Inprecorr*, and especially the *Daily Worker*. The "Daily" is not merely a newspaper for the masses of workers, but as the central organ of our Party, it must be utilized by every functionary as a source of information and political guidance. The Party policy on all subjects pertaining to the working class appears every day in the editorial columns on the first page of the "Daily." A systematic study of these editorials will clarify the problems before our Party, and the functionary will so learn to draw the proper conclusions from the various local problems arising continuously. Too often we lose wonderful opportunities for struggle because our comrades fail to understand their significance, and how to take advantage of them.

The mimeographed leaflet is the most popular form used by the Party because of its convenience and relatively low cost. While a printed leaflet may sometimes be rather lengthy (tho it should be avoided whenever pos-

sible), the mimeographed leaflet because of its character should be short and snappy. (Sometimes it may be necessary to issue a special mimeographed leaflet dealing more thoroly and at greater length with some subject, but this article is confined to the type of leaflet generally used).

The mimeographed leaflet should be divided into 3 parts (sections):

1. The main issue (the present problem, wage cut, impending layoff, etc.)
2. Linking up the present issue with the problem on a broader scale (developing a campaign, etc.)
3. The program of action (advising workers to join some organization of struggle, to support a campaign, to strike or demonstrate, etc.)

The formulation of the leaflet is an important consideration.

The leaflet should be addressed to the group of workers it is issued to. The salutation of the leaflet is not a main issue. Typed, or neatly written with a stylus, it should not (in most cases) be outstanding.

The three parts of the leaflet should have appropriate headlines attracting the attention of the workers to the purpose of the leaflet. The headlines should be carefully and neatly written with a stylus, using different styles of printing for the various headlines to lend color to it. The formulation of the paragraphs themselves is important. Care must be exercised in the choice of words, avoiding high falutin' language, using short, clear sentences.

A paragraph underscored to give it prominence, or the use of caps; are all good methods of avoiding monotony.

The paragraph must have continuity. A leaflet must stick to the subject. Rambling from the need for toilets in a certain shop, to the Chinese revolution is impermissible. Slogans must be chosen carefully. Abstract slogans must at all times be avoided. A leaflet loses its value if it is full of slogans, even good ones, if they are meaningless to the workers. The slogans must be closely related and must form a logical conclusion to the text of the leaflet.

These directives should give the functionary (especially those who have not been involved in practical Agitprop work) a basis to start on, but it is only the experiences thru persistent work that will teach us this work.

## DEALING WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN THE SHOP PAPER

### HOW R. R. WORKERS ARE CARED FOR— U.S.A. and in the SOVIET UNION.

Dear Editor:-

I have ready your article in the last issue of the "headlight" on the conditions in the hospital. I am writing this letter to give you some more information.

Since your article appeared the bosses in the S.P. shops have increased the Medical Fee from \$1.00 to \$1.50 a month. The main reason for it is that the bosses are trying to keep up the hospital at our expense. Since the number of men working has been decreased, those on the job are being made to make up the difference, through increased fees.

At the same time the service in the hospital is worse than rotten. A worker in the car shop department nearly lost his eyesight because of the rotten treatment he received in the hospital.

It was only after he went to a private doctor, that his eyesight was saved. This worker got hurt while working in the S.P. shops, and he lost several months pay, and received no compensation from the company. I certainly agree with you that we workers need organization.

An S.P. Worker.

#### EDITORIAL COMMENT:

In the U.S.A., the railroads, as well as all other industries, are owned by the bosses. They are interested in profits for themselves only. They exploit and drive the workers to the limit, not giving a damn about the health of us, or that of our families. In the Soviet Union, where the workers have overthrown the bosses and have established a Workers' and Farmers' Government, the workers run the industries for their benefit.

In this country, the Communist Party, is the only party fighting for Social and Unemployment Insurance. We workers in the S.P. shops, who may still be working now, must unite with the unemployed workers, and support the demand for Social and Unemployment Insurance, paid for by the bosses. DEMONSTRATE MAY 1 - for Unemployment and Social Insurance; For a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the U.S.A.

JOIN THE ONLY PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS—THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Apply - 734 Harrison Street, San Francisco, Calif.

#### A SAN FRANCISCO DOCTOR WRITES ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION.

Ralph A. Reynolds, a San Francisco Physician, who visited the Soviet Union, writes in the "Reader's Digest" of November 1930.

"The railway companies in the Soviet Union which are operated by the state, protect the worker and his family by a system of Social Insurance. This entitles the worker to many privileges, such as old-age pensions, partial support of the unemployed, extension of free medical aid to all ill or crippled workers, vacations of workers on full pay, time off from work with full pay to care for a sick member of a workers' family, and many other privileges. Such an all-embracing social responsibility is naturally expensive, and anywhere from 15 to 20 percent of the wage bill of any business enterprise must be set aside from the proceeds of the business to cover this tax."



(From the "Headlight," issued in the Southern Pacific Shops, San Francisco)—See comments on page 32

## Experience in Organizing a Block Committee for Scottsboro Defense

By J. MOGUL (Phila., Pa.)

**S**OME comrades say they cannot speak English, and therefore they cannot be useful in organizing block committees and other organizational activities. This is merely an excuse. From my experience in establishing block committees, I can state the following: our Unit Buro picked a certain block in a proletarian neighborhood and the group of comrades assigned went from house to house. When the worker came to the door and asked what we wanted we didn't have to speak to him in a particular fancy language to explain what we came for. We told him that we are from the L.S.N.R. and I read to him our platform. To some workers we did not have to speak, or read our platform. When I said we are here from the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and the I.L.D. which defends the 9 Negro youths of Scottsboro and asked him to come to a block meeting he said, "I'll be there, I'll be there, keep on going, keep on going, I am with you."

When we were through knocking at the doors and we came to the house where the worker allowed us to have the meeting at 4 o'clock, and we found already about 15 workers waiting for the meeting, I explained to them in my broken English the purpose in organizing the block committees. After a thorough discussion in which everybody participated we elected an Executive Board of 5, of the following officers: Secretary, Organizer, Financial Secretary, Liberator Agent. We also elected a delegate to the City Committee of the L.S.N.R. and 2 delegates to the Joint Conference. We decided to affiliate with the L.S.N.R. and they pledged themselves to campaign to free the 9 Negro boys from the legal lynching by the bosses' government at Scottsboro, Alabama. We adjourned the meeting with enthusiasm to organize more block committees not only to free the 9 Negro boys in Scottsboro but to help to free all class war victims.



# Rooting the Party in the Shops

## Some Experiences in Shop Work

By EDITH BRISCOL (District 5)

**T**HE biggest problem before the Metal Workers Industrial League at present is to utilize the sweeping campaign of wage cuts now taking place in the metal and steel industry for the development of struggles in the steel industry, for the building of the Metal Workers Industrial League. I believe very few of our comrades deny the fact that this is becoming an immediate problem. But a bigger problem yet is how to do it. Often in our attempt to develop struggles among the steel workers we begin with a lot of noise, with calling mass meetings, with issuing leaflets which call upon the workers to organize and fight. This is just making noise not based on concrete work, and which does not appeal to the steel workers. To begin with a method like this had proven to be a complete failure.

We must, therefore, analyze the methods which have been used by some of the organizers in the field and which brought definite results in the building of the M.W.I.L.

For example let us take a steel mill where we have no organization whatsoever. We should remember that we cannot organize several thousand steel workers at one shot. Therefore, we must go about establishing the first link of the shop organization—the shop group. How can this be done? The preliminary step is to get the contacts from the shop. This can be done through various means. First of all utilize all the Party and Y.C.L. members, all the contacts from non-party organizations, the fraternal organizations, etc. Another way of getting contacts is by house to house visiting with the Labor Unity, talking to the workers at the shop gates and at lunch hour.

Once the contacts are acquired, the next step is to see every one of them individually, speak to them in their homes, answer all their questions personally and then in-

vite them to a meeting. Meetings of this kind should be held in private homes, especially in small steel towns, where the workers are well known to each other. This fact must be made known to the workers, in order to make them aware of the special methods used by the Union to safeguard the jobs of the steel workers.

It is not so much of a problem to establish a shop group as it is to keep it going, to develop it and to spread the influence of the Union throughout the shop. Too many times in the past we had shop groups established and then they disappeared after a meeting or two. Most of the time this was a result of the meetings, which did not appeal to the steel workers.

Let us see how the meetings should be conducted, what should be taken up at these meetings? The first point on the agenda should be a discussion on conditions in the shop. All the grievances and issues in the shop must be brought out and thoroughly discussed. On the basis of this discussion demands should be worked out. Then the group should begin preparations to issue a leaflet on conditions in the shop at the same time popularizing the demands worked out by the shop group.

Another very important point on the agenda of the meetings should be the bringing in of new members. We must be careful not to be mechanical about assigning the members to bring in new ones. First, the question of HOW to bring in new members should be discussed. Then the names of the best, most trustworthy workers in the shop are to be brought out and every member is to be assigned to bring in one or two. These assignments should be checked up at every meeting with every member giving a short report on his activities in the shop.

Aside from the points mentioned above, special discussions on the trade union movement and other educational topics should be conducted from time to time.

Here are just a few of the methods to be used in order to build the M.W.I.L. These methods, if properly carried out, will develop the group and spread the influence of the union throughout the shop. This will lead to the establishment of real shop organization—the shop committee.

## Examine Our Factory Work

S. V. V.

**I**N SPITE of all directions, there are many Party members who have not any idea how to work in the shop. Altho it is generally understood that one is not to go to a worker and point blank and at once request him to organize, strike, demonstrate or join the Party, still just what Party members inside the shop should do and say does not seem to be clear to our comrades.

Many party members working in shops have no connections with the workers in their shops but think that their activities must take place somewhere else. Many are definitely afraid of losing their jobs and will give all kinds of excuses for failure to carry on work in the shop where they work.

Care and tact should indeed be used in order not to lose the job. To lose the job often means failure, for in that case often nothing more can be accomplished by way of connection and day to day activity inside. We must find the correct method to carry on the work and remain on the job as long as possible.

In order to get the confidence of the workers we must be on friendly terms with them, taking part in their conversation and their jokes, eating with them, etc. In the factory workers talk about shop conditions and comrades should be on the spot to push them still further in their observations and their dissatisfaction. Step continually to the left in conversation a step at a time bringing the workers along. It will take time and patience. It cannot be done in hours or days. They must see the perfect logic of your argument and you must speak *not as a soap boxer or a seasoned Communist theorist* for then they will not listen and you will be known too soon as a Communist before you have had the opportunity to get in all the necessary ground work. Little by little from conditions in the shops go on to the speed up, wage cuts, unemployment and then to the need for organization. Don't appear too insistent at first. Just be one of the workers, which indeed you are.

## How the Communist Party of Germany Solves Its Problems

*The following is an extract from an article in the May 15th issue of the "Communist International" entitled "The Organizational Work of the Communist Party of Germany." This extract shows that the C. P. of G. has faced many of the organizational problems which face our Party. The article itself shows how the German comrades are solving these problems. Already their success is reflected in a doubling of the Party membership within a six months' period. The membership is now around 250,000 with 1,524 shop nuclei. What steps are taken to overcome fluctuations in membership? How is the work of winning the workers in non-Party mass organizations and united front organizations being developed? All of these and other questions are taken up in this article in the "Communist International" which should be obtained and read in full by every member of our Party.*

\* \* \*

### WHAT ARE THE IMMEDIATE ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS CONFRONTING THE PARTY?

**T**HE first task in regard to organization which stands before the Party is that of accelerating the tempo of development of the forces of the Party, intensified recruiting among the masses of the workers, especially in the factories, for strengthening its ranks and extending its mass basis among the various strata of toilers, and the creation of numerous new factory cells and improvement of our factory work in all spheres.

The most important central task of today is the rapid development of the Red Trade Union Opposition and of the revolutionary Unions in the struggle against the employers, the State power and the Social-Fascist bureaucracy. At the same time, it is necessary that the work of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition should take on a sharper political character through the strengthening of the fractional activity in the Social-Fascist and

Christian trade unions by introduction among them of revolutionary workers and the immediate taking up of fraction work in our own trade union organizations. Further, there is required more rapid working out of our fighting strategy and tactics through complete utilization of the lessons of previous struggles and the mass education of the lower and middle functionaries in our unions and in the Revolutionary Opposition.

The second task is the strengthening of fraction work in all the other non-Party mass organizations, which occur in such great numbers in Germany and which are under Social-Fascist, semi-Fascist or open Fascist leadership. In connection with this, we must with greater energy than up to the present, organizationally strengthen the mass organizations under the leadership of our fractions and direct them towards the solution of the newer and bigger tasks corresponding to the ever-sharpening situation with which they are faced, particularly in the spheres of mass policy and of the struggle against the danger of imperialist war and against Fascist dictatorship.

Thirdly, we must develop more rapidly than before, consolidate and improve the work of the various united front organizations such as Peasant Committees, Women's Delegate Meetings, Unemployed Committees, Electoral Committees, Committees of Action and Strike Committees.

Finally, there are to be organized new, still more comprehensive united front organs in and for the struggle against Fascism. These organs are:

(1) The revolutionary political representatives in the factories.

(2) Local, regional and district Delegate Conferences against Fascism and the Fascist dictatorship.

(3) Local and district Committees of Action against the Fascist dictatorship.

\* \* \*

### HOW DOES THE PARTY ATTEMPT TO SOLVE THESE TASKS?

**A**LREADY in 1929, as a result of the increasing radicalization of the working class and the growing experience of the membership, the recruiting activity of the German Communist Party began to achieve an increasing measure of success. Masses of workers began to enter the

ranks of the Party. However, the Party was only able to keep a small number of these newly-recruited members, the remainder went out again after a shorter or longer period. Consequently, the membership in almost all districts showed a vacillating picture, but the total impression was one of stagnation.

The Party attempted with all its force to struggle against this phenomenon. The first thing that it had to do was to determine the causes of the fluctuation. By means of hundreds of questionnaires sent out to factory cells and local groups, by questioning workers who came into the Party and went out again, material on the subject was accumulated. It revealed a good deal that was not very creditable to the Party, *e. g.*, weak political life in the lower units of the organization, opportunism and sectarianism, feeble authority exercised by the lower leadership, superior attitude adopted by the older towards the younger members, neglect to draw in the newer Party members into Party work and, to some extent, personal quarrels and bureaucratic distortions which led to the new members not even receiving their membership cards promptly. Such were the complaints which again and again were brought forward by workers as the main cause for the fluctuation.

It was also no easy matter to make a fight against this state of affairs. In the course of a protracted and arduous inner-Party campaign, the leadership in eight districts and the subordinate leadership in innumerable cases was replaced by new comrades and everywhere new elections were held. A staff of instructors was organized for the Centre, and for the leadership of the districts, sub-districts and largest groups, which, while still comparatively weak, nevertheless furnished valuable work. As was shown later by the development of the membership figures, the carrying through of these measures created the prerequisites for big successes. The defects shown, however, have not been completely removed. It was only the last session of the Central Committee which resolved to do away with the grey membership cards handed out to new members during the first year of their membership and which marked them off as a subordinate class of members in distinction to the older ones who received a black membership card. Since March, 1930, stagnation has been overcome, but not yet fluctuation.

# Lenin's Teachings About the Party

(Excerpts from Book by V. SORIN)

## CENTRALISM

### The Party Is Directed from One Center

“**WITHOUT** a single leading center, without a single central organ, real unity of the Party is impossible.” (*The Workers about the Party Split, 1905.*)

The supreme organ of the Party is the Congress. The Congress elects a Central Committee which represents the highest Party institution between congresses. The C. C. enjoys tremendous power in the Party.

Our Party is based at present upon the principle of democratic centralism. This means that all the leading institutions and organs of the Party are elected from top to bottom; the higher the Party organ, the greater a share of the Party it represents, the more power does it control as affecting upon the lower ones.

“Democratic centralism merely means that representatives from the local branches come together and elect a responsible organ of administration. . . . Democratic centralism consists of the Congress controlling the Central Committee, recalling it and appointing a new Central Committee.” (*Concluding speech on CC report to 9th Congress of the Party, 1920.*)

The lowest link of the Party, the one nearest to the masses, is the nucleus, consisting of the Communists of the given mill, factory, institution, village, or military unit. The general meeting of the nucleus elects its leading center, a bureau, which may be re-elected at any time. All questions at general meetings or at the meetings of the bureau are decided by a plain majority. As soon as the decision is passed it becomes obligatory upon all the members of the given organization. The minority must accept the decision of the majority. Such is the basic rule of democracy.

A group of nuclei constitutes a District or county organization with a District or county committee at its head. Several District and county organizations constitute a provincial organization which elects a provincial committee. The general Party Congress elects the Central Committee. Each Party institution is responsible for its activity to the entire organization and to the higher Party body.

### FEDERALISM

The principle opposed to centralism is federalism, a principle rejected by our Party. Were the Party to be built upon the principle of federalism the various organizations would be independent of each other and their relations would be based upon agreements and understandings. Under federalism the part cannot be made to submit itself to the whole or the minority to the majority. Each organization is supreme in itself. The committees are based upon equal representation of all the organizations; only those decisions of the committee are put into effect which are accepted by "our" representatives. Under centralism the Party committees have greater rights and powers than under federalism. Under centralism the Party is based upon the submission of the lower to the higher; under federalism, upon the principle of agreements between the lower and the higher. Under federalism there can be no strong and solid organization or powerful authoritative leading organs.

"Heretofore the principle of 'agreements' between members of one and the same organization or party who are in accord on all essential questions of program and policy, has been considered a principle of anarchism. (*The Third Step Back*, 1905.)

The Bolsheviki are opposed to the Party representing a sum of organizations and groups coming to agreements with each other. Prior to the 2nd Congress (in 1903) negotiations were conducted with the Jewish Labor Party ("Bund") for its affiliation with the Russian social-democratic Labor Party. The Bundists proposed an alliance or agreement between the two Parties. Lenin replied that there was to be no alliance but on amalgamation, no federation but a single Party.



"In the struggle against the autocracy, in the struggle against the bourgeoisie of all of Russia, we must act as a single centralized militant organization, we must base ourselves upon the entire proletariat regardless of language and nationality, but solidified by joint and constant decisions of theoretical, practical, tactical and organizational questions, instead of creating separate organizations each one following its own course; we must not weaken the force of our pressure by a division into numerous independent political parties, we must not introduce alienation and separation and then cure the disease that has been artificially inoculated into us by the plasters of the notorious 'federation.'" (*Does the Jewish Proletariat Want an Independent Political Party?*" 1903.)

Strict centralism in the Party does not necessarily mean the restriction of the lower organizations; on the contrary, each organization is fully independent as far as its inner activity is concerned, but it always remembers that it is not a distinct unit but a part of the whole. Only under centralism, in the presence of a single authoritative center governing the Party as a whole, which simultaneously advances similar tasks everywhere and always pursues a single policy in every part of the Republic.

### ON THE SLOGAN "DOWN WITH THE LEADERS"

It has already been stated that the labor leaders constitute one of the most important elements of the labor movement. The denial of the role and importance of the leaders and of their absolute necessity is based upon a simplified, vulgar conception of democracy, upon anarcho-rebellious sentiments, upon a failure to understand the very essence of the struggle which requires that the class have its leaders in the person of the Communist Party, and that the latter have leaders, just as an army has a staff and commanders to lead it. It only sounds very radical to say that "we can fight for the cause of labor without leaders," that we can secure socialism by "caloused hands" and muscular arms. No serious movement is possible without a group of tried leaders and only those protest against leadership who either fail, to their own

misfortune, to understand the conditions of organization or themselves profess to the position of leadership, in which case the cry "Down with the leaders" is a mere demagogic subterfuge designed to overthrow the old leaders and replace them by new ones.

Of course, in the intention to replace old leaders by new ones there is nothing bad in principle: the leaders are not sacred and inviolable and their replacement by other leaders does not represent a sacrilege. The Party elects its leaders and it has the right to choose other leaders if it should so desire. This is clear. But from the point of view of Bolshevism there are two things that cannot be allowed: firstly, a denial "in principle" of the necessity for the Party of a group of tried leaders, the claim that we do not need any leaders, that we can get along without "guardians," etc. This is anarchism. Secondly, it is wrong to strive to replace good leaders, firm and hardened Bolsheviks, by bad unstable leaders, who fluctuate and easily fall under the influence of the petty bourgeoisie. This is opportunism.

Lenin always urged upon the workers the necessity of leaders for the movement and fought against those denying the role of leaders and recognizing none but the masses. We have already quoted Lenin's opinion of leadership, expressed in 1920. In 1902 Lenin, in combatting the views of the "deniers" referred to the German Social Democratic Party, whose hundreds of thousands of members know how to value their leaders (Bebel and Liebknecht) and defend them by all means.

*"Among the Germans," Lenin wrote, "political thinking has already been sufficiently developed, sufficient political experience has been gained to understand that without a 'dozen' gifted (and gifted people are not born by the hundred), tried, professionally educated and well trained leaders, working in full cooperation with each other, no class is capable of conducting a resolute struggle in modern society." (What Is to Be Done? 1902.)*

In 1920 the "left" Communists of Germany heatedly opposed the necessity of leaders for the revolutionary labor movement. We do not need any leaders, they claimed, the entire power rests in the masses! It is wrong to draw

any contrast between them, Lenin replied. The class is led by the Party, the Party by leaders. You cannot divide them. And your shouts against the leaders are merely due to your inexperience and immaturity. You are members of a young Party. Do some fighting against capitalism and you will realize yourselves the importance of leaders for the movement. As a case in point Lenin referred to the experience of our Party:

*"Attacks upon the 'dictatorship of the leaders' have always been known in our Party; my first memory of such attacks dates back to 1895, when there was still no formal Party in existence, but the central group in Petersburg was already beginning to develop and had to take upon its leadership of the District groups. At the 9th Congress of our Party (April, 1920) a small opposition attended, which also condemned the 'dictatorship of the leaders,' the 'oligarchy,' etc. So that there is really nothing new, surprising or terrible in the 'Infantile Sickness' of the German 'left Communism.' This sickness is not dangerous and the organism becomes even stronger after it." (The Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism, 1920.)* The "small opposition" referred to by Lenin consisted of Coms, Sapronov, Maximovskiy and others.

## PARTY STRUCTURE

The fourth element which interests us particularly in the Communist Party and with which we shall deal in detail in this pamphlet is the organization of the Party. We know that the Party as a union of political associates in itself represents one of the labor organizations in addition to many others, such as the trade unions, the Soviets of workers' deputies, the cooperative societies, etc. Every organization, including a Party, may be either strong and solidified, or weak and loose.

The Bolshevik Party is the most powerful revolutionary Party of the proletariat on the globe. Every worker entering the Party must ask himself: how is our Party organized? Wherein lies its inner power? What is the order within the Party, what is its system? How is the Party built? What rules secure the power, strength and force

of the Party? What must we be guided by in order to make the Party homogeneous and solid like a rock?

It is well known that our Party (the Russian Communist Party) differs from the other labor Parties, including also the Communist Parties in the West, not only in the correctness of its policies but also in its unheard of organization. It is about these rules or conditions of organization, about the structure of the Party that we shall speak here. We shall not deal with questions of ideology or tactics; they should be studied in other books. We shall touch upon these questions only where this will be necessary for a better understanding of the organizational ideas of Bolshevism and Leninism.

Lenin always attached exceptional importance to the organization of the workers.

*"The proletariat has no other weapon in the struggle for power except organization." ("One Step Ahead, Two Steps Back," 1904.)*

*"The power of the working class lies in its organization. Without organization the proletariat is like nothing. Organized it is everything." ("The Struggle with the Cadet-like Social Democrats and Party Discipline," 1906.)*

*"The class consciousness of the vanguard manifests itself among other things in its ability to organize itself; by organizing itself it gains a single will and this single will of the thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions, becomes the will of the class." (How V. Zaslitch Is Killing Liquidationism," 1913.)*

The wealth of Lenin's ideas in the most diverse fields is inexhaustible. Among others, Lenin created the theory of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat. The Bolshevik teaching of the Party is not limited to Lenin's works, but may be found also in the resolutions and decisions of the Party Congresses and in the direct organizational practice of the Party. It should be remembered that during Lenin's life hardly a single decision was adopted on any important question without Lenin's participation and counsel. Lenin cannot be divided from the Party. It is impossible to draw any distinction between Leni-

nism and Bolshevism, to regard them as two different things. If no direct indications are found in Lenin's works on any of the Party questions they should be sought in the Party resolutions. Lenin's speeches and articles, and the Party resolutions and decisions are two parts mutually complementary and explanatory. In setting forth Lenin's teaching of the Party, it will be our purpose, first of all, to quote Lenin's own opinions on the different questions; in some cases we shall paraphrase Lenin and in some rarer cases we shall explain Lenin's ideas or draw conclusions from them.

## FLEXIBILITY OF ORGANIZATION AND UNITY OF ACTION

At the very beginning of 1902 Lenin in advancing a plan for the construction of the Party, asked: What type of organization do we want? His answer was that the organization must be such as to

"... secure a flexibility necessary for a social democratic militant organization, *i. e.*, an ability quickly to readjust itself to the most diverse and rapidly changing conditions of struggle, an ability to evade a battle in the open field against an overwhelming enemy that has gathered all of its forces at one point, on the one hand, and on the other, to take advantage of the clumsiness of this enemy and attack him when and where he is least prepared for such an attack." (*What Is to Be Done?* 1902.)

Flexibility, an ability quickly to rearrange one's ranks—such is one of the principal demands which Lenin placed upon the Party. Many years afterwards, at the beginning of the imperialist war, Lenin declared that the West European social democratic Parties must change from legal organizations into illegal, secret, underground organizations in order to carry on the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Here is what Lenin wrote about organization and its flexibility:

"Let us take a modern army. Here is a good example of organization. This organization is good simply because it is flexible, because it knows how to

impart a single will to millions of people. Today these millions sit in their various homes at the different ends of the country. Tomorrow a mobilization order is issued and they gather at appointed places. Today they lie in trenches, sometimes for months at a stretch. Tomorrow in a re-arranged order, they march forward to storm the enemy. Today they perform miracles in evading bullets and shrapnel. Tomorrow they perform miracles in open battle. Today their advanced posts lay mines under the ground, tomorrow they cover dozens of miles in accordance with instructions from fliers in the air. This is what you call organization, when in the name of one object, inspired by a single will, millions of people change the form of their intercourse and action, the place and methods of activity, the weapons and arms, in accordance with the changing circumstances and demands of the struggle." (*The Collapse of the 2nd International*, 1915.)

Taking a "modern army" as "a good example of organization," laying special emphasis upon the "flexibility" of the military organization, upon its ability to impart "a single will" to millions of people, Lenin adds:

"The same is true of the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie."

Organizational flexibility, and ability quickly to re-organize one's ranks, to change from illegal form of organization to legal forms and vice versa, while always maintaining unity of leadership, will, action—such are the principal organizational properties of our Party. The Party does not believe in organizational fetishism, in always maintaining a fixed form of structure no matter what the conditions and circumstances. The organizational forms are subordinated to the demands of revolutionary necessity. During the period of underground organization (up to the first revolution of 1905) the Bolsheviks rejected, for instance, the elective principle within the Party, for in the absence of freedom in the country it was impossible to effect inner Party democracy. But immediately the political life in Tzarist Russia gained certain freedom (after October, 1905) the Party changed to democratic organization. Later, during the period of

the reaction (beginning with 1907), the Party again went underground, reducing its democracy to the minimum. The Party had one system of internal organization during the period of military Communism (1918-1921), and it has a different system at the present time.

The Party must adjust its structure to the demands of the current struggle.

"Every form of struggle requires a corresponding technique and apparatus. When owing to the objective conditions the parliamentary struggle becomes the principal form of struggle, the Party apparatus inevitably adjusts itself to the parliamentary struggle. When on the contrary the objective conditions lead to a struggle of the masses in the form of great political strikes and uprisings the Party of the proletariat must adjust its apparatus to deal with these forms of struggle and this apparatus must of course be entirely distinct from the parliamentary apparatus." (*The Crisis of Menshevism*, 1906.)

During the Civil War the Party organizations assumed a semi-war character ("The Militarization of the Party"): extreme centralism, the strictest discipline, action by orders. There was no other way of defeating the enemy. The Party was therefore obliged to reorganize itself on a military basis. In the course of its history the Party has had to change its organizational forms more than once. But each time that the Party was forced to contract itself, to reduce its ranks, or, on the contrary, to expand them, the fundamental type of Bolshevik organization was always maintained.

"In contrast to Europe at the end of the 18th century," Lenin wrote in 1913, "Russia furnishes an example of a country in which the old organization has proved its vitality and effectiveness. This organization has survived the reaction as well despite the defection of the liquidators and the endless number of Philistines. This organization, while maintaining its basic type, has been able to adjust its form to the changing conditions, has been able to adapt its forms to the demands of the time." (*How V. Zaslitch Is Killing Liquidationalism*, 1913.)

Just as an army continues to be an army despite all of its reorganizations, that is, it remains a powerful military organization, just so must the Party retain its basic Bolshevik type while changing its organizational forms. Unity of leadership, will, action, organization—these are the constant elements in the Party. The Party lives and develops, never breaking with its past organization: it sets aside that which has become antiquated and keeps its vital parts, creates new forms adjusted to the new forms of struggle; it maintains successiveness in its activity observes the Party traditions, that is, the lessons of the previous revolutionary experience and always maintains the basic type of Bolshevik organization.

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### **Dealing with the Soviet Union in the Shop Paper**

*(Refer to cut on page 15)*

On page 15 you will find an example of excellent technique in contrasting conditions here with the Soviet Union. One letter gives conditions here, another in the Soviet Union. Our comrades give an editorial comment on both, drawing revolutionary conclusions. And the picture drives home the point.

The formulation in the last paragraph is a little unclear, and fails to bring out the point that our fight for social insurance is an immediate demand under the capitalist system, and only through the overthrow of the present government under the leadership of the Communist Party, can we get conditions such as the workers of Soviet Russia enjoy.

Note the appeal to join our Party, and the comrades didn't forget to display the address of the Party prominently.



# Party Organizer



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Papers.

Lenin's Teachings About  
Party (Excerpts from  
Book by V. Sorin).

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Vol. IV

JULY, 1931

No. 6

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*Issued by*

**CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.**

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# PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. IV

JULY, 1931

No. 6

## From the Org. Directives for August First

### International Red Day Against War.

**A**UGUST First is the International Red Day of Struggle against Imperialist War.

August First, 1931, is the 17th anniversary of the Imperialist War of 1914. On August First all the forces of the international proletariat are mobilized by the Communist International into one vast world wide demonstration against Imperialist War and especially against the imminent war against the Soviet Union.

Struggle against the war danger is a day-to-day task of the Party and is organically linked up with every campaign and activity of the Party.

August First campaign is the intensification of our Anti-War and Defense of the Soviet Union activities and agitation over the period of several months, reaching a high point on International Red Day.

### Coordination of Campaigns.

Today we cannot stop with statements that the August First Campaign must be linked up and coordinated with all other campaigns.

The District and Section Committees must explain to all Party units and Party members exactly how this coordination can be achieved successfully.

*No single campaign or activity of the Party can stop or be weakened during August First preparations.*

*Unemployment activities* must be continued on the basis of struggle for immediate relief, unemployment insurance, against evictions, etc, in the form of mass resistance to eviction, hunger marches, and relief for desperate cases. But especially during this period must we emphasize the demand "All War Funds for Unemployment Relief," not only by use of the slogan but by explanations and formu-

lation of demands on state and city governments that the specific appropriation for armories, militia, school military training, etc., be used for unemployment relief. National War Budget expenditures must be cited in speeches, leaflets, bulletins and contrasted with starving conditions of workers. Unemployed Branches must especially be brought into active preparations for August First by electing delegates to United Front Conference, sending committees to factories, especially war munition plants, at noon and before and after working hours, and visiting workers organizations always bringing forward the unemployment problem in the light of the war preparations.

*Strikes* which are now sweeping the country can best be utilized by pointing out that the bosses cut wages and at the same time spend billions for war preparations against the Soviet Union where workers have abolished capitalism, unemployment, wage cuts, etc.; that police terrorism, arrests, etc., on behalf of the bosses government is a part of the war preparations; that wage-cuts, speed-up, stagger system are a means of raising the competitive abilities of U. S. imperialism in foreign markets and are part of the war preparations to conquer foreign markets thru a new war.

*Scottsboro Campaign* to free the nine boys must be utilized to win the Negro masses, especially to struggle against the coming war of the white bosses who lynch Negro workers in "peace" time and on a wholesale scale in war times. Increased terrorism against Negro masses and foreign born is part of the war preparation plans to use Negro masses as cannon fodder.

All other campaigns must be utilized in a similar way especially the Election Campaign. Detailed slogans and methods of linking each campaign with August First must be worked out by each District and Section Committee.

### Factory Activities.

*The main emphasis, the principal activity and the aim of all preparatory work for August First must be in the factories and at the factory gates.*

Our task on August First is to bring the workers from the factories out on the streets together with the unemployed to demonstrate against war on the issues of unemployment, wage-cuts, speed-up, terrorism, etc., as a part of the bosses' war preparations.

Most of our Party units and revolutionary unions are now concentrating at thousands of factories, mines and mills with the object of organizing the workers to struggle against wage-cuts, speed-up, part time, etc. *This work is to continue* and must be intensified and improved. Our task is to link up our anti-war agitation with our immediate economic demands in the factory. Our main task—to organize the workers into unions, shop committees, grievance committees, factory groups and recruiting of the most advanced workers into the Party—continues unchanged.

In our shop leaflets, shop papers, speeches and conversation we raise the slogans against war danger and intervention as a part of and linked up with our immediate demands by specially calling the workers' attention to the imminence of war and the bosses' preparations for war. We further call on the workers and approach them individually to participate in the organizational preparations for the world wide demonstration against war by accepting to serve on a committee (Anti-War Committee) to mobilize the workers of the factory for the August First Demonstration.

In factories where *Shop Committees*, Union factory branches or factory groups exist, our comrades and TUUL members in these committees raise the issue of the war danger and August First preparations for the purpose of sending delegates to United Front Conference, selecting an Anti-War Committee as a sub-committee, calling a meeting of all factory workers, issuing leaflets, conducting noon-time conversations, etc.

*The existing factory committee (Shop Committee, Grievance Committee, factory branch) does not change its name or purpose.* It assumes an additional task: preparing the workers of the factory for August First. The factory committees shall select Anti-War (sub) committees composed of their own members who, however, must broaden these committees by selecting additional workers from the shop and this involving new elements into definite organizational work.

*Unions and other mass organizations* must be urged to call upon their members in the factories and factory committees to carry out the above tasks.

Every member of the Party working in a factory shall be assigned the task (and told how to do it) of forming

an Anti-War Committee for August First in his or her factory. Two or three or more of the advanced workers can be invited to a comrade's home to discuss this matter, or the discussion can take place at noon time or even during working hours.

In a factory where no committees exist, we endeavor to involve a few friendly and sympathetic workers into a committee to undertake simple activities of talking to other workers; giving them anti-war literature, inviting them to meetings and finally mobilizing them for the August First Demonstration. This is an elementary organizational form with a specific task. This Anti-War Committee is not a permanent body in itself, but provides the basis for the building of a permanent factory group or factory branch of the union.

The basic task of involving the mass organizations in the August First campaign consists in getting the members of these organizations to prepare their fellow workers in the factories for the demonstration as well as their neighbors in the territories where they live.

#### Form of August First Demonstration.

All August First demonstrations to take place *outdoors*. Every effort to be made to organize *marches and parades* even tho of short duration. International demonstrations to be organized in border cities.

Where stationary demonstrations are held, organized groups of workers should march to demonstration.

Generally the demonstrations must be arranged for an hour when the workers from the factories can attend as well as the unemployed and strikers.

While the main slogans must be Anti-War slogans at the demonstrations and marches, it is of utmost importance that all main slogans of our campaigns be used in the demonstrations on August First.

Preparatory marches, demonstrations and meetings are to be held prior to August First especially as various events of a war nature take place during the next preparatory period, such as military manoeuvres, war budget appropriations, intervention in colonies, anti-Soviet measures, articles, speeches, etc. We must immediately react to these events and utilize them fully in the campaign.

*Note: What is your Section and Unit doing about getting its supply of August First pamphlets and organizing their sale?*

# Improving Work of the Party Organization

## Developing Forces

By R. M. (District 12)

“LACK of forces” — who hasn't heard the cry? How many valuable hours have been spent discussing “lack of forces” which could have been used to better advantage in developing Party and non-Party workers?

Basically the initiative of the masses must be aroused. Latent or dormant forces can become dynamic forces and it is up to us to find methods whereby we can more efficiently make the workers conscious of their power and ability to improve their conditions and to change the system.

Strikes and the fights for unemployment relief set great numbers of workers in motion. We should endeavor to use this momentum by showing the workers how to continue the struggle against capitalist suppression, propaganda and ideology in their every-day life.

This is very important because the political level of the workers is much below that of the Party members and because there are two thousand or more workers to every Party member. Lack of knowledge of how to defend their class interest is a great handicap to the American workers.

One of the ways how the bosses' propaganda holds workers back is shown by how workers can talk with understanding to a fellow worker about their problems, but when it comes to speaking to a group they hesitate — don't think they can do it “good.” We must develop more writers and speakers among the workers by teaching them that it isn't so hard to learn these things as boss education would have them believe. Workers must realize their ideas are the important thing in speaking if they want to speak to a group it is only necessary for them to *think* about *what* they are going to *tell* others, just raising their voice louder than usual.

The “gap” — the difference between our ideological influence and organized strength — and lack of forces exist side by side. Many of our comrades are good agitators

but when it comes to the more careful and detailed work of organizing, fail to qualify.

Here are some suggestions for developing our comrades:

1. More thorough supervision and guidance of Party members' reading. Reading list to be compiled by Districts with suggestions of reading material suited to development of comrades. Also a reading list to be made out in the center with two or three lines explaining contents of each book or pamphlet.

2. Greater utilization of District and local classes.

3. A more equal distribution of forces throughout the country and Districts so comrades can gain practical experience and learn to be responsible for some part of the work.

It is up to every Party member to try to become more of a leader. Many of the Party members don't understand the functioning of collective leadership and continue to "look up" to someone else for ideas and leadership, neglecting to make an effort to improve themselves for responsible functionaries. Sometimes this social democratic habit is carried to such a point that those that like to have some one to "look up" to get into the habit of expecting a particular leader to also do most of the work.

Some developed comrades claim they don't have time to think politically because of being so swamped with work. This is a serious situation. Failure to develop and inspire more initiative and confidence in Party members and workers together with too extensive plans, help to create the "lack of forces."

A reaction from the above "cry" is taking place in this District (12) and we are setting about to end the bad habits as well as the cry. These are some of the methods by which we are tackling the problem:

1. Conducting a class in the A B C of Communism and one for functionaries.

2. Spreading forces at the center more evenly throughout the District.

3. Having our comrades work more in unions, clubs, fraternal societies, etc., and drawing more workers into activity.

4. Making more use of all public meetings pertaining to labor problems, by sales literature, discussions, etc.



## Work of a New Unit In New Territory

By D. W. (District 2)

**W**HAT do our experiences in working with a small unit of seven members in a new territory about ten miles away from the Section prove to us? First of all, we had to give up the idea that the Section must plan the work for us and that all the unit had to do was to carry it out. Instead of that, we developed our own initiative and worked out our plan of activity according to our territorial problems. This was approved by the Section Committee.

We immediately made up a list of the closest sympathizers we knew of and every comrade was made responsible for one. The result was that in three weeks we recruited three new members.

Then we decided to have open air meetings at least once a week in the workers' section of our territory. For this we made sure that a committee was on the place at every meeting. At least five were to be on the committee, each having a function. One comrade was to take care of the platform; one was to act as chairman; one was to sell the *Daily Worker* and literature; and two comrades were to mingle with the crowd and make contacts. We also managed to get some non-Party members to help us sell the *Daily Worker*. At every meeting we got from five to ten contacts. The names of the contacts were given to the comrades at the meeting and immediately followed up the next day. We got some of them as subscribers for the *Daily Worker* and some of them for the L. S. N. R. This also gave us a start to build up the *Daily Worker* carrier route.

In the process of building the *Daily Worker* carrier route, at first, used the old method of trying to get the comrades to come down every Sunday for canvassing for subscribers for the *Daily*. This was a failure. Since the comrades are occupied all week with meetings it is physically impossible for them to come out every Sunday. We found out that by giving the comrades a chance every other Sunday for themselves and every other Sunday to canvass for the *Daily Worker* we achieved the results we wanted. This applies also to the open air meetings. It is established now that when a comrade comes down to

the open air meeting on Saturday he is free on Sunday. The next Sunday he canvasses for the *Daily Worker*. With this method applied we were able to establish a *Daily Worker* carrier route of 50 in two months.

Another method of getting subscribers to the *Daily Worker* was this. We issued a letter to the readers telling them about the Daily. We put this into the copy of the *Daily Worker* which we distributed. We marked this "Sample Copy," so the reader would know that we weren't giving him a present. In the letter we told him we would leave the *Daily Worker* six times in succession and after that we would come around and talk to him. We distributed ten samples a week and out of the first ten we got four subs.

The next step was to build a functioning group of the L. S. N. R. We found that by using the old method of calling meetings by mail proves to be a failure. By sending out 40 letters, only four came down. We found that by using the personal approach, that is by circulating a leaflet around an issue in the territory, and visiting some of the contacts personally, that we were able to obtain much better results. For instance, we found that a Negro worker was attacked by the K.K.K.'s and accused of the old "rape" charge. By finding out all particulars we issued a leaflet convincing the workers that they must fight the bosses and that they must organize into the L. S. N. R. As a result of leaflet circulation and personal visiting about 25 came to the meeting where we were immediately able to start organizational work.

We were given a list of names by the Section. We immediately visited these contacts to organize a workers' club. We found that some of these workers were not ripe for the Young Communist League, so we organized a Youth Branch of the International Workers' Order with these elements and with the others we formed a unit of the Y. C. L. If we had proceeded with drawing all these contacts into the Y. C. L. the result would have been that those not yet ready for the Y. C. L. would have been lost to the movement.

When the comrades went out canvassing for the *Liberator* or *Daily Worker*, they also tried to get contacts for the League. With this method we were able to bring in about eight Negro workers into the League.



## Organizing Strike Committees

By JACK JOHNSTONE

**I**N this issue of the *Party Organizer* I will deal with only one phase of revolutionary strike strategy, *the organizing of the strike committees and their tasks*, because this is the weakest phase of the present miners' strike

In the miners' strike, one thing stands out: the rank and file have taken charge of their strike, i.e., in this strike, there is a much larger percentage of strikers, their wives and children involved in activities than in any other strike. But there is no clear plan of organization or continuity of tasks applied in these activities. The N.M.U. has enthused the strikers to a tremendous fighting pitch. But their activities are based on fighting enthusiasm with the minimum of organization.

In the miners' strike the strike committees should take the following forms: elected local mine strike committees with representation from the women; section strike committees composed of a minimum of 3 delegates (2 men, 1 woman), from each struck mine in a given territory; central strike committee composed of three delegates, one a woman, from every mine in the strike area. It is obvious that the local mine strike committee is the key or basic strike leadership. The weaknesses or strength of the mine strike committee reflects itself in the upper directing strike committee and affects every task and activity in the strike.

The tasks of the Mine Strike Committee are the following:

1. To be responsible for the conduct of the strike, militancy of the strikers and the carrying out of all decisions of the Section and District Strike Committee and body of strikers.

2. To organize mass picketing.
3. To spread the strike in neighborhood mines.
4. To direct the collection and distribution of relief.
5. To organize and lead mine strike mass meetings.
6. To help establish locals of the N.M.U.
7. To register and check up on the activities of all strikers.
8. To elect delegates to the Section and District Strike Committee.
9. To organize the defense of strikers with assistance of the I.L.D.

It is comparatively simple during the period of enthusiasm to elect a strike committee and to outline the tasks of this committee. The difficulty is to carry them out. This depends on the type of strike leadership that is elected to the strike committee. Generally the first committee elected contains unstable elements, deadheads, etc. A conscious cleansing process must be conducted during the entire strike so that the best and most class conscious leadership is developed. *Under no circumstances should a strike committee be allowed to drop members and cooperate others. The strikers must be told at their meeting why some members should be dropped and others elected. The development of new leaders must be a conscious process by the workers.*

The first duty of the strike committee is to draw all strikers and their families into strike activity in some organizational form. It must not leave the striker to decide for himself whether he should picket or not. The first organizational necessity is to organize everyone involved in the strike into groups with responsible captains. The development of these captains is also a process of developing new leading forces. Those that do not function properly should be replaced. The extent that this elementary, but fundamental, group form of organization is developed will, to a very considerable degree, determine the tempo at which we will be able to spread and consolidate the strike. From it will radiate the full-energy and activity in every phase of the strike.

It is impossible to give proper leadership to a strike of more than 40,000 strikers, totaling with women and children probably 150,000, covering a strike front of 70 miles, with only a handful of organizers and strike committee chairmen who assume the responsibility for all

tasks and if arrested or become sick have not trained others to step into their place. So it becomes absolutely necessary to draw as many strikers and their families into group activity. Many strikers will accept the leadership of a group of 10 but would decline to accept work as chairman or secretary of a strike committee. In a week he will probably be ready to assume a greater responsibility. It is in this manner that we will develop a broad cadre of new leaders. In this we have so far failed in the miners' strike.

The development of committees must start right from the beginning of the strike. If possible this should be done during the preparatory work. However, one must use judgment. All needed committees cannot be organized at once.

To stabilize and strengthen the work of the mine strike committees, the following committees should be set up. All members of these committees need not be members of the strike committees, but the heads of these committees must be members of the Strike Committee.

1. Picket and defense committee.
2. Relief Committee.
3. Committee for Work among Women and Children.
4. Youth Committee.
5. Committee for Work among Negroes.
6. Literature and Publicity Committee.
7. Committee to Build the Union.
8. Committee on Unemployment.

However, the quantity and quality of work of these committees is determined by the type of strike committee that has been elected and the extent that this leadership has been able to direct the organization of the strikers into various activities. A committee of 3 or 5 cannot collect relief or distribute it, or sign up every strikers in the union alone. They must draw in hundreds and thousands of workers in an organized way. We should not depend upon volunteers to collect relief. They should be assigned by the strike committee. A thousand individuals cannot be assigned unless they are organized and assigned in groups. The Committee to build the union can best draw every striker into the union by having each picket captain to sign up his group.

## Our Experiences in Organizing Shop Groups

By J. STEUBEN

**T**HE recent experience of the N. Y. local of the Metal Workers League in organizing shop groups can be of value to the Party and T.U.U.L. Without any high falutin' introduction, I will proceed to outline the methods as used in organizing shop groups. These groups were not organized accidentally. Two months ago the Executive Board of the local picked these places for concentration. The basis for picking the shops was their relative importance and because we had some contacts, although extremely weak ones. As to how we went about our work, it will be best to relate by concrete examples.

### B. N. Y. Shop

This is a very important place, especially in connection with our struggle against the war danger. About a year ago, several workers joined the Metal Workers Industrial League. They attended a few meetings but gradually began to drop out. They were on the mailing list and were called to every meeting. Without any exaggeration, hundreds of circular letters were sent to them but the workers never responded. We began to write individual letters, but no response. We started to visit them personally—they promised to come to the "next meeting," but never did. For a time we could not understand the attitude of these workers, because they were shy in giving reasons why they stay away and instead, gave promises to come.

Finally, we decided instead of the general membership meeting, to call these workers to a private house. One of the workers of the B. N. Y. Shop gave us permission to meet in his house. The meeting was called and we were shocked with the results. Five came to the first meeting. At this meeting we asked the workers to be frank and tell us why they didn't come to previous meetings. The unanimous reply was: "As much as we were with you all the time, we have families and could not endanger our jobs." One worker told us that he was even spotted coming up to the headquarters, by a company stool pigeon.

At this meeting a long discussion developed on the organizational forms to be adopted, a program of work, what are the most pressing needs of the workers, etc. It was finally decided on a regular meeting night in a private house, a secretary of the group was elected. It was also decided to work out a shop program, which will contain a series of demands. It is interesting to note that it took more than four weeks to prepare the demands, not because of the slowness of the workers, but because of the necessary investigations about conditions in various departments, in order to make sure that the demands were correct. It was also decided as a general rule, that new members can be invited, *only after the names of these workers were proposed at a previous group meeting.* The group is growing continually, and is starting to function as a shop organization. We have now fourteen members. There is not one Party member in this place.

### E. M. C. Shop

This factory is notorious for its exploitation. Several strikes took place in the past. These were led by the A. F. of L. and were defeated. It was also one of the first metal shops to introduce the stagger system. Comrade M. has been a member of the Metal Workers Industrial League for about 6 months, but up to recently, he was (just like the rest of the members) never asked where he was working. However, after we found out that M. works in the E. M. C., we sat down with this worker and outlined to him in a simple way how to proceed to organize a group *on the basis of fighting the stagger system inside the shop.* M. went to work and sure enough, organized a group of four and now it has eight members, all paid up in dues and initiation. In this shop, too, there is not one Party comrade. At the last meeting of the group they worked on a shop paper, themselves writing articles, drawing cartoons of the bosses and covering all expenses for the paper. The group now meets regularly and is functioning as a shop organization, taking up their own problems.

### O. E. C. Shop

When it's busy, several thousand workers are employed in this factory. Unlike the other shops, we had a Party nucleus that has been in existence for more than a year.

## Shop Experiences of Two Comrades

### Experience of Comrade M.

**S**INCE November, 1930, I sold 65 pamphlets. I started with talking to one worker in the department who is sympathetic. The starting point would be the progress of farming in the Soviet Union and comparison with this country. Many of the workers are from Tennessee and originally come from farms. So we have an easy start. He first told one sympathizer that he knew where he could get a book or pamphlet on the progress of farming in the Soviet Union. Then he would give him five pamphlets. The sympathizer in turn sold them and got in contact with other workers. They would tell me what they think about the Soviet Union.

Then I got acquainted with another fellow worker. With him I have worked ever since. I went to his house and had discussions with him. He had quite a few sympathizers because of his long standing in the department. During the election campaign I took leaflets into the shop and put these leaflets into the tool boxes, the pockets of the workers' coats whom I knew were sympathetic. This comrade would help me out a great deal.

I would also find out who is sympathetic to the Unemployed Councils and the workers who would speak favorably about our demonstrations and the activities of the unemployed. By this method I got 10 subs to a language paper. I also took along some copies of the *Daily Worker*. I got two subs. In the same way I would distribute about 10 copies of each issue of the shop paper. On this I would speak to the workers and ask them to write to the shop paper.

I would speak to sympathizers about our Party affairs, mass meetings, etc., and invite them. The next day I would let them know that I had seen them at the place.

I have now brought three new members into the Party through the activities in the department. The easiest way to speak in the factory is through unemployment and the Soviet Union. We are doing work for the Soviet Union. When I speak to the workers on the Soviet Union I take the Five-Year Plan and apply it to the metal industry and wage cuts; I also speak of the cultural part, and I can feel the response of the workers that they appreciate very much



how the workers in the Soviet Union are bettering themselves.

I sold 20 tickets for the First of May Concert in my department while selling only 5 on the outside. In the evening I checked up and found that quite a few of the workers came to the affair.

### Experience of Comrade C. (in the same department)

My activities date back to November, 1930, from the meeting I attended because of a leaflet given to me by comrade M. in the factory. By the end of February I started to collect names from the clock cards and so far got about 200 addresses. The best pamphlet we have sold here is "Class Against Class." I would buy a bunch of them and then mail one each to at least 5 or 6 workers. Many of the workers would tell me about receiving the pamphlet. I would ask them to bring it down and I would take it home and the next day I would bring it back with a favorable report. So far I have sold 54 pamphlets in the shop and 10 outside.

For May First, to the foreign-born workers I would come and say: "in your country they are making quite a big fuss about May First. Did you receive any letters from there recently," and then I would lead up to the May First demonstration in this country and speak about the First of May Concert, I would tell them that I knew a fellow who could get tickets. In this way I sold 65 tickets.

I am specializing on the Daily Worker and getting monthly subs. 54 subs from the 29th of April to May 24th. I work in a secret matter and speak to the workers. I always tackle one individual at a time. I have an easy line of approach, one for the foreign-born workers and one for the American-born workers.

The foreign-born workers I would approach in the following manner: "did you get a letter from your friends in the old country lately? What do they say about unemployment? What is the general situation there? Are the people hungry? I would keep on talking to him, just depending upon his answers and then I would come out with the following: "There is a heavy unemployment and starvation everywhere except in the Soviet Union.

Things are getting pretty bad in this country, too. We are liable to be laid off any day. Did you ever see a radical newspaper? I can get you a little paper which costs 50 cents a month." And so on.

To the American-born workers I would say, "What do you think about the situation in the country this winter? You know the taxpayer's money is all gone. This year many of the city and county governments have been spending money on soup and I am telling you that we are headed for a big revolution, and it won't be very long before we will have it. Do you read anything about the revolution?" Then the workers, naturally, would tell me they never did. Then I would ask them if they had ever seen the radical paper called the *Daily Worker*? And they would say, No. Then I would say, "you know that the bosses don't want us to have this paper. Therefore, if you are a friend of the bosses, don't read it." This, naturally, would bring out the hatred towards the bosses. I have had some very good results.

From our contacts Comrade M. and I invite 2 or 3 workers into our house on Saturday afternoons, and we discuss questions with them and see whether they are ready for the union or the Party.

We have the sympathizers work for us. I have already gotten some sympathizers involved and one of them got 2 subs for the *Daily Worker* for me. Another sold 10 pamphlets, also some tickets. I can see that if they have a little success they have smiles when they report back to me.

I have been working for the Party for about 4 months. I started without being a Party member.

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*Note: No Party member can be capable of doing his or her best work in developing organization and struggle in the shops if they have not read "Problems of Strike Strategy," Decisions of the International Conference on Strike Strategy held in Strassburg, Germany, January, 1929. See that you get it and read it.*

## Building the Revolutionary Unions Through Party Shop Papers

By M. K. (*Section Mesaba Range, District 9*)

**T**HIS section has twenty units with a membership of 188. But in spite of the fact that metal mining is the most important industry here, only two are mine units. The rest are either farm or town street units. The composition is almost entirely Finnish. Union work was (and to a certain extent still is), the weakest point in our activity.

A few months ago the Section Committee decided that the E. mine unit must issue a mine paper. The E. mine unit was not a mine unit in the strict sense of the term. It was composed of miners working in different mines in the same town. This unit continuously insisted on meeting with the street unit and, consequently, neglected the work in the mines, union work, etc.

This mine unit (which was then the only mine unit in the section) accepted the decision of the Section Committee about the shop paper without much enthusiasm. The apparatus was set to work, the Section Organizer went to E., gathered information and came back and got out the first issue of the "E. Miners' Voice." Although this paper contained some good material it was poorly constructed. The paper was distributed, but because of the lack of understanding how to work on the part of our Party miners, nobody knew how our paper was accepted in the mines. The second issue came out on time the next month in the same manner as the first and with the same results.

We decided that we must involve the E. comrades in making up the paper. We called a special meeting and we discussed the possibilities. As the meeting the comrades pointed out that the paper was constructed poorly and that its appearance was bad; some of the information was not correct; it contained too much of Party phraseology, etc. A decision was made that our miners should write the articles themselves. Our next paper improved a hundred per cent. The appearance was nice; a special comic page was established; the technical work was carefully made up; the material was written in workers' language; the involved Party terminology was eliminated.

At the next mine unit meeting we discovered that the miners were accepting our paper with enthusiasm. The material is being discussed by the miners and they are awaiting the next issue anxiously. When the next issue came out *one* day late we were informed that twelve calls were made inquiring when it was coming out.

At the next mine unit meeting plans were made on how our miners should approach other miners in discussing the bulletin. This planned activity resulted in a house recruiting meeting. Some miners were taken into the union. Now we can register the following successes. Before this shop paper activity started we had a few members in the N. M. U.—all Finnish old-timers. Now we have shaft committees in three mines and the composition of the union changed entirely. We now have Bulgarians, Slovenians, Italians and Finns. Our paper became really popular. We received offers to subscribe for it by the year. In the last issue we printed a little song made by a miner ridiculing Charles Trezona, the steel trust captain of the E. mines, and also mayor of the city. And now the young miners are walking in the streets and singing it "to beat the band." Our influence in this steel trust town has improved manifold. When, for instance, a street meeting called by the Young Communist League in preparation for National Youth day was broken up and five comrades were arrested, the next protest meeting was attended by over a thousand workers from a town of six thousand population. And even after the fire truck was called out (for the first time since the 1916 strike) they could not break up this meeting.

*Note: Have you gotten your copy of "The Shop Paper Manual"? This handbook on shop paper work should be in the hands of every comrade working in the shops or active in shop work. See that all comrades in your Unit have it.*

# Lenin's Teachings About the Party

*(Excerpts from book by V. Sorin)*

## DISCIPLINE

**T**HE special feature of the Communist Party is its strictest discipline, *i.e.*, the unconditional and exact observance by all members of the Party of all directions coming from their Party organizations. A Party member may disagree with this or that Party decision, may consider it wrong, but once the decision is passed it must be observed. Failure to comply with Party discipline, disobedience and breaches of discipline are regarded by the Bolsheviks as a most serious offense against the Party and violations of the Party discipline are severely penalized down to expulsion from the Party. Moreover, during the civil war, especially during times of danger to the Republic, the Party imposed a war discipline upon its membership. There were even cases of Communists being shot for refusing to go to the front by orders from the Party which threatened to demoralize the other members of the Party.

Why do the Communists attach so much importance to discipline? Because without discipline the Party could not fulfill the immense tasks confronting it. What would happen if every soldier in the army were to be allowed to disobey the orders of his superior officers? The army would cease to exist. The general staff orders an attack; one section of the army decides to obey and go into battle; the other finds that it is wrong to give battle and refrains from taking part in it; still another section decides to quit the position and move to the rear. Such an army would be defeated in no time, for instead of discipline it has willfulness, lack of unity and demoralization.

Similar is the case with the Party. The Party will be strong if all of its members act as one, if they are absolutely unanimous. Were each Communist to be allowed to choose whether to submit to the Party discipline or not, we would have a debating club instead of a Party. Were each Communist to comply with only those of the Party decisions which he likes and to ignore those with which he

disagrees, it would be impossible altogether to create a Party.

The Party must be sure that each of its members will do what the Party tells him even if he disagrees with it. That is the whole thing: *it is easy to obey decisions with which you agree*; the difficult thing is to comply with decisions with which you disagree. That is just the meaning of discipline that each one must subordinate his personal will to that of the group, to that of the Party majority, must do what the Party considers necessary.

People join the Party voluntarily. They are free to withdraw from it. No one can be forced to join the Party or to stay in it. But once you are in the Party you undertake the obligation to obey all the Party decisions. Party discipline is based upon the class consciousness of the Party members, upon their conviction that, without the minority accepting the decisions of the majority, without the subordination of the lower Party bodies to the higher ones, there can be no solid Party of the proletariat.

The Bolsheviks are proud of their Party discipline. This discipline was one of the reasons for the Bolshevik victory. In 1920 Lenin wrote:

“By now it must surely be clear to everybody that the Bolsheviks could not have maintained themselves in power even two and a half months, not to speak of two and a half years, without the strictest discipline, without a really iron discipline of our Party.

The experience of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia clearly showed to those who are unable to think and who do not have to think about this question, that absolute centralization and the strictest discipline among the proletariat are one of the fundamental conditions of its victory over the bourgeoisie.” (*The Infantile Sickness of Leftism in Communism*, 1920.)

Throughout their existence the Bolsheviks differed from the other Parties particularly by their discipline. No Party has ever known such discipline in its ranks. The role and importance of discipline to the proletarian Party Lenin always emphasized. The Party must have unity of action. The entire Party from top to bottom and from one end to another must act as one man. Such unity is possible

only if all the Party members will be trained for years and decades in the spirit of the strictest proletarian discipline.

The Party discusses various questions, treats them from their various aspects, sometimes submits them to the entire membership for discussion, but once the decision has been adopted all members of the Party must fulfill it without question.

## **DISCIPLINE AND THE PETTY-BOURGEOIS ELEMENT**

Discipline, firm and unrelenting, is necessary not only during the period of underground work and struggle against Tzarism, not only during civil war, but even during the more peaceful times, such as is experienced by the Soviet Republic at present when the Party is firmly in power and is dealing not with military problems, as was the case during 1917-1921, but with economic and agricultural problems. Let us see what Lenin had to say about the discipline of a Party effecting the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are struggling in a predominantly petty bourgeois country: the working class in Soviet Russia represents a small island in a peasant sea. We want to establish socialism, *i. e.*, to abolish the division of society into classes, into groups of people with opposed interests.

"To destroy the classes," Lenin wrote, "is not only to drive out the landlords and capitalists — this we have accomplished rather easily; it means to destroy also the small commodity producers who cannot be driven out, who cannot be put down; it is necessary to come to some arrangement with them, they can and should be made over, re-educated, only it will take long, gradual, careful organizational work."

The re-education of tens of millions of petty commodity producers (the peasantry) will require years and decades. This task can be accomplished only if the Party will always be able to resist the petty-bourgeois element. And the dangers which are connected with the proximity between the working class and the many millions of small and petty commodity producers are very great.

"They (the commodity producers) surround the proletariat on all sides by the petty-bourgeois element, permeate them with it, corrupt them by it, constantly revive within the proletariat the petty-bour-

geois characterlessness division, individualism, the changes from enthusiasm to dismay."

That the danger of the petty-bourgeois influence upon the proletariat and its Party is real rather than imaginary has been shown by the experience of all the oppositions to Lenin's policies with which the Party has had to contend.

Every one of these oppositions without exception (the "left wing Communist of 1918, the "group of democratic centralism" of 1920-21, the "workers' opposition" of 1920-21 and the last opposition headed by Trotsky, Sapronov and Preobrazhensky in 1923-24) represented petty-bourgeois tendencies within the Party. The point is that the working class and its Party are not separated from the rest of the population by an impenetrable wall. There is a large number of transitional steps from the petty working property owner to the pure proletarian of the big machine industry. Among the proletariat too, there are groups closely connected with the peasantry and representing semi-labor and semi-peasant elements. Nor can the Party consist of absolutely homogeneous elements. There are always people in it who fail to take up the standpoint of the proletariat to the end. The result is that at times of a political or economic crisis, change, dislocation, the petty-bourgeois element within the Party (the small commodity producers) begins to waver and becomes agitated. The individuals constituting this element find themselves out of their depth, out of their customary economic conditions. They become agitated, nervous, they cannot find a place for themselves, their sentiments rapidly sink, they lose their heads and go to extremes. Such waverings may differ in character, degree, force and extent. Inasmuch as the unstable elements are found within the Party as well, they are particularly sensitive to the pressure of the petty-bourgeois elements and, under the influence of the latter, they begin to advocate views favorable to the petty-bourgeoisie and essentially hostile to the proletariat. In such cases, we have manifestations of the petty bourgeois spirit within the Party on the part of those elements who fail to take up the point of view of the proletariat completely and without hesitation. But the petty-bourgeois element exerts pressure upon the Party not only during particularly acute moments, but at all other times as well as for as long as they exist it is impossible to get away from them. The petty-bourgeois influence manifests



itself in the penetration among the Party members of the views, sentiments and morals of the petty bourgeoisie. It is against the pressure of the petty-bourgeois element that

“ . . . the strictest centralization and discipline is required in the political Party of the proletariat in order to resist it, in order correctly, successfully and victoriously to play the organizational role of the proletariat (which is its main role).”

Those who believe that, now that we have defeated the bourgeoisie, discipline has become unnecessary should be reminded of the meaning of the proletarian dictatorship and of the petty-bourgeois “enemy” who is still to be defeated. Lenin continues:

“The dictatorship of the proletariat is a determined struggle, bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative, against the forces and traditions of old society. The force of habit of the millions and tens of millions is the most terrible force.

“Without an iron Party hardened in the struggle, without a Party enjoying the confidence of all the honest elements of the class, without a Party capable of keeping in touch with the sentiments of the masses and influencing them, it is impossible successfully to conduct such a struggle.”

The greatest danger to the workers' Party in a country such as ours is that of being dissolved in the petty-bourgeois element. At the present time the struggle is in certain respects more difficult than it was during 1917-1920. It is a thousand times easier to defeat the big centralized bourgeois than the millions and millions of small property owners, who by their everyday, invisible, unnoticeable, demoralizing activity bring about the very same results that are necessary for the bourgeoisie, that are restoring the bourgeoisie”; and Lenin completes his thought as follows:

“He who weakens in the least the iron discipline of the proletarian Party (especially during its dictatorship) actually helps the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.”

## DISCIPLINE AND THE TRANSITION TO NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

Discipline, firmness, strength of spirit, self-possession, clarity of thought are always required by Party members but particularly so at times of danger during the period of retreats, during periods of sharp changes when one is forced to leave the ordinary routine and go over to something new, untried. In 1921 the Party abandoned its Military Communism and took up the New Economic Policy. This was retreat carried out under very difficult conditions. There were some individuals who became dismayed and began to shout that we were retreating, surrendering our positions to capital and that therefore everything has been lost and Communism has perished. Had the Party succumbed to such panicky sentiments, had it lost its self-possession, the Soviet power might possibly have perished. But under Lenin's leadership, the Party moved over to new positions.

"On the whole we carried out our retreat in fairly good order," though "there was no lack of voices representing the retreat as a panic." (Speech at the 11th Congress, 1922.)

Up to 1921 we had been in the main on the offensive. Then it became necessary to retreat. Here is what Lenin said about Party discipline during a retreat:

"The most dangerous thing during a retreat is a panic. It is extremely difficult to retreat after a great victorious attack. . . . (During an offensive) discipline even if it is not maintained, leads to everybody pushing on ahead by themselves. . . . (During a retreat) discipline must be intelligent and is a hundred times more necessary for when any army retreats it does not know where it is to stop but it merely sees the fact of retreating; here sometimes a few panicky voices are enough to cause everybody to run and the danger becomes immense. When such a retreat takes place in a real army, machine guns are brought forth and when the orderly retreat develops into a disorderly one the command is issued: 'Fire!' And this is as it should be. When people cause a panic even if they are guided by the best of intentions, when a difficult retreat has to be carried out and it is necessary to

maintain order at all costs, at such a time the least breach of discipline must be ruthlessly, cruelly, mercilessly punished. . . ."

The greatest enemy of discipline is the showing of panic, the repetition after the bourgeoisie of sinister rumors, gossip, interfering with the orderly and proper movement of the Party to new positions. Gossip, rumors, inventions are one of the weapons of the bourgeoisie. "The Bolsheviks have surrendered the railways to the capitalists," the bourgeoisie spread the rumor about, which was a way of agitating for this surrender, and there were some dispirited Communists who believed this and, becoming panic-stricken they began to frighten others by talk of the necessity of "surrendering the power" (the Bolsheviks want to surrender the Soviet power as well to concessionaires" was the current joke at the time), thus creating a highly nervous and strained atmosphere in the organization. When the panicky elements were put to shame and prevented from demoralizing the Party they began to shout, of course, that they were deprived of the right of speech, that they "merely" wanted to point out the dangers facing the Party, etc.

Gossip, rumors, are not at all trifles about which there ought to be no mention in a book devoted to our Party. In Soviet Russia where the bourgeoisie has been deprived of the right to publish its own press, gossip and rumors are the political weapons of the bourgeoisie. This should be well remembered. Any worker knows that whenever the Soviet power of the Party experienced some difficulty of an internal or external character (the last discussion, for instance) a mass of rumors and gossip immediately began to be spread by the bourgeoisie and the man of the street, and sometimes, alas! some of the Communists also picked them up. Belief in bourgeois gossip is a sign of petty-bourgeois characterlessness. The object of bourgeois gossip is to spread confusion, suspicion, lack of confidence, hesitation. It is necessary to be able to withstand the bourgeois wiles.

## THE UNDERMINING OF DISCIPLINE

The bourgeoisie fully appreciates the importance of discipline in the workers' Party. The stricter the discipline, the stronger the Party, the more dangerous is it to the

capitalists. The bourgeoisie is interested in shaking and weakening this discipline. How can this be done? It is necessary to ridicule this iron discipline of the Party of the proletariat, to defame it in the eyes of the weaker Communists and of the working class, to arouse doubt as to its necessity to represent it as the suppression of the free individual. For this reason the bourgeoisie keeps repeating that discipline is the suppression and restriction of the individual, that it is a new form of slavery, that the Party is a prison, that it demands blind obedience, etc. Some of the less firm Communists who have not yet freed themselves from the influence of the bourgeois ideology sometimes succumb to these views. A certain Norwegian Communist wrote: "Discipline, discipline! I cannot bear the work. There is something in it that lowers the dignity of the free man." These words reveal a complete failure to understand the importance of discipline in the labor Party. But the Bolsheviks know well that without discipline there can be no militant, effective Party. And opposition to discipline is opposition to one of the fundamental rules of the structure.

Upon penetrating the Party the petty-bourgeois element not only attempts to break the discipline, to evade and sabotage the restrictive Party rules but to undermine discipline as a whole.

The petty-bourgeois elements do not always have the courage openly to assert that discipline is unnecessary. Such a position is too untenable. It is much more convenient and "convincing" to represent things as follows: "We are all for a strict proletarian discipline, but . . ." and this is followed by the question: "What is to be meant by discipline?" These people do not want to take discipline in the simple, natural sense ("whatever has been decided must be done") but convey to this word such a "meaning" that it loses its whole effect, that of solidifying the Communists into a single iron body.

A "subtle" distinction begins to be drawn between "real discipline" and "formal, mechanical discipline," between "discipline proper" and "reasonable, intelligent discipline." The meaning of these "profound" arguments is that the Party decisions may be ignored on the grounds that the Party members know better than the Party which actions are necessary and reasonable and which are not, that the members know better than the Party what should and

should not be done. Such views are completely repulsive to Bolshevism. The idea of a strong, centralized, disciplined organization requires the subordination of a part to the whole, of the lower body to the upper one.

"You believe in strong discipline and unquestionable compliance with all Party decisions," the Bolsheviks may be told, "do you believe then the higher Party institutions are infallible, that they are never mistaken, that their decisions are always correct? But you must surely know that the people in the 'center' are like the rest of us and are also liable to make mistakes. Why, even Lenin himself admitted mistakes. It would be better for you to say that you believe in blind mechanical subordination and that your slogan is: 'Do not argue!'"

All this is not to the point. The "justification" of discipline consists not at all of the Party as a whole or its individual institutions and organs being "infallible" and never in the wrong. This is not the point. Of course, there are cases (though the more experienced and politically mature the membership of the leading groups, the less frequently do these cases occur) of decisions being adopted by a higher body as affecting a lower body or an individual member of the Party which are later reversed or changed. But is this an argument in favor of disobeying a Party decision? Not in the least. If the Party decision is thought to be wrong it is necessary to demand its reconsideration but it is wrong to disobey the Party on the ground that you disagree with its decision. A refusal to obey a decision has the effect of breaking the organization connections with the Party. To allow everyone to break the discipline is to destroy the Party as a body. The Bolsheviks favor strong, iron discipline in the Party and fight against all attempts to weaken or undermine this discipline.

During the last discussion the opposition which acted as the spokesman for the petty-bourgeois sentiments in the Party, expressed entirely unbolshevist views as to the importance of Party discipline. "The speeches of a number of opposition representatives," the 13th Congress resolved, "represent a crying violation of the Party discipline and bring back to memory the days when Lenin was forced to struggle against the 'intellectualist anarchism' on organizational questions and defend the fundamental rules of proletarian discipline in the Party." In 1903-04 the Men-

sheviks (Axelrod, Martov, Trotsky, who was then a Menshevik, and others) displayed "intellectualist anarchism" in their views upon Party structure, *i. e.*, they undermined, denied, ridiculed the idea of discipline. Something similar to it took place during the discussion. The 13th Conference decided to forbid "all erroneous references to Party discipline when the rights and duties of the Party members affecting the discussion and decisions of questions with which they are concerned, are involved." The workers in the nuclei are able to discuss all questions of interest to them without interference. But inasmuch as the opposition broke the discipline and established its own "fraction" in violation of the decision of the 10th Congress, the Conference had to remind it that "freedom of discussion within the Party does not by any means signify freedom of undermining the Party discipline"; therefore "the Central Committee of the Party and all Party centers must immediately take the severest measures to maintain the iron Bolshevik discipline wherever an attempt is made to shake it."

It is also necessary to remember the following words of Lenin:

"He who weakens to any degree the iron discipline of the Party of the proletariat (especially during its dictatorship) is actually helping the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."

## ABOUT AUTHORITIES

Very edifying is Lenin's opinion of the importance of authorities in the labor movement. Among the intellectual youths, even those sympathizing with the working class, the following boisterous voices are sometimes sounded: "Why do you always refer to Marx and Engels? Why refer to authorities at all? I recognize no authorities!" Those talking in this way consider themselves extremely "independent." In reality this "independence" from the principal ideas of Marxism, from the conclusions and lessons of the preceding revolutionary period, reveal the dependence of these young men upon the petty-bourgeois ideas, and an "independence" in the worst sense of the word. Here is what Lenin wrote in 1905 about the importance of authorities, particularly of the authority of Kautsky who supported the Bolshevik tactics in 1905-

1906 so that his opinion was highly valued by the Russian workers:

"Marxians cannot adopt the ordinary viewpoint of the intellectual radical with his would-be revolutionary abstraction: 'I recognize no authorities.' No, the working class which carries on a hard and stubborn struggle for its complete emancipation throughout the world needs authorities, but of course only in the sense in which young workers need the experience of the old fighters against oppression and exploitation, of fighters who conducted many strikes, who participated in a number of revolutions, who have gained revolutionary traditions and a broad political outlook. The authority of the world struggle of the proletariat is wanted by the proletariat of each country. The authority of the international social democracy is necessary for us in order to clear up the program and tactics of our Party. But, of course, this authority has nothing in common with the official authorities of the bourgeois science and police politics. This authority is the authority of a more many-sided struggle in the same ranks of the world socialist army." (*Preface to Kautsky's pamphlet, 1906.*)

The opinion of an authority is valuable of course, as long as it conforms with the demands of the revolutionary struggle. If the "authority" begins to hold the working class back he ceases to be an authority. For a long time Plekhanov was considered the greatest authority of the Russian social democracy, including the Bolsheviks, but when he began to preach opportunism, Lenin declared a "merciless war" upon him. Here is what Lenin wrote about Plekhanov:

"His theoretical works, chiefly his criticism of the populists and opportunists remain the common acquisition of the social democracy of all Russia, and no "fractionism" can blind a man possessing any 'physical mind' to the point of forgetting or denying the importance of these acquisitions. But as a political leader of the Russian revolution, as a tactician, Plekhanov has proved to be quite worthless. He displayed in this field such opportunism as might injure the

social democratic workers of Russia a hundred times more than Bernstein's opportunism injured the German workers. And upon this Cadet-like policy of Plekhanov . . . we must wage a most merciless war."

Later, during the war, the Bolsheviks parted ways with Kautsky as well, who joined the bourgeoisie. We continue to value the Plekhanov and Kautsky of the period when they were still revolutionists and we give them their due. To that extent their opinion is valued by us. The best and most revolutionary contributions of Plekhanov and Kautsky have been adopted by our Party, but their opportunist ideas we leave to the bourgeoisie and its followers.

*Note: The excerpts from the book by Sorin on Lenin's Teachings About the Party are completed in this issue. They have appeared in the May, June and July issues. Together they form an invaluable source of understanding of the organizational principles of the Party. Those comrades who wish to get these three issues can order them through their unit organizer. The three issues will cost 15c.*



# Party Organizer



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# PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. IV

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## The Miners' Strike The Lessons of the Struggle

By EARL BROWDER

**A**LL advance of the Communist leadership of the working class has its basis in struggle, in the lessons which the Party and its membership learn in the course of struggle.

Most important of all struggles in the United States for many years is the coal miners' strike of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia, which is conducted under the leadership of the National Miners Union and the Communist Party.

It would be a great mistake, however, to think that *only* by direct participation in a particular strike, and *merely*, by such participation, it would be possible to learn all the necessary lessons. Besides participation in the strike, it is necessary to have *study* of the lessons of the strike. Bolshevism differs from all other schools of thought precisely in this, that the Bolshevik always *studies* the most intricate concrete details of every struggle, of every problem, and at the same time brings forth from this study the broad generalizations necessary. The Bolshevik searches for the concrete peculiarities in each situation, and finds within these the expression of the general laws of the class struggle.

This issue of the *Party Organizer* is a serious beginning of study of the problem of how to build the mass organizations and the Party in the midst of struggle. It is based upon the experiences already had in the miners' strike. It makes available for the entire movement, the lessons to be found in the one strike. Properly used, these lessons can raise the entire movement to a new and higher level.

Therefore the Party Organizer must be read with deep seriousness, not merely glanced through and then laid aside. The study of this issue becomes one of the most practical and immediate duties of every active Party member.

## How the Present Miners Strike Was Prepared

By FRANK BORICH

**S**EVERAL months ago the Central Committee of our Party decided to concentrate on four most important districts. The Pittsburgh District was one of the concentration points. The purpose of the concentration was to build the Party and the revolutionary unions, to raise the partial demands of the workers and to develop mass struggles around these demands.

In order to carry out the correct policy of the Central Committee the Pittsburgh District Committee, with the help of the C.C., developed a "Two Months' Plan of Work." The very center of the plan was the concentration on the mining fields of Pennsylvania and Ohio. These fields were selected because of the mass starvation of the miners and their readiness for struggle.

The Party Fraction of the National Miners Union, on the basis of the general Party plan, developed also a two months' plan of action for the Union. At the end of the plan the District Conventions of the Union in Pennsylvania and Ohio were scheduled. The purpose of the Conventions was to broaden the leadership of the Union by drawing in new elements and to prepare the Union organizationally to give leadership to the developing strike struggles of the miners.

Organizational measures were taken at once to put the plan of action into effect. A general Party fraction meeting was held in Pittsburgh with 75 comrades present. A similar meeting was held in Ohio. The plan of action was discussed in detail. A special Convention Arrangements Committee was elected to help the District Committee of the Union to prepare the Convention.

This was followed by section Party membership meet-

ings where a concrete application of the plan to every mine was discussed, including the building of the Union, mine committees, formulating strike demands, etc. A calendar plan of work was adopted for each section. The most active comrades in each section were put in charge of the work, and the Party units were mobilized. Revolutionary competition was developed between the sections. A District representative was assigned to each section. Leading fractions of the Union met every day to check up on every detail of the work and to help the weakest sections.

The Union apparatus was mobilized in the same manner. Many Union members were involved in active participation. The revolutionary enthusiasm was felt throughout the field as soon as the machinery began to move.

In preparing the District Convention of the Union 49 mass meetings were held in Pennsylvania attended by some 15,000 miners. A special leaflet was issued for each meeting dealing with specific conditions in each mine linking them up with the general slogans of the Union: "Organize and strike against wage cuts and speed-up," and "Don't Starve—Fight!" Some 40,000 leaflets were distributed. A detailed speakers' outline was drawn up enabling many new comrades to speak. In every case a less developed comrade spoke together with a more developed one.

The mass meetings were followed up by *organizational meetings the next day*. Non-union miners were invited to these meetings, local unions established and delegates to the Convention elected. These were united front meetings. The same policy was followed up in Ohio.

Work among the unemployed miners was closely linked up with the work among the employed. Three local hunger marches were held. Meanwhile the Pennsylvania and Ohio State Hunger Marches were held. The success of the Hunger Marches had an important effect stimulating all these workers and together with several small successful strikes won the support of the miners for our Union. The Party press played an important role by printing articles daily on various subjects, exposing starvation and presenting our fighting program.

Finally the District Conventions were held—Ohio on

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April 17th and Penna. on April 23-24. Both conventions were the best ever held by the Union. 75 delegates and about 100 visitors attended the Ohio Convention and 175 delegates attended the Penna. Convention. At both conventions the question of immediate strike was raised as well as the struggle of the unemployed for immediate relief, of course combining the two. Broad District Committees were elected. The delegates left the conventions clear on the policy and determined to put the policy into effect.

On April 25th the Carnegie Coal Co. announced a wage cut to go into effect on May 1st. The delegates to the Union Convention and the Section Committee got together at once and decided to call a mass meeting to consider the possibility of strike. The meeting was held at only one mine on April 25th and a picket line organized on the morning of the 26th. The mine was shut down 100% and strike committee elected. The next day two additional mines of the same company were shut down 100% by marches of striking miners and strike committees organized.

This was the beginning of the strike of the 40,000 miners.

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## **Where Is the Party in the Miners' Relief Campaign**

By ALFRED WAGENKNECHT

**S**TRIKE relief for the miners and their dependents is today a most decisive factor. Information now at hand from the National Miners Union and its relief distributing committee states that it has been possible to place only 20 tents at the disposal of the many hundreds of evicted families and that the food distribution averages only three meals a week per family. The failure of our Party district organizations to initiate broad and efficient relief activities in the cities, large and small, makes our Party responsible to a large degree for the back to work movement that is now developing in every strike section.

The National Miners Union has taken drastic steps to stop this back to work movement. Mine and section strike

*committees are being strengthened, picket lines are being reorganized for special concentration upon key mines.* This means, in terms of strike relief, that sufficient additional funds will have to be on hand to secure food and tents for the miners in the mines being concentrated upon, so that when they strike, relief will be issued in a measure that will keep them from starving. And sufficient tents will have to be on hand to house all those who are threatened with eviction.

The situation today is that only one-fourth of the necessary funds for relief are forthcoming. What will become of the concentration program to stop the back to work movement if all Party units, sections and districts continue to disregard relief activities for this most important strike the T.U.U.L. has ever led?

In only 35 cities have relief committees been organized and half of these function very poorly because of lack of Party leadership. The immediate task of every Party unit, section and district is to multiply city relief committees within the next few days so that at least 300 cities will be carrying on broad fund and food collections. The masses of workers are responding splendidly wherever we have active committees. The secretary of the New York committee stated that "There are funds and food on every street, all we need is enough collectors to get it." Every Party unit and Party functionary should place "Organizing Miners Relief Committees in all Cities" on the agenda. At the last meeting of the Political Buro of the Party, miners' relief was the central point.

## How the N. M. U. Is Being Built During the Strike

By JACK JOHNSTONE

**T**HE Pennsylvania-Ohio miners' strike, based on the United Front from below, presents problems that our Party will face in all strikes, especially in the basic heavy industries. Here I wish to take up one problem that is of vital importance: the building of the Union, its role and tasks in strike struggles.

The miners strike although involving some 40,000 un-

organized miners, was not a spontaneous strike in which the Party and the National Miners Union assumed leadership after the strike began. Originating in the strike at Atlasburg against a wage-cut, it was rapidly spread by organized marches to other mines. The Union, although leading the strike, had only a few functioning mine locals. Therefore, the task of spreading the strike rapidly depended entirely on the elementary form of organized marches. The building of organized mass rank and file strike committees and the organizing of mine locals was not an easy task, and it is only within the last three weeks that organizational consolidation is being pushed forward. More than 120 local unions have been formed, or reorganized during the strike, although they are not yet functioning as they should.

Among the first organizational instructions sent out by the Central Rank and File Committees to all mines on strike was the following:

"Build the Union. The central organizational task is to build the N.M.U. To accomplish this as speedily as possible the following immediate steps must be taken: Call a meeting of all members of the union immediately to install the mine local, elect officers, present the charter and issue membership books; take up the applications of new membership, and set the date for *regular meetings* of the mine local; initiate the new members.

Tasks of the local union during the strike.

1. Must be the driving force in all the strike machinery.
2. Must be the driving force in all relief activity.
3. Carry on a constant recruitment campaign until every miner has become a member of the union.
4. Lead the educational work during the strike.
5. Build Women's Auxiliaries. Build Youth Sections. Build Negro Department."

The leadership of the strike, of course, is the Rank and File Strike Committee. The union is the driving force that develops this leadership and strengthens it by developing its responsibility and initiative. There is no contradiction in saying that the N.M.U. is the strike leader, and that the broad Rank and File Strike Committee is the leading committee of the strike.

The danger that the Union will liquidate the Strike Committee, or that the Strike Committee will liquidate



representatives from locals of the U.M.W.A. from minorities in U.M.W.A. locals, from the unemployed, from miners Women's Auxiliaries. The building of the Union in the present strike, extends the scope and power of the Union, which in turn extends the United Front, developing new demands, leading to a national strike. This demands a careful study and application of United Front tactics and the role and tasks of the Union in the United Front, and in strike struggles.

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## Building the Party in the Mine Strike Area

By A. MARKOFF

**A** STRIKE situation such as the present coal miners' strike in Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia offers the greatest opportunity for the building of the Communist Party, for a mass recruitment into the Party from the ranks of the striking miners.

While this is clear to the majority of our active Party members, there are wrong tendencies manifesting themselves here and there. One of the tendencies is to wait till the strike is over to build the Party. This tendency is incompatible with the basic functions of the Party and arises only out of lack of understanding of the role of the C. P. in the present strike as well as in all struggles of the working class.

The other tendency is one of extreme cautious approach to the strikers. Some comrades say that we must be very, very careful as to whom we recruit and therefore present an orientation of months of propaganda, of careful selection, etc.

Such a view is a result of bad training, of non-confidence in the masses—we must reject it. In this period of struggles, the Party must be built rapidly.

Here we must guard against the other extremes where comrades working in the field are carried away with enthusiasm and begin wholesale recruiting, without even explaining the difference between the Party and the Union.

One more point in connection with this is the opinion

that a union field organizer during the strike must not build the Party at the same time for fear that he will become known as a Communist and the Union will be branded a Communist union.

To these we can say this: a Communist, a member of a Communist Party is first and foremost a Communist, no matter what work he is engaged in; that the first thing to be considered is the building of the Party. Does that mean that he should build the Party in preference to the Union? No. At this time when the N.M.U. is leading such an important struggle—the building of the Union is of prime and paramount importance. *But one cannot successfully build the N.M.U. or lead the strike without at the same time building the Party nucleus, which is one of the strong pillars of the Union and the strike. The successful building of the Party nuclei in the strike area means the firm consolidation of the strike forces; it means the strengthening of the Union.*

### Who is to Build the Party?

To this question there is one categorical answer—the field organizer, and every member of the Party active in the strike must build the Party nuclei. The organizer is the one who is constantly in contact with the striking miners. He is in touch with especially the most developed, the most militant elements, those who are on the various committees,—the strike committee, the relief committee, the picket committee, etc. It is a simple matter to discuss the immediate problems of the strike binding it up with the immediate experiences explaining the role of the state with which every miner is in daily contact in his experience on the picket line, in the brutal attack of the state forces, etc.

Through these simple talks with individual miners, we prepare them, make them ready to accept the Party. When three, four, or five individuals have been thus prepared, they are called together and a talk is given explaining the role of the C. P., in the strike, the relationship between the N.M.U., and the C.P.; the conception of the *class struggle*, etc. This is done in an elementary way, using language which the miner understands. The talk should not be too long, and must be as concrete as possible, always bearing in mind the strike and illustrations arising

from the experiences of the miners. My personal experience was that I find the miners extremely interested; they often show their approval by interjections here and there during the talk.

Questions may and may not follow the talk. The miners, at first, are slow in asking questions. It is up to the speaker then to ask them questions, to make them express themselves as to what is their opinion about the Party, the Union, the strike, etc.

By formulating the questions simply, the workers will be drawn into the discussion.

At this first meeting it is best to sign them up, to fill out the application blanks. It is also advisable to give them literature "Why Every Worker Should Join the Communist Party" or a similar pamphlet.

Unfortunately our Party is poor in such literature. We have many pamphlets published, but the language is inaccessible to the average worker. The day for the next meeting is decided upon and the workers are asked if they think it would be advisable to bring some more active workers, whom they know to be reliable, whom they would like to have in this group.

In every one of my meetings the miners suggested one or another and at the next meeting I had three or four more miners present who joined the Party at that meeting. For example: at one meeting of five miners who were recruited into the Party several days before, five more came invited by the first five and thus a nucleus of ten was formed; at another meeting four miners newly recruited brought three more, and so on.

At the second meeting if new comers are present a short introduction must given explaining what the Party is, what it stands for. These workers have been already talked to by the first group, so the ground is prepared and all that is required is the clarification of some of the problems which are not as yet clear.

At this meeting we also take up the structure of the Party, we explain what the nucleus is, what position it occupies in the strike, in the mine, in the Union, the relation to the higher organs, such as the Section Committee, District Committee, the Central Committee. Something should be said about the Communist International. Then the organizational form of the nucleus is discussed, we

elect a Buro of three consisting of an Organizer, a Secretary and a third comrade who for the time being is charged with taking care of the *Daily Worker* distribution and literature.

We must guard here against formalism. These workers cannot immediately understand such offices as Agitprop Director, Industrial Organizer, etc. The tasks outlined must be simple. The Secretary is told that his duty is to take care of the membership books as far as stamps are concerned, he is to get stamps and supply them to the members; he should keep a record of the decisions (minutes), etc.

Likewise we explain to the Organizer his duties and so on. We must bear in mind that usually the best and most active workers in the strike are the first to join the Party. These workers are already charged with many responsibilities and cannot be over-burdened. Therefore it is necessary to make the organizational structure of the unit simple.

The idea of working as a fraction within the strike committee, the relief committee, etc. can also be explained at this meeting. A regular meeting date must be agreed to. Also the conception of discipline can be introduced. I found that it is very easy for the workers to understand the meaning of discipline. The struggle itself teaches them the necessity for discipline.

### Training of the New Members

The training of the new members recruited in the present strike presents a special problem. We cannot apply methods used in units of New York, Chicago, etc. Many of the miners are foreign-born, and do not speak English well; others, born or reared in this country have had little opportunity, if any, for education. We, therefore, must go slowly with the theoretical training. The training, at least for the first two or three months should consist in taking up the current topics and presenting them in the light of the Communist conception, linking up the subject with the immediate struggles of the miners and other workers, using plain workers language.

Should we organize classes for the new members in the strike area? My opinion is that we should not. My experiences in the field convince me that regular classes are

not the thing at the present time in the strike situation. Later, when we have a number of members trained in the units, classes can be and should be established on a section scale, but *at present the training must be done at the unit meetings.* We can also train the workers outside of the units by getting together a large group of striking miners and talking to them on a topic which concerns them or reading aloud articles from the *Daily Worker*. For example, the Lamont Conference in Washington with the mine operators; the Doak Conference with representatives of the U.M.W.A., the war danger, Scottsboro, etc. This paves the way for the organization of a Party unit. The following fact will illustrate this point. I spoke one day to a group of miners in the N.M.U. relief headquarters. I spoke about the strike, the picketing, linked it up with the recent arrest of 230 strikers, where the federal immigration inspectors became active, discussed the oppression of foreign-born workers, the activities of the C. P. against deportations, introduced the war danger and August First. Some comrades warned me not to mention the C. P. My talk where the Party was placed as the leader of all the workers had its effect. Several days later, the Org. Secretary of the Pittsburgh District succeeded in establishing a nucleus of ten members: all these were present at the meeting mentioned above. The striking miners understand and accept our Party if it is placed in the proper light.

Another important method of training our new members is to give them literature and ask them to read it together.

### Mine Papers

It is my opinion that we can have a number of mine papers launched shortly. It is necessary to suggest to the nucleus at the third or fourth meeting that a mine paper be started. The members respond readily. Two mine papers are in preparation at the present time. The articles are to be written by the miners themselves. The District should have them mimeographed and give them to the unit for distribution.

In the Pittsburgh District as a result of the strike many nuclei are established. Every week more nuclei are being organized and the membership of these nuclei grows. But these nuclei must receive the closest attention of the

Party leadership. Comrades must be assigned to meet with them regularly at least for the first two or three months. Neglecting these newly formed units of the Party will lead to rapid disintegration.

## Building Party Units in the Coal Strike Area

By LEO THOMPSON

**T**HE building of Party units in the coal strike is one of the main tasks of our comrades in the Pittsburgh district. Unfortunately, because this job was sorely neglected until now, the strike had to face tremendous difficulties that would not exist were Party units functioning in the field prior to the strike.

It is no exaggeration to say that the overwhelming majority of the difficulties in the strike are mainly due to the lack of a conscious organized motivating force—the Communist Party units.

In the last two weeks a turn was begun and the District Committee has succeeded in establishing 5 new units in our Cannonsburg-Washington section. In the first period of the strike without Party units and members, it was very difficult for the comrades to systematize our work in the strike. We had no departments in the strike committees, our picket lines were weak and spontaneously formed, our relief work met with numerous complaints, etc.

But with the first beginnings of newly organized Party units, the strike situation itself always reflected improvements in all these different phases of strike activity. Altho we did not have fully developed Party units, we at least had a fresh energetic core of the best fighters among the miners in the Party who could be used to organize and reinforce picket-lines, who are sent out to speak at mass meetings, organize strike committees at various mines, take charge of relief work, organize demonstrations within very short notice, break up the U.M.W.A.'s mass meetings, etc.

For example, in Meadowlands where we have a Party unit of 6 (altho still loosely organized) and where we still

have many obstacles to overcome—the work is much more satisfactory that in those mining camps like Cuddy (near Westland mine) where we have no Party unit. The same is true in Washington, where a small core of 3 Party members is able to push the miners to more consistent activity. In spite of only having 3 comrades there, still the workers realize that the Party is their leader.

How were these units organized? The Party does not repeat the same mistake made in the past, that is, by an indiscriminate mass circulation of application cards. This merely boils down to a mass signature campaign. What we must do (and are trying to do) is to lay the basis for a real mass recruiting drive in the coal fields on the basis of our present contracts in the numerous strike committees. In our section, none of 5 new units have more than six or seven members. But they already are doing considerable good work in pushing and leading the miners in the strike and recruiting new members. In Meadowlands, for example, I sent out a new Party member to Bishop to organize a local union of the N.M.U. and to make connections for the Party. The same comrade organized a Youth Section of 15 and a Miners' Children's Club of 33. In another instance, we learned that the Pittsburgh Coal Company was shipping 300 strike-breakers on a train to Montour mine No. 10. I immediately got in touch with the new Party comrades there who at once organized a strong reception committee, which succeeded in turning back a good percentage. In Washington, where we held a mass hunger march of about 20,000 miners and steel workers, the Party is following up the hunger march by daily house-to-house distributions and sales of 100 *Daily Workers*. At the present time, the main work of the Party units is to push the August First Anti-War Demonstrations, four of which will be held this year in our section, that is, in Washington, Cannonsburg, Hill Station (Montour No. 10) and Cuddy (near Westland mine). All other units get rid of their *Daily Workers*, selling about 75% of them and giving out the rest free. This kind of work lays the basis for mass recruiting to follow.

However, we must give more attention to small details, draw these new Party members into concrete leading work in the strike, raising their prestige among the

miners. These new Party units must be the basis for functioning Party fractions in the N.M.U. that will give daily leadership to the work in the strike and after the strike is over, at the same time steadily recruiting the best miners into the Party.

## How the Unemployed Were Drawn into Strike Activity

By R. WOODS

THE strike of the coal miners in Western Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia has shown us in practise how the unemployed workers can be drawn into strike activities and the slogan of unity between the employed and unemployed concretely put into effect. These experiences are of great value to the revolutionary movement, especially in the present crisis with its widespread unemployment, strikes and struggles against starvation.

The Washington, Pennsylvania and the Pittsburgh Hunger Marches are outstanding examples of this. Thousands of unemployed miners and steel workers participated in these marches. This was possible only because of the correct formulation of the demands, presented to the authorities on both occasions. Demands such as free rent and gas, unemployed relief and others were presented side by side with the strikers' demands directly concerning the strike (withdrawal of armed forces, the right to picket, against the injunctions, etc.) But demands alone are insufficient to bring about the complete unity of action. Organization of the unemployed in the Unemployed Branches in mining and steel towns, branches of the unions, in cities, and in neighborhood branches) and carrying on of a consistent campaign, for relief for the needy families, against evictions, and for the participation of the unemployed workers in the mass picketing of the mines, must go hand in hand with the struggle for the demands of all the workers.

More outstanding than even the Hunger Marches, in expressing the solidarity of the striking miners and unemployed workers is the militant struggle, conducted by the Unemployed Council, against the shipping of scabs



to the strike area. Under such slogans as: "Join the fight against starvation!" "Don't Scab!" "Fight for relief from the city!" hundreds of unemployed workers were mobilized for this struggle. Daily picket lines were established at the scab agencies, which kept would-be scabs away from these places. Several times the windows of the agencies were smashed forcing them to close up. Truckloads of scabs were attacked at their place of departure, resulting in pitched battles with the police.

While the unemployed workers, especially in this strike, instinctively feel the close relation between the struggle against wage cuts, speed-up, starvation wages and the fight against unemployment and for relief, it is necessary to organize this feeling into actual expression by action, in order to establish the desired relations between the strikers and the unemployed. Leaflets explaining the significance of the strike for all the workers, were widely distributed, not only at the employment agencies but in the neighborhoods, at the breadlines, etc. Meetings were held at the scab agencies both inside and outside. As a result of one such meeting, the whole crowd of workers at one of the agencies, marched to the office of the "Poor Department" to demand relief.

We must also remember that in order to keep the unemployed workers actively engaged in the support of the strike, including the collecting of relief not only must a consistent struggle be carried on for unemployed relief, but attempts must be made to involve the branches in collecting food for the active members as well as for families in extreme and immediate need. These methods have resulted in Pittsburgh in a complete revival of the unemployed movement, which before was without life or mass character.

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## The I. L. D. in the Coal Strike

M. STERN

**S**OME very valuable lessons on the role of the International Labor Defense in mass strikes have been learned during the present strike. The role of the I.L.D. has been misunderstood by many comrades and not until some bitter experience was it possible to correct the wrong

practices. At the same time this strike has demonstrated the correctness of the I.L.D. policies.

### Some Wrong Practices

The wrong conceptions which existed at the beginning of the strike were: (1) that the I.L.D. was the independent legal department of the N.M.U. All cases of arrests and persecutions were promptly referred to the I.L.D. in such a manner as to give the impression that the Union had nothing to do with such work and actually did not concern itself about such affairs. An outstanding example in this respect is that when a group of miners came to one of the Section strike organizers reporting arrests and suggesting certain actions, this organizer said, "Don't bother about this. Just call up the I.L.D. and they will take care of it." Actions like these gave the rank and file miners the impression that the I.L.D. was some big office in Pittsburgh, full of attorneys, unlimited forces and money, ready to rush out at a moment's notice whenever necessary. After this illusion was created the miners were greatly disappointed when the I.L.D. could not live up to this reputation. For instance, on the day that the Wildwood mine went on strike and two miners' wives were fined, the miners thought that all they had to do was to send a committee to the I.L.D. and get the money. They could not understand why we could not give it to them.

(2) Only legal matters were referred to the I.L.D. It was very difficult to bring mass defense policies before the miners. Mass protest meetings were arranged with the exclusion of the I.L.D. A protest meeting against the shooting and killing of Comrade Zigarcic, under the auspices of the N.M.U. and the I.L.D. was decided upon, but then, leaflets were rushed off, unknown to the I.L.D., calling a meeting under the auspices of the T.U.U.L.

(3) The Union was not involved in the defense in any shape or form. When the attorneys advised getting a transcript of the injunction which served as an excuse for the shooting in Wildwood, the Union refused to have anything to do with the financing of it, on the ground that it was "legal matters."

(4) The I.L.D. was compelled to pay fines. In one case where we were forced to pay fines for two miners, in the Brownsville section, the next day six more miners

were fined ten dollars each; four paid their fines and demanded that the I.L.D. refund the money.

As a result of the wrong conception of the role and policies of the I.L.D., the rank and file miners received the wrong opinion of the I.L.D. also. At the same time those comrades assigned to I.L.D. work were kept busy with purely legal and technical matters that there was little time to carry on any other work. Mass action was badly neglected. Prisoners were not taken care of. The miners' confidence in attorneys was not undermined, nor was the class character of the courts exposed. The payment of fines was not discouraged.

The shortcomings in the defense of the striking miners not only demonstrates the results of wrong conceptions of the role of the I.L.D., but also the weaknesses of the I.L.D. itself. The I.L.D. did not put up a fight against wrong tendencies, nor did it fight sufficiently for a correct understanding of its role. The I.L.D. was slow in spreading its policies and tactics among the miners. It was slow in rooting itself in the ranks of the miners.

### Correct Role of the I.L.D.

The disastrous results of the wrong practices forced the I.L.D. and the strike leadership to review and correct the wrong conceptions and practices in defense work. The Union and the strike apparatus were made primarily responsible for the defense of the striking miners and the I.L.D. was charged with the assistance in this work and guidance in establishing a complete defense apparatus in the strike machinery, with the object of directly involving the strikers and the strike committees in defense work.

(1) The defense work has taken on a different form. Defense committees of 3 to 5 have been organized in the majority of the mine strike committees. These defense committees in conjunction with the I.L.D., have been able to raise about one million dollars in bail. Out of approximately nine hundred arrests, about 175 are still in jail. Relief of imprisoned miners and their families has been started. Through the participation of these Defense Committees in hearings and court actions, the miners are getting a clear conception of the role of the courts, and a proper estimation of legal defense as a supplement to mass activity.

(2) The Mine Defense Committees are becoming the connecting links between the Union and the I.L.D. The defense of the miners is becoming more and more the joint affair of the N.M.U., Strike Committees and the I.L.D. The raising of funds for defense is becoming one of the tasks of the Union.

(3) At the same time the basis for the organization of a mass I.L.D. is being prepared, because hundreds of miners are involved in the day to day defense activities of their Defense Committee, under I.L.D. guidance. Miners are now on the District Committee of the I.L.D. The I.L.D. apparatus has been strengthened. The time is already at hand to start building branches in the mines.

Much is yet to be done. Mass action is still insufficient. There is still insufficient understanding by the rank and file miners of I.L.D. policies. Miners still insist on paying fines occasionally. There is not enough relief to prisoners, etc.

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## Unity of Negro and White Workers in the Strike

THE recent waves of strike movements have demonstrated more than ever the correctness of the Party's line in its struggle for Negro rights. The strikes taking place in the coal industry have shown a high degree of unity of Negro and white workers who are struggling together on the economic field to obtain certain definite demands. In the present strike we witness that Negro workers are among the first to strike, they are among the most militant on the picket lines, they take leading roles in strike committee discussions and readily accept responsible posts in the strike. On the other hand the white strikers accept the active role of Negro strikers with enthusiasm and display no trace of chauvinism or prejudice. This unity, which on the surface appears to be spontaneous is nevertheless a conscious move coming from the masses of workers, which proves that the Party and the T.U.U.L. and its unions and leagues have been the subjective factor through the popularization of their programs in causing the workers to realize that only through joint struggle will they be successful. The Party and the N.M.U. have

steadfastly pointed out to the miners that Negro and white workers join the revolutionary organizations as equals. Negro miners were elected to leading posts and on leading committees of the Union. The program of full equality and struggle for Negro Rights were conducted by the Party on Scottsboro and local issues.

In Harlan, Kentucky, although we were not the subjective factor to the same extent as in Pittsburgh, that is, our activities were mostly agitational through *Daily Worker* and *Southern Worker* distributions, yet the workers there realize that success in their strike could only be attained through the united front of white and Negro miners because of the many bitter and long-drawn out struggles that they have passed through which gave them a degree of class consciousness and class solidarity, which crushed the deep seated and traditional (as far as the South is concerned) white chauvinism.

However, this splendid unity of white and Negro strikers remains on the surface and we must carry it to a higher stage by the conscious development of Negro work in other spheres. Our tasks are to remedy the mistakes made in the striking areas where we did not take advantage of this marked unity by conducting sustained agitation and propaganda as well as struggles on all issues of Negro discrimination through organized Scottsboro campaign and bringing forward our program on the Negro question.

In order to achieve this it is of the utmost importance to set up functioning Negro Departments in the Party and in the N.M.U. and also in the sections of the Strike Committee. It is a task of these departments to bring before the striking workers not only the necessity of joint struggle on the economic field but the popularization of our entire program of struggle for Negro rights and the necessity of the white workers becoming component parts of the struggle.

The Scottsboro campaign and the Camp Hill, Alabama, cases must become nerve centers in all striking areas to build up public indignation and to raise to a higher political level the unity of the Negro and white workers.

It is not a mere accident that rank and file Negro miners are among the best leaders in the coal strike. And that the white workers as well as the Negro workers have

confidence in them and recognize their ability and capacity to become their leaders. This must be capitalized upon and extended to other fields of activity.

All racial barriers and discrimination appearing between native and foreign-born workers must be broken down and they too can most easily be overcome during the course of struggle.

## Ex-Servicemen in the Strike

**I**N the course of the present coal strike the need of organizing the ex-servicemen among the strikers assumes serious importance.

Large numbers of the strikers are foreign-born workers.

The operators and the police lay great emphasis on the prejudices of sections of native born strikers and urge them to repudiate the "foreign agitators and trouble makers." The operators especially appeal to the ex-servicemen in the American Legion and among the strikers to express their patriotism by fighting against the pickets on the grounds that they are "foreigners." The American Legion has been mobilized in several instances to break up the picket lines. The deputy sheriffs and mine guards are constantly boasting of their records in the war and are urged by the operators to use war experiences and methods in fighting the strikers.

On the other hand there are many instances where proletarian members of the American Legion refused to do the bidding of the operators and declared solidarity with the striking miners. Ex-servicemen among the miners of their own accord point out to the strikers that after fighting "over there" for "their" country they now must unite to fight the bosses and their armed forces here.

There are thousands of striking miners who fought in the Imperialist War. They are among the most aggressive and militant fighters. But on the whole they are fighting as individuals. They do not oppose the operators' appeals as organized groups. Their organizational experience is not utilized. Their fighting capacity is not organized and brought forward. Their special interests (bonus, insurance) are not even mentioned in the strike.

### What to Do

Existing locals as well as the national committee of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League should send greetings, and where possible representatives, to the strike committees. The Union and the strike committees should endorse the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League. (W. E. S. L.)

Decision should be made to organize locals of W.E.S.L. and striking ex-servicemen into groups to lead picket lines, to raise the grievances of ex-servicemen (Tombstone Bonus, Disability Insurance, etc.) and the general exploitation of ex-servicemen.

The organizational experience and discipline of the ex-servicemen should be consciously utilized by the Union and the strike committee especially in picket lines, marches, and organization of groups of ten.

W.E.S.L. organization shall send further suggestions and literature into the strike field to raise the class-consciousness of the striking ex-servicemen.

Systematic efforts must be made to counteract the American Legion propaganda and to win their proletarian rank and file to support the strike.

When the militia or federal troops are called into the strike area, the organized ex-servicemen can best work among them.

The organized ex-servicemen can be used to effectively raise the issues of war danger, solidarity of Negro and white workers, solidarity of foreign-born and native workers, etc.

The Party units and Section Committees shall pay special attention to this phase of activity by assigning comrades to this task.

### How August First Is Organized in the Strike

**W**HILE the Party is leading a mass strike of 40,000 miners through the Union and the Strike Committees it is relatively easy to involve these masses in our mass campaigns.

How the unemployed and striking miners were united

in this struggle is dealt with in another article which is a splendid example of how to link up two major movements into a united front.

Our Anti-War campaign is also being well linked up with the strike struggle both organizationally and ideologically. And further the Pittsburgh experience illustrates that it is possible to conduct more than one campaign simultaneously with a major mass struggle.

Basis for the preparations for August First were laid by the broad distribution and sale of the *Daily Worker* (every day) in the entire strike area. The *Daily Worker* is very popular among the striking miners and they recognize it as their paper. Our Party comrades who speak at mass meetings of the strikers are given weekly outlines and instructions how to link up the strike issues with the War Danger, Defense of Soviet Union as well as other important campaigns. About a month before August First the Central Strike Committee (with delegates from all struck mines) adopted a resolution to recognize August First as the International Day of Struggle against Imperialist War and instructed all the mine and section strike committees to organize demonstrations on August First. About twenty thousand pieces of war literature were sold and distributed among the strikers in addition to leaflets by the Union, Strike Committees, Party and Units.

The role of our units and Party fractions in such a situation is simple enough after the proper basis has been laid. Our Party comrades on the mine strike committees will make sure that adequate preparations are made for the demonstrations in the field.

No doubt the best and largest August First demonstrations will take place in the strike area because our comrades knew how to utilize a mass movement for economic demands and skilfully link up one of our major campaigns with the struggle.

Similar steps must be taken in all such struggles and link up the Scottsboro, Protection of Foreign-Born, etc., with the strike movements.



## About Picket Lines

**T**HE present coal miners' strike teaches us many lessons about mass picket lines. The strike began by throwing a mass picket line at one of the Carnegie Coal Co. mines in Avela (see article by Frank Borich in this issue about preparations for the strike.) The strike was spread by massing the striking miners into picket lines and marching them from mine to mine.

Mass picketing, as against few paid pickets, is one of the basic strike tactics of revolutionary unions which has as its purpose the involving of all strikers into active participation in the strike, and is further extended to include in its ranks the wives and children of miners as well as the unemployed miners.

A well-functioning, organized and properly led picket line is indispensable to the proper conduct and winning of any strike. During the early phase of the strike, while enthusiasm runs high, daily mass picket lines are mobilized with little effort or organization. This generally leads to the underestimation of the need for *organizing* the picket line with the result that after a few weeks the picket line dwindles, loses its enthusiasm and firmness and often crumbles before an attack or in face of other difficulties (shortage of relief, decline of tempo of strike, police terror, etc.)

### Importance of Organization

The picket line, like every other part of strike machinery, requires utmost organizational attention. Enthusiasm and spontaneity must supplement organization of the picket line and not take its place. On the other hand, proper organization will fully utilize, sustain and direct the enthusiasm and the militancy of the strikers.

During the course of this strike we witnessed picket lines running into thousands and marching tens of miles from the early hours of the morning. However, after the terror increased and the strike received its first break and relief became inadequate, the picket lines dwindled.

The leading committee of the strike took the following steps to consolidate the picket lines:

1. The strikers were registered and given activity cards. Each morning the cards were punched on the picket line

and only those strikers who showed picket activity were given relief.

2. Strikers were organized into squads of 10-15 and 20 with a captain and assistant who were responsible to mobilize their squads each morning for picket duty unless assigned for gathering relief or other special work. After the gathering of pickets was addressed by the picket line leader the squad captains were given instructions and the squads were called into formation one by one and marched off or loaded into trucks for picket duty.

With the organization of these smaller units the picket lines became firmer, more mobile and more militant. Singing and shouting of slogans was more successful, spirit higher and greater initiative was developed.

The selection of hundreds of captains and assistants for responsibility for their squads and the conduct of these squads resulted in the creation of a larger group of active leaders whose potentialities for leadership were revealed and developed for the first time.

## Developing Leaders

**T**HE Pennsylvania-Ohio-West Virginia miners' strike, the developing strike in Harlan, Kentucky, the strikes in the textile industry, the wave of smaller strikes, side by side with the growing unemployment movement, the Scottsboro campaign and the generally increasing activities of the Party and the revolutionary unions raise the problem of forces, organizers and leaders more seriously and sharply than ever before in the history of the Party.

Into the mining strike the Party and the T.U.U.L. have shipped about 25 experienced organizers for strike activity. This drain on our forces is already seriously felt in several districts where strike struggles have developed or are in the process of development.

Important sections and districts send in fervent appeals for forces, promising alluring developments of strikes and struggles in their territories if their requests are granted.

## Where to Get New Forces

The shortage of forces is traditional in the revolutionary movement. Lenin as far back as 1905 polemized against committees and organizers who explained their in-

ability to conduct struggles because of absence of forces, who always looked for trained forces to be sent from outside while overlooking the vast reservoir of new fresh potential forces in their own movement.

Systematic and planned development of new forces is one of the weakest points in our present strikes. Our tendency is to have confidence only in our trained and tested leaders and organizers. Responsible posts are given solely to organizers with previous successful experience. New forces are drawn into responsible work only if they show remarkable activity on their own initiative, or if they force their way into front ranks.

During the strike situation the workers develop militancy and class consciousness at a very rapid tempo. The best elements among the workers are brought forward in the picket line, strike committees, mass meetings, etc. The first task of every organizer is to assist in developing the potential capacities of the best strikers, to encourage and cultivate those with organizational and political qualifications and to utilize every possible way to develop the initiative of the foremost elements. Experienced strike organizers must surround themselves with the best elements and teach them how they can combat the leadership of the strike after he leaves.

### Committee Work

The tendency of our organizers to work out all proposals and plans alone and present them to large strike meetings in complete form does not contribute to the development of new forces. The inexperienced strikers may marvel at the ability of the organizer but will never realize that they are getting the benefit of the experiences of hundreds of previous struggles of all the workers.

The experienced organizer will discuss all his plans and proposals with the small executives and subcommittees so as to involve the new elements in the development of plans and proposals and make them understand how they are worked out and that they can assist and contribute to the plans. The policy of getting less experienced members of the committees to make proposals already agreed upon will raise the self confidence of the new elements. Responsible tasks are to be given to all members of the committees and the organizer should discuss these tasks with

them, assist in carrying them out and teach the new forces *how they are to be carried out*. While irresponsibility and neglect must be sharply combatted the organizers must differentiate between neglect due to inexperience and difficult obstacles and neglect due to irresponsibility. Mistakes and neglect are more costly during a strike than normally; however, the mistakes of less experienced workers must be treated firmly but constructively, with the aim in view of correcting and developing and not of destroying.

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## Coal Strike and the Strassburg Resolutions on Problems of Strike Strategy

The successful preparation, organization and conduct of the coal miners' strike by the N.M.U. is not an accident. On the contrary, it is the concrete example of our ability to correctly understand and apply the line and policies of the R.I.L.U., especially as outlined in the resolutions adopted at the International Conference on Strike Strategy held by the R.I.L.U. in Strassburg, Germany in January, 1929.

Already the beginnings of the correct policy and methods were demonstrated in several smaller mine strikes in the Pittsburgh mining district in January of this year and further developed in the Lawrence textile strike, the present miners' strike and, simultaneously, in the Pawtucket and Paterson strikes, not to speak of scores of smaller strikes.

While we must carefully study the experiences of all the strikes, at the same time every Party member should read and study the Strassburg Resolutions as the basic guide to proper preparation and conduct of strikes which are breaking out or are on the verge of breaking out in every District and every important industry.

The Strassburg Resolutions on Problems of Strike Strategy are available in pamphlet form and can be secured from your literature agent or direct from the Workers Library Publishers.

## Miners' Relief and the Steel Workers

By EDITH BRISCOL

**D**URING a strike in one industry, relief can be well used in order to organize workers of another industry. In the case of the present struggle of the miners it has been shown that relief is one of the best issues to be used in the steel towns to organize the steel workers.

In sections where the steel mills are situated right in the striking area, like McKeesport, Cannonsberg, Carnegie, etc., the steel workers are not merely watching the strike, but are taking an active part in it. Many of them are leading the picket lines. Still more are active in collecting relief for the starving miners and their families.

From actual experience it has been shown that the relief campaign in a steel town not only brings food for the starving miners, but it brings hundreds of contacts of steel workers for the M.W.I.L. (Metal Workers Industrial League). It actually helps in the building of the M.W.I.L.

For instance, in one of the steel towns close to the striking area we started the relief campaign in the following way: we rented an empty store, put up a sign outside: "Miners' Relief Station; Support the Miners' Strike Against Starvation." This attracted the attention of many steel workers in the neighborhood. Many of them came inside the store; many brought food and money with them.

Through these contacts we succeeded in building a relief committee. Then we began a systematic relief campaign, every-day collections of food, visiting warehouses, visiting organizations, arranging affairs and picnics for relief, etc. As we went along our relief committee grew larger, more representative.

Most of the members of the committee worked part-time in a steel mill. We called a special meeting of the best elements where we took up the conditions in the steel mills and explained the role of the M.W.I.L., connecting it up with the struggle of the miners. As a result of this meeting everyone present joined the M.W.I.L.. Once the group was established, the members began activities right inside the mill. Again they used relief as the major issue (collecting money inside, recruiting more members

for the relief committee, etc.). Through this they were able to get a number of valuable contacts who were later brought directly into the M.W.I.L.

In steel towns where we already have some organization of the M.W.I.L. the problem is much simpler. There relief should be used to activize our members. They should be the initiators in the campaign and build the group through relief activities. We found that one of the best ways to popularize the issue inside the steel mills is by holding open air shop meetings just before pay day and then follow up this by using collection lists inside.

This struggle of the miners is bringing the steel workers closer to organization. With the growth of the National Miners Union the steel workers are also looking forward to a union of their own. It frequently occurs that delegations of steel workers appear at the meetings of the miners' strike committees, without our union having done anything to induce them to do so. The major reason for this growing militancy of the steel workers and for their quick response to the call for relief is the worsening of conditions among the steel workers. The issue of relief should be raised among the steel workers in connection with their own conditions in the mills. We must connect up the struggle of the miners with their own struggles for better conditions, and for the building of a strong, powerful Union in the steel industry.

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## Read the August Issue of the Communist

**T**HE August issue of *The Communist*, the central theoretical organ of the Party has been prepared with a view to popularizing the lessons already learned in the course of the present great strike of 40,000 soft-coal miners. An article by Comrade Browder, examines our experiences in this strike, in the light of the decisions of the Eleventh Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Comrade Foster writes an article that deals with some of the fundamental problems in this strike as well as all strikes that take place in the present period. Another article deals with four basic problems of the present moment as discussed by the Communist In-

ternational. In the Marx-Engels-Lenin section, which is a regular feature of the *Communist*, there are reprinted some interesting and important excerpts from Lenin's famous pamphlet "What is to Be Done?" in which he deals with the relation of political activity of Communists to the economic struggles of the workers.

Comrades who fail to read, study and understand the lessons of our struggles; those who do not understand the basis for the policies and tactics which the Party applies in these struggles, cannot properly represent the Party before the workers.

Every Communist and every revolutionary worker should read the *Communist* every month. Be sure to read the August issue and to place it in the hands of as many workers as possible.

## On Going to the Soviet Union

**O**UR Party is engaged in leading more and more important mass struggles of the workers of this country. Unemployment, Scottsboro, strikes are a few of the important mass movements under our leadership. In the course of these struggles the Party is being built up into a mass party and already exercises mass influence.

New forces are constantly coming into our ranks, workers from the heavy industries, native workers and especially Negro workers.

The tasks of individual comrades become greater. Communists today must actively lead these struggles. But here and there we find members of our Party who resist active participation in these struggles. Most of these quietly drop out and the Party proceeds even faster into mass struggles because new healthy proletarian forces join our ranks regularly.

We still have in our ranks comrades who see the solution of their personal problems in the American class struggle by going to the Soviet Union. Often these comrades arrange to secure jobs for themselves in the Soviet Union, buy their steamship tickets and on the day they catch the boat come to the center and ask for a transfer to the C.P.S.U. In all such cases the comrades are refused transfers and if they leave without transfer they desert the Party and the class struggle.

No Communist has the right to leave the country without the permission of the Party. A Communist who goes to the Soviet Union without Party permission deserts the Party.

There are certain conditions under which the Party permits its members to go to the Soviet Union. The rules and regulations are known to the District Committees which pass judgment on all applications. However, no decision is final until the C.C. gives its permission for comrades to leave.

After this has been called to the attention of the Party for over a year no comrade has a right to claim that he was not informed.

Party members cannot arrange for jobs in the Soviet Union without Party permission.

Party members cannot leave the country or make arrangements to leave the country without Party permission.

## Dictionary of Abbreviations

We are printing below a list of abbreviations commonly used in the life of the Party with their meanings. This is done for the benefit of the new as well as the old members. It is not done with the idea of encouraging use of these abbreviations. In fact the use of these abbreviations should be discouraged as much as possible particularly when new members are involved.

AAAIL—All-America Anti-Imperialist League.

CC—Central Committee.

CCC—Central Control Commission.

CI—Communist International.

CO—Central Organ—Central Office.

CP—Communist Party.

CPSU—Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

CPUSA—Communist Party of the United States of America.

DB—District Buro.

DC—District Committee.

DCC—District Control Commission.

DO—District Organizer.

DW—Daily Worker.

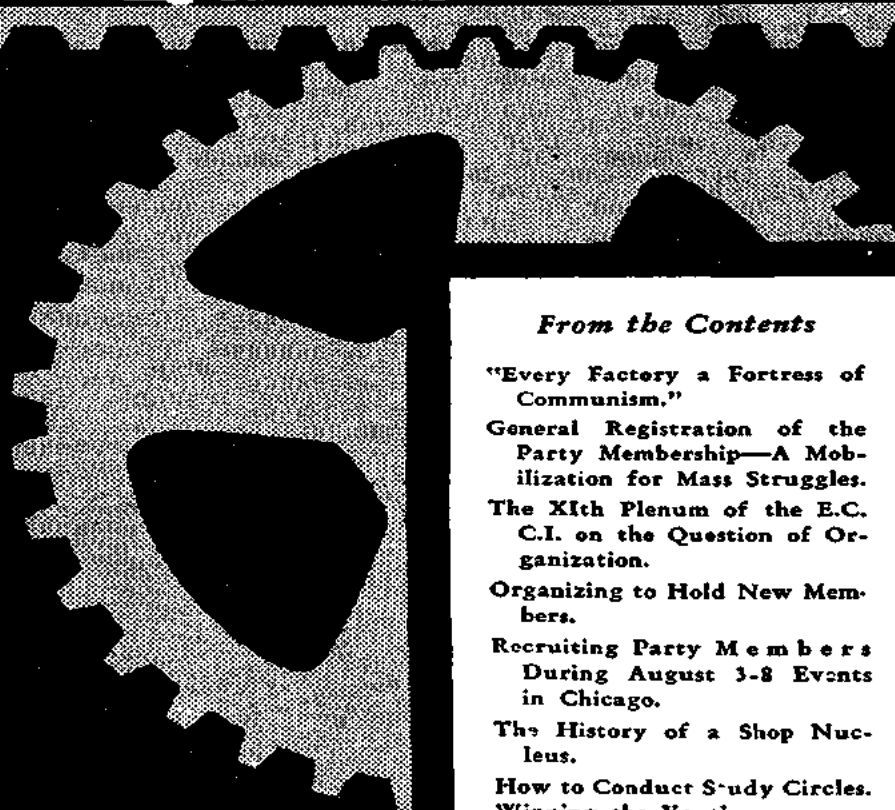
Comintern—Communist International.

ECCI—Executive Committee of the Communist International.



- ICC—International Control Commission.  
 IKKI—Executive Committee of the Communist International.  
 ILD—International Labor Defense.  
 IPC—International Propaganda Committee of the RILU.  
 IRD—International Red Day—August First.  
 IWO—International Workers Order.  
 IYD—International Youth Day.  
 KIM—See YCI.  
 LSNR—League of Struggle for Negro Rights.  
 LSU—Labor Sports Union.  
 MWIL—Metal Workers Industrial League.  
 MWIU—Marine Workers Industrial Union.  
 NB—Nucleus Buro.  
 NC—National Committee of the YCL.  
 NMU—National Miners' Union.  
 NTWIU—Needle Trades Workers' Industrial League.  
 NTWUNational Textile Workers' Union.  
 NYD—National Youth Day.  
 Orgburo—Organizational Buro of the Central Committee.  
 Polburo—Political Buro of the Central Committee.  
 Profintern—See RILU.  
 RILU—Red International of Labor Unions.  
 SB—Section Buro.  
 SC—Section Committee.  
 SO—Section Organizer.  
 SW—Southern Worker.  
 TU—Trade Union.  
 TUUC—Trade Union Unity Council.  
 TUUL—Trade Union Unity League.  
 UB—Unemployed Branch.  
 UC—Unemployed Council.  
 UF—United Front.  
 UFL—United Farmers League.  
 USSR—Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.  
 WESL—Workers Ex-Servicemen's League.  
 WIR—Workers International Relief.  
 YCI—Young Communist International.  
 YCL—Young Communist League.  
 YPA—Young Pioneers of America.  
 YW—Young Worker.

# Party Organizer



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- Organizing to Hold New Members.
- Recruiting Party Members During August 3-8 Events in Chicago.
- The History of a Shop Nucleus.
- How to Conduct Study Circles. Winning the Youth.

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# PARTY ORGANIZER

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## "Every Factory a Fortress of Communism"

### I

#### What Were the Decisions of the 13th Plenum

**T**HE slogan "Every factory a fortress of Communism" characterized the political line and the decisions that were made at the 13th Plenum of our Central Committee at the end of August. The importance of this Plenum for the whole Party and beyond it for the American working class lies in the clear recognition of our Party center of the necessity of concentrating the whole work of the Party on the line of firmly rooting itself in the most important industries and large factories of the country. The Party center is conscious of the fact that the main task of the Party is to win the most important sections of the working class (the miners, steel and metal workers, railroad and transport workers, automobile, textile and chemical workers) to the leadership of the Party on the basis of mobilizing them for economic struggles, linking these struggles with political actions, in order to win the majority of the American working class under our leadership. This is the strategic line which was laid down by the 13th Plenum in conformity with the decisions of the Comintern. It is a conscious continuation of the policy which the Party has been pursuing, especially since its 12th Plenum, of mobilizing the workers by means of partial demands, and through the economic struggles, to win the workers for Communism.

This line at the same time furnishes the only possibility of putting the working class, and especially its most decisive section working in the war industries, into motion against the policies of the capitalists, of their agents, and against the capitalist government, and thus to carry on an active struggle against the imperialist war danger and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

### **Successes and Weaknesses of the Party**

During the last several months, which includes the period between the 12th and 13th Plenum, the Party has achieved a number of successes in mobilizing and winning certain masses of workers in the country. The Party set into motion large masses of unemployed, it led a number of economic struggles, the most important of which was the big struggle of the 40,000 miners, which greatly raised the prestige and the authority of our Party and of the revolutionary union. It carried through a wide protest movement around the Scottsboro case and aroused wide masses of Negroes into action. The mass influence of our Party is large, but one of the main weaknesses of the Party is that we have not understood how to organize this mass influence. Another weakness lies in the fact that we have not sufficiently concentrated our work on the most decisive territories in order to thus build up for ourselves strategic points of power for the further struggle. Our work was not planful and concentrated enough. The strategic line of policy, of securing a foothold among the industrial workers of heavy industry which would enable us to beat back the enemy step by step has not been systematically carried into effect.

Here a turn must absolutely be made. We must be conscious that we cannot be satisfied with the successes we have thus far had. We must not any longer measure with the yardstick of the past but must bring our work up to the level of the big tasks which stand before us in order to really be the decisive revolutionary factor in the coming big class battles. The sharpening of the class contradictions, the growing struggles of the workers and the growing imperialist war danger demand special efforts from the Party membership, especially when we consider the leading role of American capitalism in capitalist world politics.

## *II*

### **What Do the Statistical Facts About Our Party Organization Show**

*A. The organizational basis of the Party is not in the shops.* The statistical facts submitted by the districts in the recent period show that the street nucleus, that is the residential unit,

is the basic organizational unit of our Party. Excluding the recent growth in the Pittsburgh district, we have about 652 street nuclei and Party groups, but only 75 shop nuclei and these few shop nuclei comprise only 4% of our total membership. This proves that these few shop nuclei are extremely weak and that all our leading committees have done very little to root the Party in the shops. We have a large number of giant factories in which there are no shop nuclei, though Party members and a large number of sympathizing workers are engaged there. These figures also show that the successes we have had in mass mobilization were mainly based on our agitational work by means of effective utilization of the great spontaneity and activity of the American working class. It shows that we have done comparatively little in preparing and organizing the struggles and that lacking or failing to build organization in the course of the struggle has excluded us from maintaining many of the gains we have made.

*B. The social composition of our membership is not good because we are not rooted in the big factories.* The insufficient Bolshevik organizational policy and practise of the Party is reflected in the social composition of the membership. If we check up even our most important Party organizations we find that we have mainly only workers of the lesser important industries who are subject to strong petty bourgeois influences. In addition we have often only the workers of small shops in the Party. This expresses itself in the New York district, where we do not have the workers of the large metal plants, the harbor and transportation workers, the workers on the subways, street cars and elevateds. It shows itself in the Pittsburgh district, where we had only a weak base among the miners until recently, but where we have very few steel workers. Our Pittsburgh city organization consists mostly of unemployed members. We have had only five steel workers in our Party organization in Pittsburgh. We can review the other districts and generally find the same picture. This situation calls for a radical turn. The situation is extremely favorable for the Party. *A wage-cutting offensive on the steel, mining, textile, rubber, automobile and other workers is under way. The workers are resisting and searching for leadership.* The Party and our revolutionary unions must utilize the discontent among these strata of workers to prepare the struggles

in these industries, to work out concrete demands, to mobilize and lead these masses of workers into struggle against the exploiters. In the big mine strike we were able to organize many thousands of miners into the revolutionary miners' union and to draw about 1,000 miners into the Party in the Pittsburgh district. We must maintain these gains and we must organizationally penetrate into the workers of other important industrial groups and organize them for the Party and for the revolutionary unions. We must on the basis of planned mobilization and by means of the formation of unemployed committees win the most militant unemployed workers for the Party and for our revolutionary unions.

C. *The weakness of our leading committees, the great dearth of active Party cadres.* It is clear that it is very difficult to get the necessary cadres for the mobilization of the Party masses and for the mobilization and organization of workers in heavy industries and the large factories, if the social composition of our membership is not changed. The strengthening of our social composition would enhance the results of our mass work many-fold. How can we build active leading committees and a good Party cadre in such an important district of heavy industry as Pittsburgh if we do not undertake at once to change the social composition of our Party membership especially in the headquarters city in the district, Pittsburgh itself. The resolution adopted at the New York District Plenum states that "there exists a far-reaching bureaucratization of the Party apparatus." This is manifested especially in the Paterson silk-workers strike. A similar resolution was adopted at the beginning of August by the Chicago Party organization which stated that our Party apparatus showed complete failure in the mobilization of the miners in Illinois and in the struggle against social fascism. These are serious warning signals. To this is added the further fact, that in consequence of the extremely big dearth of cadres we are very often not able to build up the leading committees and their departments and that we have not enough leading forces in our lower Party committees and nuclei. The consequence of this is not only bureaucracy, passivity in mass work of a considerable section of the membership, but also a strong fluctuation within the mass of our members. In the Party as a whole we have a fluctuation of over 77%. During the first

## "EVERY FACTORY A COMMUNIST FORTRESS" 5

half of this year more than 4,000 workers paid initiation dues to the Party. According to the dues-accounting of the individual districts, only 900 members, however, were really retained in the Party. The other 3,000 newly-won members were lost.

### IV

#### What Is to Be Done?

This question is unequivocally answered by the 13th plenum of the Party. The Plenum put before the Party the task of organizing the most important strata of the workers of the war and heavy industries, of setting them into motion for their economic demands, to fight against wage-cuts and speed-up and to thus mobilize them for political actions; to set into motion the million-fold masses of unemployed in the struggle for immediate relief and unemployment insurance and to provide an organizational basis for this struggle. At the present time we have in the entire Party only about 173 unemployed committees in 85 cities. The Plenum called for the unity of the employed and unemployed in a common fight against wage-cuts and part-time employment, for unemployment insurance and for relief against hunger and starvation. In this systematic mass mobilization we must defend the interests of the most oppressed strata—the Negroes, the women workers and the young workers—in order to attract them to our Party and to the revolutionary unions.

*The Party center therefore decided to carry on in connection with the preparation of these economic mass struggles the most intense recruiting to build the Party in preparation and as a whole part of the mass struggles. The Party Central Committee has decided upon a systematic recruiting of workers from the large factories for the Party and for the revolutionary unions. We must, therefore, during the next four months aim to double our membership by the winning of these workers. This is entirely possible with the big mass influence of our Party and the favorable situation. This work must be commenced already in connection with the mining and steel campaigns and must be carried out on the basis of concentration upon the most important industries and districts. Only then will we have the possibility of improving the composition of our Party, of building up the organizational con-*



nections with the important strata of workers, to make organizational advances in the most important industries and large-scale factories, to build up active shop nuclei and trade union groups, to rejuvenate the old cadres with these new proletarian elements, by drawing these workers into our leading committees and into the Party apparatus, to improve our old cadres and to resolutely replace those who show themselves unable to organize and lead in the mass struggles. On the basis of the mass struggles, we must root ourselves in the factories and thus raise the political activity of the Party, and strengthen the drawing power of the Party among the broad masses of the workers.

Thus the 13th Plenum of the Party decided to raise the entire level of organizational work, to activate the membership and Party units in the mass work on the basis of the factories and towards this end to *carry through a Party registration and control*, to carry on a concentrated fire against the formal and bureaucratic methods of work which stand in the way of mass development and to change our methods of work to correspond with the possibilities of the organization of huge masses of workers and successfully solve the big tasks ahead of us.

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**RECRUIT MEMBERS FROM THE BIG FACTORIES**

*in the*

**November 7th Campaign!**

**BUILD SHOP NUCLEI!**

# General Registration of the Party Membership

## A Mobilization for Mass Struggle

October 12 — November 16

**T**HE 13th Plenum of the Central Committee issued the directive to the entire Party to organize the broadest masses of workers particularly in the basic industries (steel, coal, marine, transportation, chemical, etc.) and in the big factories for resistance to the hunger offensive of the capitalist class and its government.

To make the turn for the fulfillment of this task, the first beginnings of which have been carried through in the recent period, it is necessary in the ranks of the Party to carry through a general mobilization of the membership. Our Party is faced with the task of giving leadership to the working class. It is therefore necessary to know to what degree our Party members are active in preparing, organizing and leading the struggles of the workers in the shops, in the mines and in the countryside. For the carrying through of the political tasks of the Party it is not enough to place these tasks before the membership. It is necessary to know our strength and weaknesses, *to organize our forces* for the realization of the tasks, to strengthen the leading Party cadres, to establish firm contacts with the workers in the factories and the unemployed, above all to recruit members for the Party among the workers in the shops. That is why the Central Committee has now decided upon a general registration of the Party membership. It is self-evident that we can best prepare and lead the strike struggles of the workers against wage-cuts and speed-up, against the sharpening offensive which is now under way, if our comrades are organized in factory nuclei so that they can concretely unite the masses for revolutionary mass work.

Today the Party stands in the midst of mass struggles, but the Party membership too largely confine their activities (not to the factories, to the unemployed councils, to the trade unions), but to the agitation and routine work of the street

nuclei. Through the registration, all leading organs of the Party and the entire Party membership must be impelled to concentrate their energy and attention to the organization of shop work, particularly in the big factories.

The recent big struggles in which the Party scored a number of successes (miners' and textile strikes, the hunger marches, etc.), all lead to the same conclusion: the Party does not have sufficient strength and utilize the possibilities in the factories, in the trade unions, in the language and other mass organizations in order to organize the masses to the utmost, in order to wrest the masses from the influence of the bourgeoisie and social fascists by means of active and functioning factory nuclei and Party fractions. The crassest example is in the unemployed movement. Many comrades are unemployed, probably more than 25 per cent of our membership, yet we have very few well organized unemployed councils. On the other hand the strike of the miners, the mobilization for strikes which is going on among the steel workers, show that we have at the present time tremendous possibilities for overcoming our weak position in the factories, trade union organizations and unemployed. The broad masses of workers are everywhere showing the greatest sympathy for the Party and revolutionary trade union movement. But this is not widely realized nor utilized by all Party comrades, nor all the leading organs of the Party.

Have we not won in the mine strike many thousands of workers for the revolutionary unions, and are we not at this moment witnessing a rising tide among the steel workers, which is moving in our direction so that it is possible to organize thousands of workers into a revolutionary union of steel workers? Have we not won over 1,000 members in the Pittsburgh areas for the Party and established 60 new mine nuclei?

The Party is on the march. But we must more *planfully organize our forces*. We must strengthen our position in the factories and mass organizations if we are to utilize the possibilities for tearing loose the working class from the bourgeoisie and their agents, win them for Communism.

#### **How Shall the Party Registration Be Carried Through**

The Party membership registration must be prepared po-

litically and organizationally. *It must not be a mere technical procedure, a mere filling out of a questionnaire.* In order to effectively carry through the registration in the shortest possible time and with the utmost smoothness, it is necessary that the District and Section Committees hold functionaries meetings at which the political significance of the registration be explained on the basis of concrete example from the life and situation of our Party organizations. It is necessary that the registration be combined with the task of mass work, of the fight against wage-cuts and speed-up, with the struggle for the organization of the workers into revolutionary unions and the building of oppositions in the reactionary unions, with the task of mobilizing the unemployed masses, of organizing the most oppressed sections—Negro, working women and youth—in a struggle against the hunger offensive of the capitalists.

The questionnaire which every member is to fill out contains many questions, but all Party comrades must realize that this information is vital, if we are to know the activities and situation of the Party units and members. The responsibility for the proper fulfillment of the registration, assistance to the Party comrades in understanding and filling out the material, rests upon the leaders of the units, who must be guided by the section and district committees.

Special meetings of the Party units, for which special letters must be sent out, must be held for the registration. If special meetings are to be called, at which the registration *in connection with the main tasks* is taken up, the political significance of the registration as a mobilization of the membership for mass work, will be lost and the effectiveness of the registration lessened. For members who do not attend these special meetings an extra effort must be made by the Party units to register them, either by setting aside a further date at which comrades can register or by the establishment of special committees of the unit that will visit these comrades at their homes, have them register and determine their reasons for non-attendance in the unit meetings. Thus the registration will be a means of activating passive members of the Party.

The registration will require intense efforts on the part of all leading organs, but this will bring results in the intensification of the mass work and in the strengthening of the inner organization of the Party.

## The XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the Question of Organization

From the Main Report of Comrade Manuilsky

**F**INALLY, the fourth form of backwardness is the organizational lagging behind of the Communist Parties compared with their political influence. This is an old and deeply rooted ailment of the Sections of the E.C.C.I. and it is hard to deal with, in spite of the enormous number of decisions on this question.

The Comintern has succeeded in liquidating the relics of social democracy in the political sphere, but it has not been able to liquidate it in the organizational sphere. This contradiction between "politics" and "organization" is explained by the transition period through which capitalist society is passing from the bourgeois dictatorship in the form of democracy to the bourgeois dictatorship in the form of fascism.

At the present time, they drag in and wish to preserve in the Communist Parties the organization forms of a hostile class. What can the proletariat put up in opposition to the power of finance capital with its trusts, its cartels and its fighting fascist gangs? Only organization in the factories. The struggle for the factories will be the most dramatic page in the history of the struggle between Communism on the one hand and the bourgeois dictatorship with its parties of fascism and social democracy, on the other. The further sharpening of the class struggle, the imminent threat of imperialist war and military intervention against the U.S.S.R. raise and will continue to raise before the Communist Parties the question of the best organizational form which can guarantee both successful defense and also the victorious attack of the working class. *The best and most flexible form is the reorganization of the C. P.s on the basis of the factories.* The difficulties in the way are very great. The fact that in view of unemployment, only 25-30% of the members of the C.P.s remain in the factories is a difficulty of no small importance. But this Plenum must declare war on organizational opportunism just as mercilessly as the C.P.s have frequently carried on war against political opportunism.

**From the Remarks of Comrade Piatnitsky**

What should be done to reduce fluctuations of membership?

1. Improve the work of the nuclei, district committees, city committees and provincial committees.

2. Set practical work for the new members.

3. Form circles and short courses for the new members.

4. Instruct the C.C.s of the C.P.s to study the causes of fluctuations and to remove all causes which make it impossible for Party members to remain in it.

5. Reconstruct the system of statistics of Party members in such a way that it will be seen how many members are in the Party, how many pay membership dues, and chiefly, *how many have been drawn into active Party work*. The greater the proportion drawn into Party work, the smaller will be the proportion of those who leave the Communist Party. We can and must keep such statistics.

The general conclusions from all that I have said today are as follows:

(a) The bad work of the Party organizations increases fluctuation and prevents us from bringing in the militant revolutionary workers.

(b) The absence of a great change in the matter of transferring the center of activity of Party and trade union work to the factories does not really make it possible for the C. P.s, the red trade unions and the trade union opposition to fight against the influence of the social democrats and reformists in the factories, to enlarge their membership by an inflow of workers from the factories to know the feelings of the workers, to organize the struggle against the attack of the capitalists. When the active elements of the C.P., the red trade unions and the trade union opposition are removed by the bourgeoisie during the time of war, the only possibility for successful work in the industrial centers, in the factories, will be on condition that there are well functioning nuclei (the revolutionary delegates in Berlin during the world war of 1914-18 carried on a tremendous amount of work, and they showed how necessary it is to have revolutionary organizations in the factories.)

(c) The absence of strong and energetic committees and councils of the unemployed and of systematic work among them—abstract slogans and abstract agitation among the un-

employed, the prevalence of demonstrations while other forms and methods of concrete work are not adopted—does not make it possible to organize the broad masses of workers for the struggle, to recruit them into the red trade unions, the trade union opposition and other mass organizations and into the Party.

(d) In view of the weakening of the work in the reformist and other trade union organizations, the absence of the systematic publication of factory papers and the wide distribution of the Party press which, unfortunately, does not increase but decreases, we have not been able organizationally to seize on the growing political influence of the Party among the masses.

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## Unemployed Work Must Be Built On a Broad United Front

**T**HE question arises with the relation of the unemployed committees with the unions. Can we say that our unions exercise too much leadership in the work of the unemployed? We can not. However, we raise the question that the unemployed branches must be organized on the broadest united front basis and not merely by affiliating themselves formally to the T.U.U.L. unions. That does not mean that the T.U.U.L. any more than the Party will not have the task of leading these unemployed organizations—not through formal affiliation but by convincing every worker who does not yet believe in the T.U.U.L. nor want to belong to a red union, members of the A. F. of L. unions, every unorganized worker, workers who belong to the Catholic church, convincing them that this unemployed organization is a broad united front body in which every worker, irrespective of his political party, irrespective of his union or nationality, has a place, that this organization will fight and defend his interests. In this way it will be possible to broaden out considerably the work of our organization.

*From the Report of Comrade Stachel at the 13th Plenum.*

## From the Practical Work For the Practical Work

In this Section of the PARTY ORGANIZER the comrades of the shop nuclei, fractions and street nuclei speak. Send in your experiences in all fields of Party work to the PARTY ORGANIZER, P. O. Box 87, Station D, New York City.

# Rooting the Party in the Shops

## Organizing to Hold New Members

**I**N THE strike of the coal miners, the Party in the Pittsburgh District gained 1,000 new members. A new Party exists in the Pittsburgh District, and therefore the training of new members and the consolidation of the Party organization is of first importance. The big task consists in holding the new members that have been won for the Party. There are 90 units now in the Pittsburgh District, most of them new, and most of them shop nuclei with at least 75% of the membership having joined the Party in the last three months.

The establishment of Section Committees as the leader of all phases of the work in the Section must now come forward. The role of the Section Committee as the leader of all campaigns and in the coordination of all the work is not yet fully understood by the Party membership. Section committees have to be strengthened by putting on the strongest elements as members by having all organizers—youth, union, defense, etc., work through the Party Section Committees when in the field.

The Section Committees are responsible for the political and organizational leadership of the work in the Section and are responsible for the building of the fractions and the guidance and functioning of the units.

*To train the new membership, new methods are required.*

(1). Long letters to units must be entirely eliminated.



Regularly weekly directions are sent to the Section Committees instructing them on the current campaigns and the handling of the units. Communications from the District to the unit will be sent at longer intervals. These letters will be one-page letters giving brief and simple directions covering one or two important points.

(2) Agit-prop work in the units has been organized on the basis of establishing in each Section a weekly "class" at which all unit functionaries and Section Committee members are to attend. The subject of these "classes" is based on the campaigns of the Party and each unit functionary is supplied with an outline of the discussion which he takes back to his next unit meeting and conducts a similar discussion in the unit meeting. The first three discussions will be on the election campaign.

(3) All meetings of the Section Committees are being attended by members of the District Bureau.

(4) The Org. Department will pick out the most important shop and mine nuclei in each Section, and give direct guidance to these key units from the District. The other units will be guided by the District Bureau through the Section Committees. The Section "classes" are in reality section functionaries' conferences held weekly, which make a closer connection between the District Bureau and the units, and raise the ideological level of the Party membership, as well as taking up the important organizational problems with the units.

5. The District School which has just begun, and which will run one month full time, with 25 students, will train Section Committee members, Section Organizers of the union and Party, Unit Organizers, etc. Too many times, the question of training new forces is put in a general way. These new forces as well as many others must be further developed through the method of collective leadership, that is, Section Committees and District Committees must consciously draw in to their committees, the most promising new elements and assign them concrete tasks which are simple enough for the new members to perform, for example, the collection of data for shop-papers, making of signs for demonstrations, the sale of pamphlets, etc.

6. Just as the Org. letters as previously sent out must be

discontinued, so the methods of agit-prop work must be changed. Long agit-prop outlines are useless in District Five. Agit-prop discussions must be very simple and based on the practical tasks of the District.

7. The organizational work of the District will of course have to be closely connected with the mass work. The important campaigns: (a) the struggle for the demands of the miners and the building of the N.M.U.; (b) the steel campaign; (c) the defense campaign; (d) the election campaign; (e) the children's campaign, etc., must carry with them organizational consolidation, for example, election campaign—setting up of election campaign committees; unemployment campaign—setting up of unemployed councils and Party fractions them, and developing of functioning mine units.

8. The recruiting drive of the Party has to date continued successfully. However, not enough of the miners who went back to work during the strike have been recruited into the Party, and not a large enough proportion of women and Negroes—and the emphasis in the recruiting campaign must be shifted to these elements.

9. The consolidation of the Party necessitates now great emphasis on the organizational structure in the Party, union I.L.D., etc. The dues stamp system of the Party requires immediate attention. When we consider that approximately 75 per cent of the Party membership consists of black-listed and unemployed, the importance of this problem is readily seen.

In those Sections (Cannonsburg) where the Party was unable to immediately throw the Section into mass work and mass campaigns, the entire Party apparatus became weakest organizationally and began to disintegrate. It is in these mining towns and Sections where the Party was not quickly enough thrown into mass work, that right errors were more numerous, the units stopped functioning, the Socialist party gained strength, and the comrades began to quarrel among themselves over relief, etc., (Cannonsburg, Washington Section). In those Sections where the mass campaigns were vigorously continued, the recruiting drive of the Party was most successful and the organization of the Party became the strongest (Allegheny Valley). By mass work and direct guidance which trains the unit functionaries and draws in the members are we expected to hold the new members. C. P.

## Recruiting Party Members During Aug. 3-8th Events in Chicago

### Neglect of the Chicago Stockyards

**T**HE events of August 3-8 in Chicago has added further proof that, particularly in the present period, the smallest struggles if based on the burning demands of the workers and properly organized can quickly arouse the largest masses.

We must first establish the absolute inadequacy of the recruiting, either for Party or the mass organizations. In the period while the bodies of our murdered comrades lay in state, there were special committees in a side hall on the job all day and night, signing up applications. Some 3,000 names and addresses were secured for the Unemployed Councils—500 for the Party and nearly 200 for the Young Communist League.

Because of these methods of recruiting, which brought in applications, to a large extent, of workers never before seen or reached with our agitational material and, more particularly, through personal contact we have been confronted with many problems, such as:

- (a) when visited or reached, some workers state they signed in a moment of enthusiasm and would rather wait a while.
- (b) addresses were not legible, which shows that even such recruitment could be improved by the comrades themselves writing the name and address of applicant.
- (c) too slow a tempo in reaching the applicants. A full week elapsed before the first steps were taken and our apparatus moved very clumsily. Not all were visited personally, but most received letters which are far less effective.
- (d) there was no concerted effort to reach white workers on the south side, therefore the majority of applications were Negro, raising sharply the problem that in some territories the unit is practically all Negro comrades, which could be misunderstood.

*The outstanding political and organizational shortcoming was the failure to penetrate the factories, particularly the stockyards.* The August 3-8th events shook not only the unemployed but also the employed and proper attention could have resulted in building both the T.U.U.L. and Communist Party inside the shops.

The most burning problem is the absorbing and keeping of all the new members. The greatest danger is the slow tempo. Instead of calling the new members immediately to the units, they were called in groups to a preliminary meeting according to territory. At the first meeting out of 177 letters sent, 27 responded, but interesting was the fact that these 27 applicants brought 43 more new workers with them. After seriously explaining the role and activities of the Communist Party at this first meeting 52 actually signed Party application cards. Approximately the same experience was had in the other meetings. Names of all those who did not respond were then given over to the nuclei to systematically visit. The new members when accepted, were either assigned to existing nuclei or to some of the new nuclei which it became necessary to organize.

A burning problem which we have been confronted with, and which will be solved shortly, is *the petrified state of some of our old street nuclei*, which are actually territorial units and in which members, belong rather through custom, friendship or tradition, rather than actual residential or work in shop. This occurs because of insignificant mass work, particularly shop, and also poor check-up. It will be necessary and possible now to organize street nuclei in every fourth block. This will also facilitate concentration in the shops and Unemployed Councils of the territory.

In order to develop a better understanding of the Party, classes are being conducted each week. The main problem of keeping the new members, is linked up with the experiences of Chicago and other districts previously related in the *Party Organizer* of namely, improved inner life of unit—conducting proper class work, individual attention without overloading new members, engaging in mass work from beginning, and most basic of all, better methods of recruiting which will guarantee better and more stable elements. J. W.

## More About the Chicago Stockyards

### Formal Methods Must Go!

**T**HE events of August 3 in Chicago aroused the mass indignation of the Negro and white workers. But as yet *the Party was not able to take full organizational advantage of these events* and utilize them to penetrate into the shops and especially in the stock yards.

In the early part of July, a small shop nucleus was established in the stock yards, around which a small shop group of the T.U.U.L. was established, but during all these events no organized steps were made toward organizing the workers in the stock yards and undertaking any campaign in that direction.

In the stock yards a large number of Negro and foreign-born workers are employed. Recently a wage cut of 5 cents an hour took place among some of the workers. A meeting of stock yard workers was called by distributing a few hundred leaflets in the morning calling upon workers to come to a meeting in the evening. About 60 workers responded, including more than 30 stock yards workers. Six of these signed applications for the Food and Packing Workers Industrial League. All others were very sympathetic towards the building of the organization.

This alone indicates that the workers in the stock yards feel the need of organization through which they will be able to undertake struggle against wage cuts, speed up, stagger system which, as applied in the stock yards generally among the majority of the workers, working from 1 to 4 days a week, means starvation wages.

At a group meeting of stock yard workers, at which 12 were present, a representative of the T.U.U.L. in a typical bureaucratic manner, informed the group that they could not organize into a Packing House Workers Industrial League until they would recruit 25 members. Needless to say that no steps toward the direction of recruiting these 25, and that the demand that 25 members are to be recruited first before a local is set up, is also wrong, which resulted in some of

the workers feeling discouraged and they did not come to the next meeting of the group.

At one of the meetings of the group we took up the problem of how we are able to carry on organization work inside the stock yards, namely, setting up grievances committees in the departments as the first step. After a short discussion it was clear that one of the steps to be made is to hold meetings in the houses of the workers, in the neighborhood in which they live, personally inviting workers who are working in the stock yards. Secondly, that dances are to be arranged on a small scale, inviting workers from the stock yards, in order to get acquainted with them, get their names and addresses, and utilize these as the first steps toward the organizational drive.

These steps outlined are being carried on now. There is no question that the carrying out of these tasks will enable us to reach some workers. But this is only part of the task. Workers in the stock yards belong to many fraternal organizations, and through our fractions inside of these organizations, we will be able to reach these workers. Workers from the stock yards, in discussing with us, very clearly stated that the safeguarding of those who become members of our organization is one of the most important tasks, as the spy system is very highly developed. Therefore, all precautions have been made not to expose members of the grievance committees and Party members and give them definite tasks on how to develop work in the shop without being exposed.

In line with the decisions of the District Committee, a member of the District Committee has been assigned to the stock yards and to Section 2, having stock yards as their point of concentration. The fact that just now we are making our first steps toward organizational work in the stock yards shows very clearly that the Party in Chicago did not understand the importance of penetration of the shops and did not see the influence of the events of August 3 and 8, on the workers in the shops, and therefore missed one of the opportunity situations to penetrate into the shops and build the organization. We are now very slowly, overcoming this, but as yet there is gross underestimation of this task.

B. G.

## The History of a Shop Nucleus

**M**ANY districts, for example the New York District, have been concentrating upon a number of shops for several years and record very little success. Indeed doubts are creeping into the minds of many comrades whether shop nuclei can be built in the giant fortresses of American capitalism. There is no reason why we cannot penetrate the big factories, but it is indeed doubtful if we can do so with the present methods of work. Take, for example, the history of a shop nucleus in this district. This nucleus in a large auto plant of 6,000 workers was organized in 1929. It began its work well and soon after its formation had 5 members. It issued some leaflets and several numbers of a shop paper and even built a shop committee. But then its work began to lag. The shop paper was issued from time to time and finally stopped entirely. The last issue was gotten out in November, 1930. The representatives of the section committee and the district attended the nuclei meetings at the beginning then every now and then and finally entirely forgot about the nucleus. The nucleus membership dwindled to three members in 1930. The shop committee fell apart for want of systematic attention. Then the section committee, evidently highly satisfied with the situation, expelled one member for failure to "down tools" on May the first. The district never heard of the expulsion.

Things drifted. The working force was reduced to 3,000. Dismissals of workers took place but this went unnoticed by the Party. Conditions grew worse but no actions were undertaken by the Party organization. A member of the shop nucleus arrived one day at the section headquarters and asked the organizer: "Why don't you come down to the nucleus—are you a bureaucrat?" He promised to come down and was given \$2 for the *Daily Worker* which it was promised would be distributed by an unemployed comrade. Nothing happened. No *Daily Workers* arrived. No unemployed comrade was on hand. Things continued to drift. One of the two surviving members of the nucleus appealed to some comrades in the National Office for aid. He was referred to the District Committee. The comrade hesitated to go to the district. Would they give him assistance in such a matter as a shop nucleus? Finally he went and was assured by one comrade that matters would be han-

dled. Several months again passed and nothing happened. No shop papers were being issued. No leaflets. No agitation. The workers were correctly asking where is the Party and were saying that it comes around every six months and then disappears again. At last out of the clear blue sky the district evidently to make up for lost time, sent a telegram to the comrades of the nucleus to inform them that they had been attached to a new section. After that some work was begun.

Are we not correct in asking, can nuclei be built with such casual, haphazard methods lacking in any degree of seriousness? Not at all. Is this an exceptional case? No. For it can be duplicated in this district and other districts of the Party. These methods are by no means a district "exceptionalism." Yet the history of this nucleus shows that it is possible to win new members in the shops. The comrade who related to me this history told me that he whistled one day the "International" and discovered a former Red Front Fighter in the shop. Another day, by another device, he discovered a former member of the British Party. Attending an open-air meeting, he saw 4 workers of his factory coming to the meeting reading the *Daily Worker*. A leaflet recently distributed against wage cuts and speed-up brought several names and addresses. Thus, if work is done, it brings results provided it is systematic planful, serious work.

*(From the report of comrade Weinstone on the C.C. and District Plenums at the New York functionaries meeting on September 12th).*

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## Shop Work—The Weakest Link An Illustration

What about shop work? The weakest link is the shop work. In Chicago district, the most industrial section of the country, we have 12 shop units with 45 members in them. There is no activity in the shops. Occasionally we distribute a shop paper or the *Daily Worker*, but as far as organization work, as far as raising and developing struggles inside the shop, this is absolutely absent. And why?

I think Comrade Browder put the question correctly. We don't pay attention daily to the work of our shop units. We



are paying more attention to some language groups, language organizations and workers' clubs than to the shop units. That is why. The same energy was not given to shop work, and if it was, the shop work would progress. I will give you only one illustration:

In the stock yards we have about 100 workers reading our press, members of our organizations and if we were able to just get together these 100 connections, we would be able to establish a stronger Party than we have, on the basis of a factory branch of Packing House Workers Industrial League. What is true in that particular factory is true in practically every factory where we have some contacts.

—B. GEBERT, *from Remarks at the C.C. Plenum.*

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## Shop Work Demands Systematic Follow-up!

In Fisher Body, we were taking up the problem of building grievance committees and the union. Some workers took seriously what we said in our shop paper on this and on two occasions formed grievance committees and took up a fight about the stagger plan workers coming to the plant waiting for work for hours and days. They went as a committee to the foreman and took up the question with him. But no sustained follow-up was made after this action of the workers and the thing naturally collapsed. This shows the actual possibilities yet our failure to give leadership.

In the McKinney Steel in Cleveland, the shop nucleus formed a grievance group or some form of economic organization. The shop nucleus collapsed. The comrades were fired, but the committee still exists. The problem is how to make it function. But we are slow in taking up the specific grievances. In Warren, where we have an old shop group of 100 workers there, we at first did not have a shop nucleus. Now we have one. The fact that we have established it helps considerably in the work in Warren. In some instances we have succeeded in building a shop organization first, then built the shop nucleus and in some cases we have built the shop nucleus first and then built the shop organization.

*From the remarks of Sam Don at the C.C. Plenum.*



## Not Reliance on Spontaneity But Organization is Needed

**WE HAD** the problem of organization and lack of approach from below in the agricultural work. Our district is chiefly an agricultural district, fruit, vegetable growing, etc., and in California state alone there are from 280,000 agricultural laborers all year round to 400,000 workers at the height of the season and these are largely Mexican and Filipino workers especially in the more basic sections of the fruit industry such as plowing, pruning, picking, etc. A number of spontaneous strikes took place which involved some 3,000 workers. These workers readily accepted our leadership and in fact from time to time when a strike was called they got in touch with our organizers who were in the field and brought them into the strike area. But a totally wrong orientation grew up in one instance, and there was a lack of understanding of the necessity of realizing that we must use the situation for mobilization and try to build the Party units and form committees of the Agricultural Workers Union. The comrades developed the theory that the radicalization is proceeding so fast that we don't need this concentration on the San Joaquin Valley or Sacramento Valley or any special concentration at all. All you have to do is issue a call for a general strike and all the workers will come out anyway. Of course we fought these comrades and insisted on the building of the organization. And it was precisely those comrades who had the theory of the "general strike" who did not have a single farm committee, not a single local of the union. Whereas those workers who were not so politically developed, such as one non-Party Filipino comrade who did not understand the high-falutin' phrases we use, understood it was necessary to establish organizational bases in specific sections.

*From remarks of S. Darcy at the C.G. Plenum.*

## Lack of Democracy in the Trade Unions—Aristocratic Attitude to the Masses

ONE of the most important things that seems to retard the growth of our movement, in spite of the wonderful possibilities among the workers, is the lack of democracy in unions and the Unemployed Councils which the T.U.U.L. organizes.

We try to force issues into the organization by the leaders of these organizations automatically bringing them up without actually trying to involve the membership into discussion. Some comrade makes a lengthy report, a discussion is called for, two or three members of the Party take the floor, and the masses of non-Party workers do not seem to comprehend what it is all about, and as the result they do not seem to get enthusiastic. It is my belief that if the organizers would spend more time talking to individual non-Party workers, and getting them on the basis of the discussions that the Party members have with them, to bring up the propositions there would be more of a response to the Party's policies.

It seems that some of our Party leaders, especially local and on the district scale, take a aristocratic attitude toward the masses and single out workers here and there, who, while they do not understand the Party, are willing workers and classify them as dumb-bells, unreliable and ignorant. While they may not be doing this consciously yet the fact remains that they do it, and in that way they destroy rather than build up. Then they wonder why we once start a movement, it starts with a bang and we cannot keep its mass character. Such is the case in our Unemployed Council where this weakness has invariably cropped up in our work.

When we bring in a member into the Party we immediately shove him into T.U.U.L. work, which would not be bad in itself, but then comes the I.L.D., the W.I.R., the L.S.N.R., and a half dozen other activities and we *completely neglect to give him a theoretical understanding*. Then, after getting some very discouraging results at one time or other, the worker who joined the Party loses faith, and, after two or

three months of intensified activity, he drops out of the movement. This has been one of the reasons that I have found for the big turnover in the Party membership.

Next thing, we send out an organizer into a new territory. He becomes the Party organizer, he becomes the T.U.U.L. organizer, the I.L.D. organizer, the W.I.R. organizer, etc. The result is that he is so confused he actually don't know where he stands. I believe that we should have our Party organizers involved in every phase of the work yet they should be more or less in a leading capacity, that is, leading and directing the work in the other organizations without taking on too much organizational responsibility, going too much into detail. There should be more of a tendency to shove even inexperienced non-Party workers into responsible positions. Even though it may hurt the work for the time being, it will strengthen the movement in the future.

GEORGE PAPCUN

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## Enrolling the Unemployed in Election Work

### An Example to Follow!

We got on the ballot on Sept. 11, after having gotten 2,000 signatures in two days. This great achievement is not only due to the good work of our comrades, but to *the splendid help of the Unemployed Council members and to the general support of the workers.* As a Lithuanian comrade from Kenosha put it at the membership meeting, "It was the easiest thing to get signatures." Workers were suspicious at first, when we asked for signatures, but when they found out that it is for the Communists, they signed gladly. Two members of the American Legion signed their list and promised to take up our endorsement at the Post." This happened in the "Legion-ridden" city of Kenosha, where 10,000 of its 55,000 population is unemployed.

E. G., *Wisconsin Section.*

## Not Drawing in Workers

**N**O matter how small an undertaking we are involved in, we find that there are a thousand and one details connected with it. Occasionally we let one or two details slip through our fingers, thinking that they are not important, but if a careful study were made of any of our undertakings we would find that every minute detail which fits into the long chain of "follow-ups" helps to bring about better results, and none of them should be considered too small.

In this article I want to take up the parents' committee for relief which we set up in one of the poorest Buffalo schools.

To call the first meeting of parents of School No. 32 it was necessary to get a hall or better yet the school auditorium. We set out to get the auditorium. This required the signatures of several parents who have children in School No. 32 attached to a letter to the Board of Education. Five parents were found, but instead of drawing up the letter with them and calling these parents to the home of one of these workers, we took the road of least resistance and asked the parents to come up to the office of the C.P. This the parents did. The letter was made up by the Y.C.L. organizer, and the parents were automatically asked to sign it, after it was read to them. This they did likewise. The auditorium was given for the meeting. After this was granted, we mimeographed 1,000 leaflets addressed to the parents of School No. 32, but again the members of the Unemployed Council, C. P., and Y.C.L. distributed this leaflet. The five parents were not involved at all.

We also realized that in order to make the meeting look like a parents' meeting, and not another C.P. meeting, we would need some of the parents to sit on the platform and to deliver the speeches, also to run the meeting. However, once more, we visited these five workers and asked them to come up to our headquarters. This they promised, but didn't do. The committee of 5 should have been increased to at least 15 or 20, immediately after the letter was sent to the Board of Education. A meeting should have been held in

one of their homes, the leaflet drawn up there, and these 15 or 20 involved in reaching other parents, of course, with the assistance of the above named organizations. But thinking that this was too petty a task for us, we did all the work, and though the results were good—250 attending—the results could have been better. Only about 5 minutes before the opening of this meeting we spoke to one of the mothers and asked her to speak. She was not at all prepared and so said only about 15 words and sat down. Also about 5 minutes before the opening, we told the comrade who was picked by us to be chairman that he would have that function for the evening. He, too, was unprepared and therefore made a bum job out of it. Though 80 parents signed up and about ten took the floor in discussion, the entire meeting was run by Communists, from the chairman to the main speakers, to the collection of the names.

The workers are not afraid of the Communists. They respond splendidly to our call. But it is necessary to learn to involve these workers in the actual work.

Now, instead of us doing all the work, we are involving the captains of each street to call their neighbors together, all these captains forming an Executive Committee of that Council. It will require only two or three comrades now to give guidance to this mass of people, and other comrades will be relieved to start the same work on another school.

E. S.

## **Organize the Unemployed Councils!**

**CARRY ON THE DAY-TO-DAY FIGHTS OF THE  
UNEMPLOYED!**

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**Organize the Hunger March to  
Washington!**

# Agit-Prop Work

## How to Conduct Study Circles

**O**RGANIZING the study circles throughout the entire Party has naturally brought forth a large number of inexperienced comrades as leaders of the circles. The training these comrades will get is of great value for the Party but at the same time we must see to it that the study circles are not sacrificed to inexperience. Therefore a review of our shortcomings, and suggestions how the study circle can be improved, is now necessary.

1. The success or failure of the circle depends to a great extent on the selection of a permanent leader—one who can be depended upon to read and seriously prepare for the circles. This comrade must naturally have an understanding of the fundamentals of Communism. In other words, the life or death of the circle falls mostly on the shoulders of the study circle leader. Why is this so? Because our comrades coming from a hard day's work are too tired or have no time to read much. What is more, there are many workers joining the Party who are not interested or else are not able to read.

The complaints by the leaders that the comrades don't read will not solve the problems of the study circles. On the contrary, let the leader make the lesson more interesting and the desire for reading will improve despite the obstacles mentioned.

2. The leader should not lecture and the following are the reasons. It requires much more experience to lecture than to ask questions. And, even if the leader has experience, the fact remains that after a lecture the comrades forget half of the points touched on and do not understand many of the others. You may even call for questions after the lecture, but very often a comrade, sure he understood the lesson, is wrong in reality.

3. The question and answer method has brought the best results but here too the theoretical questions, unless brought out in the light in the daily experiences of the comrades, are too abstract and not understandable. The average comrade is unable to answer the control questions, or if he has read the

assignment, he answers the questions mechanically without really understanding their meaning.

4. If the answer of a question is not correct or is incomplete or perhaps not clearly stated then a discussion should be developed which will involve all the comrades and in this way all the misconceptions will be cleared up and a correct understanding reached. Another way to bring life into the discussion is by asking, for example, "What is the attitude of the Socialists towards nationalization?" And when this is answered, follow with "Why are they wrong and why are we right?"

5. The discussion on questions should not take longer than is necessary to clarify the answer to the control questions. On the other hand it is contrary to the interests of the circle to rush over the lesson in order to finish it in one evening. In the last case the remainder of the lesson is finished at the following meeting of the circle. If a sharp controversy develops over a point it is useless to enter into long argument which usually reaches no agreement. Better organize a reading circle which will have the task of getting the proper reading material, digging out the answer and bringing it to the coming lesson.

There are many other points which might be touched upon but the article has touched on those which are most important and if carried out will make the study circles interesting and a real contribution to the life of our Party units.

## **BUILD THE LIBERATOR**

**Into a Mass Organ of the Struggle  
for Negro Rights!**

**PREPARE FOR THE CIRCULATION DRIVE!**



## Work Among Women

### Attitudes Which Hinder the Work

ONE of the leading men comrades in the mine strike made the statements, "no comrade with any ability would do women's work" and "any woman is a fool to do women's work." It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the women comrades in the mine strike were not asked to make reports, were not given any concrete help in formulating plans of work, and carrying out the plans, and that the women comrades had to fight every inch of the way.

Any comrade active in the strike could easily see that even two women on a picket line of a few hundred put pep, enthusiasm, and fighting spirit into the strike. Among those arrested were always a number of women.

For these reasons women as a factor in the strike received mention. However, mentioning in speeches, or instructions, or articles that women should be drawn into leading work in the strike, and should be put on committees, is not sufficient to build women's auxiliaries into a permanent functioning part of the union.

Not sufficient energetic steps are taken by the union to overcome the stand of the miners in certain sections that women should stay out of the relief kitchens, and even agreeing with the sheriff and deputies that women did not belong on the picket lines, that they were in the way, might get hurt and cause trouble.

Not only the men but also the women comrades sneer at drawing women into the struggle. The situation in the textile union is even worse than in mining. We have women comrades in the Textile Workers Union are women. We have women comrades as organizers in textile and these comrades "don't want to be bothered with women's work." Women's work in this case means building the union by using special methods of work, special demands, to draw women textile workers into the union.

It is about time the entire Party, men and women, got a new slant on how to draw the women workers into our campaigns and struggles. We should stop stating policy and then adding "and the women, Negro, and youth." C. D.

# Winning the Youth

## What Must the Y. C. L. Be.

**O**UR League does not understand that in its composition it must be a mass organization, that while the League is a Communist organization this does not mean that every member of the League necessarily must be a Communist. On the contrary, our League must be composed of all young workers, of all the elements of the toiling youth who are ready to fight for better conditions and who want to learn to be Communists.

The program of the Y.C.I. states:

*"The Y.C.L. is not an organization of the elite, it is a mass organization. Its task is to organize within its ranks not only the advanced elements, but the broad masses of the toiling youth."*

Our League cannot be narrowed down into a small organization but must be much broader and larger than the Communist Party.

This wrong conception of what the Young Communist League must be, is found not only in the League, but in the conception of sections of the Party towards the League. For instance, in the struggle centers, comrades were always comparing the growth of the League with the growth of the Party. The Party gained 100 members while the League gained 60 to 70. Well, that is proportional. This is only true if we fail to realize that the League must be made much broader than the Party, that the League must from the beginning, recruit more members than the Party and be of a broader character than the Party, otherwise it will not play its necessary role in the class struggle. It will only be a youth duplicate of the Communist Party.

These tendencies must be fought very sharply at the present time because they express themselves in the daily work of the League. In the Chicago district we had the struggle in the South Side, where during the funeral 200 young workers signed applications for the Young Communist League. What happened in the plans of action that our comrades developed in the Chicago district after the funeral? That is, plans from

August 15th to November 7th. We find that the goal set for the district as a whole is 150 new members. This shows the entire narrow sectarian outlook of our League and its failure to understand how it must build itself in this period and how it must grow in the struggles. 200 applications in one day and yet 150 new members in a period of nearly three months time!

I want to go now, comrades, into most important question before this Plenum and that is the question of the Party relations to the League and the task of the Party in building of the League. The comrades can readily see that in the past months our League wagon has also moved a little although not much and in the moving of our League wagon, it is very important to be able to use the power of the Party, as I would call it the Mack truck, in order to pull the League out of its slump and to push it into the proper direction. In my opinion the Party doesn't sufficiently understand its role in doing this.

The 11th Plenum of the Comintern brought very sharply before all the Parties the question of the youth and the 11th Plenum stated that the Parties must be responsible for all of the work of the youth. In our Party that is not being done. While our League has received much more cooperation and guidance from the Central Committee, we find that down below this has not as yet seeped into the districts and into the membership and units. On the contrary, we find in certain places that the Party and the Y.C.L. act like opponent organizations. Instead of the Party helping the Y.C.L. wagon, moving it out of the ditch, we find instead the Party truck usually pushes the Y.C.L. wagon further into the ditch and grabs all the people that were on this wagon, puts them on the truck and rides away to the destination. In the Pittsburgh strike we sent in as many as 10 or 11 youth organizers. There were many problems confronting the Party in the strike and as soon as the strike developed, the Party grabbed all of these organizers, put them on the Party truck and liquidated the Y.C.L. overnight.

This is also shown in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, where at every moment when a special problem arises, youth organizers are taken from their main work among the youth. There is no conception of developing youth forms of work and no understanding of the role of the youth in the struggles of the workers.

*From the report of Gil Green at the C.C. Plenum.*

# Party Organizer



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**First Steps in the Organization of Factory Nuclei**

**Wrong and Right Methods of Shop Work**

**Retaining and Developing New Members of the Party — Some First Steps**

**Educating on the Basis of Practical Work**

**Mobilizing Working Women in the Children's Relief Struggle.**

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# PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. IV

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## For Clarity on the Forms of Organization of the Unemployed

**T**HE struggle for immediate relief and unemployment insurance through local demonstrations, hunger marches and other forms of action are going forward but the Party still lags behind in the organization of the unemployed workers. Aside from the underestimation of organization work generally which was marked by the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, this lagging is due to the lack of clarity with regard to the forms of organization to be adopted and the lack of knowledge of how to begin this work. In many places branches of the unemployed are called councils, in other places neighborhood councils are called block committees, etc., but in very few places are the forms of organization called for by the resolution of the 13th Plenum of the Party being put into effect. The PARTY ORGANIZER is therefore publishing a considerable part of a new resolution of the Central Committee dealing with the forms of organization to be adopted.\* We also ask the comrades to read Comrade Piatnitsky's article on forms of organization of the unemployed published in *Imprecor* No. 43 which also outlines the relations between the T.U.U.L. and unemployed councils.

We ask the comrades to study the document published in this number and to adopt the forms of organization accordingly. The basic forms of organization indicated in the resolution are the setting up of committees located at points where the unemployed workers gather, such as unemployed committees set up on a particular block which should be called Block X Unemployed Committee, or at a municipal lodging

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\*The full resolution will be published in the *Daily Worker*.

house which should be called Municipal Lodging Unemployed Committee or at an unemployed registration bureau called Unemployed Committee of Registration Bureau Z and the establishment of neighborhood or city councils called by name (such as South Chicago Unemployed Council or Brooklyn Unemployed Council, etc.), which unites the Unemployed Committees.

The Council, which should include representatives of trade unions, fraternal organizations, etc., must be divided up into departments.

How should the work of forming a committee be begun? This is indicated in the resolution in the following way: Party comrades in units in the particular blocks or in the vicinity of a lodging house, a registration bureau, soup kitchen, etc., should form themselves into an initiative group and call together the unemployed workers at those places and on the basis of the demands which they should formulate to call upon the workers to elect committees to organize and lead the struggle of the unemployed for these demands. Party members, members of the T.U.U.L., or sympathetic elements in the fraternal organizations in this neighborhood should be elected into the committee in order to give it leadership.

Clarity on the organizational question of the unemployed will hasten the struggles of the unemployed workers and result in strong organization for the fight for immediate relief and for unemployment insurance.

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## How to Organize the Unemployed

### From C. C. Resolution

**T**HE organization work of the Party and the revolutionary unions, particularly among the unemployed remains *impermissably weak*. This must be decisively overcome by utilizing such broad mass organizational forms as will conform to the need for a mass movement embracing millions of workers who are ready to struggle for unemployment insurance and immediate relief. The decisions of the R.I.L.U. and of the Prague Conference on the question of unemployment clearly set forth the basic forms and methods to be applied.

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In *all places* where the unemployed come together groups of unemployed members of the red trade unions and Party members, living near bread lines, employment offices, flop houses, etc., should be formed, and under the leadership of the nuclei, Party committees and trade union organs, which should together constitute one fraction for this, they should call meetings of all unemployed workers regardless of their political and trade union affiliation at the given employment agency, soup kitchen, etc. At these meetings the initiative groups should formulate the demands of the unemployed workers and prepare that committees be elected to organize and lead the struggle of the unemployed.

The *neighborhood committees*, on receiving the chief attention of the Party, must be increased in numbers and greatly broadened. They must investigate the actual conditions of the unemployed workers in the neighborhood, expose the inadequacy of the charity relief given out, lead the fight for more and better food, against evictions, against the shutting off of gas and light, etc. They must reflect every need of the unemployed and formulate and organize a broad mass fight for the unemployed workers' demands in the neighborhood.

Activities in the neighborhood cannot, however, become a substitute for the setting up of committees *elected by the workers* at bread lines, soup kitchens, flop houses, employment offices, and other places where masses of unemployed workers gather. These committees must be set up and must likewise reflect every need of the workers and carry on the struggle for their demands. At the flop houses, soup kitchens, etc., these committees with the approval of the workers, must raise the demands for the administration of these institutions through committees chosen by the workers. The basis for such a demand should be the exposure of the bad food, the insanitary conditions, etc.

Representatives from these committees (neighborhood, flop houses, bread lines, etc.) should set up the local unemployed councils, which should also include delegates from workers' mass organizations (trade unions, workers' fraternal bodies, etc.). These councils should lead the work on a city and section scale, consolidating the work of the various committees,



uniting them in demonstrations, hunger marches, etc., for local demands, linking these up, however, with the main national demands.

In addition, it is advisable, in view of the lack of a national unemployed center, to set up a strong, broad leading committee or council on a district scale to guide and strengthen the work of the local councils in and outside of the district centers, to organize and lead the struggle for *state appropriations* for the unemployed, and to prepare the ground for the convening of a national conference as soon as a sufficiently broad basis has been laid at which time a national center can be established.

Special attention should be given to the setting up of *special committees* (Departments) in the local unemployed councils. Here the best unemployed workers should be activated in the carrying on of the daily work of the unemployed councils. These should include a *food committee* to organize the collection of food and the feeding of children of the unemployed and workers in extreme need, an *organization committee* to lead in the setting up of additional committees and branches and to keep in close contact with them for the organization of meetings, marches, demonstrations, picketing, defense groups, etc., a *housing committee* to organize the mass fight against evictions, for turning on of gas and light, to secure housing for evicted families, etc., a *trade union committee* to register the trade union affiliation of the unemployed, to lead in the exposure of the trade union bureaucrats of the A. F. of L., the Musteites, etc., to develop the trade union opposition, etc. *Other committees* should be established to meet the needs of the movement. Through such bodies, which must be elected by the workers and always contain the most active fighters, the Party must carry on the struggle for every need of the workers.

It is advisable to *register* the members of the unemployed committees and branches. Such a registration should include not only the name and address of the workers, but his Party and trade union affiliation, the factory where he worked, etc., and should be used to draw such workers into special work in the trade unions, at the factories, etc. If effectively used, such a registration can be extremely useful in

establishing contacts with the employed workers, with trade union branches, etc.

It is advisable that *local united front conferences* should be called periodically by the local unemployed councils; in the preparation for which energetic agitation and organizational efforts should be made to secure delegations from all workers' *mass organizations*—A. F. of L. unions, Negro organizations, workers' fraternal bodies, etc., which are ready to carry forward an energetic fight for our demands. Such conferences should be called by the local unemployed councils to organize the fight for social insurance and on *single burning local issues*, as for example, graft in the administration of relief, cutting off workers from the list, etc. Such conferences should be used to broaden the work of the councils and not become a permanent organization. They should not be a talk-fest but must have as their objective the drawing of these organizations into the Councils into concrete action, demonstrations, hunger marches, the sending of a deputation to the council, etc.

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## Complete the Registration —Prepare for the Recruiting Drive

**T**HE registration of Party membership which is being carried through as a means of mobilizing the Party for mass work has already been well begun in many districts. It is necessary now to complete the registration and to make use of the material for the better organization of the work of the units and the mass work of the Party. Completion of the registration means that the units must register every member, visiting those who fail to attend the meetings of the units. No Party member must go unregistered.

What use must be made of the registration by the units? The unit buro must examine very carefully the results of the registration of the Party membership in the units.

(1) They must, together with the representative of the Section, transfer members belonging to shops in which other members are working so as to form a shop nucleus.

(2) Members who have no tasks must be assigned specific work, trade union, unemployed work, work in fraternal organizations, work in concentration groups upon particular shops, I.L.D. or W.I.R. work, *Daily Worker* distribution, etc., etc.

(3) Members who are eligible for trade unions must be told where to join and given a specific date by which the comrade must join the organization under pain of discipline.

(4) Members who are unemployed and qualified for unemployed work must likewise be assigned to initiative groups to form unemployed committees in the block or neighborhood in which they live, in accordance with plan of unemployment activities by the unit.

(5) A list of names eligible for the trade unions and separately a list of names of those who belong to trade unions should be made up by the unit and sent to the Section, Org. Department and District (in big cities) in order that the latter follow up the work and organize the comrades into the unions and Party fractions.

(6) Taking into consideration the need for strengthening fractions in the fraternal organizations in the neighborhood of the units or in the section, comrades must be assigned for work in the most important fraternal organizations and must be organized into a fraction for that purpose.

(7) The registration will show many new members who have not been assigned for work. The Unit Buro or the Unit Organizer must discuss with these comrades what work they are best fitted for as already indicated upon the registration and assignment must be made in accordance with their capacity of work, their inclinations, and their training. The registration will also reveal comrades, new members of the Party, who have not had training and who by receiving such training will be qualified for better work and the Unit Buro should make arrangements for such comrades to receive the necessary education.

(8) The Unit Buro should determine the number of comrades that read the *Daily Worker*, PARTY ORGANIZER, and

language press and make arrangements for stimulating the reading of these Communist papers, placing upon the order of business of the unit the question of Communist literature and reading of the Communist press and after an explanation of the situation in the unit, take organizational measures to increase the reading of Party literature and the Party press as only in that way can comrades be informed of the political line and tasks and be able better to carry through their work.

(9) The Unit Buro in shop nuclei should consider the activities of the unit in the light of the registration and take measures for stimulating mass work within shops, of carrying on agitation, the spreading of literature and the organization of trade union groups, the issuance of shop papers where none exist, the possibilities for organizing general committees, etc., and the task of winning new members to the shop nucleus.

(10) Of great importance at the present time is the strengthening of work in the A. F. of L. organizations and therefore the unit must determine which comrades belong to the A. F. of L. organizations and are not active and take measures to direct these comrades how to conduct their work in these organizations and to submit their names to the section or the district in order to form a T.U.U.L. group inside these organizations.

A careful examination of the results of the registration by the Unit Buro will show the need for recruiting, on a large scale, of workers from the big shops. It will show to what extent the unit is isolated from the factories which must become the basis of Party work. Hence the Unit Buro must take measures to mobilize the Party comrades in preparation for the Recruiting Drive in accordance with the plan now being developed by the Districts in connection with the program of a national drive to recruit workers from the big factories to the Party and to make the factories the fortresses of Communism.

## First Steps in the Organization of Factory Nuclei

**T**HE emphasis which the Party is now laying upon the transfer of Party work to the shops and the organization of factory nuclei is everywhere raising the question, "What are the first steps to be taken for the organization of a factory nucleus?" It is clear that we can give only the general indications of how to proceed. The units and Party comrades must apply these directives to the particular factory or area in which they are working. The problem of establishing a factory nucleus is the problem of recruiting members and carrying on work in mobilizing and organizing the workers for struggle in connection with a particular factory, mill or mine.

### I

(1) The comrades must aim to get contact with the workers in the factory upon which they are concentrating in every possible way. This means that use must be made of our contacts in mass organizations (trade unions, unemployed committees and councils, I.L.D. branches, fraternal organizations, etc.) The units and sections must set themselves in contact with the fractions of these organizations which must place upon the order of business "the organization of shop nuclei in particular shops." This is relatively easy in small towns and cities. It is more difficult in large cities where the numbers of shops are extremely large and the units and sections by no means correspond to the union fractions. Here the trade union and unemployed fractions must assist. They must have a record of the shops to which the members belong or in the case of the unemployed in which they last worked and make this available to the units and sections. The workers who are sympathetic must be systematically canvassed and enrolled into the Party hence into the Party nucleus.

(2) Use must be made of readers of our press, delegates to conferences, signatories to place the Party on the ballot, members of Daily Worker clubs, etc. Where the numbers of readers of our press is large, special meetings of these readers can

be called to enroll them into the Party. The establishment of regular meetings of press readers can help considerably in winning members for a shop nucleus.

(3) A third way, more difficult at the present time, is to send workers into factories. Despite unemployment this has been and can be done.

(4) The unemployed committees and councils can provide abundant contacts with workers in shops if this is systematically exploited. Unemployed workers can give very valuable information on reliable workers in the shop in which have been last working.

(5) In order better to carry out this work than the existing street nuclei, it is advisable to better *organize* this work. The district and sections must attach leading forces for concentration on particular shops, and thus establish direct contact through the section and district Organization Departments. Such leading comrades must be freed of other tasks to enable them to give the necessary time to this work.

(6) The work of concentration of street nuclei must be better organized. It is advisable to form special concentration groups of the nucleus, which will consist of the most capable comrades. The task of these comrades must be to get acquainted with the workers in the factory under concentration, to reach them around the factory gates, when they leave the factory or on the way to the factory with our agitation and propaganda. They must use all the means suggested above in order to recruit members into the Party and form a nucleus. This requires some skillful and planned work but it can be done and a nucleus formed.

(7) The issuance of leaflets and shop papers are a further means to establish contacts and recruit members. But this work requires great care. The leaflets and shop papers must contain striking and accurate facts about the situation in the shop and a means must be established to recruit members. A means must be found to establish the effect of our leaflets or shop papers and quick and energetic follow-up activities are necessary to make use of this work for the building of a factory nucleus.

(8) In many shops we have one or two comrades but no nucleus. The problem of building a nucleus in this case con-

sists in the activity of the one or two comrades. These comrades must get acquainted with the workers in their department, make friends with the workers at the bench or at the belt, in the shop or in the restaurants, and must find out which workers are sympathetic, militant, and in a mood for struggle and by cultivating these workers, to draw them into the Party. Many of our comrades in the shops work for many years but do not get acquainted with the workers and remain isolated from them. They do not attempt to understand the problems in the shops and to give leadership to these struggles. This attitude will not build shop nuclei or establish a Communist leadership.

## II

(9) The above proposals presume that no organization of workers exists directly in the shop from which to recruit members. But shop organizations of the workers do exist and this must be used to establish a factory nucleus. For example, the revolutionary trade union branches in the shops, grievance committees, shop delegates, etc. Communists in these unions must make it a matter of the greatest importance to form factory nuclei in the shops in which these organizations exist.

(10) The steel campaign which is now being conducted is resulting in the formation of groups of the Metal Workers Industrial League, even where no Party units exist. From these workers that are recruited into the Metal Workers Industrial League, the members of the Party must be recruited. This can be done by a systematic and planful examination of the members who have joined the Metal Workers Industrial League and by personally visiting them, to draw them into the Party.

These first steps indicated are by no means the only ones. There is no quick and royal road to the formation of a shop nucleus. It can be done only by systematic planful work on the basis of a knowledge of the conditions in the factory, by the comrades familiarizing themselves with the grievances within the shops, by locating the places in which the workers live and by an intimate knowledge of all phases of their life.

The task of forming shop nuclei is the task of developing mass work, of mass recruiting, and of systematic, careful, skillful *organized* work.

## From the Practical Work For the Practical Work

In this Section of the PARTY ORGANIZER the comrades of the shop nuclei, fractions and street nuclei speak. Send in your experiences in all fields of Party work to the PARTY ORGANIZER, P. O. Box 87, Station D, New York City.

# Rooting the Party in the Shops

## What the Registration Will Reveal

**“H**ERE in Cleveland I discovered what I found many times in our Party, namely, that in the street units we have workers engaged in factories where we have three or four comrades or even a shop nucleus. I discovered again that while we are concentrating on the factories from the outside, we don't know that we already have forces inside the factories. These forces consist of members of mass organizations and readers of our press. For example, in the last four or five days the brigade which was formed to concentrate on the American Steel & Wire Company found that we have inside the mill Hungarians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Yugoslavs, and other workers belonging to the mass organizations under our influence and also workers who are close sympathizers of our Party who can immediately be used to build up the shop groups of the Metal Workers Industrial League with whom we can start the building of a shop nucleus.”

The Party registration will undoubtedly bring this out more clearly. This shows that it is necessary to transfer the comrades working in factories and who belong to street nuclei into shop nuclei and it also shows the possibility of utilizing sympathetic elements and workers in mass organizations under our influence in order to form Red trade union groups and to recruit members for our Party.

*From a report by Comrade B. to the Central Committee.*



## Wrong and Right Methods of Shop Work

### Concentration on Departments and Shops

**R**ECENTLY the District Bureau proposed to the membership of Danville, N. C., tactics to be employed in doing work in shops. The District Organizer came personally to Danville to assist in the work. After he remained here two weeks during which time we attempted to carry out the line of the Buro, we got little or no results. Although I am a rank and file member, still I am recently from a shop and feel that our past method of shop work in Danville has been wrong and in this article, I want to point out the mistakes. The entire Party can learn from the mistakes made here.

In the city of Danville there are two large mills employing five thousand workers in all. The Schoolfield mill is one and the Riverside is the other. We decided to concentrate on the Schoolfield mill. The methods of work to be used in the Schoolfield mill were never discussed with the Danville comrades. All we knew was that this mill was picked for concentration. We also knew very little of how to concentrate. Accordingly when the leading comrade "discovered" that the mill was divided into five sections or five buildings, *the word concentration lost all meaning when methods of work were introduced tending to concentrate on all five sections or buildings.* A general Plan of Work was drawn up and even a very general bulletin was issued for distribution among all the Schoolfield workers, taking in all the conditions of all the workers in every section and in every department.

Bit by bit our tactics drifted off into a general approach to the problems in the mill. This was because we tried to divide our work so as to take in all five buildings without once ever checking up on what *we could do in just one building.* A few days ago we called a special meeting of our comrades where we took up the question of our work in the Schoolfield mill. It was brought clearly to the membership by the comrades engaged in the work that in the past our mistakes were that we did not know the real meaning of concentration as proven

by our work. Accordingly we changed our methods with the following steps.

1. We picked out a specific department of Schoolfield as the main point for concentration, putting our best forces to work on this question, meanwhile keeping direct contact with the other departments continuing our work there through leaflets, etc.

2. A bulletin is to be issued in the Spinning Department of Schoolfield and the general Danville Textile Bulletin to be continued if we have money enough to keep it going.

Although we have just made these changes, an improvement already is being shown in our work. The workers in the Spinning Department are aware of our organization and through our new method of concentration we are gaining a larger and better influence over the workers in the entire mill.

E. WITT.

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## Good and Bad Sides in the Work of a Shop Nucleus

### Not Leading Economic Struggles

**I**N Section One of the Philadelphia District there is a Party nucleus of three members in a shop of five hundred workers. This shop nucleus in a number of months of its existence has conducted some good activity, such as the collection of election signatures in the shops, collection of funds for relief work for the miners, have distributed literature, collected funds for the *Freiheit*, participated jointly with another unit in arrangements of open air meetings, etc. Nevertheless, the unit during this period has failed to grow, it has not issued a shop paper, nor has it taken up any of the issues in the shop and attempted to organize struggles in connection with the shop conditions. On the contrary, the tendency of the nucleus has been to underestimate the economic issues in the shop and for that reason it has not been growing in numbers nor has it found the necessity for issuing a shop paper.

Here you have the good sides to the work of propaganda and agitation, of support to the Party in the work of collections and in other mass campaigns but at the same time we see

the outstanding weak sides of the work of the nucleus which prevents its growth. If our nuclei are to grow they must not only conduct this agitational work but must take up the struggles in the shops. It must begin to issue a shop paper and increase its membership. When criticized on this account the comrades did not at all feel that the criticism was justified because they were carrying on activity. This again shows that they underestimate one of the most important phases of shop nucleus work, of giving leadership to the economic struggles in the shops.

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## Using Shock Brigades to Establish Trade Union Organization

**I**N THE steel campaign it was revealed that we are weak merely because, with few exceptions, the Party and the T.U.U.L. do not have connections in the steel mills. In Cleveland, for example, not one single worker of the American Steel Mill in the Party or in a group of the Metal Workers Industrial League. For this reason in aiming to carry through the campaign against the wage cuts in steel, it was necessary to start immediately to find connections with the workers in the shops.

In order to establish connections with the steel workers and to prepare the sentiment of the workers for organization and to arrange a conference of steel workers, *we formed a shock brigade of Party members* directly responsible to the District Committee whose task it was to form shop groups of the Metal Workers Industrial League.

As a result, around these comrades a group of eight or ten unemployed steel workers was built. The shock brigade was active only five or six days and already a number of connections were made. At the same time we *mobilized the fractions* of the mass organizations in the city and a number of steel workers were found in them whom we have drawn into the Metal Workers Industrial League. This shock brigade method has proven a useful instrument already as a means of concentration and the building of the Red trade union group.

*From a report by Comrade B. to the Central Committee.*

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*From a report by Comrade B. to the Central Committee.*

# Improving Internal Life of the Party

## A Method of Keeping New Members in Chicago

### A Proposal

**I**NSTEAD of, in discussing the 13th Plenum decisions on the fluctuation on new members in formal and dogmatic way, it should be done by giving experiences in how things can be carried through.

From the experiences in Section 2, Chicago, we might say that the question was, not how to recruit new members into the Party, but precisely, how to keep the new members, as well as how to get into the Party the hundreds of workers who filled our application cards some of whom have paid even initiation fee.

One of the best ways we find in keeping the new members is to establish the unit on a captain basis. Not only old units who are supposed to work on that basis for quite a long time, but also the new units as soon as you establish them, should be placed immediately on the proper (captain) basis.

A short talk to the captain as to their function, that they are responsible for the 5-6 comrades in their charge to bring them to meeting, that to notify the members of the meeting place is not enough, but that the essential point is to bring them to the meeting and giving the captain suggestions as to how to bring them to the meeting.

1. If necessary the captains to go around half an hour before the meeting and to bring the members down.
2. To impress upon the members that this particular night in the week they are to be at the unit meetings.
3. If a member is not present at one unit meeting, the captain is *not* to wait, *maybe* the members will show up at the next meeting, but to act immediately, by visiting that comrade.

While the captain system may function in some old units,

it is most essential that the organizing of new units or the splitting of old into two, to be put on the proper basis right at the beginning.

Another essential point in keeping new members (and this goes particularly for the old units) is the starting and finishing in time.

The strictest measures should be taken towards the aim, that not only the members are to come on time for the unit meeting, but also in reference to any meeting they are called, they are to be present and on time.

The enforcing of the discipline is most vital in the eyes of the new members. A few disciplinary measures for breaking it, even expulsion for some, if necessary, will in the long run win us more new members and enable them to keep them, than the looseness with which we are treating some members now.

Another point in question is, the assignment of work, where new members do not quite know how to carry through, how to tackle those assignments, and, unless a proper explanation, and *particularly*, the proper suggestions, as to how to carry through the assignment will be given, the new comrades will feel disappointed by not being able to carry it through, and not wanting to come empty handed to the unit meetings they won't come at all.

Against those instructions from "above" without giving the proper orientation and suggestions, we must fight most emphatically, if we want to keep our new members, and particularly if we want to carry on our work successfully.

## Retaining and Developing New Members of the Party

### Some First Steps

**W**HILE the Party, through its various campaigns and its militant activity in leading the struggles of the working class, has succeeded in recruiting many workers into the Party, we find that the Party has failed, not only to develop, but has been unable to keep these recruits in the ranks of our Party.

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What are the basic reasons for this shortcoming and can it be remedied?

### Why Does the Party Lose Its New Members?

Let us consider the fate of the average recruit of the Party:

In leading the struggles of the working class, the Party has gained the respect and confidence of the workers, so much so, that the workers are not only willing, but actually seek to join our ranks, and thus, when they join the Party, are filled with enthusiasm and the earnest desire to further the work. But what happens?

The recruit comes into the average unit of the Party and finds there a group of strangers speaking a jargon which he does not understand. No one pays much attention to him and he is therefore left very much to himself.

The meeting begins. The organizer reports and the comrades begin to squabble over the assignments advancing many reasons "why not" but very few reasons "why." The recruit wonders what the hell it's all about and leaves the meeting, having learned nothing and with his enthusiasm somewhat cooled.

A few meetings later (the bureau having discovered that they have a new member who is sincere and willing to do work) he is assigned work thus:

Thursday—Distribute leaflets.

Friday—Sell Dailies at open air meeting.

Saturday—Attend fraction of Unemployed Council.

Sunday—Red Sunday.

Monday—Attend L.S.N.R.

Tuesday—Attend meeting of Unemployed Council.

Wednesday—Attend unit meeting.

But the Bureau does not consider if he is capable, or if he is so situated that he can give so much time to the work. The result is that he becomes discouraged, loses his enthusiasm and finally drops out of the Party.

### How Can We Retain and Develop New Members of the Party?

First—improve the life of the Unit by—

Making the Bureau the political as well as the organizational leader of the unit, thus enabling the Bureau to gain the

authority of the unit membership which will result in the elimination of squabbles over decisions and assignments of the Bureau as reported by the organizer.

Conducting meetings with dispatch and eliminate all unnecessary delay.

Interesting political and organizational discussions on current topics that connect with the new members life.

Starting on time and short snappy business-like meetings.

Second—by assigning an older comrade to work with, train, study and to assist the recruit to adapt himself to his new life, for, he does enter into a new life.

Third—by ideological, organizational and political training through—

Unit classes, schools.

Discussions in unit and small social gatherings.

Making it *possible* for recruit to read and study party literature.

#### How Should the Older Party Member Work With the New Member?

The first prerequisite is comradeship. The older comrade refraining from adopting the attitude of "professor to pupil," but as one comrade to another and should not always impress the fact that he is teaching. The impression imparted should be that of "explaining" and "assisting."

The older comrade must also convince the new member that the Party is his whole life and his greatest ambition is to advance the work of the movement and the ultimate aim of proletarian dictatorship is the only goal to reach.

The recruit must be studied to determine: (a) his capability; (b) his political knowledge; (c) what he can do best; (d) his general outlook on life, tenets, etc.

It is needless to say that by the knowledge of the capability of the recruit, the Bureau can place him where he can do the best work and knowing *what* he can do best will enable the Bureau to assign him the work that the Party can benefit most by his activity at this task.

Knowing the extent of his political knowledge will enable the Party to determine where to begin his political training.

The Party, on the basis of such knowledge, can quickly dispel false impressions, bourgeois tendencies, misconceptions,



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etc., all of which, will assist in training and developing a valuable addition to the inadequate number of leaders in our Party.

In assigning the new member, teach and assist to carry it out. *Set the example.* Work with him. Take the work to him. For example: Leaflet distribution—take the leaflets to his house and go with him to distribute them. He will not only carry out the work, but will be impressed by your sincerity and seriousness. *You will have set the example.*

Of course, there are many other reasons why we lose our new members, but these outlined here, are some of the basic causes and with a little effort and forethought, we can eliminate them and instead of 80 per cent of our recruits dropping out, 80 per cent will stay in and be developed into good Communists.

*Celia Silver and F. Coleman.*

(EDITORIAL NOTE—*While this is a good beginning in the discussion on this important question, it lacks touching upon the important matters of drawing the new Party members into the active, every-day life of the Party, particularly in connection with shop work, as well as drawing them into the trade union activity. Future articles will take up these points.*)

### On Checking the Carrying Through of Decisions

**SOME** beginnings have already been made in the carrying through of the policy of checking decisions. This is proceeding in many districts by more direct personal contact. The Central Committee has, likewise, adopted a policy of closer check of districts, not only by sending the comrades into the districts for extended visits but also by an arrangement of review of the work directly in the sections, which I wish to discuss here, which can be applied by the districts in checking the sections.

A representative of the Central Committee in visiting the District, makes arrangements with the District Committee for all Section Organizers to be present and to report on specified

questions which are sent out in advance to the Section Organizers. These questions revolve about the most important current matters, such as unemployment, struggle against the war danger, trade union work, November 7th, fight against the Socialist party, Party organization particularly the establishing of shop nuclei and strengthening the contacts between the district and sections and sections and units. The procedure is for the Section Organizers to report on these topics not engaging in generalities but giving specific answers to the questions asked. Following the report of the Section Organizer there are questions asked by the representative of the Central Committee or by the District Organizer or by other Section Organizers present and thereafter the discussion is summarized by the District Organizer and the representative of the Central Committee, showing in what points progress has been made, where the weaknesses are and indicating in what ways the weaknesses can be overcome. Such a review of the work is then further summarized and made concrete in the work of the District Bureau and the District Secretariat.

This method can be applied by the district in reviewing the situation in the sections by sending the representative down to the Section Committees at which also unit organizers can attend and by reports on the basis of a specific questionnaire, the situation can be very carefully checked. This method, however, does not exclude the still more direct examination of the work on the basis of sending comrades directly into the units and by a periodic examination of the work of the units and sections.

### The Value of Personal Guidance in Place of Guidance By Circular

LET me say that our conference with the district on section problems yesterday has been a big help for the Sections since it cleared up so many problems. In this respect we see the value of doing away with the weekly org. letters from the district to the section and the institution of personal section guidance. You cannot realize how valuable district leadership is when it deals with each section separately. After the

conference, I thought over and digested what was said and on the way back to the section planned the work for the section committee this morning which was a splendid meeting.  
*From a report of N.R. of Indianapolis to the Chicago District.*

(EDITORIAL NOTE: *The above indicates the value of calling in Section Organizers to discuss the tasks with the comrades of the district in place of reliance upon circular letters from the district to the section. A still more direct guidance is for the district leadership to take up matters on the spot with the section committee and unit representatives. This is also being developed in the Chicago district.*)

### Some Examples of Formalism and Bureaucracy

**A**N unemployed Negro worker, member of the Unemployed Councils, appeared at a Party-controlled office for instructions. The comrade at the desk spoke to him with the shortness of a school teacher, although the worker was guilty only of having been beaten and arrested. He was still lame. It turned out that he needed food and carfare but he was too timid to mention it. He was *not* a Party member.

Another worker, a German who speaks broken English, and wanted information from the Party, tried to explain to the girl at the desk, but without success, that he had to pay too much carfare to come so often to the center, since he lived out of town, and he had come several times already. His situation meant nothing to the apparently hard-boiled comrade at the desk. He was forced to go without the information and no better off than before.

A Negro woman who has been fighting for the I.L.D. against the N.A.A.C.P., went to the I. L. D. to hand in money collected for the Scottsboro defense. She was almost frightened away by the young lady at the switchboard whose only answer to the request for information was "I don't know." Later she was rescued by a comrade who knew her, and the money was secured for the I.L.D. More important, her

sympathy for the I.L.D. was re-established. All the above reflects a formalism and bureaucracy.

The Party talks a lot about drawing new members and new comrades into the work. The Party has written reams about developing new cadres for all phases of Party activities. But what are the facts? There is continual and unnecessary hesitancy about actually letting go of anything and handing it over to someone less experienced. This at times assumes a most disastrous aspect.

There are other forms of bureaucracy. The organizer or chairman of a unit or union, or unemployed council, or of any meeting or committee, who does all the talking, is bureaucratic. Sometimes when a rank and file member or a new member attempts to state his opinion, the organizer shows his impatience, or tries to cut the other off. In one case, the organizer of a unit not only did all the talking himself, but refused to explain things for the benefit of the new members. In his opinion, it was evidently a loss of time to explain Party principles and campaigns to new members. If they did not understand, they should get their knowledge outside of the unit, according to him. The result is that new members are made to feel that they are a little dumb or that they are not welcome. This is dangerous, and a good way to lose Party members or members of affiliated organizations. The Party must insist upon business-like action and discipline in the work, but this presumes that comrades will be given the necessary opportunities to express themselves and assistance in the carrying out of the tasks.

S. V. V.

ORGANIZATION IN THE SHOPS  
STRENGTHENS THE STRUGGLE  
AGAINST THE WAR DANGER

# Agit Prop Work

## WORKERS! EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED

The third winter of unemployment and starvation faces you in the United States. Even the bosses' newspapers admit that there are over 10 million workers without jobs to-day. And how many millions more on part time and with wages cut to one-third or half what a worker earned a few years ago?

### STARVATION !!!

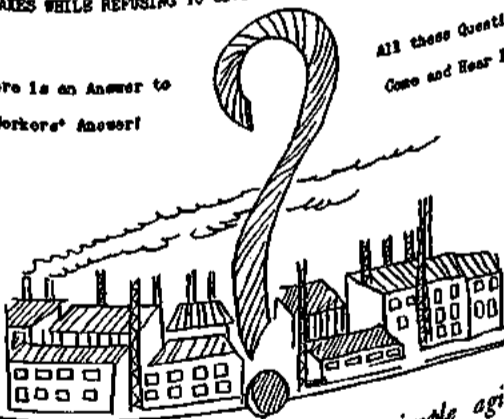
THIS IS THE THREAT WHICH HANGS OVER THE HEAD OF EVERY WORKER AND HIS FAMILY THIS COMING WINTER. NO CLOTHES...NO FOOD... YET THE COUNTRY IS "LOUSTY" WITH FOOD...CLOTHES...EMPTY HOUSES EVEN WITH RADIOS AND AUTOMOBILES!

### WHY ARE MEN OUT OF WORK ?

WHY MUST WE STARVE IN A LAND WHERE THE BOSSES PUT IN THEIR POCKETS SEVEN AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS IN INTEREST AND PROFITS EACH YEAR? WHY DOES THE GOVERNMENT PAY BACK TO THE RICH, FOUR BILLION DOLLARS IN TAXES WHILE REFUSING TO GIVE ONE CENT FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE?

There is an Answer to  
A Workers' Answer!

All these Questions!  
Come and Hear It!



Here is a good leaflet—clear cut simple agitation, good spacing, and attractive. We have omitted the date and address from the cut.—EDITOR.

## Educating on the Basis of Practical Work

### Retaining Members by Raising Their Political Level

**T**HE Party in District Five, except for the city of Pittsburgh itself, is a new Party, with an influx of over a thousand members, consisting of miners and steel workers. Without understanding this, one cannot understand the methods of work that are required in carrying on work in the sections of this District.

The workers came into the Party because they saw in it the leader in their struggles. They felt that the Party stood and fought for the things they wanted and needed. Now they must become involved in Party activities. And they must begin to understand why the Party is their leader. These two factors are indissolubly bound up with one another.

The question of retaining these new members resolves itself to the urgent problem of politicalizing the activities of the unit. Involve these new members in Party campaigns—but at the same time make them understand the nature of the campaigns. This can be done only on the basis of educating the members on what Communism is, and should be done on the basis of the every-day tasks required of them.

Once a week on a section-wide basis, all the key unit functionaries come together at section headquarters for a class. They are given an outline on the class they attend, which serves them as a guide in transmitting the lesson to their comrades back home.

The class is a lesson on some phase of fundamentals of Communism, which develops naturally out of the particular unit activities for that week. Thus they get the political background and the political basis for the tasks they are required to carry out. As the classes proceed from week to week, an informal study of the entire subject of fundamentals of communism unfolds itself, consciously guided along certain channels, and deliberately designed to gradually cover the whole subject as time goes on. In this way the political level of the unit comrades is raised on the basis of their own experiences

and their own unit activity. Their understanding of the Communist program thus becomes intertwined with their own lives and activities.

These points are developed in a very elementary and simple manner, and so closely knit with their every-day experiences, that the comrades cannot fail to make the proper political deductions. The subjects themselves can be developed almost infinitely, but the first lesson must be kept to their basic and elementary aspects.

The following week the very same lesson is taken up, where all unsolved problems and unanswered questions are discussed, and where certain of the points are developed to a higher plane.

The second lesson on some other phase of the Communist program, then begins the following week with a repetition, review and elaboration of certain points during the next class.

The technique of teaching these classes is extremely important. Lecturing, with discussion and questions afterwards, does not have the desired effect. These workers, fresh from the mines and mills eager to learn, but with practically no background for systematic and concentrated mental effort, will sit five and six hours discussing political conclusions if these are developed logically out of their own experience, while they will tire and grow restless after an hour or so has elapsed, if made to follow the unfolding of a political theme by a lecturer.

Therefore, the teaching technique is questions and answers carried to a high degree. And the questions asked by members of the class should be answered as much as possible by the members of the class. This requires that the instructor skillfully guide the discussion to keep it on the points under discussion. He must intervene with his own explanations whenever the discussion goes off on a wrong scent or begins to become involved. Sometimes a simple question on some local issue or event, directed at the students, will snap the discussion back where it belongs.

Where does the District get the forces for carrying on this work? At the beginning, while the system is being instituted, the personal attention of the Agitprop Director must build up the work. The start was made in those sections in District Five where the section organizers themselves could carry

on the work after one lesson was given by the District representative, and where the section organizer observed the teaching technique. It is the duty of the section organizer to consciously train the best and most promising elements that come to his class, to ultimately take over this work. When this has been accomplished, the section organizer will have developed a section agitprop director. That is how District 5, with its crying need for more forces, must begin to develop them right out of the mass membership. In some of the sections the guidance of the district will be required a longer time, but the ultimate objective must be the same.

It is not a system which can be instituted overnight. At the time of writing, three out of eight sections have made the start, with two or three more making their organizational preparations to launch such classes. It is only a matter of time, given proper organization, when every one of the eight sections can be in full swing in this attempt to politicalize the activities of the units. And it is only a matter of time before fresh forces will be developed out of these masses.

GERTRUDE HAESSLER.

### Into the Shops with Our Party Literature

**T**HE Party now has a large number of pamphlets on a wide range of subjects. How can we sell these pamphlets to the workers in the shops? In our work in the shop we always first of all find the workers in the shop who are closest to us. Then there are others who are more backward and have more illusions. In talking to the workers we find the questions on which they are most interested and on which they have particular confusion in their mind which should be cleared up. We can then mention to them that we have read a little pamphlet on this subject that is very interesting and that we can get it for them. Thus, of course taking due care, we can sell many pamphlets in the shop on various subjects. Then there arise situations in the shop (wage-cuts, betrayals by fak-ers, etc.) in which *all* workers are interested. Then we have campaigns to bring to the workers in the shop on the subject of which we have certain pamphlets (unemployment, anti-war,



November 7, etc.) In such cases our pamphlets dealing with these campaigns and issues must be reviewed in the shop paper and the workers told how to get them. But most of all we must see that the workers get these pamphlets through our own systematic, careful work in the shop.

What is said about literature distribution in the shops applies with adaptations to all our mass activities, in the neighborhoods, in unions, unemployed councils, tenants leagues, and all mass organizations.

Below is a list of some of the pamphlets which should be used. If these are not available in your section then take it up with your Unit Buro and see that steps are taken that you can get them.

SECRET HOOVER-LAVAL WAR PACTS .....	.01
UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF AND SOCIAL INSURANCE .....	.02
LITTLE BROTHERS OF THE BIG LABOR FAKERS .....	.05
GRAFT AND GANGSTERS .....	.10
RACE HATRED ON TRIAL .....	.10
COMMUNIST CALL TO THE TOILING FARMERS .....	.03
LIFE IN THE U. S. ARMY .....	.10
THE DECISIVE YEAR IN THE SOVIET UNION .....	.10
MODERN FARMING—SOVIET STYLE .....	.10
ANTI-SOVIET LIES AND THE FIVE YEAR PLAN .....	.02
"SOVIET DUMPING" FABLE .....	.05
NEW CONDITIONS—NEW TASKS .....	.10
WAR IN THE FAR EAST .....	.10
REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR vs. PACIFISM .....	.05

## Negro Work

### We Must Draw Negro Workers Into the Mass Organizations and the Party

**I**N Chicago the Party is approaching in its practical work the problem of recruiting large numbers of Negro workers and setting them into action in the Party and the mass organizations. In the city of Chicago there are more than 200 Negro workers who are active in the Party and are drawn into the leadership. As far as the mass organizations are concerned, such as the F. S. U., I. L. D., T. U. U. L., Negro

workers are not drawn into any of these organizations in any large number, and they are not brought into the leadership in these organizations.

The I.L.D. improved somewhat in this situation by recruiting something like 100 Negro workers in Chicago. As far as the T.U.U.L. is concerned, its leagues and unions, here there is little attempt to win the Negro workers and to draw them into direct leadership.

Thus far, the only mass organization where the Negro workers have been organized and feel at home is the Unemployed Councils. Approximately 40 per cent of the workers in the unemployed movement in Chicago are Negro workers, and they are in the leadership.

In Gary, where there is concentration in the steel industry, we find the following experience:

A department Grievance Committee was organized in the coke plant of the Illinois Steel (a subsidiary of the U. S. Steel) which consists of Negro workers only. They showed a response to carrying on work inside of the department.

In the stockyards a beginning is being made in an attempt to set up shop organization.

—From a Report of the Chicago District.

## Work Among Women

### Mobilizing Working Women in Children's Relief Struggle

**M**OST districts fail to recognize an important phase in *mass work*—namely, that of mobilizing working class women to fight for immediate relief for school children.

In the Pittsburgh and Cleveland districts where the departments for work among women had a joint working plan with the Pioneers, Miners' Union and Unemployed Councils, certain achievements were made. Through mass pressure concessions to the demands were granted, such as free milk and medical treatment to the children in Avella, Pa. and in Cleveland.

These concessions, small as they are, made possible an extension of the fight, to hold successful special Women's Conferences and children's demonstrations. In Cleveland at a women's conference over 60 delegates, the majority of whom were Negro women, came from factories and organizations and worked out a program of work for participation in public hearings, the National Hunger March and for organizing a special women's and children's Hunger March.

While recording some achievements in the campaign, we must at the same time point out the shortcomings which are in the main:

(1) Failure to recognize the struggle for immediate relief for the school, as a daily immediate demand which effects the unemployed and part-time employed workers.

(2) The lack of political guidance from the District Committee (Cleveland).

(3) Lack of coordination between Y.C.L. and Department for Work among Women, Unemployed Councils, etc. (New York).

(4) Failure to carry out in practice correct lines laid down in Pittsburgh plan, namely, that of drawing the children themselves into direct participation of the struggle, instead of Women's Auxiliaries only.

We have seen that even without the Y.C.L. and Communist Party leadership, the children fighting and going on strike for immediate demands, as for example, the Hayes School in Hayesboro, Pa.

We have seen the response and militancy of the women workers and housewives, Negro and white in the demonstrations and activities in connection with the school demands which are daily problems of the working class women. This is proof that even with a little organization we can make inroads among the masses of women workers and mobilize them for the unemployment campaign. The District Women's Departments should without delay work out a plan for Work Among Women, which shall include school activities based on the plan sent out by the Central Committee Department for Work among Women.

ANNA DAMON.

## Defense Work

### Defense Work and the Every Day Struggles

#### Without Fractions—No Change in Defense Policy

WE find that the main shortcomings, as well as the major difficulties of the International Labor Defense, grow out of the incorrect carrying through of our defense policies. The Polburo recently considered, with the fraction in the I.L.D., this whole situation so serious that a detailed resolution restating our defense policies was sent to all the districts. Yet, according to the reports we have received, this resolution was given very little attention in many of the districts. In no district was there an adequate discussion, either in the leading committees or in the Party units. This must be considered as an underestimation of the importance of struggle against the growing persecutions and failure to connect this struggle very closely with our other work,—strikes, election campaigns, organization of the unorganized, hunger marches and other demonstrations of the unemployed.

We have made but little progress in correcting our wrong approach to many problems arising out of legal aid to the victims of boss class persecutions; the questions of bail, bond premiums, court costs, fines, appeals, etc., etc. We have just made the first steps in carrying through our correct policies on these questions. Bail, fines, appeals, etc., etc.—too many of our leading comrades feel that these are the easiest and quickest means of escaping boss class persecutions. So many make these the major questions in our defense work. So many exceptions to correct policies are often made that the exception becomes the rule, and if this is not done then the comrades ask, "Well, what is the I.L.D. for, anyway?" The correct approach—*mass protest, mass campaigns*—is *practically, if not entirely, forgotten*. The payment of fines and the expenditure of huge sums for bail premiums, court costs and lawyers' fees is substituted for militant mass protest strug-

gles, thus militating against the building of a broad defense mass movement. This must be changed, correct policies must be carried out in this period when mass arrests are taking place in all our strike struggles, and as we face the third winter of the economic crisis with its increasing persecutions of the unemployed. That is why we must have fractions in the I.L.D. branches.

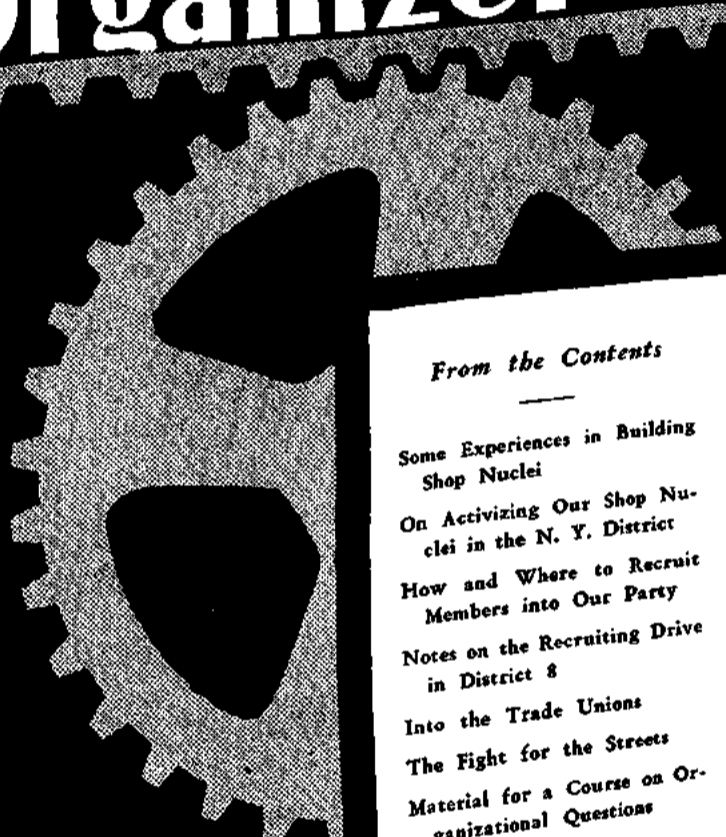
Just a few words about our approach to the Negro masses. In spite of repeated campaigns on tremendous issues we have only 400 Negro members in our defense organization. It is necessary to emphasize that this grows in part also out of our emphasis on pure legalism rather than mass struggles. Efforts are made to carry out the illusions as to capitalist class justice, especially where Negro workers are concerned. Some comrades say that the Negro worker must not be allowed to go to jail, he must be bailed out immediately when he is arrested, his fine must be paid, otherwise, it is claimed, our defense organization will be discredited in his eyes.

We must recognize that the capitalist class reserves special persecution, more intense forms of oppression, against the Negro masses, the most exploited section of the population. We cannot guarantee Negro workers, any more than white workers, to keep them out of jail or prison, especially in the South, in the face of these sharpening attacks. What we must guarantee to the Negro masses, however, is a continually developing struggle and much more keen sensitiveness on the part of all of our organizations, of our whole movement, against all ruling class persecutions of Negro workers and poor farmers. This sensitiveness must be reflected in quick mass protest against all attacks upon the Negro masses. When the Negro workers and poor farmers generally really feel that our organizations are sincerely fighting their battles then they will pour in large numbers into our organizations. The actual developments of the day-to-day struggle should have shattered the purely legalistic approach to the defense of Negro, as well as white workers—the courage of our Scottsboro boys, the fighting spirit of our Camp Hill share croppers, the heroic stand of the Chicago and Cleveland unemployed against evictions, as well as in numerous other struggles in which Negro workers have not only participated but to which they have actually given militant leadership.

There is a lack of functioning fraction leadership in the branches to give adequate direction to the work of the I.L.D. Though this was taken up in the resolution sent out, it has not been remedied. To strengthen the mass work and organization of the I.L.D., to connect the I.L.D. with the every day struggles, the fractions must be brought to life and must function.

J. LOUIS ENGBAHL.

# Party Organizer



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Some Experiences in Building Shop Nuclei

On Activizing Our Shop Nuclei in the N. Y. District

How and Where to Recruit Members into Our Party

Notes on the Recruiting Drive in District 8

Into the Trade Unions

The Fight for the Streets

Material for a Course on Organizational Questions

Vol. IV

DECEMBER, 1931

No. 11

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

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# PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. IV

DECEMBER, 1931

No. 11

## Intensify the Organization of the Unemployed

Put Our Resolutions into Life!

**T**HE National Hunger March has mobilized large masses of workers. It has focused attention upon the demands of the unemployed. It has challenged the whole policy of the Hoover government to degrade the unemployed masses and to make them ready tools in the hands of the capitalist class. The National Hunger March has been one of the greatest national mobilization by the Party of the employed and unemployed masses. At the same time it has revealed big weaknesses in organization work which must be overcome immediately after the return of the delegations.

The National Hunger March must be followed by the most feverish activities to develop the struggle for the local demands and for the fight for unemployment insurance. But these aims can be accomplished only if we *organize* the work of the unemployed, if we build unemployed committees, in blocks and around flop houses, unemployed registration bureaus and other gathering places of the unemployed. The building of the unemployed committees is developing entirely too slowly and the unemployed committees do not yet embrace and speak in the name of the large masses of unemployed workers. There is still too narrow an outlook with regard to the forms of organization, too much a tendency of narrowing the unemployed committee down only to small numbers of registered workers. The forms of organization called for by the resolution of the Central Committee and by the directives given by the Executive Committee of the Communist International at the 11th Plenum must be put into effect. All along the line of march where the workers have been organized, the Party must endeavor to set up local unemployed committees and unemployed councils.

If the movement which was been developed is to be crystal-

lized *organizationally*, most resolute steps must be taken to build the unemployed councils as collective bodies having the unemployed committee as their base and containing representatives of trade unions and other workers' organizations. The unemployed councils must quickly pass over from the stage of general struggles for immediate demands and unemployment insurance and must take up the concrete struggles for the most immediate demands by organizing in the unemployed councils, food committees, committees for the fight against evictions, trade union committees, education committees, and other committees which are called for in the resolutions of the Central Committee.

We must record that the organizational work in connection with the unemployed is entirely underestimated and that old forms still exist and that measures are not taken to put the forms of organization into effect which will *organize the millions* of unemployed workers. The Party organizations must finally break with the underestimation of organizational work, with the inattention to organizational details, with the opportunistic passivity in respect to the great question of organization. Without organization no stable consolidated mass movement capable of achieving the mobilization and organization of the millions for the big class struggles.

### **Study this Material on Unemployment Work**

Resolution of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee on Work Among the Unemployed. Published in **THE COMMUNIST** for October.

Resolution of the International Conference on Unemployment held in Prague in August. Published in **THE COMMUNIST** for December.

Review of the General Line and Activities of the Party in Unemployment Work. Published in the **DAILY WORKER** of November 28 and 30.

Unemployment and the Communist Parties, by O. Piatnitsky. 15c pamphlet published by Workers Library Publishers.

**From the Practical Work  
For the Practical Work**

In this Section of the PARTY ORGANIZER the comrades of the shop nuclei, fractions and street nuclei speak. Send in your experiences in all fields of Party work to the PARTY ORGANIZER, P. O. Box 87, Station D, New York City.

**Rooting the Party in the  
Shops**

**Some Experiences in the Building of  
Shop Nuclei**

**Failures in Understanding Party Functions  
in the Shop**

**I**N LINE with the decision of the 13th Central Committee Plenum of turning our face to the shops, especially the large shops of basic industry, our district during the past few weeks has made some very serious efforts in the formation of shop nuclei in a number of metal shops in the New York District. The Party registration helped us to locate a number of comrades working in shops for quite a period of time without a shop nucleus actually having been formed. In this work, a number of very valuable experiences must be pointed out.

I want to give an example of one case, of a white goods factory involving about 100 workers where 4 Party comrades are employed. When we were informed of this, we sent a letter to the comrades asking them to call at the district office for a meeting where we would take up with them the question of the formation of a shop nucleus. Twice the comrades failed to respond. Only the third time, when a letter was sent out under the D. O.'s signature and sent special delivery, did the comrades appear. In taking up the question of forming a shop nucleus, the following very basic things were evident:

One of the comrades stated as follows: "I thought that our Party has changed its policy. It doesn't come with orders from above, but allows the comrades below to decide. Why can't we in the shop decide whether we should organize a shop nucleus or not?" "Let's wait until we have a number of workers in a grievance committee and then proceed to the organization of a shop nucleus." A third comrade pointed out "I am active in Party work in the section and if a shop nucleus is formed, I will have to give up Party activity." Still another comrade stated "There are no issues around which to organize a shop nucleus. Let's wait until we get a wage cut and then we will be able to mobilize the workers."

Let us try to analyze some of these statements of the comrades. Upon requiring from the comrades more information regarding the conditions of the shop, we found out that they are working piece-work and that they must report to the shop every day. Many times, they wait around for hours before they are given a bundle of work. We have cases of workers making from \$7-\$10 a week. Certainly this is an issue around which the workers can be mobilized and organized, yet the comrades speak of waiting until a wage cut is given them. What is this, if not a wage cut?

The next point. The comrades speak of not wanting to organize a shop nucleus because this will take them away from Party work. This point shows definitely that there still is the old attitude left that Party work is something apart and distinct from trade union and shop work. This is a remnant of the old days in the Socialist Party where the idea prevailed of politics being separated from economic struggles in the shops, and we must admit that many of our Party comrades today, especially some of the old Party members, still have this view in mind, for the comrades in this group who expressed this opinion happened to be charter members of our Party. However, it would be incorrect merely to blame these comrades involved, though their arguments are concessions to opportunism. It seems to me that the Party as a whole has not as yet succeeded fully in bringing before the Party membership the fact that our Party will not be able to really become a mass Communist Party and lead the struggles of the workers unless we root ourselves inside the factories, inside the basic indus-

tries. The experiences we have had with the comrades in this shop must be an indication to us of some of the enormous tasks that will be confronting this district in the work of building new shop nuclei. Together with the general decisions of the Party, a real ideological campaign must be carried on in the Party press pointing out to the Party members the importance of work within their own shop, the drawing in of the workers into the union, grievance committees, various other groups inside the shop, to make the shop nucleus, in the factory the political leader of the struggle of the workers for their everyday economic demands.

LENA DAVIS.

### On Activizing Our Shop Nuclei in the New York District

**T**HE basic fault for the weakness and the quality of the shop nuclei lies in the fact that we have not as yet succeeded in bringing to the Party comrades the real meaning of "face to the shop" and "work within the shops."

For instance, we have cases, very characteristic, where metal comrades volunteered for shock troops for concentration on the waterfront but refused to carry out the work in their own shop. This is not only one case but dozens of cases. Perhaps this is not because the comrades don't want to do the work but because we have not really found the methods bringing before the comrades in a concrete way how to do the work in their own shop so that their job is not in danger and so that they build the Party and the trade union in their own shop.

The shop papers also reflect this situation. They are general. We have on the first page something about the war danger and a number of other general problems but on the back page they speak of a ten per cent wage cut in the shop. They haven't learned to link up the question of the concrete issues in the shops with the general issues in the country and international issues but they speak generalities and not concrete issues involved in the shop.

The district agitprop department and the district as a whole, in order to remedy this regularly must pay closer attention to the shop papers. We have also proposed that the general in-

structions that go out from the district shall not include the shop nuclei but regularly the district gets in touch with the comrades of the nuclei. For instance on recruiting, we get in touch with the comrades in the shop nuclei on this question and don't send out the general instructions.

—From a Report of the New York Org. Dept.

### More Swing to Our Shop Work

**I**N spite of our Plenum discussion it seems that shop work is not yet taken up *in practice* as a central point. It is interesting to observe the following: That when there are definite campaigns like the Hunger March, even the anti-war campaign, with dates set for these campaigns as the Hunger March, the entire Party is behind it and the district leadership feels that it must give to it daily guidance. Insofar as shop work, however, is concerned we don't feel the same conscientious, painstaking and daily attention given, especially to work in those shops where we have at least shop nuclei and individual comrades working in large plants. When there is a conference or a campaign the district leaderships already feel that a neglect of any detail might hinder the campaign. But so far we do not have the same approach on detail, individual guidance insofar as shop work is concerned. Shop work is not taken up with the same *swing* and in the same spirit of *emergency* as the other campaigns of the Party. In the practical work we are alarmed at the neglect of various details in connection with our current campaigns. The same attitude is not manifested in *practice* towards shop work. For instance, we have already reached, to an extent, a step in the development of the life of the Party, that if an eviction takes place, the comrades immediately raise the question of a struggle against it, check up on the unemployed branch and the Party units for developing a struggle against it. But should a wage cut take place in a shop where we have comrades or a shop nucleus, there is not the same approach from the viewpoint of check up and organization for struggle. It is necessary to particularly again emphasize the question of individual approach to shop work and what the Plenum emphasized, that the whole attention of the Party should be given to it.

Extracts from a Report from Cleveland to the C.C.

## Improving Internal Life of the Party

### Why We Have No Adequate Forces Weaknesses of Higher Committees — Lack of Shop Workers

**T**HE district org. department as well as the district committee and the district buro are composed mainly of Party functionaries. With very few exceptions have we actual workers from the shops. In the district committee we have about five, in the district buro we have only one and in the district org. department we have only one.

This hinders us greatly in taking up concrete shop issues as we are not directly connected with workers in the shop. In addition we are not developing new cadres as we should be, by taking promising workers and giving them the training of being on these higher committees. At our last meeting we decided to add two workers to the district org. department, one from metal and one from marine.

We undoubtedly have scores of comrades who understand what we mean by "shop work" and "developing shop work" but it seems we bury them. We must have a special digging committee to dig them out. We must develop a system in the immediate future where we send comrades from the district to the section and meet with all the comrades in the units and on the basis of that dig them out.

The question of forces is absolutely something that we must change immediately. To begin with, we must add members to the district committee and to the district buro and to the sections—workers. When I say workers I don't want to approach the problem mechanically—just someone who works in the shop and just because he is a worker put him on. I mean comrades who have shown in the process of struggle that they have the ability to develop and understand the line of the Party. We have dozens of these but simply haven't looked for them.

*From a Report of N. Y. Org. Dept.*

## Party Recruitment Drive

### How and Where to Recruit New Members Into Our Party

THE decisions of the October Plenum of our district committee, based on the decisions of the Central Committee Plenum, were that our recruiting campaign should be concentrated as follows: 1. On the shops. 2. In Negro territory. 3. Language organizations.

The recruiting of new members into our Party cannot be made a separate campaign, divorced and isolated from the every day tasks of the Party, and the important campaigns carried on. On the contrary, the recruiting of new members into our Party must be a result of our preparations, organization, and carrying through of these campaigns.

In our recruiting campaign, we do not want to concentrate only on recruiting individual members into our Party. Our major task is to recruit workers from the shops, Negro neighborhoods and language mass organizations, into the Communist Party. We cannot forget the recruiting of young workers into the Young Communist League, to help the Y.C.L. organize units in shops where we have nuclei or connections, especially at the X, Y, and Z plants.

The concentration on shops, Negro neighborhoods and language organizations however, does not mean that no workers shall be recruited from the revolutionary or reactionary trade unions, from the ranks of the unemployed or the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League. On the contrary, more workers will have to be brought into the Party, because we have actually lost contact, especially in the reactionary trade unions.

#### Tasks of the Section Committees

1. A special meeting of the section committee is to be held, at which the plan is to be discussed and applied to local conditions.
2. A meeting of all unit organizers is to follow the meeting of the section committee, where section organizers, section



## PARTY RECRUITMENT DRIVE

9

org.-secretaries are to explain this plan, from where it is to be brought to the units and discussed at one meeting, where nothing else is to be taken up.

3. Each section committee with the unit organizers, is to assign shock troops (groups of from 7 to 10 white and Negro party members) preferably comrades assigned to the Party fraction in the League of Struggle for Negro Rights for concentration on recruiting of Negro workers from the L.S.N.R., unemployed block committees and Negro mass organizations.

4. Each section committee at the same meeting is to assign shock troops (groups of from 7 to 10 active shop workers and picked comrades from street nuclei concentrating at a given shop) to shops where we are concentrating (auto: Section A, B, C; Pottery: Section D; and Furniture: Section R.)

5. Section committees are to check up on language fractions in their territory in the recruiting campaign.

6. The section committee is to make sure that all members of units are involved in the recruiting campaign—not only the shock group in a given section. The shock groups are organized for the purpose of activizing all the members and drawing sharply the attention of other Party members to the importance of concentration on shops.

7. Immediately upon the appointment of the shock groups, their names and the units they are members of, to be given to the district office and a meeting called with the district org. department. This is to be done the week prior to the unit discussions.

8. The section committees are to establish a system, whereby the new members are called in on a section basis, investigated and assigned to units. If the applications are endorsed by two Party members who know them, no long drawn out investigation is necessary.

9. Special care shall be taken by the section org. dept., not to have applications lie around for weeks before comrades are assigned, and again that units do not wait two or three months before a member is actually called to meetings.

10. The section dues secretary is to have a supply of dues books and initiation stamps (both 10 and 50c) for the new members.

11. The section committee meetings with the unit organ-

izers is to set a quota for recruiting of new members for each unit, from the shops, Negro section and language organizations, unemployed councils, W.E.S.L. (where same exist).

12. Special meetings of sympathizers, Daily Worker and language press readers, members of mass organizations to be called by the street nuclei.

#### Negro Department

The district Negro department in its plan of work must bring out concretely the recruiting campaign in connection with its concentration.

a. Steps are to be taken to have a representative of the department at the section committee meetings where the recruiting campaign will be taken up.

b. The Negro department is to help the section committee in the organization of shock groups and assignments of quotas of Negro workers to be recruited into the Party.

c. Special meetings to be called in the Negro neighborhoods, where the Party is to be brought forward and recruiting for the Party carried on.

d. The department is to bring to the attention the concentration points mentioned in its plan of work to the section committee, for assignments of shock groups and forces for carrying on the campaign.

#### The T.U.U.L. and Unemployed Council Party Fractions

a. The section committee in conjunction with the district unemployed secretaries, is to call and make arrangements to have special meetings with fraction secretaries, where the recruiting campaign is to be outlined, and unemployed workers that join the Party are to immediately be assigned to the respective fractions.

b. The fraction of the trade union committee is to have special meeting at which the recruiting campaign is to be taken up and unions for concentration picked out.

c. The recruiting is to go hand in hand with the activities of the Hunger March throughout the whole district. The Hunger March is to serve as a basis for the establishment of Party units in every city and town.

*From the Plan for the Party Recruiting Drive of Detroit.*

## Note on the Recruiting Drive in District 8

THE decisive question for us in recruiting during this period, particularly in view of our basic weakness of not being rooted in the shops, must not be the number of new members only, but should be the number of new members who are recruited from the big factories. From now on, a strict record will be kept not only of the recruits from large factories but more attention will be given to analyze regularly the type of members we recruit into the Party. We can show by a few figures, however, that the number of recruits who are employed are very small compared with the number of unemployed workers that we recruit. We cite for instance the last four weeks as a typical example:

	<i>Unemployed</i>	<i>Unemployed</i>
September 19th .....	10	56
September 26th .....	13	48
October 3rd .....	19	87
October 10th .....	28	92
	70	283

We can see an approximate relationship of 4 to 1 comparing unemployed workers being recruited to the Party with employed workers. Some sections, recruit absolutely no employed workers whatsoever for months and months. This is a very serious problem and reflects, of course, a complete lack of shop activity.

We must further record the fact that of all the new members taken in, practically not one new member has been taken into our existing shop nuclei, and while there are several prospective shop nuclei to be organized, none of them have as yet been organized in the period covered by this report. A special examination must be made at once of the activities of the shop nuclei.

Our experience shows the possibilities of mass recruiting, and simultaneously our failure to organize and direct our recruitment into the big factories and more especially our incapacity to create the proper inner life to keep the new mem-

bers and organize our apparatus in such a way as to see that the dues purchases correspond to the above.

Recommendations:

1. The main emphasis from now on shall be:  
 (a) Building of shop nuclei and recruiting new members for existing shop nuclei.

(b) Take the following steps to help cut down the high fluctuations in the Party membership by:

1. Wherever we have mass recruiting, applicants shall be called to special series of meetings—either 2 or 3—where before being accepted into the Party, at these meetings we shall explain to the applicants the fundamental points concerning the class struggle and their responsibility in the Communist Party. If they attend these meetings, they shall then be turned over to the units where their application shall be voted upon in the regular procedure.

2. That we direct the attention of the agitprop department to greater systematization of the new members classes.

3. That open Party unit meetings shall be abolished as a regular procedure and only on special occasions shall they be held.

4. Major attention shall be given to neighborhood meetings on local issues by the Party units, as well as open forums to take care of all those workers who are interested in the propaganda and agitation of the Party, and at these meetings the question of recruiting shall be placed in the forefront.

(c) Improve the organizational apparatus in the sections and units so that dues payments shall be more regular, corresponding much more to the actual figures and thus liquidating the growing discrepancy which is appearing in all sections. In order to facilitate this:

1. That a one-page document shall be gotten out on tasks of a unit financial secretary.

2. That we work out a system of classes for unit financial secretaries on a section scale.

*From a report to Chicago District Org. Department.*

## Passing Up Opportunities to Recruit Members

Lack of faith in the masses expresses itself in a failure to organize the masses, to realize that the workers who come to our meetings and rally behind our slogans are ready to join in our movement and fight for these demands if we properly approach them.

In Anderson, Ind. where the circuit court room was shut down on us in the last minute as a result of the growing struggles led by the Party and Unemployed Council we nevertheless rallied 1,500 workers on the court house lawn in a highly enthusiastic meeting but not one single attempt to recruit workers, not one member taken in as a result of this huge demonstration! In Terre Haute with 600 workers attending a militant indoor rally which was the culmination to a week of mass demonstrations in protest against the attempt to railroad two communists who had fought in an eviction case, only 3 joined the Party, the rest (the report is 100) joined the U. C. While failure to recruit at all is one form of opportunism as in Anderson, failure to recruit for the Party at a November 7 meeting shows opportunism in another form but it still is lack of faith in the masses, looking down on the "raw" workers.

At the same time in contrast to these two glaring examples of opportunism is the case of Evansville where 25 out of 125 workers signed up for the Communist Party.

One more point. In most cases where there is no appeal or a very poor appeal for membership there is also a weak sale of literature, showing that comrades who do not realize the importance of organizing the workers do not think it so very important to get our literature to the workers, do not realize that our literature is a great organizer. It is high time to get deeper into the masses, to know their responses and feelings, and to organize the hundreds of fighting workers who come to our meetings and applaud our program.

N. Ross.

## Why We Do Not Keep All Members Recruited

**W**E have recruited a number of new members to the Party in our section in Youngstown, O., for the last few months, but we do not keep them all. After investigating why the comrades drop activities and with it the attendance at the units, I found the following:

A very good active Negro comrade from the unemployed council was recruited to the Party. After attending the first two meetings of the unit, election of new officers took place. (It was about the time comrade Browder's article appeared in *The Communist*, "Faith in the Masses"), and we elected the new comrade as agit-prop director of the unit.

The comrades of the unit thought that they did a good job and followed the correct line of the Party by electing a new Party member to an important office. But what happened to this comrade? The comrade understood that he is elected to some important office, but what the office never explained to him fully, and he did not bother to find out. In the meantime he picked up a couple days of work and was not able to come to the meetings of the unemployed councils nor was he able to attend a couple of unit meetings.

One morning he came to the headquarters to find out how things were going on. The secretary of the unit met him and told him that if he did not come to the next unit meeting he would be called to account. I followed him and asked him if he knows what he is responsible for. His answer was that he did not know, all he knew is that he was elected to some office, he does not know the name of it, and he does not think he can keep it, and it is no use to come to the meetings. Only after a long talk to the comrade did he promise to come to the meeting.

According to reports he was not at the unit meeting. Yet no attempt so far was made to get the worker to the meeting. This is how we kill good members.

—M. F.

# Agit Prop Work

WHAT ABOUT YOU

YOUNG FELLOWS AND GIRLS ?

CAN YOU GET RELIEF FROM THE CITY OR CHARITIES?  
DO YOU INTEND TO SLEEP IN THE PARKS?????????  
WHO WANTS TO WALK THE STREETS WITH AN EMPTY STOMACH?????????  
DO YOU KNOW WHY THE BOARD OF EDUCATION REFUSES TO FEED THE HUNGRY CHILDREN?????????  
WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR OUR CONDITIONS?????????

## WE ACCUSE



MAYOR ROESCH AND THE CITY COUNCIL  
AND THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

### OF STARVING

thousands of children and unemployed young boys and girls  
of the City of Buffalo!

WE CHALLENGE these officials to defend themselves at the

**PUBLIC TRIAL**  
ON THANKSGIVING DAY  
NOV. 26<sup>th</sup> AT 3 P.M.  
565 WILLIAM ST.

Come to this PUBLIC TRIAL and have your say on how conditions are at home. The Youth Com. of the Unemployed Council challenged the City officials and the Board of Education to come to this trial and to defend themselves. Anyone will have the opportunity to express his or her opinions.

YOUTH COMMITTEE  
BUFFALO UNEMPLOYED COUNCIL.

A GOOD YOUTH LEAFLET



## Into the Trade Unions!

**Communist Leadership Can Only be Supplied  
to the Mass Organizations Through  
Functioning Party Fractions!**

**F**RACTIONS are one of the most important links through which we can develop the work of the Party. Our comrades do not know what the work of the fractions really is. We must state that in most cases, especially in connection with the trade unions, the fraction has not been the place where the Party comrades take up the policy confronting them in the particular union in order to put forth the policy of the Party and to draw in members of the union into struggle and activity. The fraction has not been a political guide. While we have tried in the last few weeks to change this situation we must admit that we still have a great deal to do in order to turn the fractions into political bodies to take up policy and discuss it and bring it into the unions. We have a situation where hundreds of Party members who are eligible to be in the A. F. of L. unions, active there or in the revolutionary unions, do all kinds of inner Party work and there is a very strong tendency to a great extent to distinguish between trade union work and political work. Some comrades having the mistaken idea that trade union work is not "political" work.

We have situations where in the units we have comrades who are org. secretaries of the units and Negro work directors and women directors and all sorts of small functions, and who could be active in the unions, but who consider that internal Party work is more "important" and more "political." Nothing can be more "important" and more "political" than to bring the Party into the leadership of the masses in the trade unions.

*—From a Report of the New York District Org. Dept.*



## Narrow Inner Outlook

### Examples of Neglect of Mass Organizations

THE district Harlan-Mooney Conference was held in Youngstown had about 16 locals of the A. F. of L. represented. The comrades state that in fact they could have gotten even more. The Cleveland District Painters Council as a result of our activities was compelled to endorse the conference. This official endorsement in a way opened our doors to enter all the other locals of the council. Yet this was not done sufficiently. Of course we still have a good chance to do it now in reporting on the conference to the locals.

At a unit meeting in Cleveland however, the discussion brought out that about 6 members of that unit belonged to various language mass organizations but not in a single one of these organizations was even an attempt made to have a discussion on the war danger and to introduce such resolutions. What still more emphasizes the peculiarity of it, is the fact that all these organizations meet in the same hall where the Party unit meetings are held. There were also two members in the same unit belonging to the Food Workers Union affiliated with the A. F. of L. Nor was it attempted at the local union meeting to bring this point up. But what strikes one particularly is that the Party members in a way consider the question of introduction of resolutions a new suggestion. This only goes to show that we did not really sufficiently bring it into the consciousness of the Party membership from the viewpoint of personal guidance, checkup and direction.

The same week there was a functionaries' conference on the war danger in Cleveland. Neither the report nor the discussion mentioned, let alone emphasized, bringing it into the mass organizations even through such a simple step as discussion and introduction of resolutions. The organizations that I have mentioned are of course those that we consider directly under our control. Insofar as mass organizations under fascist and social-fascist control are concerned, there is not even a sufficient outlook towards them insofar as penetrating them with our anti-war campaign.

—S. D.

## The Fight For the Streets

By L. ALFRED

*INTRODUCTORY NOTE: In this period of sharpening struggles, practically every demonstration must be prepared to adopt defense measures against attacks. UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS TO DEFEND, HOW TO DEFEND, HOW TO ORGANIZE AND PREPARE SUCH DEFENSE, these are some of the questions answered in the following, which is the greater part of an article printed in the Communist International, No. 15, Sept. 1st, 1931.*

**T**HE worst thing that can happen to a Communist is for him only to look on at the fight of the masses and not to fight actively with them. The question of demonstrations is a burning organizational problem of the present day, a question of technique. The use of an elastic tactical method by the revolutionary masses in demonstrations is urgently demanded by the class struggle as it is developing today.

The creative instinct of the masses in their fight for the streets is constantly bringing new experiences, new forms of struggle. It is in the course of these struggles that the correct tactics for demonstrations will be worked out, and Communists must learn them in order to be able to lead the masses who are fighting on the streets. It is only on the basis of a careful study of these recent experiences of struggle that any fruitful discussion of the question of tactics for demonstrations becomes possible.

The necessity of regarding demonstrations at the present time as an art, and of making use of an elastic, mobile tactical method free from any tendency to become stereotyped, has been forced on the workers by their class enemies. When demonstrations are prohibited and therefore have to be carried on illegally, when the bourgeoisie mobilize their guards equipped for civil war against the demonstrators, when demonstrations have to be carried out under the constant menace of attack by police and Fascist murder-troops, then it becomes clear that they must be organized in quite a different way from the more or less peaceful political processions of the preceding years of capitalist stabilization. It is absolutely necessary to

cast aside the usages, traditions and methods of these old demonstrations, because to stick to them under present conditions entails a bloody punishment.

How impossible it is to use old methods in the fighting demonstrations of the present day was shown by the experience of the failure of the anti-Fascist demonstration in Helsingfors on the occasion of the Fascist "march on Helsingfors" on July 1st of last year. A critical analysis of this demonstration was given in the "Proletaari," the organ of the Finnish Communist Party. The Lappo group and other active Fascist elements from the whole country gathered in Helsingfors on July 1st and held a great demonstration on the central square of the town, the so-called Senate Place. The local Communist leadership did not know any better than to try to meet this situation by summoning the workers of Helsingfors, by means of leaflets, to a counter-demonstration at the same time and place. But the workers, who up to then had followed the calls made by the Party, did not turn up on this occasion. There was no counter-demonstration. The Fascists were able to carry on with their insolent counter-revolutionary demonstration without any interference.

It was, of course, correct to summon the masses to a counter-demonstration, but everything else that was done was wrong. The whole of the preparations made for the demonstration consisted only in the distribution of a leaflet. That was how they had always done it before, and it had always come off. But the distribution of a leaflet is inadequate as a means of organizing an illegal mass demonstration. It was a particularly gross blunder to suppose that without any preparation whatever the workers would assemble on the Senate Place, where the most active and bloodthirsty sections of the Fascists from all over the country were concentrated, armed with long knives and revolvers and ready to fight, and where the police had gathered the whole of its forces. Such an assumption was all the more naive because the leaflet "honestly" gave the place of the illegal demonstration. It is not to be wondered at that the workers did not follow this advice, that they did not go one by one into the enemy's camp without first assembling and organizing their forces.

Just because of the fact that, as a result of the white terror

and the deviations among the Communists, the spirit of the workers was low, the organizers of the demonstration should have set themselves, in the first instance, a much more modest task than a direct frontal attack on the heavily-armed main forces of the enemy. They should have raised the self-confidence of the masses, they should have shown them that a mass struggle under difficult conditions can be carried out, provided that the correct approach is made, provided that the first thing that is undertaken is a relatively easy task, and then, encouraged by minor successes, it is possible to pass on to the solution of the more difficult tasks of the struggle. The following out of this line would have meant, in connection with the "march on Helsingfors," that *the first task to be undertaken was real preparatory work in the factories and working-class districts, then the assembling of the workers in the working-class districts, and only then the attempt to push forward into the center of the town if the strength and spirit of the masses had been such as to justify this bold step.*

The points at which demonstrations first assemble, and from which they march off, must be where the working masses are, where they can be most easily attracted, where the opponents are weakest: in the factories, at the exchanges, in working-class districts. This rule is simple and cannot be disputed, and yet it is often forgotten. It is true that successes have been achieved with surprise demonstrations in the center of towns, where the demonstrators have assembled in small numbers in the streets near the center, and then suddenly formed a demonstration under the eyes of the astonished police and the "upper classes." But even such demonstrations are as a rule first prepared in the working-class districts.

Although the working-class districts must be the points from which the demonstrations must move off, this does not by any means imply that demonstrations should limit themselves to the working-class districts. On the contrary, demonstrations in working-class districts are as a rule only justified when the forces are too weak to penetrate the middle-class areas. Demonstrations must start in the working-class quarters in order to bring on to the streets the largest possible number of workers and then to move forward to the real objective of the fight, which generally lies in a non-proletarian quar-

ter. The fighting demonstration of today is not a political procession, but a real means of exerting revolutionary mass pressure. In recent demonstrations the special objectives of the struggle have been town halls and other public buildings. The objectives of the struggle, of course, vary as the political situation changes. But in any case it is right and proper that proletarian demonstrations should tend to be directed towards middle-class areas. A great hunger march from the districts of the poor to the districts of the rich is in our opinion one of the most successful forms of fighting demonstrations at the present time.

It is true that the police do not like the starting points of demonstrations to be in working-class districts, especially if the demonstrators assemble not at one place but at several points, because this compels them to split up their forces and to maintain an extensive service of patrols as well as to decentralize the police reserves. The fundamental principle of the police tactics in suppressing "internal disorders" is the concentration of forces, the avoidance of splitting up the police forces and thus allowing them to be beaten piece-meal. For that reason there can be no more advantageous position for the police, enabling them to attack the demonstrators, than when the masses are called to one central assembling point or a small number of points, as was done in Helsingfors.

The decentralized, "partisan" method of assembly for a demonstration has the further merit of surprising the enemy; there are many possibilities of misleading the police. Of course, a mass demonstration which is not spontaneous but is the result of preparation cannot come as an absolute surprise to the police, because the arrangements and the time of the demonstration must be made known to the largest possible number of workers. But it is not absolutely inevitable that the police should know at what point large contingents are to meet and through what streets the demonstration is to pass.

Of course, the workers at various factories, exchanges, houses or blocks must know where they are to assemble in the first instance, after which they will follow the lead of groups acting under special instructions. But even if these points are known to the police it is impossible for them to post overwhelming forces at every factory, every house and every public

house where the demonstrators may assemble. In order to split the police forces still further, in some demonstrations recently special groups have been formed whose task is to make a determined move behind the police reserves and in this way to keep the reserves busy and draw them off, freeing the main mass of demonstrators and gaining time.

It used to be common for a demonstration to march outside the town and to hold the actual meeting there, in some open space or place isolated from street traffic by gardens or parks. When a demonstration has been prohibited such a procedure is not correct. The isolation of the participants in an illegal demonstration from the rest of the inhabitants gives the guards of the bourgeoisie the most favorable opportunity for staging a blood-bath. Moreover, the effect of the demonstration is almost entirely restricted to the participants themselves.

Where the workers have some experience in the organization of illegal demonstrations, the demonstration is as a rule held at street corners where numbers of people are moving or in squares with a number of ways out which are better suited for elastic manoeuvring and the organization of mass defense against provocative attacks made on the demonstrators.

The question of physical resistance against police and Fascists is a particularly burning one in demonstrations at the present time. To preach non-resistance to workers who have been provocatively attacked by the police and Fascists is to abandon the field of the class struggle. Proletarian defense against armed attacks by the State and volunteer murder-columns of the bourgeoisie is not only permissible, but must be consciously organized and led. But at a period when the time has not yet come for the decisive struggle for power by the working class, when there is not yet any question of armed revolt, it is necessary also to raise the issue of how far purely physical resistance should be carried, and at what cost.

In an armed revolt attack at all costs is essential. But anyone who tries to apply this rule also to physical resistance in current class battles is guilty of a sectarian interpretation of the class battle. Lenin emphasized that strikes are a "school of war" for the working class, but not the war itself. That is true also of demonstrations. A demonstration, like a strike,

cannot lead to a decisive result: the bourgeoisie cannot be overthrown by a demonstration. The bourgeoisie makes the demonstrations of the present day a "school of war," of the decisive struggle for power, not only for the police but also for the working class.

In militant demonstrations the workers and peasants are hardened. But they are not the decisive struggle. In European countries at the present time it might be possible to lead the advance guard of the working class to an attack at any price, but not the broad masses of workers themselves. Any one who does not take account of this fact isolates himself from the masses, and will not be in a position to lead when the broad masses are prepared to fight whatever the cost. What is necessary today is not an attack at any price, but the greatest mobility, an elastic combination of attack, defense and retreat, so far as concerns physical resistance against the civil war guards of the bourgeoisie.

After the first illegal demonstrations in Germany, the workers very soon overcame the tendency to non-resistance. It was only at the beginning that the demonstrators dispersed immediately on the arrival of the police. They very soon passed on to showing resistance in cases where they had to deal with weaker police forces, and only when overwhelming police forces arrived would they disperse, only to reassemble at another point. The German workers did not adopt the line of resistance at any price, but in each particular case decided the question of how far they were to carry their resistance, in accordance with the concrete situation and the relations between the forces.

For example, the Berlin organization of the German Communist Party cannot be reproached for not having called on the masses to offer open physical resistance, in spite of the panic shootings and provocative attacks of the police, on the occasion of the recent great meeting at the Palace of Sport, when the building was surrounded and turned into an armed camp by the concentrated forces of the police.

The question of armed demonstrations is similar to the question of physical resistance. The slogan of an armed demonstration means the same thing as the general slogan of the arming of the proletariat. To raise the slogan of an armed

demonstration without any anticipation of a speedy transformation into an armed revolt, and before the pre-conditions for a successful revolt exist, is to be guilty of playing with revolution. If certain impatient elements demand the arming of demonstrators, it is necessary to look carefully to see whether there is not an attitude of panic behind the demand. The demand: Give us arms, or else we will not go on the streets—in many cases has been nothing more than an idle excuse for passivity and unwillingness to undertake revolutionary mass work. It is characteristic that these elements ask the Party for arms instead of themselves finding arms.

During the month of June of this year in many countries there were serious clashes between workers in demonstrations and the police, in the course of which the demonstrators armed themselves with stones, bricks, pick-axes, bottles, flower-pots and similar objects. Some cases also occurred where the workers disarmed individual policemen and made use of the weapons they took from them in their own defense. To "offer" to arm the workers in this way would be ridiculous. We do not object to individual proletarians arming themselves, but we raise objection to the slogan of arming the workers as a general agitational slogan at a period which is not ripe for armed revolt.

On the question of the cadres, the initiative-groups in demonstrations, we fully accept the views of "K. F." in the April number of the journal "October." He writes:

"The method of also forming groups within the demonstration is by far the best method of giving the whole demonstration a better stiffening, of enabling it to act in a more unified and determined way than hitherto. No new special organization is required for this. It is quite sufficient if from every nucleus four to six good comrades, who are physically suitable for the purpose and know each other well, march together in the demonstration and do not allow themselves to be separated by police attacks, but always get together again and shout appropriate slogans, making use of suitable opportunities to give short speeches. If by means of such groups we give a framework to the whole demonstration at all points, then it will be much easier to get the masses to stand their ground, when attacked by the police and to deliver an appropriate reply to the attack."

Initiative-groups in demonstrations therefore do not con-



stitute any special, independent organization, but are organs of the Party units or of the corresponding basic units of other revolutionary mass organizations; they are directed by these organizations, and work within the limits of the organization. No objection could be raised, of course, to these initiative groups from the various units, for example, in a single town, being called together for joint discussions on the even of particular important actions and being given their instructions together. This would not in the least conflict with the correct organizational political principle that the organizing and leadership of political mass activities, including mass demonstrations, must be conducted by the basic units of the Party and other revolutionary mass organizations and cannot be handed over to any independent and special "demonstration meetings."

## Material For a Course on Organizational Questions

### I

*A. Why must the class-conscious worker organize into the Communist Party?*

IN the history of the labor movement, a number of great struggles and revolutions have taken place without the existence of an organized Party (Paris Commune). These revolutions were defeated because there was no firm and conscious leadership of the class struggles against the background of the entire international situation. There was no Party. We have other examples from the post-war period—the Hungarian Revolution and the Bavarian Soviet Republic in Germany. Here we had a Communist Party, but it was very weak, had no mass influence of an organized nature, and leaned to a great extent on the treacherous Social-Democratic party, and on this account was also drowned in blood by the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party is therefore necessary for organizing

together the most advanced, the most class-conscious, the most determined, the most revolutionary sections of the proletariat, in order to lead the proletariat in the class struggle.

*B. The Party is the most class-conscious vanguard of the working class.*

The majority of the workers are under the influence of the ruling class. Therefore the Party can include in its ranks only the minority of the proletariat, the most class-conscious minority. It constitutes the leadership "composed of the best, most conscious, most active and most courageous of its members." (*Program of the Communist International*). The vanguard of any class is a part of that class, closely bound up with it, not a sect, separated from the class. The "most advanced" part can also make mistakes. In order to correct them, in order to maintain the authority of the Party over the masses, *Bolshevik self-criticism is necessary.* (*Stalin: Leninism*).

*C. Organized Troop.*

Discipline and system in the struggle of the masses is possible only when the Party is a firmly organized core. This requires discipline. In times of illegality and civil war, this is intensified. The maximum of discipline, of striking force and activity of the membership is guaranteed by *democratic centralism*. Democratic centralism is the most rigid centralization, firm unity, central political leadership by the Central Committee, together with far-reaching activity and independence of the lower Party organizations in the daily struggles and revolutionary mass actions of the proletariat. In normal times all the leading Party bodies are elected by the membership. These elections must be passed on by the next higher Party bodies. Discussion of all the problems by the membership is permitted within the frame-work of the principles and decisions. After the questions have been decided by the highest body, no more discussion is permitted, and the decisions must be carried out in disciplined fashion. It is imperative that all decisions are carried out, the guidance being always given by the next higher body (district committee, Central Committee, Executive Committee of the Communist International). The highest body is the Party convention, or the world congress.

International discipline is necessary because we are in international Party in contrast to the Second International. The fight of all renegades from Communism was principally directed against international discipline. That means a return to "national autonomy," which was largely responsible for the collapse of the Second International in 1914.

The *unity of the Party* must be based on the unity of conviction. The political unity of the Party bases itself on the recognition and carrying out of the decisions of the world congress and the Party convention. Struggle against "freedom of opinions and groupings." (The Trotskyite conception of the Party). Bolshevik unity is a unity in theory and practice as the basis of the strength of the Party. "The Party is strengthened by cleaning out the opportunist elements." (*Stalin: Leninism*).

*D. The Party units insure the contact of the Party with the masses.*

Only those who are active in the work of the lower organizations (the nuclei), can be members of the Party. Thus the passive, the cowardly and opportunist elements are kept out. (Paragraph 3 of the Statutes of the Communist International, Paragraph 1 of the Statutes of the Russian Party, which Lenin put through in his fight against the Mensheviks at the Third Party Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Party in 1903.)

*E. The Party is the highest form of class organization.*

Other proletarian organizations (trade unions, cultural, sport organizations, etc.) represent the interests of the proletariat in various specific fields. The Party, on the other hand, represents the entire interests of the working class. Therefore the Party is above all other proletarian organizations. It is the head, the leader in the proletarian class struggle. The leadership of the Party in the mass organizations must be insured by the *organization of communist fractions*. The fractions are executive organs of the Party. They have no power of decision, like the Party nuclei. All fraction decisions require the endorsement of the respective Party bodies. Our leadership in the mass organizations must be secured by conviction and winning the confidence of these masses, and not by compulsion and command.

*F. The theory of spontaneity.*

The conception that the masses of workers will enter the struggle spontaneously, and that the Party will only need to place itself at the head of these struggles, is based on a false conception of the role of the Party. It signifies and underestimation of the leading role of the Party, will inevitably lead to a lagging behind the masses, and lead to an opportunist policy (tailism).

*G. Fight against opportunism.*

To maintain the unity of the Party, its close contact with the masses, and its leading role, a constant, consistent, and uncompromising struggle is necessary for the line of the Party against all right and left deviations. Such deviations inevitably recur constantly because the Party is surrounded by a bourgeois environment and the pressure of bourgeois conceptions are reflected among those sections of the Party which are unable to withstand this pressure. Right opportunist deviations express themselves in yielding to the bourgeoisie and to reformism (legalism); underestimation of the fighting capacity of the masses, lagging behind the mass movement. The "left" opportunist deviations reflect the pseudo-radicalism of uprooted petty-bourgeois elements which, isolated from the masses, have no understanding of the conditions of an organized mass movement. They demand measures and methods which isolate the Party from the masses (sectarianism).

As a general rule, during the entire period of the struggle for power, the main danger is the right danger. But there are also certain conditions of struggle when the "left" danger can become the main danger (especially after defeats of the working class, when a section of the Party does not understand the changed conditions of the class struggle.) See *Lenin: Infantile Sickness of Leftism.*

Conciliation, the veiling of fundamental contradictions, toleration of groupings, allowing comrades to remain in leading functions who are not in agreement with the policy of the Party, are all impermissible whether the deviations are from the right or from the "left."

*H. Combining the legal and illegal conditions of struggle of the Party.*

It is clear that, the sharper the class struggles become, the

more dangerous the revolutionary developments become for the bourgeoisie, the sharper will become the measures which the bourgeois state employs against the revolutionary vanguard, the Communist Party. As the fascization of the state progresses in the course of the sharpening of the class antagonisms, the democratic mask becomes more and more removed, and the legal possibilities of activity for the revolutionary labor movement diminish. The Party cannot consider it its task during this development, to limit the activities within the legal frame-work of the state—that would mean the renunciation of the organization of the revolution (legalism). On the contrary, the task of the Party under such conditions of Party work, is to carry on its work also under the illegal conditions, and not to fail particularly at such times, to a turn to the broadest masses of workers (danger of sectarianism). An illegal Party is confronted with exactly the same task as a legal Party, the conquest of the decisive majority of the working classes *only in the course of struggle*.

The path to conquest of the majority is not to limit ourselves only to the organization of all daily struggles of the factory workers and unemployed against capitalist exploitation (economism), but to make it clear to the workers that every struggle for economic partial demands assumes a political character, especially now, in the present world economic crisis, when the capitalists, the social democrats, fascists and the capitalist state attack the fighting working class with every possible means, especially when these economic struggles are carried on in important industries and large factories. The political slogans of the Party must be issued in connection with the economic demands, and, in connection with these economic and political partial demands we must demonstrate the necessity of the proletarian dictatorship to the broadest masses (example of the Soviet Union).

The main task of the Party for the transition to illegal work is the firm organizational link with the masses of factory workers through *politically active factory nuclei*, strong connections of the Party with the proletarian mass organizations through well-functioning fractions, creation of specific forms of mass work such as unemployed councils, strike committees, committees of action, the creation of new proletarian mass

organizations, and above all the application of the proletarian united front from below in the most diverse forms, etc. Technical questions, such as the preparation for the going underground into illegality, here play a subordinate role (setting up illegal buros, places for meetings, duplicate committees in case of arrests, courier apparatus, cleansing of offices and residences of piled up material and addresses, etc.)

*J. The significance of Marxist-Leninist theory.*

Is it necessary to have a special science (theory)? Is not practical experience on the basis of our factory and trade union work, etc., sufficient? "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." (*Lenin: Collected Works*). The practical experience of the worker leads only to an understanding of the identity of his interests with those of his fellow-workers in the factory or trade, develops his hostility against the boss, or will lead to the *pure and simple trade unionism*, that is, surrender of the workers to capitalist influence. For a revolutionary understanding of how to defend the interests of the workers and the necessity of the overthrow of the whole order of society, an understanding of the theory of Marxism-Leninism is necessary. Without this theory we have spontaneous struggle, that is, struggle coming into existence by itself, without conscious guidance, leading to senseless acts of desperation, such as took place at the beginning of capitalist development (wrecking the machines) or later, the pure trade union reformist labor movement. "The spontaneous development of the labor movement leads to its subordination to bourgeois ideology. . . . For the spontaneous labor movement is trade unionism. This means the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie." (*Lenin, Collected Works*). The difference between this and Communism consists in the insight into the conditions, the course and general results of the proletarian movement. This insight is given by Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism has scientific evidence to support it; (1) the inevitability of the collapse of capitalist society by the sharpening of its internal contradictions, expressed in the extreme sharpening of the class struggle, the proletarian revolution; (2) the necessity of the proletarian dictatorship as a transition to the communist classless society (*Lenin State and Revolution*).

Marx and Engels already laid the basis of proletarian strategy and tactics on this foundation and on the basis of the experiences of the revolutions of 1848 and 1871; (3) Lenin, on the basis of the experiences of the three Russian revolutions (1905, March, 1917, and November, 1917), and the seven decades of the international labor movement, on the basis of knowledge of the concrete conditions of the epoch of socialist revolution (imperialism), was able to create a comprehensive strategy and a well-worked-out tactic.

"Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. More precisely: the theory and tactic of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactic of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular." (*Stalin: Leninism.*)

Thus the principles of Communist Party organization consist: (a) in carrying through the Bolshevik policy developing daily struggles of the working class, through partial demands, the application of the united front tactic, and raising the political consciousness of the workers; (b) in the application of democratic centralism and firm iron discipline; (c) laying the basis for linking the Party with the broadest masses of workers through the factory nuclei as the basic Party organization; (d) in the connection with the mass organizations (through the Communist fractions) as transmission belts between Party and proletarian masses.

These Bolshevik principles of organization are unimpeachable. That does not mean that we must build up organization in accordance with one scheme for all periods and situations. Our organization must be elastic and adaptable. It must adjust itself to the specific conditions. Policy and organization form a single whole, and cannot be schematically separated. Our method of organization in the legal period are different from those during legal times. The various phases of revolutionizing of the masses must also find expression in our organizational work.

Various forms of united front organs. We must also make a difference whether we are building up our Party organizations in industrial districts or in farming districts, etc. The main thing is that we must first set ourselves our political task, and adjust our organizational forms and methods of

work to these political tasks. Without a good policy we cannot have a powerful organization and without an active Party organization, we cannot have any concrete carrying out of our political line in practice. This mutual relation between policy and organization must be constantly taken into consideration, for otherwise our organizational work degenerates into schematism and bureaucracy.

*Control Questions:*

1. Why does the neglect of theory necessarily lead to opportunism?
2. Why does Lenin regard the pure trade union movement as a bourgeois labor movement?
3. Can there be such a thing as a Marxist without being a Leninist?
4. What is democratic centralism and how are these methods changed in times of illegality?
5. Why is the factory nucleus the basis of the Party and why must we organize communist fractions in the mass organizations?
6. Within what limits and under what conditions, can a discussion be carried through in the Party?
7. Why is dependence upon spontaneity opportunistic?

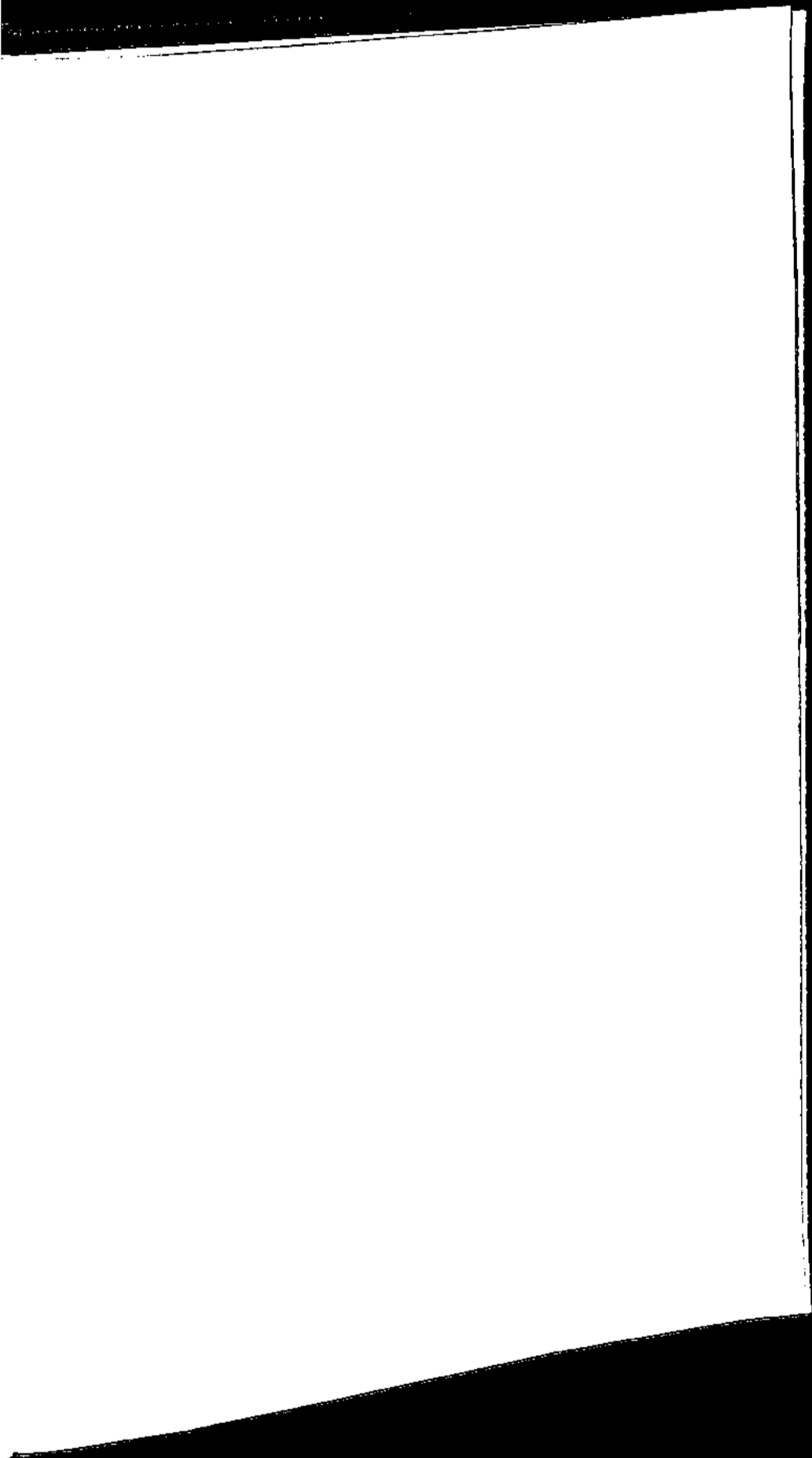
*References for Reading:*

- \*Stalin: Leninism.
- Lenin: Collected Works.
- \*What Is to be Done?  
Lenin on Organization.
- \*Lozovsky: Lenin and the Trade Union Movement.
- \*Program of the Communist International.
- \*Lenin: Infantile Sickness of Leftism.
- Theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International; "The Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution."
- Rosa Luxemburg: "Mass Strike, Party and Trade Unions."

\* Each student should have the specially marked references, while the rest of the literature is meant principally for the instructor.

*(To be Concluded in the Next Issue)*





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