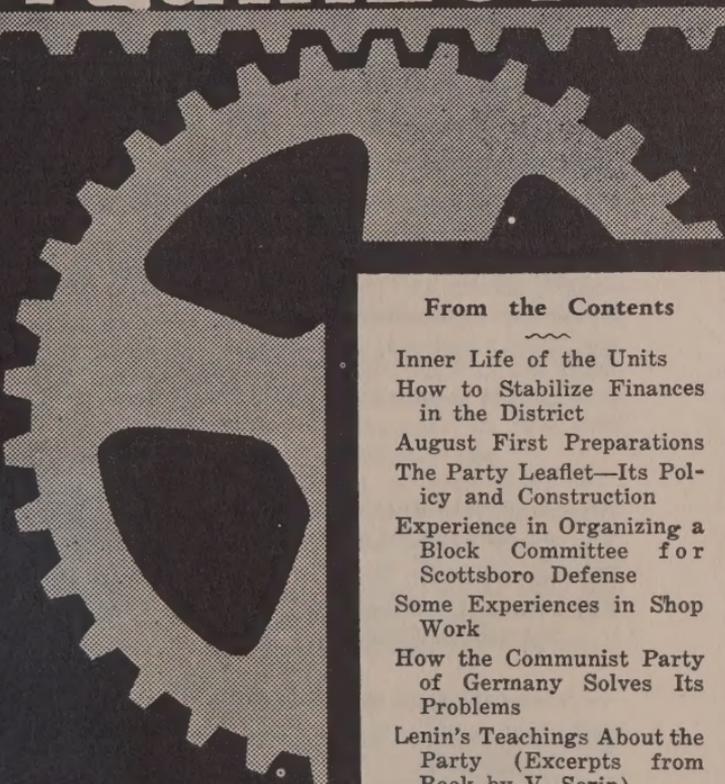


Party Organizer



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Some Experiences in Shop
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How the Communist Party
of Germany Solves Its
Problems
Lenin's Teachings About the
Party (Excerpts from
Book by V. Sorin)

Vol. IV

JUNE, 1931

No. 9

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A

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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. IV

JUNE, 1931

No. 5

Inner Life of the Units

J. PETERS (*Dist. 2*)

SINCE 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.

TO 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.

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.

AMONG 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

AS 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

IN 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.)

COMMUNISTS 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

AUGUST 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

THE 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 praagraph 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 - - IN 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, these 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.

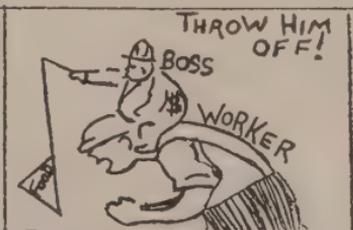
An S.P. Worker.

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 1950.

"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".



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 PART OF THE WORKING CLASS - THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Apply - 754 Harrison Street, San Francisco, Calif.

(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.)

SOME 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)

THE 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.

IN 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?

THE 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?

ALREADY 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

“**W**ITHOUT 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 Bolsheviks 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, Maximovsky 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. Zasulitch 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.

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.