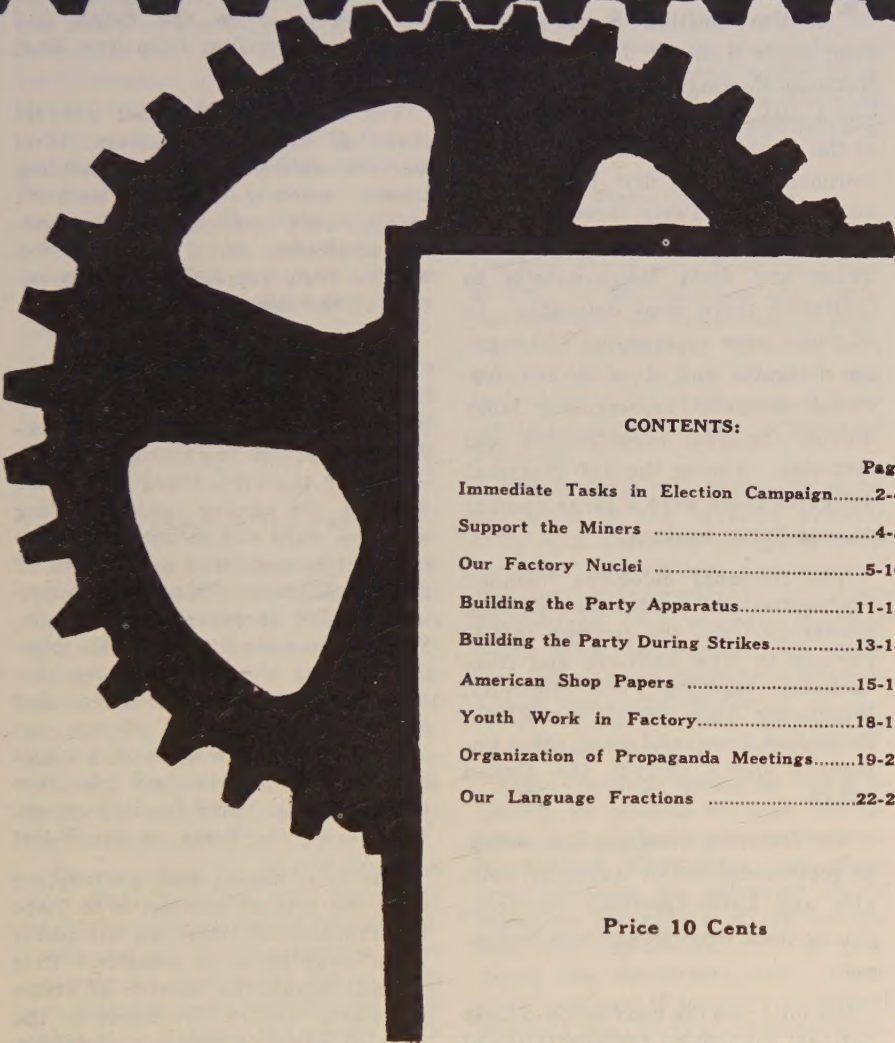


THE PARTY ORGANIZER



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Immediate Tasks In the Election Campaign

AN excellent beginning for an effective election campaign has been made with the holding of the National Nominating Convention. It was a real convention in every sense of the word. A real Communist Convention. For the first time in the history of our Party there were 39 states represented. From Maine to Texas and from Massachusetts to California there came delegates. In all there were represented 300 regular delegates and close to 150 fraternal delegates representing labor unions, fraternal organizations and factories. Among the 150 fraternal delegates there were a large number on non-Party workers.

The fraternal delegates included representatives from the striking miners in Ohio, the striking textile workers in New Bedford, and from factories including Ford (Detroit), Winchester Arms, Wright Aeroplane, Bethlehem Steel, and many other important plants thruout the United States.

The fraternal delegates also included representatives of American colonies and Latin-American countries, among them from Mexico and Nicaragua.

Not only was the convention a truly national convention representative of all sections of the country but also representative of every section of the working class. There were represented a large number of Negroes, women, and young workers. There

were also present a number of working farmers from the South and Northwest as well as from New England.

The delegations included workers from all industries, miners, steel workers, railroad workers, building trades workers, textile workers, needle trades workers, printers, laborers, machinists, metal workers—in a word a truly representative convention of the American workers.

Class Struggle The Keynote

The keynote of the whole convention was the class struggle. The entire proceedings beginning from the report of the credentials committee down to the closing session dealing with the ways and means committee report was considered in the light of the mobilization of the greatest possible number of workers for struggle. The unanimous adoption of the platform after a lengthy discussion provides the Party with a document that it can well feel proud of and can carry before the masses of workers and working farmers and ask them to rally to our Party for its support.

1. Placing the Party on the Ballot

The most urgent task confronting us at the present moment is to place the Presidential ticket on the ballot in as many states as possible. That we will double the number of states the Party was on the ballot in the 1924 elections is almost a certainty. But that is not enough. We must exert every possible effort to get on in every state physically possible so that we will not disfranchise the workers whom we will convince thru

our agitation to support our program and our candidates.

We must not delay placing the Party on the ballot. We must proceed at once. We must not merely assign this task to some "specialist" and forget about it. The placing of the ticket on the ballot must be the concern of the entire District Executive Committee of every Party functionary and of every Party member.

The work of every District Organizer and every District Committee for the next period will be judged among other things in the light of their achievements in the election campaign. The first concrete task in the campaign is to place the Party ticket on the ballot.

The campaign to place the Party ticket on the ballot must be utilized to expose capitalist democracy and for the broadest propaganda for the platform of our Party.

2. Mobilize the Party

Every Party unit should hear a report on the National Nominating Convention. District Committees must tour the delegates to the Nominating Convention to the various cities and nuclei giving the Party membership a full report on the nature and achievements of the convention. Only if this is done will the Party be mobilized successfully for the election campaign.

In reporting on the Convention care must be taken that the Party position on the election is placed correctly before the membership. For example we must never fail to point out that our main task in this campaign is to mobilize the masses for a struggle against capitalism, and while putting forward our program of immediate demands we must not fail to connect them up with the final aims of the Party. A careful reading of

the platform before making the report will help to bring the Party position before the membership. **At the same time we must urge every member to study the platform so that he can become an agitator and propagandist for the Party thruout the campaign.** Party Units should organize discussion on the platform. The platform appeared in the Daily Worker on May 26th and will appear as finally amended, in pamphlet form soon.

3. State Conventions.

The Districts must hold State Conventions where none have been held as yet, for the adoption of a state platform and the nomination of state and local candidates. It would be a great mistake if our Party would limit itself to the nomination of Presidential candidates and a National Platform.

These state conventions must be organized on the broadest possible basis with fraternal delegates from factories, labor unions and workers' fraternal organizations. At these conventions like at the National Nominating Convention, we must have large representations of Negroes women and young workers.

4. Bring Campaign to Workers.

Mass meetings should be called as quickly as possible to hear the reports of the delegates to the National Nominating Convention. At these mass meetings the delegates should report on the nature of the convention, the representations, the platform, the candidates, etc. These mass meetings if properly organized will be a good start to bring the election campaign before the masses, will aid in placing the Party ticket on the ballot, and are a good means of getting our Presidential Nominations into the local capitalist press.

In the smaller cities where we have not the means to call large mass meetings we could arrange to give the reports to the nucleus at an open meeting inviting as many sympathizers as possible.

5. All Shop Bulletins and leaf-

lets published must give ample space to the Election Campaign.

6. Not only must open air meetings be held on a more extensive scale everywhere, but factory gate meetings must be organized in as many places as possible.

All literature, printed matter, shop bulletins, etc., must carry a special advertisement for the campaign:

For President

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

For Vice-President

BENJAMIN GITLOW

Vote Communist

C

X

WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY

Support the Miners!

THE National Miners Relief Committee (Formerly the Pennsylvania-Ohio Committee) has sent out a call to all labor organizations for increased aid for the striking miners. The Lewis machine uses most of the funds it has on hand to pay the high salaried bureaucrats and to fight the rank-and-file of the miners. None of the miners who fight against the Lewis betrayal are given any relief. Such miners are even driven out of the barracks. Yet the rank and file of the miners continue to defy Lewis in greater numbers and are everywhere taking steps to take over the district, sub-district and local union machinery in their own hands. Lewis has already succeeded in crushing the once powerful U. M. W. of A. But the miners who have behind them many decades of the best traditions for struggle in the American labor movement, will build a new and powerful union on a national scale, uniting all miners in a struggle against the bosses and their agents, for the organization of the unorgan-

ized and for the realization of the demands betrayed by Lewis and other demands that are in the program of the Left-wing and Progressive miners.

We must mobilize the entire left wing and progressive movement throughout the country for the support of the striking miners. We must, over the heads of the bureaucrats, raise money from the rank and file in every local union and send it to the National Miners Relief Committee—as the only guarantee that we are actually helping the miners.

The great mass of the unorganized that form the overwhelming majority of our working class must be reached for miners relief thru relief committees organized in the shops, mills, etc. Our Party members everywhere must take the initiative in this work and stimulate the greatest activity for the relief of the miners. The miners are fighting the battle for the entire American working class, unorganized as well as organized. They must be given full support.

The language fraternal organizations, and fraternal organizations generally are a fertile field for the collection of miners relief.

All sections of the working class must be reached in this bitter and gigantic struggle. Youth and women's relief conferences, the mobiliza-

tion of the children in this work is a task we must set for ourselves. Where this has been done great results have already been achieved.

All money collected must go to the National Miners Relief Committee. If it is sent anywhere else it will be used against the miners.

Our Factory Nuclei

By JACK STACHEL

NOTE: The article below is from the report of Comrade Stachel to the Organization Conference held May 28. In subsequent issues of the Party Organizer we will print the discussion, speeches and the concluding remarks of Comrade Stachel. The Org. Conference was attended by all District Organizers, the Org. Secretaries of the most important districts, representatives of other departments (women, agitprop, etc.), the National Field Organizer and a number of functionaries of the New York District, among them Section and Factory Nuclei Organizers. Comrade Amter, District Organizer of the Cleveland District, acted as chairman of the Conference.

NO more than 10 per cent of our Party membership at this time is organized in shop nuclei. The questions we must ask ourselves are: Why so few, are we making progress, are we going backwards, what are the problems, and the means with which so solve them?

Of course, when we first reorganized, we organized a large number of nuclei. How did we do it? Wherever we had two comrades in a shop, we added a third one and we had a shop nucleus. According to that, we had 200 shop nuclei in New York alone, which were not really shop nuclei. Where there were two comrades who happened to work in the same shop in which there were 10 or 15 workers employed, we organized shop nuclei thruout New York and other sections of the country.

At this time we have no more than 100 real shop nuclei thruout the country, with an approximate membership of 1500. In January, 1928, we had about the same number of shop nuclei with 11000 members. In May, 1927, we had 158 shop nuclei with 1524 members.

The districts where the bulk of our

nuclei are organized at this time are: Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Kansas. The industries are: mining, automobile, steel, rubber, metal industries, railway, textile, shoe, needle trades and packing houses.

In Pittsburgh at this time, there are 24 shop nuclei according to the latest report, covering the last four months, with 500 members in the district. In January they reported 22 nuclei with 168 members. In May, 1927, there were 510 members, 26 nuclei with 250 members. From May to January, there was a decrease and from January to May, 1928, an increase. The total membership is now over 800.

In Cleveland, May 1927, there were 496 members and 18. nuclei January, 1928, 528 members in district, 23 nuclei with 170 members. Today, there are 654 members, 25 nuclei with 200 members.

In Detroit, May, 1927, there were 600 members, 12 nuclei with 350 members. In January, there were about five hundred some members, with 215 in nuclei. In May, 1928,

700 members, 12 nuclei with 300 members.

In Chicago, May, 1927, there were 18 nuclei with 200 members and 1100 total members in district. In January, 1928, there were 9 nuclei with 150 members and 1100 members. Present report not received.

In the Kansas District there were in May, 1927, 9 nuclei with 68 members and a total membership of about 150. The present membership is 275 with 11 nuclei and 100 members.

In these five districts there are 1300 members in shop nuclei, with a total of approximately 85 shop nuclei. That means that the bulk of our shop nuclei and shop nuclei membership is in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit Chicago and Kansas Districts. As we see in all of these districts with the exception of Chicago (report not received) comparing May, 1928, with May, 1927, there is an increase in number of nuclei, the number of members in nuclei and accordingly an increase in membership. Pittsburgh, 500 to 800; Cleveland 496 to 654, Detroit, 600 to 700, and Kansas 150 to 275 members.

The membership figure given here include only those in good standing or no more than three months in arrears. The actual membership is much larger. Our experience shows that from 65 to 70 per cent of our membership is less than three months in arrears at any given time. Figuring on this basis our membership is, no doubt, even greater, if we take into account the general unemployment.

District 1: Not a single shop nucleus at the present time.

District 2: We had in May, 1927, 50 nuclei with 400 members. January, 1928, there were 14 nuclei with 200 members. May report not received. Very few actually function-

ing, less than 14 at this time; about 6 to 8 or so.

District 3: May, 1927, 550 members in district, 4 nuclei with 33 members. January, 1928, 2 nuclei with 18 members. May 1, 1928, 6 nuclei with 50 members, among them 3 mining nuclei in the anthracite.

District 4: 1 shop nucleus with 9 members, in a shoe factory; 150 total members, May, 1928.

District 9: 700 members and no shop nuclei at present time.

District 10: 11 shop nuclei with about 100 members.

District 12: January, 1928, there were 3 nuclei with 32 members, total membership of 580. May, 1927, there were 3 nuclei with 15 members. May 1928, report not yet received.

District 13: May, 1927, 439 members, 2 shop nuclei with 11 members. In January, 1928, there were 514 members, 6 shop, lumber and farm nuclei with 56 members.

District 15: No shop nuclei.

Agricultural District: In May, 1927, there were a total of 109 members, 27 in 3 farm nuclei. Present membership is 125.

We see, therefore, on the whole the following: We see in May, 1927, 158 nuclei with 1524 members, averaging about 10; out of these we have 400 members in New York district. In January, 1928, there were about 100 shop nuclei with 1112 members and out of these there were 200 in New York. In May, 1928, there were 1500 members in nuclei with about 100 nuclei, 85 of which totaling 1300 members, being in districts 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10. In January, 1928, the average was 11, in May, the average is 15 for every shop nucleus.

We see an increase in districts 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10, and a falling off in the other districts, as per reports for May 1928, thus far received. We see a greater average number of members

in each nucleus. This tendency is good for our Party. It shows that while the increase is not great, while as a matter of fact in real numbers a decrease since May, 1927, yet the nuclei in districts 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10 form the bulk of nuclei, the actual membership is increasing to 15 average instead of 10, even though the actual membership is not so great. The nuclei are becoming more stabilized and the great bulk of them are in heavy industry and in very large plants. Excluding the mining nuclei that are in mines averaging 500 to 1500 workers, 90 per cent of the nuclei are in plants of 1000 workers or more, the average in the plants where our nuclei are located being 4000 workers. The total number of workers in all plants where we have shop nuclei is about 350,000.

On the other hand, this situation is quite unsatisfactory. In fact we can say it is the most important organization problem with which the very life of our Party as a Communist Party is bound up.

I will take up certain problems, economic and political which modify certain statements which I will now make, but the fact remains that we have no basic reason for so few nuclei in comparison with street nuclei, in spite of objective difficulties. In fact, there is no energetic and systematic effort on the part of the D. O's, district committees and organization secretaries in this work. No amount of excuses, no amount of explanations will alter the fact that this is a basic reason. We can have many more nuclei with many more members if our districts would give the proper and necessary attention to this phase of activity. This criticism remains first and foremost: only 10 per cent of our Party members in factory nuclei.

Of course, while I think the com-

rades will agree with me that we have sent on the average at least one letter a month to the districts telling them to increase factory activity, colonization, concentrating on a definite number of factories, directing them how to work in the formation of shop committees, etc., yet in spite of all these instructions, I want to say that the center has not given sufficient attention to this work. Insufficient personal attention was given by the C. E. C. Organization Department, altho good beginnings have been made thru the touring of Politbureau members to the various districts, for the purpose of stimulating organization work in connection with our mass campaigns.

Now I want to analyze from a political and economic point of view why we have so few shop nuclei organized; why since we have built many new nuclei, we have not increased the total membership of our nuclei, and the number of our nuclei.

Needle Trades Struggle

This no doubt affected our nuclei. Where were our nuclei in New York in the needle trades? In the large factories, naturally. We ourselves liquidated them in the small factories where we had originally formed them in plants of 10-20 workers. Now the question of registration conducted by the right wing. The right wing had control in the large factories. Who were the leaders against registration in these factories? Communists, with the result that most of our comrades after a short period were expelled from these registered factories. We are not here to discuss the problem of the policy toward this registration, but must take into consideration the effects of it. Dozens of our nuclei in the garment industry were liquidated and our comrades driven to look for work in small plants.

Shoe Industry

During the later part of 1926 and 1927, we succeeded in a period of a few months to build up 12 nuclei in Brooklyn with 150 members. Only 5 per cent of the members were not in shop nuclei, while 95 per cent were in shop nuclei. Our Comrades built the union, the Shoe Workers Protective Union. The union had nothing practically when we began to work. Our comrades built up that work, established contacts, went into factories and in a few months took 150 members in Brooklyn shoe factories into the Party. Many strikes, injunctions, fights took place. The union was attacked also by the International officials. Heavy defeats took place. Our comrades were leaders in all these struggles and were the first to be victimized.

Food Industry

In the food industry we had 100 members in nuclei. We had one nucleus with 27 members in a large place employing a number of hundreds of workers. The union was under our leadership with thousands of members in its ranks. Today there are not more than 600 members. You can realize what that meant; a strike was lost, many shops lost. In this process many of our comrades, the leaders of the union, were driven out of the shops, blacklisted in the larger shops. The large shops are in a position where they can use the black list most effectively and, of course, only in these large plants could we build our nuclei. There must also be mentioned here that the industry in this period saw a feverish merger which, naturally, made it more difficult for the union to resist, and more easy for the employers to carry out their blackest policy.

The bulk of the nuclei in New York were in needle, shoe and food industries.

Mining Industry

Between January, 1927 and 1928, two great factors in the mining industry were: unemployment and the strike in the bituminous fields. This drove many of our comrades into other regions; many comrades left the coal fields for other fields. This also affected our nuclei. Of course, had we paid greater attention, the loss would not have been so great.

Many of our nuclei at the beginning were established through colonization. Districts in selecting comrades to colonize factories, chose those comrades who were habitually unemployed. This was not the best thing to do. They took the line of least resistance, and this is not the element to depend upon. We sent some of them in. They stirred up things for a few weeks, they left, and things collapsed. **We must increase our colonization work a hundred-fold but must choose reliable comrades.**

We established many nuclei and these nuclei engaged in open struggle prematurely, and some were dissolved and destroyed because we did not have the necessary experience to carry on our work and reduce victimization to a minimum. The question is, are we going to learn from these mistakes or are we going to repeat them?

Then, we must not forget the first general unemployment since the reorganization. In most districts, our comrades were affected heavily.

Now, mistakes that are not excusable: Too much eagerness to dissolve nuclei which did not function, and a practice of combining them. We always warned against that.

We had many changes in the districts, and after a change, less nuclei were reported. Some new districts organizers are too eager to say that they do not have very many, and

to start with a clean slate. This question must be borne in mind for the future. When a nucleus does not function, do not dissolve it. Your job is to make it function.

Language Difficulties

In the anthracite, we have one mine nucleus of South Slavs, one of Lithuanians. The comrades limit their work to the fraternal organization, and do not work sufficiently in the mines. Many times the nucleus is dissolved because the comrades are of one language only and claim that they cannot conduct the mass work. We must overcome this through colonization and other means. Our DEC's do not pay any considerable attention to organization questions. Whenever there is an organization secretary, they feel that they should let him worry about it. In the future, this must be remedied. The proposals of the CI Org. Dept. on this question were very helpful but not carried out sufficiently.

Districts must pay more attention to organization problems, placing it on the agenda of the leading committee. (Polcom, Secretariat.)

Build Up the Organization Department as a Real Functioning Department.

You must now systematically, as you have been instructed in the past, choose a number of factories in large scale industry, consider the question of colonization, and then draw the comrades from light to heavy industries; follow up, give them instructions, see that units are formed, and give attention, guidance and direction. D. E. C. members must be given jobs to see that the nuclei function. The functioning of the units must be given the greatest attention. The C. I. org. dept. letter to our Party, printed in the first issue of the

Party Organizer, must again be studied by our functionaries and made plain to every Party member. The analysis as to the reasons for the large turnover contained in the Dec. 1927, issue of the Party Organizer must also be studied and the suggestions made carried out.

Shop Papers

Today we have 27 shop papers. From May to August, 1927, 25 shop papers with 58,000 circulation were recorded.

There were a number of mistakes. In one instance, instead of 200 to 300, the printer said 2,000 to 3,000. The Ford Worker had 20,000 copies at one time, according to the report. A report made to the Profintern only recently read 40,000 and this report was circulated thruout the country. This is not to the credit to our Party. A report is made that 40,000 copies of the Ford Worker was circulated, when not even 20,000 copies were circulated. Once only, two separate issues of 10,000 each came out in one month. Not all were distributed. A report I received immediately after the convention said: In October and November 1927, less than 5,000 were circulated, but of course, there was unemployment at that time. There never was a 20,000 circulation. We do not want such reports. These do not bring our Party any credit but demoralizes our Party. After the convention, we found that we had 15 papers with about 25,000 to 30,000 circulation. Since January 1928, we have again succeeded in bringing the number up to 27, established one additional bulletin in District 1, in textile plant, one in New York, in the Rolls Royce auto plant in Long Island, one in the Philadelphia district; Bethlehem Steel, one in Rochester; Kodak; one bulletin in Detroit; Buick plant, one additional in Cleveland, two additional in Chicago. One

paper has been revived in district 10, in a packing industry and one new paper in district 15 at the Winchester Arms, and one in California (railroad). Some new bulletins have been issued only two or three times, and we must give a great deal of attention to see that they continue. The 27 papers issued at the present time have a circulation of about 40,000, the Ford Worker circulation being only 6,000.

A few words on shop papers from the point of view of contents. Our shop papers did not have any political contents. At first they were very bad. It was always said that they were so that we could not distinguish them from trade-union papers. There was a marked tendency to make them trade-union papers. There was a tendency not even to print the name of Communist, but to state, "printed by workers in X factory". Every bulletin today says "Communist nucleus" of etc. Originally they said nothing about political problems; today they discuss politics. In this sense we have made progress. But there are two things to be overcome in this respect. One—our bulletins are still full of many theoretical errors, and very often fail to connect up the immediate demands with our final aims and (2)—the political problems are treated in such a manner that they appear completely divorced from the problems of the workers in the factories, where the shop bulletin is published. Both of these problems must be given the greatest attention. Also, the bulletins do not advertise the Party sufficiently; some do not advertise the Daily Worker, and the bulletins very seldom take up any international question of vital importance to American workers as well as workers over the entire world. They do not even talk sufficiently about the Soviet Union. They

could compare the life of the workers in the Soviet Union and that of the workers in the United States employed in the same industries. This is not being done but should be done at once. They should also bear upon the larger aspects of the Soviet Union.

To sum up, we have made progress away from the purely trade-union paper by devoting attention to political problems. We must now complete the process by attaining the higher form, namely the correct Communist treatment of political problems and their organic tying up with the factory problems.

Some of our papers are too good and some are too poor.

When the bulletins are too good, the workers wonder where we get the money to publish them; when they are too poor, the workers ask how they are expected to read them. While in many instances distribution must be mainly from the outside by comrades who do not work in the factory as they will not expose themselves, yet at every factory a certain amount can be distributed inside. This is not being done in many instances.

"THE ORGANIZATION OF A WORLD PARTY", by O. Piatnitsky.

This pamphlet written by the head of the Organization Department of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, reviews the status of the various Communist Parties in the field of organization work.

Comrade Piatnitsky also mentions in many places the work of our Party.

This pamphlet contains an abundance of material giving the experiences of our brother-parties, that will be of great aid to us. An analysis of the defects in organization work in other parties—defects from which we suffer even to a larger extent—with valuable suggestions how to overcome them, will prove very beneficial to us and should be studied by every functionary.

The price of this pamphlet is 20 cents.

Order from Workers Library Publishers or thru your District.

Building the Party Apparatus

By M. JENKS

WE are a Party of revolutionary action. We aim to build a fighting, centralized political organization of the proletariat. In our continuous fight against capitalism, which is decaying, but madly resisting that decadence, it is absolutely necessary that the Party be flexible and show unanimity of action; that the Party apparatus work accurately, smoothly without itches.

"Let us take the army of today," wrote Lenin, "here is an excellent example of organization. And good is this organization only because it is flexible and at the time being able to unite millions of people and make them act according to one will. Today these millions may be sitting in their homes in the various parts of the country; tomorrow at a call for mobilization, they would immediately gather at a designated point." This is what we call organization. "When for sake of one aim, inspired by one will, millions of people change the form of their relations and actions, change place and forms of activity, change the means and instruments according to the changed conditions and needs of struggles."

Who of the conscious proletarian revolutionists will deny that exactly such an organization, centralized, disciplined and flexible, must serve as an example in the struggle of the working class against their class-enemies. But every one knows that in order to set into motion unorganized masses of workers and to inspire them (give) with one will, there must exist a corresponding, well functioning apparatus. In this respect, we must say that our Party attaches great importance to the necessity of

organizing a well functioning apparatus, in all Party organizations without exception, beginning with the nucleus to the C.E.C.

In this article we merely want to touch the question of the Party apparatus in the various districts since the material on hand in the C.E.C. shows that there is much confusion on the question.

The first question before us: "How many and which departments must the apparatus of each district consist of?" If we are not mistaken, the Central Committee has already given some instructive suggestions on this question. We are, however, repeating that there should be four functioning departments covering the basic fields of Party activity, organizational, agitprop, work among women and trade union department. (If territory of the district is an agricultural territory, then it is necessary to organize an agricultural department.)

What is the purpose of departmentalization? It is clear that they are organized for the purpose of better carrying out of party work. When the entire Party work is subdivided into various departments, each department has the possibility to better acquaint themselves with their specific problems and as a result of this, the general productivity is greatly increased.

What is the situation at the present time? In the various districts, we find many departments, such as, the I. L. D., Anti-Imperialist, Political, etc. In other districts, however, such important department as the organizational and agitprop do not exist. District, 12 for instance, reports that the org-department functions from

time to time, while District 15 not informing us of the functions of the org-department tells us about the assignments of the members of the District Committee to the above mentioned committees (I. L. D., etc.) and the regular attendance of the District Organizer of the meetings of the various units; generally there is much confusion.

We believe that the District Committees with a great number of organized "departments" as in these, where there are few "departments", the Party apparatus is built up very poorly and as a consequence, either functions poorly or exists only on paper. Such a situation was created because the comrades in the various districts did not understand sufficiently the basic principle of departmentalization, their tasks and methods of work and confuse departments with various temporary or more or less permanent commissions and committees.

The District Committee is elected at the conference with a definite number of members, for the practical carrying out of the work. The committee selects a limited number of members (Buro or Secretariat) and organizes its machinery in the form of important and permanent departments so that every member of the secretariat represents an important department, all make up the district apparatus thru which the entire work of the Party is carried out. The committee appoints one comrade from each department as the head of the department, but there are also exceptions. When appointing heads of departments, it is necessary to see to it that the comrade be capable, responsible, authoritative and will carry out the work entrusted him in a way most beneficial to the Party.

The comrades are under the impression that a department is a group

of comrades who were selected for the purpose of studying and working out policies for their particular department. This is incorrect. Such a group of comrades do not represent a part of the Party apparatus, but are only an advisory board attached to the various departments without administrative functions. Usually such a committee is composed of representatives of other departments and proletarian mass organizations. This is correct. And this must be done so as to have a better understanding of the work before them, that there be unanimity not only in the formulation of policies but also in carrying them out. However, it must not be forgotten that the decisions of such committees (commissions) must be brought for final approval to the secretariat or even the plenum of the District Committee, depending on the importance of the question on which decisions were made.

We have already mentioned above that the apparatus of some districts consist of such departments as I. L. D., Anti-Imperialist, Propaganda, etc.

Is it necessary to organize such departments as part of the Party apparatus? Of course there is no necessity for it. What is the I. L. D.? This is mass, non-Party organization, having certain definite aims. Members of our Party compose a considerable part of the membership, therefore, in all I. L. D. organizations throughout the country the Communists, members of the I. L. D. must organize fractions. Thru these fractions the Party carries on its work. Communists are not only members of the I. L. D., but they are also elected into the leading committees. Therefore, if certain questions arise these questions are brought to the local Party Committee and it is sent

to the corresponding department according to the character of the question (organizational to the Organizational Department, agitational to the Agitprop, etc.) And if the question is of special importance, it is brought before the entire District Committee. The same is true about all other mass, non-Party organizations. Exceptions are made in the case of trade union work, but for this there are special reasons in the United States.

The stage, in which the Party work finds itself at present, necessitates the existence of four permanently functioning departments in the apparatus of the Districts. If, however, the organization is large, and has sufficient finances, if the budget permits paid department heads and technical workers, this should be done. But in this given case, under the phrase, "permanently functioning department" must be understood the systematic realization of all Party work.

If the comrades appointed as the heads of departments, and also their assistants cannot, because of circumstances, do Party work during the day, they must do it evenings, but it should be done systematically and consistently. Communists must never forget the words of Lenin about the necessity to prepare workers who are ready to give their lives for the revolution, to become professional, most devoted revolutionists in the ranks of the Comintern.

Referring to all above said, we are suggesting to the various District Committees that they begin to build their apparatus and machinery. That they see to it that the functions of the various departments are correctly and carefully subdivided according to the already given instructions, considering as one of the most important departments the org-department. However, about the org-department, its functions, methods of work, etc., we will endeavor to give more information in another article.

Building the Party during Strikes

By A. JAKIRA

District Organizer, Pittsburgh District

NOTE: This article was written early in April. During the balance of the month of April and the first two weeks in May over 400 additional miners joined the Party. in the Pittsburgh District alone. Many new mine nuclei were formed, some of them with 40 and more members.

This same situation can be repeated in the Ohio, Illinois and the other mining sections. Beginnings have already been made

in these districts.

A big task before us is to draw the new members into activity, give them the necessary training, help the units in their work so that we can keep the new members in our Party.

It is evident that Comrade Jakira not only recognized the errors in our organization work but corrected them.

Editor.

OUR Party has for the last few years taken an active part in a number of strikes involving large masses of workers. Some of these strikes were led by the Communists. In these strikes the party gained many symphatizers. The organization benefits for the Party, however, were in most cases insignificant.

Passaic is one instance. The present great coal strike is another.

The Mniers' Strike

Let us examine the present coal strike. Let us take the Pittsburgh District, where the strike situation is most acute and where our Party is playing not a secondary role. The miners have been out on strike for

over a year, a year of starvation and constant conflicts with the police. They have learned a lesson during this period. Our Party has firmly established its influence among the strikers and among the unorganized miners. We have gained many sympathizers. Yet we have failed to increase the membership of the Party in this district, and in the mining region we have even suffered a decline in membership.

Where Lies the Fault?

It is not the fault of the miners that the Party has not grown in size in the strike region during this favorable period. It is true that many of our members migrated during this period, and some of the nuclei disbanded because of the shut-down of the mines. But we have not utilized the situation to recruit new members and to build new Party units. It was the fault entirely of the leading Party committees. The fault lies with the wrong methods of work followed by the Party as a whole, not to mention the fact that some comrades still hold the opinion that the Party cannot be built during a strike.

Some Facts

An experiment carried on by the Party in the Pittsburgh District shows that we must correct our wrong methods of work. During the month of January we decided that steps must be taken to "build the Party". A field organizer was assigned to cover the strike region for the Party. The results were: several new mine nuclei, new members for the existing mine units. Fifty new members joined the Party during that month in the mine region.

During the months of February and March we have again forgotten that there is a Party to be built. The leading Party committees, the active members, the organizers were all busy

with a dozen and one things pertaining to the strike, to the State Labor Party, etc. The organization work was miserably neglected during this period. The results were disastrous for the Party. A halt in the campaign for new members, no new units organized, a drop in the dues collections, a general weakening of the units.

The March dues report sound the alarm. We again got busy in "Building the Party." Within a few days several new units were organized and many new members joined the Party. There is hardly a mining town where a nucleus of the Party can not be organized at present, if an effort was really made.

Pittsburgh Not an Exception

What is said about the Pittsburgh District, I am sure, applies equally to all other districts and to all other struggles of the workers in which our Party is taking an active part. It is necessary to examine the facts and to take the necessary steps to correct a mistake in the methods of work. It is but natural that there is always a tendency to neglect the organizational tasks of the Party when all the available forces are needed in the struggle. But this tendency must be resisted by the Party with all the means at its disposal, if the Party—the basis of the struggle—is not to be liquidated. It is not enough to agree in "principle" that the Party must be built during a strike. The leading Party committees and the organizers must provide the organizational machinery necessary for the strengthening and building the Party while the struggle is on, while the workers are in a position to see the Party in action. The watchword—"Build the Party while the struggle is on" must be borne in mind by all the leading Party committees, by all Party members.

American Shop Papers

By EUGEN PAUL

THE American shop papers make an excellent impression. (Many of them are already appearing in their second year of publication.) Their number and their content testify to the great initiative and to the healthy proletarian instinct of the American workers, who have been able to produce a series of good shop papers and to mould them into fighting organs of the workers in the shop.

The greatest merit of the American shop papers is that they are evidently deeply rooted of the life of the shop and are dedicated to the struggles in the shop. In addition to the other material contained in them, the numerous letters from workers (workers' correspondence) speak out clearly in this respect. We should mention here first of all The Ford Worker, which has been appearing twice weekly for a year and which is carrying on the fight against "Fordism" in an excellent manner—the fight against the legend that Ford exploits his workers less than the other capitalists. An article entitled "The golden-hearted Mr. Ford" in the issue of July 15, 1927, calls attention to a declaration by Ford that his wealth has not been obtained by "down-trodden, underpaid, bloodsweated labor", and goes on to explain:

"Oh, no, this is not bloodsweated, this is just ordinary business methods. Down with this brutal capitalist system! Up with a Communist System, that will give the worker all he produces."

With regard to shop condition the American shop papers devote in general a great deal of space to rationalization. Not only in The Ford Worker, in which the search for an ever newer and "better model" and the fact that this results in the conditions of the

Ford workers becoming continually worse is ably and fully treated, but also in many others shop papers in connection with the progressing rationalization there is contrasted in a most effective manner the lowering of the workers' wages and the growing profits of the bosses. A good example of this and of the way the social phase of the matter is brought out is the September 1927 number of The Wright Propeller, which points out that the Wright Company got \$100,000 more profits in the decrease than in the same period of the previous year. Among other things it states:

"It's our job to smash that system some day, and we might as well get ready to do it, and establish a system like in Russia, where it is written into the constitution that 'only those who work may eat.'"

Many of the shop papers well understand how, in the fight with their own particular bosses, to bring out the general class standpoint. Number 2 of The Chrysler Worker deals, for example, with the booklet issued by this firm which speaks about the "Chrysler family", to which the workers of this firm are also supposed to belong. In an article entitled "The Chrysler Family??" appears the following:

"We workers are a class separate and distinct from the bosses, and we can look after our interests as a class organizing ourselves into a union."

In the October number of "The Harvester Worker" there appeared an article in favor of the transformation of the general Industrial Council, composed of representatives of the bosses and of the workers, into a "genuine workers' Shop Committee of workers alone."

Likewise an article—"The "Americanism" of the profiteers should be Restored—which appeared in The Ford Worker of July 15th, is an example of the fostering of class-consciousness in the American shop papers.

The idea of the proletarian United Front is in general correctly portrayed, although most certainly too little attention is devoted to the foreign-born and Negro workers. Even in this regard there are noteworthy exceptions. In the aforementioned Harvester Worker the same wages are demanded for the Negro workers in the plants as for the white workers. In November 4-5 of The Dodge Worker it is correctly pointed out, in comparing the wholesale deportation of foreign-born workers in America with the expulsion of the "foreigners" from China, that in China foreign capitalists are being driven out (during period of Red Canton.—Ed.), while in America it is a matter of foreign-born proletarians.

When a worker correspondent expresses a false conception—as, for example, in The Ford Worker of January 1, 1928, when a worker took a stand against the employment of foreign-born workers by Ford—the editor inserts a footnote in correction. It would be advisable, however, to fight systematically and in the sharpest manner against these manifestations of "patriotism" which emanate from the ideology of the labor aristocracy, and especially to do everything to encourage class solidarity between the white and Negro workers.

The agitation for a Labor Party is in general given much attention. Scarcely a single number fails to point out the necessity of the workers forming a Labor Party of their own. Also they do not fail to point out that factory committees should

be formed for the purpose of intensifying the struggle. Articles, urging solidarity with revolutionary workers in China and requesting collections for the Colorado strikers, are quite numerous.

The methods of agitation employed are often very effective. An item entitled "The Whistle" in The Chrysler Worker No. 1, states: "The whistle in the Chrysler plant is a shrill reminder to us that we are slaves." "\$9,016,245 and the Whistle" is the title of the subsequent item, which points out the connection between the whistle and the gigantic profits of the company.

Agitation in favor of the Soviet Union is met with fairly often in the American shop papers. In the feature column of The Ford Worker: "Get the Point," which consists of short, snappy remarks, mention is made of the Soviet Union in almost every number. The Steel Worker sets forth, for example, that whereas in America the unemployed are threatened with starvation, in Russia they are adequately cared for. The Hudson Worker—No. 9 states, in connection with the meager provisions for vacations in America, that "it couldn't happen in Russia."

The style and technical make-up of the American shop papers are on the whole good. For the most part short articles and items, workers' correspondence, etc. are published; long articles are rare exceptions. Clever cartoons, which always bear close relation to the life in the shop, are given particular prominence.

The greatest shortcoming of the American shop papers is that the political character of their struggle is for the most part only inadequately expressed. The demand for a Labor Party is almost the only internal political subject discussed, and this demand is generally stated too

abstractly without connection with current political events. The latter are given almost no consideration in the shop papers. The excellent article "Hammer and Sickle" in Number 1 of *The Chrysler Worker* is one of the few exceptions. It declares:

"The Workers Party is the political party of the workers in this country. On November 2nd, when you vote, you will have a choice between the Republican and Democratic parties on the one hand, representing the interests of the Chryslers and of the capitalists, and on the other hand you can and we urge you to vote for a worker for governor. . . ."

In general a great deal of attention is devoted to the trade-union movement, but even that is too little in view of the great number of unorganized workers. It is true that attention is drawn—and quite correctly—in every shop paper to the importance of the organization of the workers in trade unions, but the carrying on of the struggle against the reformist trade-union leaders is still often neglected. This struggle must henceforth be waged much more sharply than hitherto. This struggle for the revolutionizing of the trade-union movement should be carried on in connection with the struggle for a revolutionary, political class party of the proletariat, and it should always be pointed out how important it is that such a class party exert a real influence on the trade-union movement, on the "economic" struggles of the working class.

While there are examples of the correct exposition of the social character of the shop problems under discussion, it must still be said that in general the American shop papers still isolate these shop problems to a great extent from the problems of general politics and of the general class struggle and often still give a more personal note to their struggle.

The struggle against the war

danger is in general neglected and also not always carried on correctly. In *The Wright Propeller*, it is true, a very good article sets forth facts from the firm's business itself proving that a new war is being prepared (gradual militarization of the methods of work, gigantic increase of orders, expansion of the business, etc.); the proposed measures of resistance were limited, however, to the slogan: Build strong trade unions and stage demonstrations against the war danger!

A fundamental error is the lack of a correct relation between the shop papers and party work. The American shop papers are based on the policies of the Workers (Communist) Party, active, driving, recruiting forces of the Party. They are not yet fully conscious of this organizational and propaganda role. They do not yet understand sufficiently how to make propaganda for the distinctly Communist methods of struggle and tasks of the Workers Party and how to win the workers in this manner for the Party and the Party press.

This enumeration of the most important merits and defects of the American shop papers at least makes clear in which direction improvement lies. In order to do away with the existent defects, it will be necessary first of all to establish a much closer connection between the shop papers and the Party. It will thereby be possible to rid the shop papers, which correctly place shop problems in the foreground, of their present too one-sided shop character and to place them consciously in the service of the great, general political class struggle of the whole working class of America. The present development of the American shop papers in any case holds out most promising prospects for the future.

Youth Work in Factory

By NAT KAPLAN

SINCE the last convention the main errors which the Y.W.L. made in shop nucleus work have been completely liquidated. Instead of a mechanical national reorganization without any basis, we set ourselves the elementary tasks of shop nucleus work. It is undeniable, however, that our past errors in this work, plus the objective difficulties (spies, shifting of youth from one job to another, etc.), has resulted in a certain let-up in factory activity and the building of shop nuclei.

As a means of overcoming this hesitancy the N. E. C. plans to hold a series of district and city org-conferences on shop nucleus work throughout the country. These conferences will be the means of again orientating the entire league towards shop nucleus work, would supply us with material for an ideological campaign on the work and would serve as the means whereby the districts can draw up a detailed plan for shop nucleus work and start its systematic execution. A representative of the Party D.E.C. as well as a representative from every Party shop nucleus will participate in these conferences. The conferences will be held within the next two months. The exact dates to be published later.

Without the help of the Party the League could hardly go ahead rapidly in this work. This can be clearly seen from the fact that our main possibilities for the immediate organization of shop nuclei are:

- 1) In those shops where the Party has a nucleus.
- 2) In those larger shops where we have one or two members working.

Youth Work By Party

What can the Party do concretely in preparation for the Y.W.L. org-conferences?

1) Every larger Party shop nucleus shall elect an initiative group (two or three comrades), every smaller nucleus shall appoint one comrade, who shall be entrusted with carrying on youth work in the factory with the aim of organizing a shop nucleus of the League.

2) Every Party shop nucleus shall set aside one meeting for a thorough discussion on the role of the League in connection with the concrete youth tasks in the factory. This shall be followed up by regular reports at later meetings.

3) The immediate steps of the youth initiative groups shall be: (a) detailed study of youth conditions in factory; (b) making individual contact with sympathetic youth in factory; (c) working out with League D.E.C. the concrete youth demands and youth organizational forms in factory (i. e. steps towards organizing Y.W.L. nucleus, youth bridge organizations in factory, etc.); (d) planning of actions for popularizing youth demands; (e) establishment of Youth Column in Party factory paper.

Individual Contacts

Regarding the making of individual contacts, a number of suggestions are:

- a) Gain the personal friendship and confidence of young workers.
- b) Talk with him in an elementary fashion on his special conditions.
- c) Get him to read shop paper, es-

pecially youth column and other youth literature (Young Worker).

d) Get him to write for the papers.

e) Bring him to Party and League mass meetings and affairs.

f) Win his help for the organization of a Y.W.L. shop nucleus.

The Party comrades should remember that tho the League is a Communist organization, it accepts in its ranks all young workers willing to fight for the workers and to learn to become a fighter for the overthrow of the capitalist rule. In this sense the Y.W.L. is a training school for the development of Communists.

Party at Y.W.L. Conferences

These and other phases of the Party help will be discussed by the Y.W.L. org-conferences. The representatives of the Party shop nuclei to the conferences should prepare detailed reports on:

1) Youth conditions in the factory.

2) Methods of youth work of Party shop nucleus.

By the energetic carrying out of these proposals the Party will be most effectively concretizing the slogans:

A YWL unit wherever there is a Party unit!

The Organization of Propaganda Meetings

By JAMES P. CANNON

COMMUNIST tactics and methods of work, the placing of emphasis on this or that form of activity, are naturally regulated to a very large extent by the given situation and the stage of development. Communist propaganda and agitation through the medium of mass meetings are always in order, even after seizure of political power, as we see in Russia, where great attention and skill is devoted to this work. If the Russian Party, which rules the country, has not found it advisable to dispense with such activities, it is fairly obvious that they have possibilities yet for us.

We in America are in that stage of development where the ideas of Communism have as yet penetrated only a very narrow fringe of the working class. The overwhelming masses have absolutely no conception of our aims beyond that false and distorted one furnished them by our enemies. The natural operation of the laws of capitalism will push the millions of American workers, now mental and

spiritual captives of the ruling class, on to the path of class struggle and in the direction of their historic goal, regardless of their present understanding and will.

It is our task as communists taking part in all the struggles of the workers, to accelerate this process by all means in our power and to impart to it the greatest possible degree of consciousness as it develops. For this an enormous amount of agitation and propaganda will be necessary. This work, of course, will take many and varied forms, but the spoken word, the public mass meeting, will play a great part. The day of the importance of propaganda meetings is by no means over; indeed, for our Party the period just ahead of us must and will see a much greater emphasis placed upon them. And in connection with this our party comrades will begin, for the first time, to devote serious attention to the technique of organizing propaganda meetings.

If we except the larger cities where

we have staffs of professional Party workers (and not all of them) we must acknowledge that our party on the whole has not properly estimated the importance of this elementary revolutionary work and consequently has not derived the maximum benefits which skillful organization would bring. For the most part our comrades, who have become experts in a number of activities, remain hopeless amateurs in this field, although there is nothing involved except the assimilation and application of a few organizational rules and principles derived from the experience of the past.

The Socialist Party of pre-war days was far ahead of us on this score and knew how to organize propaganda meetings in such a way as to make them mighty instruments of agitation and inspiration. The speakers did not do all of this by any means. Organizational technique played the principal role in this work of the old Socialist Party, and would it be treason to Communism if we should borrow and learn from this experience? I think not. On the contrary, I would not be above "lifting" a few tricks of the art of propaganda anywhere they can be found and made serviceable for our revolutionary work. Aside from that, we are the rightful heirs of all that was sound and proletarian in the old Socialist Party and its accomplishments belong to us. We ought to study the old movement more attentively.

I have had some experience as a speaker and even more as local organizer of meetings for other speakers. Like all who have had this experience, I have learned a number of rules and principles for the successful organization of meetings, which I am going to enumerate here. These organizational rules and principles are bound up with a certain

conception of the function and purpose of agitation and propaganda meetings which I think is a correct one. They must be a recruiting ground for the organization. They must provide inspiration together with instruction. They must strengthen the morale of the comrades and leave them with a feeling of success and accomplishment, and they must provide revenue for the organization and not deficits. These things cannot be accomplished by the speaker alone. The organization of the meeting and the atmosphere in which it is held, have an equal importance. A mediocre speech will often serve the purpose with the proper organization and atmosphere of the meeting, while a good speech will often be a heart-breaking failure without them. As a rule the measure of success is determined by the attention and skill devoted to the preparation and organization of the meeting along the following lines:

1. A committee should be in charge of the arrangements of the meeting with responsibility for different phases of the work definitely assigned to individual members.

2. Advertise the meeting widely. People won't come unless they know about it. A pinch-penny policy of advertising is absolutely fatal to success.

3. Build up and use a mailing list. This is one of the most important instruments of every local organization. It should contain the name of every member, sympathizer and prospective sympathizer, properly classified. Every name on it should receive notice of the meeting, and as many hand-bills or pluggers advertising the meeting as a two-cent stamp will carry. A local organizer who doesn't keep an up-to-date mailing list, and use it constantly, is working with one arm in a sling.

4. As a rule admission should be charged for the meeting and tickets should be sold in advance. The most extensive experience shows that more people attend meetings for which tickets are sold in advance and the financial returns from the meeting are much greater. There are exceptional circumstances where it is advisable to hold a free mass meeting, but the comrades who never want to charge admission on the ground that the workers are too poor to pay are victims of a false theory and a harmful prejudice. All experience speaks against them. Sell tickets in advance and send a number on credit to every name on your mailing list, using discretion as to amount in each case. Don't be afraid someone will sell a few tickets and abscond with the money. This doesn't happen very often, and even then the organization is the gainer for everyone who comes to the meeting on an unpaid ticket.

5. Always try for publicity for the meeting in the local capitalist papers as well as in the party and labor press. The best way to do this is to establish personal acquaintance with a reporter or staff member on each paper who handles labor news. There are few cities where small notices cannot be secured if real systematic efforts are made. Of course good-sized write-ups are secured only in rare cases and with the most prominent speakers, but it should be remembered that a small notice in a local capitalist paper reaches thousands of workers who do not read our own press.

6. Hire a hall with a seating capacity approximately the same as the size of the crowd you expect. This detail is of the utmost importance. Atmosphere is a great part of the meeting. A crowd of two hundred lost in a hall with a seating

capacity of one thousand throws a chill over the meeting, takes the heart out of the speaker and leaves the crowd at the end with a feeling of failure and defeat. The same crowd of two hundred with the same speaker comfortably filling or packing a smaller hall will produce a meeting with entirely opposite effects. Remember this rule: get a hall to fit the size of crowd you expect.

7. Select a chairman able to attend strictly to the business of supervising the meeting, making the necessary announcements and introducing the speaker. That's all! Many a promising meeting has been spoiled by a loquacious chairman who undertook to make the speaker's address for him in advance. This happens all too frequently and local organizations which take their propaganda meetings seriously should put a stop to this harmful nonsense. It is better to offend the chairman by telling him bluntly that he talks too much than to offend a whole audience by forcing them to hear a long speech they didn't come to hear. And what about the speaker himself? Has he no rights at all? An old campaigner once expressed the sentiment of all speakers when he said that if he could get only one wish granted he would ask for a tongue-tied chairman.

8. Ushers should be selected in advance by the committee and they should be on hand early to escort the people to the front seats. Then late-comers will take the rear seats without disturbing the meeting. Without ushers the early arrivals will invariably take the rear seats, leaving the front ones vacant. Then it will happen just as invariably that others will straggle in all through the meeting and come gawking all over the

front of the hall looking for a seat just at the time the speaker is working hardest to get the attention of the audience for what he considers a particularly impressive point. An efficient set of ushers are indispensable to a well organized meeting.

9. In cool weather make certain beforehand that the hall is properly heated. This is necessary for the success of the meeting, the comfort of the audience and the health of the speaker. Such a detail would seem obvious, but I have never yet made a tour in winter time without having at least one or two meetings in cold halls due to the negligence and thoughtlessness of the local committee and I never yet saw a meeting held under such circumstances that could be called a success.

10. The selling of literature, taking collection and passing application cards for new members are de-

tails which work themselves out best in actual practice without a uniform plan. The best results in selling literature from the platform are gained if one piece is concentrated on leaving the rest for sale at the literature table near the door. If the speaker is worth his salt, a meeting conducted along these lines will be a success and will strengthen the local organization morally, organizationally and financially, provided one final detail is not overlooked. That is: quit on time and on the right note. Pace the meeting along and get it thru quickly after the speech is over. Do not let it drag along and fizzle out until the audience gets tired and begins to leave of its own accord.

Attention to these practical details until they become a matter of routine in the organization of public meetings, will bring rich returns to the Party in the field of propaganda work.

Are there Language Fractions or Sections in Our Party?

By ELLIS PATERSON

EDITOR'S NOTE: Comrade Peterson's article is a very timely one. The point of view he expresses is absolutely correct. This is the line of our Party. Certain exceptions are made from time to time in this transitory stage because of difficulties arising out of crisis in connection with our language press, etc. Comrade Peterson is correct in his warning that these "transition" periods are too prolonged. We welcome discussion articles in the Party Organizer on this question.

WHEN the Norwegian renegade Tranmael still belonged to the CI there was a decision by the ECCI that the name of the central organ of the C. P. of Norway, the paper "Social Demokraten"! be changed. After a year Tranmael again reported to the CI, but the paper still was called "Social Democrat"! The Communist International labeled this as a too slow procedure, and only after this criticism Tranmael saw fit to change the name of the paper.

The reorganization of our Party

took place in 1925. It is easy to change the name of a newspaper, but Language Federations in our old Party could not be wiped out as quickly as the name of a paper is changed. But in two years at least the federations ought to have disappeared from our Party. Now (almost three years after the reorganization) there still are Language Federations in our Party. They only carry other names, as e. g. "fractions" in the Party, language "sections" of the Party, etc. There must

not be any fractions in a Communist Party, not even language fractions. There are fractions of Party-members in non-party language organizations, but there must not be language fractions IN the Party. All Communist fractions in the respective language organizations are under the leadership of Party Language Bureaus **appointed** by respective Party committees, e. g. National Language Bureaus Dist. Language Bureaus, etc. There ought not to be democratic gatherings of all comrades of a Language group belonging to the Party in a certain locality. The Bureau in a certain locality is instructed by the Party Committee of said locality to lead the work of the communist fractions in all of the organizations in its respective language group. E. g. the Scandinavian Bureau at the District Committee of the Chicago district leads the activity of all communist fractions in all Scandinavian non-Party organizations in the Chicago district, and it never takes any orders from any gathering of Scandinavian communists in that locality, but only from the Chicago District Committee of the Party, from the Scandinavian Bureau of the CEC and, naturally, from the Central Executive Committee of the Party. It is **not elected** by any broad gathering of Scandinavian party-members, but it is **appointed** by the District Committee of the Chicago District.

This is the way all fractions ought to be organized. If we continue to go on with our Language Federations in the Party (called "fractions") we will soon have them established again as bona-fide Party institutions, which would hamper our work and continue to be the best breeding places for factional conflicts. The Party must be organized democratically — yes, but the principle of organization for

a communist party is "democratic centralism".

One of the reasons—outside of our traditions—for this survival of the Language federations in our Party is the unfortunate formulation of the constitution of our Party regarding language work. That part of our constitution should have been revised at our last convention, and must absolutely be changed at the next convention. Not only that our Bulgarian paper, "Znanie", still appears with the headline in Bulgarian language: "Organ of the Bulgarian Section of the Workers Party"! (when there is no Bulgarian Section or any other language section in our Party, which is a **united American party**), even in the Daily Worker we still find in 1928 such headlines as e. g. "The South Slav Section gets together", "Italian Section of Workers Party makes strides", etc. Special Language Conferences are held of these "Sections" in our Party, etc.! This confusion must be liquidated in our language work, otherwise the unity of the Party will not be such that we can go ahead with our work. The Italian "Section" **elected** at its "convention" a large Bureau with members from all over the country: i. e. we have an Italian CP in America!!

Three years after reorganization our Party ought to be ripe enough to do away with such **remnants of the old language federation**. Our leadership on the language field must as soon as possible be centralized in the hands of the Party committees, so that the Language Bureaus do not continue to live their independent life outside of the Party—almost as parties within the party. **All sorts of general conventions, meetings, etc., of language party-members should be abolished as soon as possible.** The fraction members in a communist fraction of a certain language non-

party organization come together by themselves; but the language work in a district, in a city, etc., is led, not by any "language fraction" in said district, city, etc., but by the **respective Language Bureaus in those districts, cities, etc.** And these language bureaus must not be elected by the "language fractions" but appointed by the Party committees. We do not elect the Agitprop directors of the Party at conventions, they are appointed by the District Committees, etc. And their functions are often more important than the function of the Language Secretaries, etc. Why are we afraid of the correct method of appointing all Language Secretaries and all members of the respective language bureaus!

In such places where **only a few** comrades of a certain language group belong to the Party, it may be advis-

able to call general "fraction" meetings, but only as exceptions. The Language Bureaus are responsible for organizing and leading the work in all non-party organizations in their respective language groups. The comrades work for the Party in their nuclei—independent of their language. They receive their instructions for their fractional work thru their language bureau, and they come together as fraction members **only** with the communists in that special language organization where they are working.

There are the difficulties that hinder a quick transformation of the language work into correct channels. But the longer we tolerate the wrong principles now prevalent in our Party, the harder it will be later to free ourselves from them. They can be explained, but they cannot be excused.

THE COMMUNIST NUCLEUS

HOW IT MUST WORK

By M. JENKS

An Organization Manual for Every Party Member

This pamphlet deals with the work of our Party nuclei, taking up the most detail problems confronting our nuclei. It takes up the functions of the officers and various departments, the calling of the nucleus meeting, drawing up an order of business, the factory paper, work among women etc.

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