

Party Organizer



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Vol. IV

APRIL, 1931

No. 3

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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. IV

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PREPARING FOR MAY DAY

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

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

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

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

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

The United Front Conferences must include representa-

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

Test of Our Organizational Ability

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

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

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

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

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

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

Have You Read the Shop Paper Manual

All the difficulties encountered in this work will be greatly overcome thru the application of the practical suggestions and guidance compiled in this booklet. Must be studied by every comrade.

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PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION

NEW FORCES CAN BE DEVELOPED

PAUL CLINE

(Kansas)

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

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

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

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

What Is To Be Done

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

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

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

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

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



FUNCTIONING UNIT BUROS

By J. H.

(Chicago)

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

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

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

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

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

A good functioning Nucleus Buro should know thorough-

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

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

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

SAFEGUARDING THE PARTY—II

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

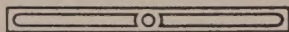
But there are other ways of advertising, besides just talk. For instance, in preparing for a demonstration some time ago, in which we expected to be attacked by the police, the New York District Buro had to issue categorical orders to the membership to come to the demonstration wearing hats and dressed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

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

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

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

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



RECRUITING AND KEEPING NEW MEMBERS

THE COMPLAINT OF A NEW MEMBER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

S. N.

(Wilkesbarre)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



MASS WORK

EXPERIENCES OF THE WORKERS' EX-SERVICEMEN LEAGUE

By E. LEVINE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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ORGANIZATIONAL EXPERIENCE IN THE SOUTH

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

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

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

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

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

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

WORK AMONG NEGRO MASSES

HOW THE LEAGUE OF STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS IS BEING BUILT

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

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

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

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

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

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

WORK AMONG WOMEN

How to Work in the Shops

By A. D.

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

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

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

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

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

SHOP ACTIVITY

WHAT IS A SHOP COMMITTEE

JACK JOHNSTONE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SHOP AND STREET PAPERS

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

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

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

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

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

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



AGITPROP WORK

ON TRAINING OF FUNCTIONARIES

By SAM DON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A TASK OF THE AGITPROP

By R. B.

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

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

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

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

Regulation of Theoretical Growth

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

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

Reading and Study as Party Work

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

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

The Agitprop Director

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

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

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

You can imagine the results.

THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

(Reprinted from PARTY ORGANIZER, February, 1930)

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

MATERIAL FOR PARTY STRUCTURE CLASSES

(Excerpts from Vassiliev's Pamphlet)

(Continued)

Department of Party Committees

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

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

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

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

Shock Groups

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

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

The "Active" of the Party

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

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

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

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

