

THE PARTY ORGANIZER

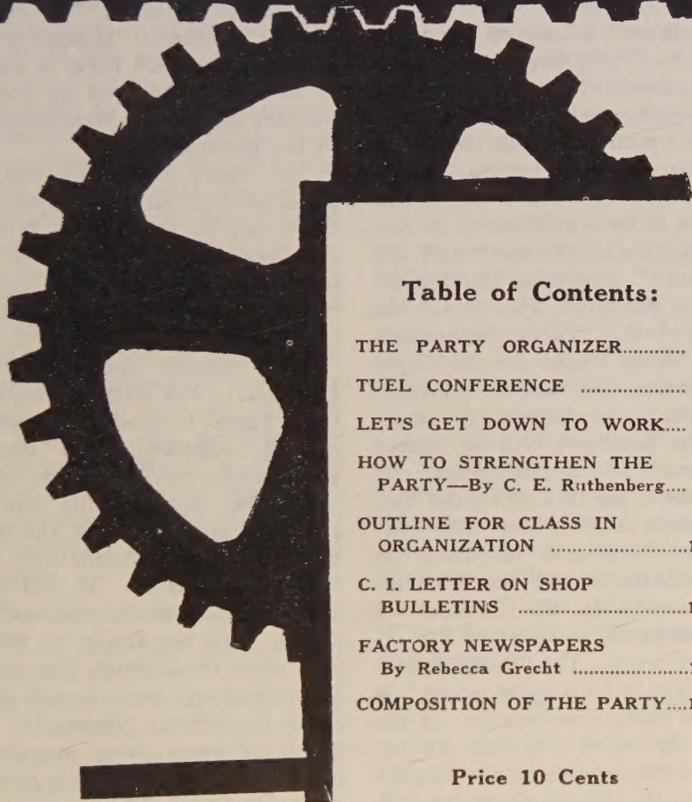


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THE PARTY ORGANIZER

THIS is the second number of the "Party Organizer". The first number appeared in April of this year. We hope that in the future the "Party Organizer" will appear regularly every month.

There is still a lack of clarity as to what the "Party Organizer" is and what it should be. Some of the District Organizers in replying to requests for material made inquiry as to the purpose and content of the "Party Organizer". One comrade asked if it is to be a publication in between the "Daily Worker" and the "Communist", something like the old "Workers Monthly". This is not the purpose of the "Party Organizer". It is to be the organ for the Party Functionaries, the active comrades in the first place where all the experiences in the Party will be related to the benefit of the entire Party. It is to be the organ thru which the Nat. Organization Department will issue instructions and give assistance to the functionaries and the membership generally in the conduct of party campaigns, in the every day organization work. The "Party Organizer" is not to be a mass organ. It is for the party membership. If the question be asked why can we not utilize the party press for the purpose for which the "Party Organizer" is

intended, we say that much of the material that is to be printed in the "Party Organizer" should not fill the columns of the general Party press, where it is of no interest to the general reader. Also in the "Party Organizer" material appearing every month in compact form is more apt to be saved and used by the Party workers and active membership than in the general press.

The Party Organizer will fill a great need in our Party. About this there can be no doubt. It will fill this need, however, only if it will become the forum of all the party functionaries from the CEC down to the shop and street nuclei.

This imposes upon every party functionary the duty of writing for the "Party Organizer", sending in reports, regularly, and encourage every active member to do likewise.

Another responsibility the functionaries must bear is the regular publication and distribution of the "Party Organizer". It will be regularly published if we will have funds. And the funds we will have only when the District, City and local Executives will make a real effort to place the "Party Organizer" in the hands of every party member, and see to it that the money is forwarded to the National Office.

Give Full Support to the Forthcoming Conference of the TUEL

ANATIONAL Conference of the Trade Union Educational League is scheduled to take place in New York City on December 3rd and 4th, according to a statement published by its National Committee. The agenda and general aim of the Conference, as outlined in the statement, promises to make this gathering an important milestone in the develop-

ment of the left wing in the American trade union movement.

The struggle against the treacherous Woll-Green leadership of the American Federation of Labor and the development of the unions into organs of militant struggle against the capitalists, continue to be one of the chief tasks of our Party. In the

(Continued on page Sixteen)

LET'S GET DOWN TO WORK

DUE to the moving of the national office to New York there was some delay in the mobilization of the party for work following the Convention. It was to be expected that the Convention would interrupt the general function of the Party and that it would take some time for the party to get back to work. The fact that the party to a large extent continued working in spite of the Convention period, makes it possible to get back to the normal functioning of the Party in the shortest possible time and to intensify our work.

There seems to be confusion among some of the comrades as to what our central tasks are at this time. Also some comrades are of the opinion that we are engaged in too many campaigns. One comrade, for example, asks how can we work for the labor party, carry on a drive for new members and for new readers for the Daily Worker at the same time? These questions show a need for clarification.

Our Central Tasks

The most important tasks of the Party at this time are:

- 1) A campaign for a Labor Party or at least a United Labor Ticket in the 1928 elections.
- 2) A campaign for recognition and defense of the Soviet Union.
- 3) Protection of the foreign-born.
- 4) Strengthening of the Party organization.

Not only is it possible, but absolutely necessary, that the above mentioned tasks should receive the attention of the entire Party membership. We must not look upon each one as a special campaign taking up all of our attention and to be carried on exclusive of everything else. We must learn to work in such a manner

that when we concentrate on some campaign we do not neglect the general party activity, but on the contrary look upon this campaign as a means of getting the masses closer to our Party, extending our influence, and as a means for mobilization of the entire membership for work.

To say that we cannot carry on a campaign for the Labor Party and at the same time recruit new members and get new readers for the Daily Worker is a failure to understand:

1) That only thru such campaigns can we increase our membership and build up our press.

2) That the building up of the party organization is not a special campaign for a short period, but the every day work which must be carried on by the party.

It is true that from time to time we may have special concentration periods in which we set ourselves certain goals as to recruiting, etc., but these are by no means in conflict with our political campaigns but on the contrary can only be successful if they are organically connected up with them.

Labor Party and United Labor Ticket

Our central task at the present time is work for a Labor Party or at least a United Labor ticket in the 1928 elections. Some comrades see this campaign only when we are actually engaged in electing delegates for a conference, but do not see the intermediate stages that must be followed and the need of utilization of every important issue leading in the direction of the building up of the Labor Party.

The Labor Party campaign may be in a different stage in each locality. In some instances we may be ready

to take steps for actual organization, while in other localities we are still in the agitational stage. The task before us is to find in each locality the next link in this campaign and utilize all local issues and problems in that direction. Generally speaking the campaigns that we build around the injunction issue, which is the most vital problem of the entire labor movement, directed against the very existence of labor organizations, the campaigns that we can build around important issues as relief for the striking miners in West Virginia, Ohio and Pennsylvania, the campaign for aid and relief to the striking miners of Colorado; all these are steps that we must utilize in our Labor Party campaign.

Conferences that we can stimulate around such issues will bring us closer to the masses and bring nearer to us those elements in the trade unions who will form the basis for a Labor Party or a United Labor ticket. Every local issue, such as graft, corruption, police brutality, taxation, unemployment, etc., must be utilized in this campaign. Where a local of the Socialist Party exists we must try to win over whatever rank and file membership there is to the idea of a Labor Party and expose the officialdom of the Socialist Party that is hindering and opposing the development of a Labor Party. Wherever possible in our general activity the Labor Party slogan must be injected as this is the unifying slogan making for development of class-consciousness of the masses and their recognition of themselves as a class.

If we view our campaign for a Labor Party in this sense then it will be impossible to confuse the problem so, as to state that we cannot fight the injunctions, carry on a campaign for miners relief and fight for a

Labor Party at the same time. We must educate our party to the fact that the best way to lay the real foundation for a Labor Party locally and nationally is for our party to react to every struggle of the workers and thru its participation in that struggle carry the workers a step forward in the direction of a Labor Party.

Recognition and Defense of the Soviet Union

This campaign is particularly important at this time when from all sides we see attempts on the part of the imperialists to attack the Soviet Union. The report of the first American trade union delegation offers a favorable opportunity for us in this campaign. It is our duty to stimulate the trade unions locally to arrange meetings at which this delegation will report, and where this is impossible, to get one or more of the unions or progressive groups to arrange such meetings. These meetings should be utilized for the laying of the basis for local trade union committees for recognition of the Soviet Union.

Our fractions must stimulate the trade unions to pass resolutions demanding recognition of the Soviet Union. The party must also make clear to the workers the real meaning of the danger of war and the slogan "Defense of the Soviet Union".

Protection of Foreign Born

As part of the campaign to destroy the trade unions and to lower the standard of living of the workers is the persecution of the foreign born. We may expect that with the opening of Congress there will be another attempt to pass anti-foreign born legislation. Our party in the different localities must take the initiative in enlivening the councils for

the protection of the foreign born, and where none exist to stimulate the trade unions and fraternal organizations to take steps for their organization. Our language fractions in the various fraternal organizations must make this a very important issue and mobilize the support of the foreign born workers in this work. Our comrades in the trade unions must make clear to the workers that the attack against the foreign born is an attack against the entire labor movement.

Leaflets dealing with this subject must be widely distributed, resolutions introduced in labor and fraternal organizations. Every attempt must be made to get this work started as quickly as possible so that a powerful movement may be developed to prevent the next session of Congress, which is scheduled to open in December, from passing legislation against the foreign born.

Strengthening the Party Organization

Six thousand new members joined the Party since December, 1925. But the membership of our party has increased very little in that period... not more than one thousand. This presents a key problem for our party in the field of organization. The conclusions to be drawn from this are:

1. That in spite of the fact that no systematic recruiting work was carried on, the party attracted in the past two years over six thousand members to its ranks.
2. The great turnover in the membership.

The main reasons for the large turnover are to be found in the following facts:

1) The Party units are not functioning properly, that the meetings are not interesting enough, that the

new member is lost in a sea of routine tasks, etc., the insufficient political life.

2) The chaos in regards to finances. All the different organizations making appeals at the same time so that members stay away from meetings in order not to be confronted with more lists, more tickets, more donations.

3) New members are not drawn into work and are allowed to drift and it is left to chance if they are strong enough to survive even in face of such a situation.

4) Language difficulties.

5) Organizational inefficiency, neglecting to call new members immediately after they make out applications, not following them up in case they do not attend regularly in the beginning.

6) Laxity in collection of dues, allowing members to become many months in arrears and thereby drift away from the party.

7) Bad example set by older members in failing to attend meetings and do work assigned to them.

8) No training given to new members, acquainting them with the policies and work of our party.

9) Faction fights and personal squabbles of our comrades, which discourage a new member.

To overcome these organizational deficiencies, to make our Party a real functioning organization, the National Organization Department will make every attempt to help the local organizations to remedy these situations. To begin with we must educate the party to the fact that the greatest possible attention must be paid to these detailed organization questions.

Organization Drive

The party will institute an Organization Drive not for a period of a

month or two, but planning the work for a period of about a year. This Drive will be started with the membership meetings at which CEC representatives will make clear to the party membership the aims of the Drive and how to accomplish them. In addition to that the Organization Department will thru bulletins, pamphlets, the regular issuance of the "Party Organizer", the National Field Organizers, and frequent visits of CEC representatives to the Districts, constantly guide the district and local organizations in this Drive.

Aims of this Drive

The aims of this Drive will be:

1. To increase the party memberships.
2. To increase the circulation of the Daily Worker.
3. To increase the number of our shop nuclei.
4. To increase the number of our shop papers.
5. To raise the ideological level of the Party membership.
6. To educate the party to the necessity of being thoroly acquainted with its field of work.
7. To increase the activity of the party membership.
8. To strengthen the party discipline and the party responsibility.
9. To strengthen the trade union fractions and the fractions in all other mass organizations.
10. To establish functioning departments in the districts and in the local organizations.
11. To strengthen the party organization in the smaller cities and towns.
12. To make special efforts to reach native elements and bring them into our party.
13. To train competent party functionaries.

14. To strengthen the district executive, city, section and sub-section executives, thru colonization where necessary.

15. To increase the sale of party literature.

16. To devise ways and means to overcome the language difficulty.

17. To help in the building up of the Young Workers League and the Yuong Pioneers.

Here we have just indicated along what lines our party must work at the present time. The carrying out of this work necessitates the drawing in of the entire party membership. It necessitates the conscious guidance of the district organizers and the various departments and all functionaries of city, section and nuclei. Our comrades in the unions, our fractions in the various mass organizations must see to it that resolutions on injunctions, on the miners' relief, and other such questions are introduced in their organizations and that the workers are mobilized for struggle on these issues.

In subsequent numbers of the Party Organizer we will deal with concrete suggestions on how to carry on this work. We will treat such subjects as recruiting new members, how to keep the new members, training of functionaries, selling literature building up of new shop units, work in small cities, etc. We will also deal with such questions as how to build up local Labor Parties, organizational problems in connection with the united fronts, etc.

We invite all party functionaries and active comrades to contribute their experiences on these questions so that collectively we can strengthen the party organization, increase our activity and gain greater influence among the masses.

HOW TO STRENGTHEN THE PARTY

By C. E. RUTHENBERG (Written in December 1926)

Comrade Ruthenberg's last words were "BUILD THE PARTY". In this—his last—article on the question of Party Organization Comrade Ruthenberg also tells us to build the Party, and gives some valuable suggestions. If we will carry out these suggestions we will take some real steps in the direction of building our Party.

THE fact that the influence of the party has been extended during the past year was strongly emphasized in the discussions and by the resolution of the Central Committee. The party is breaking its isolation and has established contact with greater masses of workers who are entering into common struggles with it.

The party has not, however, thus far been able to crystallize the influence it won as a result of its campaigns into organizational strength. The organized strength of the party, as represented by its membership, has not kept pace with its influence among the workers.

This fact is strikingly illustrated in the circulation of the party press in comparison with the membership of the party. The combined circulation of all party papers is over 200,000. There are that many readers of the daily, weekly and monthly papers and magazines issued by the party. There may be some duplication in this figure because some of the party members and sympathizers with our movement read both the English and foreign language papers of the party but not a great deal. Yet there are today only 10,000 members organized in the party.

The party influence extends beyond the circle of readers of its press. More thousands of workers are reached by the mass meetings held under the party auspices and thru the various struggles in the workers interest which the party initiates and carries on.

Here is a broad field in which to

work to strengthen the party organizationally and thus create a stronger instrument for revolutionary work. The party activities today in the many fields in which it is working has reached the limit of the present organized strength of the party. The party organization must be broadened in order to enable it to undertake new tasks to reach even a larger number of workers.

The recruiting of new members to broaden and strengthen the party organization, therefore, becomes one of its major fields of work. The party must crystallize into organization strength the influence which it has won among the workers.

Our party has never taken full advantage of its work among the masses to win new members. There still exists among the members of the party some remnants of the psychology of the days when the party was obliged in order to live to exist as an underground organization. The members of our party are hesitant about approaching the workers with whom they come in contact and who are sympathetic to the work of the party in order to bring them into the party. There are no persistent and systematic efforts to recruit new members.

If the whole membership of our party were to throw itself into the work of winning new members, with the same enthusiasm and energetic work which has been developed in some of the party campaigns, we could quickly double the membership of the reorganized party.

With double the membership the

party could go forward to greater achievements in the extension of its influence and in mobilizing the working masses for struggle.

The same attitude which is manifested in regard to the recruiting of new members showed itself in the reorganization of the party. Many members who were in the party before the reorganization were lost to the party because of the mechanical attitude manifested toward these members in the reorganization.

In place of considering each worker who had advanced far enough to become a member of the party as precious material for the building of a powerful Communist Party, which must be kept by the party at all cost, thousands of members were lightly dropped from the membership rolls because they did not immediately take the necessary steps to affiliate with the shop and street nuclei. In many instances even the lists containing the names of these members have not been kept.

Both the attitude within the party toward the recruiting of new members and that manifested in the reorganization of the party constitute a grave danger in relation to the building of a more powerful party. This attitude, which does not consider every member or prospective member as precious material for the upbuilding of the revolutionary movement, must be rooted out of the party.

The work of the party in winning the workers for its program must reflect itself in the growth of the membership. The membership figures of the party are the best test of whether the party is conducting its work in an effective manner. We may have the most correct program and the best policies and tactics in carrying on our work, but if we do not couple with these the recruiting of the best

elements among the workers who support our party, our work will not be permanent and we are not taking the fullest advantage of our opportunities.

We Must Recruit New Members

It is because of these reasons that the Central Committee has put into the forefront of the party work a campaign for new members, which must be carried on by every unit of the party for the next months.

This campaign will have two phases. First, a campaign to draw back into the reorganized party the members who have been disconnected from the party or drifted away from the party organization during the reorganization.

There are two or three thousand members who were in the party last year at this time who are not now party members, who can be won back if the proper organizational steps are taken. The party organizations in each section or sub-section in the larger cities and the city organizations in the smaller cities, must immediately make a list of the members who dropped out of the party during the reorganization. If the membership lists of a year ago have not been kept, a new list can be compiled by each nucleus having its members hand in the names of former members.

The leading committee in the section or city must organize a group of the most active party members to visit these former members and endeavor to win them back to the party. Such a campaign, carried on systematically, will result in adding thousands of members to the party strength immediately.

Coupled with this campaign to win back the former members must be a campaign to recruit new members from among the workers sympathetic

to the party. The mailing lists of our party papers constitute a valuable asset in carrying on this work. These lists have been furnished to the district organizers, who in turn must distribute them to the sections and cities.

Here again a strong group of party members must be organized to visit these readers of our papers and endeavor to win them for the party organization.

Together with this work among the workers whose names were on the party rolls and who are readers of our papers, the members of the party must be stimulated to take up a recruiting campaign among the workers with whom they come in daily contact. The recruiting campaign must be carried on in the factories through the members of the shop nuclei, in the trade unions by the members of the trade union fractions, in the fraternal organizations by the members of the fractions in the organizations.

Build the Party

“Build the Party” must be the slogan which every member of the Party transforms into reality by active participation in the campaign to win back old members and to recruit new members for the Party.

Cast out of the Party the attitude which looks with disdain upon the idea of drawing new members into the Party. Let every one of the 10.-

Politics is a science and art that did not come down from heaven, and is not be aquired gratis... If the proletariat wishes to defeat the bourgeoisie it must train from among its ranks its own proletarian “class politicians” who should not be inferior to the bourgeois politicians.

LENIN

(Infantile Sickness—1920)

000 members of the Party become a recruiting agent for the Party, with the object of having every worker who is sympathetic to the Party become a member of the Party.

Let us set as our goal to add 5,000 members to the reorganized Party during the next six months. The material to thus increase our membership and our organizational strength is at hand. It awaits the systematic effort of the Party to work it into the structure of our organization.

Let us make every political campaign, every campaign in the trade unions a recruiting campaign to win members for the Party.

If we mobilize our Party for work in support of this program the Party will grow in membership, in organizational strength, even as it has grown in political influence.

WHAT LITERATURE TO SELL THIS MONTH

Russian Recognition and Defense Campaign

1. The Tenth Year—by Louis Engdahl
2. Report of the American Trade Union Delegation
3. Russian Workers and Workshops in 1926
Foster
4. The Youth and the Russian Revolution
Published by the Young Workers League

Labor Party Campaign

- For a Labor Party.....John Pepper
 The Government Strikebreaker—Lovestone
 The Labor Leutenants of American Imperialism Lovestone
 Wrecking of the Labor Banks.....Foster

General

- Workers Party—What it Stands for and Why Every Worker Should Join
 Ruthenberg

We should concentrate on the above pamphlets during the coming month. Up to date pamphlets deling with the Labor Party, the Foreign Born Campaign are now in preparation, and will be ready before the end of the year.

OUTLINE FOR CLASS IN ORGANIZATION

(For Party Functionaries and the Training of Party Functionaries)

I. ORGANIZATION AS THE BASIS OF PROLETARIAN STRENGTH (1 session)

- a) Organization and Politics,
- b) Organization and Administration,
- c) Role of Organization in a Bolshevik Party,
- d) Organization Forms,
- e) Different Organizations of the Workingclass,
- f) The Party, the Vanguard of the Workingclass,
- g) Opportunism in Organization Questions,
- h) Role of Organization in the split of the RSDP in 1903,
- i) Attitude of Right and Leftist groups on questions of organization in the different parties of the International.

READING: Introduction—In Lenin on Organization, also Chapter 6, Chapter on Party. Lenin and Leninism by Stalin. Imprecorr, Vol. 6, No. 2, Article by Ulbricht.

II. PRINCIPLES OF LENINIST ORGANIZATION (2 sessions)

- a) Every member an active member,
- b) Discipline,
- c) Democratic Centralization—different periods,
- d) Shop Nuclei as the basis of Communist Organization,
- e) Party Fraction in Unions, Cooperatives and other organizations,
- f) The Party Cadres—Professional Revolutionaries.
- g) Role of the Party.

READING: Chapt. 3 and 5 in Lenin on Organization, Imprecorr Vol. 6, No. 2

III. STRUCTURE AND STATUTES OF THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY (2 sessions)

- a) Party a Section of World Party—meaning of this to Party,
- b) The Central Executive Committee,
- c) The District Committee, City Executive, etc.,
- d) Shop Nuclei, Street Nuclei, Section, Sub-Section, etc.
- e) Party conventions, conferences, plenums, membership meetings,
- f) Conferences of Functionaries,
- g) Democratic Centralism in the Workers Party,
- h) Membership in the Party and the Recruiting of new members,
- i) The Language Bureaus and their work—fractions.
- j) Fractions in Trade Unions and other organizations,
- k) Relationship between the Party and the Young Workers League

READING: Chapter 6 in "Lenin on Organization"; Lovestone—The Party Organization; Imprecorr, Vol. 6, No. 38.

IV. PROBLEMS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATION

(3 sessions)

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|---|---|
| a) The shifting from small to large industry, | i) Shop papers, |
| b) Intermediate forms between shop and street nuclei, | j) Shop Committees, |
| c) Building trades, railroad workers, seamen, etc., | k) Nuclei activity and the organization of the Unorganized, |
| d) Americanization, | l) Nuclei activity and the Party campaigns, |
| e) Small factories, | m) Relation of the nuclei to the Sub-Sections, Sections, CEC, etc., |
| f) The problem of Functionaries, | n) Reorganization and Party Democracy. |
| g) Housewives, non-proletarians, etc., | |
| h) Drawing every member into activity, | |

READING: Chapters 7 and 9 in "Lenin on Organization". Imprecorr, Vol. 6, No. 2 and Vol. 6, No. 38.

V. ORGANIZATION FOR PARTY WORK AND WORK IN MASS ORGANIZATIONS (3 sessions)

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|---|--|
| a) The Organization Department of the CEC and the Districts. | i) Control of activity of membership—apparatus for control, |
| b) Sub-Committees and Departments of the CEC and the Districts, | j) Organizing and utilizing mass meetings, |
| c) Officers of the Nuclei and the Executives, | k) Organization of United Front Campaigns and Meetings, |
| d) Keeping of Party records, etc., | l) The function of fractions, and the organizing of campaigns in mass organizations, |
| e) Systematic everyday organization work, | m) Utilizing the United Front to build the Party, |
| f) Organizing for membership recruiting, | n) A balanced program of work, |
| g) Organizing for Press Campaigns, | o) Problems presented by the students to be discussed. |
| h) Election Campaigns, | |

READING: "Lenin on Organization", Chapters 1, 2, and 10; Imprecorr, Vol. 6, No. 40 and Vol. 6, No. 38 (mass work).

ADDITIONAL READING IN THIS COURSE: Imprecorr—Vol. 5, Nos. 5, 63, and 88; Vol. 6, Nos. 2, 28, 30, 34, 36, and 37.

Lenin's speech at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern;
 Organization Decisions, Third Congress of the Comintern;
 Kaganowitz—Der Organisatorische Aufbau Der KPR (German);
 Zinoviev—History of the Russian Party (can be obtained in German or Russian, or in the back Nos. of the Workers Monthly.

The letter printed below shows what importance the Communist International attaches to the publication of shop bulletins. Also we must take note of the many important suggestions contained therein. The article on shop bulletins in this issue will be followed by many others dealing with all phases of shop bulletins.

ORG. DEPARTMENT
OF THE E. C. C. I.

To the C. C. of the Workers Party of Am.
Org. Department,
New York.

Dear Comrades,

We were very interested in the factory newspapers you sent us recently. The articles in the "Daily Worker" dealing with this question have also come to our notice, but we are rather disturbed at the statement in Comrade Lovestone's report that at present fewer factory newspapers are being published. We are alarmed because factory newspapers in American conditions are essentially important. Factory newspapers can only be effective when their development is systematically supported by the Party.

We are not in possession of the instructions issued by the CC on this question recently, but in so far the articles in the press are concerned, we must say that they have not been concrete enough. Experiences and examples, which you must have had in your possession, have not been utilized in a sufficiently instructive manner to illustrate the situation.

The task before the American Party today not only consists in enlarging the network of factory newspapers (which is extremely important) but in the maintenance of the existing newspapers and their improvement. In reference to this last point, we must point out that factory newspapers which we received recently err on the side of lack of initiative, their approach to the masses is inadequate and they do not react to their wishes and discontent by proposing definite demands. "The Harvester Worker" of the McCormack factory should serve as an example of what other factory newspapers ought to be.

Despite the large percentage of foreign workers, the nuclei of the Workers Party of America seem disinclined to issue notices in the language of the foreigners who are working in the given factory. We should like to point out here that the CP of Argentine publishes notices and short articles in Italian, Hungarian and Czech languages, etc., in the factory newspapers. This custom has given very good results and should serve as an example for the Workers Party of America.

Factory newspapers should inform the

workers in simple language about the activities of American imperialism in Latin America and China. Some of the newspapers have already begun to do so. It is important, however, that the Party committees everywhere should draw attention to this question and point out its importance. The Party should also control in how far factory newspapers deviate from Communist ideology, a danger which is especially possible in newly created factory newspapers.

In conclusion, we ask you to keep us informed continuously about the number of factory newspapers, their circulation and how often they are published.

With Communist Greetings,
pp. Chief of the Org. Department
of the ECCI.

(Signature)

The art of communist organization lies in the ability of making use of each and everyone for the proletarian class struggle: of distributing the party work amongst all the party members, and of constantly attracting thru its members ever wider masses of the proletariat to the revolutionary movement; further it must hold the direction of the whole movement in its hands not by virtue of its might, but by the authority, energy, greater experience, greater all around knowledge and capabilities.

From Third Congress
Communist International

A communist party must strive to have only really active members and to demand from every rank and file party worker that he should place his whole strength and time, insofar as he can himself dispose of it under existing conditions, at the disposal of his party and devote his best forces to these services.

From Third Congress
Communist International

FACTORY NEWSPAPERS

By REBECCA GRECHT

Comrade Grecht is a member of the New York District Executive Committee and was head of the Factory Paper Committee. Comrade Grecht was recently appointed National Field Organizer.

IN the period which has passed since our Party was reorganized on the basis of factory units, we have developed various new forms of activity which will play important parts in the building of a mass Communist party in America. Among them is the publication of factory newspapers—Communist shop organs issued by our nuclei.

Today we may correctly state that such papers are no longer a novelty to us. Almost every district in the Party has undertaken their publication—notably Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, and New York—with varying degrees of success. In fact, an examination of the papers issued shows, in spite of the shortcomings, a surprisingly good grasp of the essentials of factory organs—surprising, because of our lack of experience.

At the present time, however, there is evident a slackening down of effort in this direction. Some of the shop papers have been suspended; others, entirely discontinued. This condition must be remedied. As a means of extending communist influence in shops and factories, as a means of activating our party membership, the significance of factory newspapers is tremendous. We must revive old papers and issue new ones. This is one of our highly important immediate tasks.

Unquestionably there are difficulties involved in issuing shop papers. The problems of organization, of publication and distribution, of writing and editing, of the correct correlation of material, all must be con-

sidered. But once a definite method is worked out and systematic attention given, the problem becomes simplified and the results decidedly encouraging.

To carry out this task effectively, every district, sub-district, and city organization should establish committees whose special charge shall be the general supervision of factory newspapers in their territory. The placing of definite responsibility for this work is essential.

These committees must aim to issue papers in every shop and factory of several hundred or more workers where party members are employed. It is not only in huge plants employing thousands, as in the Ford factory in Detroit, but also in relatively small factories employing only a few hundred, as the Wright Aeronautical Corporation in Paterson, New Jersey, that shop papers can have marked effect. Furthermore, it is not necessary to wait until a large nucleus has been established in a plant before issuing a paper. While this is, of course, most desirable, often one or two live wires, perhaps with the indirect assistance of some sympathizers, can undertake publication.

Nor is it necessary to start on a grand scale. Many comrades visualize the factory newspaper as a sort of miniature copy of a daily newspaper. They think it must be printed, have at least four or six pages, and in general simulate the appearance of the communist press. Lacking the required financial and technical resources, they become discour-

aged and decide it useless to start. And when they put out the first issue on a grand scale, it takes many months until another issue is printed and sometimes it is the only issue. This causes confusion, and suspicion among the workers. This conception has undoubtedly prevented the issuance of a number of shop papers. It is a case of a commendable ambition, which must, however, be checked. For the present, we must set our minds firmly on the possibilities within our reach, and above all strive for regularity in the issuance of the shop papers. A printed shop paper is best, of course. Where this is not possible, a mimeographed one will serve the purpose. A paper having space enough to deal with all the economic and political problems confronting the workers in the shop should be our aim. But where there are no facilities, a single sheet, mimeographed on both sides is a good start. Printing should be considered only when, through contribution, assistance from the district or local treasury, affairs for the benefit of factory papers, or proceeds from the sale of the paper where selling is possible, a fund is available for that purpose.

Another problem involves the actual organization of the paper. How to start, how to get the news and write it up, are questions every unit faces when it begins planning a shop paper. The method used in New York with considerable success may well be applied in other districts.

To begin with, either a member of the factory newspaper committee or another comrade who understands the problems of shop papers, is attached to the nucleus. A preliminary meeting of the nucleus is called at which, under the direction of this comrade, the general problems of

factory newspapers and the specific needs of the unit are discussed, and the members are asked to talk about their shop—to tell about wages, hours, etc. A good response can be obtained in this way. As the members speak, the facts are jotted down. Then for the next meeting, each one is assigned to write up what he has told, either in a brief article, or in a letter form. When the material is ready, the members discuss it, and if necessary, rewrite it to meet the criticism that may be offered. When the material is finally approved by the committee in charge, the paper is issued. Then, conferences of all comrades participating in the publication of factory newspapers are held to exchange experiences and analyze the papers.

While the desired results are not always immediately obtainable, and often the comrades in charge may be compelled to do most of the writing, yet, by following this method, the initiative of the comrades in the shop can be developed, their cooperation assured, and a general interest in the work aroused.

It is well to bear in mind that the factory paper must become the work of the factory unit itself. If they are simply products of district committees, the material gathered and written by some one comrade who has no direct connection with the factory, then the effectiveness and value of the paper will be correspondingly diminished. True, very many of our comrades in the factories have the idea that only journalists and experts in the English language can write about shop problems, and are afraid to express themselves in writing. This illusion must be broken. We do not desire the language of the school or newspaper office, but the language

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COMPOSITION OF THE PARTY (BY DISTRICTS)

PREPARED IN AUGUST 1927

| Dist- rict | Total memb. | No. Shop Nuclei | Mem- bers | No. Street Nuclei | Mem- bers |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 1 | 800 | 5 | 40 | 30 | 760 |
| 2 | 4000 | 50 | 400 | 50 | 1500 |
| 3 | 550 | 4 | 33 | 25 | 445 |
| 4 | 334 | 4 | 53 | 18 | 231 |
| 5 | 510 | 26 | 215 | 23 | 263 |
| 6 | 496 | 18 | 131 | 24 | 365 |
| 7 | 600 | 12 | 350 | 15 | 250 |
| 8 | 1100 | 18 | 200 | 52 | 896 |
| 9 | 721 | 3 | 21 | 70 | 700 |
| 10 | 216 | 10 | 68 | 20 | 130 |
| 12 | 560 | 3 | 15 | 31 | 545 |
| 13 | 439 | 2 | 11 | 22 | 428 |
| 15 | 130 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 130 |
| Agric- Dist. | 191 | 11† | 109 | 8 | 82 |

Summary:

10538 166 1646 394 6775

9 non-reorganized branches—76 members.

Members at large—41.

2,000 members in Fact. Dist. Street Nuclei

Explanations:

In District Two there are 50 Factory Dist. Nuclei with total membership of 2000.

In District Three—8 non-reorganized br. with total membership of 72.

In District Five—1 Farm Nucleus of 9 members. Members at large—23.

In District Eight—1 non-reorganizer br. of 4 members.

In District Ten—Members at large—18.

† Farm Nuclei.

Shop Papers

| Name of paper | Circula- tion |
|---------------------------------|------------------|
| DISTRICT 1 | |
| Hood Rubber Worker..... | 3000 |
| DISTRICT 2 | |
| Wright Propeller..... | 500 |
| Brooklyn Machine Shop..... | 500 |
| DISTRICT 3 | |
| None | None |
| DISTRICT 4 | |
| E. J. Workers Voice (Shoe)..... | 1000 |
| DISTRICT 5 | |
| Westinghouse Worker..... | 2-3000 |
| DISTRICT 6 | |
| Spark Plug (Auto) | 1300 |
| Steel Worker | 1200 |
| Otis Worker (steel) | 800 |
| Worsted Worker | 1000 |
| Red Motor | 1000 |
| Red Wing Foot (rubber) | 3000 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------|
| DISTRICT 7 | |
| Ford Worker | 20000 |
| Dodge Worker | 3000 |
| Packard (auto) | 2000 |
| Hudson (") | 3000 |
| Fisher Body (auto) | 3000 |
| Flint Fisher Body | 1500 |
| DISTRICT 8 | |
| Harvester Worker (Machine) | 5000 |
| DISTRICT 9 | |
| Dock Worker | 2-3000 |
| Garment Worker | |
| Shop Bulletin (upholsterer) | 200 |
| DISTRICT 10 | |
| Packing House Worker | 500 |
| The Organizer (packing) | 1000 |
| Oil Worker | 500 |
| Railroad Worker | 500 |
| DISTRICT 12 | |
| None | None |
| DISTRICT 13 | |
| None | None |
| DISTRICT 15 | |
| None | None |
| AGRICULTURAL DISTRICT | |
| None | None |

SUMMARY: 25 Shop papers with a total circulation of58,000

Organized Fractions in Industries

| | |
|--|--|
| DISTRICT 1 | |
| Needle Trades, Building Trades, Shoe Industry, Machinery, Textile, Granite Cutters | |
| DISTRICT 2 | |
| None information received. | |
| DISTRICT 3 | |
| About 40 members scattered in many industries. | |
| DISTRICT 4 | |
| Small membership scattered in many industries. | |
| DISTRICT 5 | |
| Mining, Metal, Needle Trades, Food, C L U | |
| DISTRICT 6 | |
| Mining, Steel, Metal, Needle Trades, Building Trades, Rubber. | |
| DISTRICT 7 | |
| Machinist, Auto Union, Tailors, Barbers, Butchers, Street Car. | |
| DISTRICT 8 | |
| Needle Trades, Metal Trades, Building Trades, Railroad, Food, Printing, Mining. | |
| DISTRICT 9 | |
| Upholsterers, Dock Workers, Garment Workers. | |
| DISTRICT 10 | |
| Mining, Food, Clothing, Transportation, Machine, Building. | |
| DISTRICT 12 | |
| Building and Miscellaneous. | |
| DISTRICT 13 | |
| Food, Building, CLC of Los Angeles, CLC of San Francisco, Build. Trades Council | |
| DISTRICT 15 | |
| Machinist, Painters, Carpenters. | |
| AGRICULTURAL DISTRICT | |
| None. | |

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of the worker. Emphasis must be placed on brief stories, simply written as the worker feels and thinks, either in English or another tongue that may be translated. Political articles may have to be written in most cases by some responsible comrade of the leading committee. But even in this the aim must be to develop the initiative and understanding of the members of the factory unit so that, as far as possible, they themselves may make the political contribution.

We have touched in this article on a few of the organization problems involved in the preparation and publication of factory newspapers. They are not insoluble. In fact, some of the obstacles which seem to stand in the way of issuing factory papers are obstacles only so long as a start is not actually made. Once a paper is issued and serious effort directed to its continuation, experience helps us to overcome many difficulties.

In our present campaign to Build the Party, shop papers must become an inseparable part of the activity of communist groups in factories. The factory newspaper has not merely an agitational role, acting as the mouthpiece of the communists, shedding light on the economic and political problems of the workers, raising slogans for the betterment of their conditions. It has a very definite organizational role. As an effective instrument for extending the circles of sympathizers gathered around the group in the factory, it provides a first step in the direction of rallying the workers around the Communist Party. It makes Communism not an abstraction but a reality. It makes the Party an active factor in the life of the workers.

"Every work-shop must be our

stronghold"—so wrote Lenin. Factory newspapers, by helping our party to strike its roots among the masses of workers, are indispensable in this task.

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light of this task, the building, broadening, and strengthening of the left wing assumes tremendous importance. This the Party membership and particularly the Party organizers must realize fully, and translate this understanding into concrete action.

The forthcoming Conference of the TUEL offers a splendid opportunity for our party to do its share in the strengthening of the left wing and its leading organ, the TUEL. All Party organizers are therefore called upon to exert their efforts to make the Conference a real success.

The offensive of the employers is intensifying, with the injunction becoming a real menace to the labor movement. The labor reactionaries continue to move to the right, thus helping the employers' offensive against the workers. The Los Angeles convention of the A. F. of L. proves that most conclusively. The same proof is supplied by the continued betrayal of the miners by the Lewis machine. Hence the vital need for a strong left wing to combat trade union reaction and to save the trade union movement. Hence the absolute necessity for our party to help in the building of a powerful left wing.

It is the duty of all party organizers to see to it that the Party members belonging to trade unions participate actively in the building up of their respective TUEL and other left-wing organizations and that these be adequately represented at the forthcoming conference of the Trade Union Educational League.