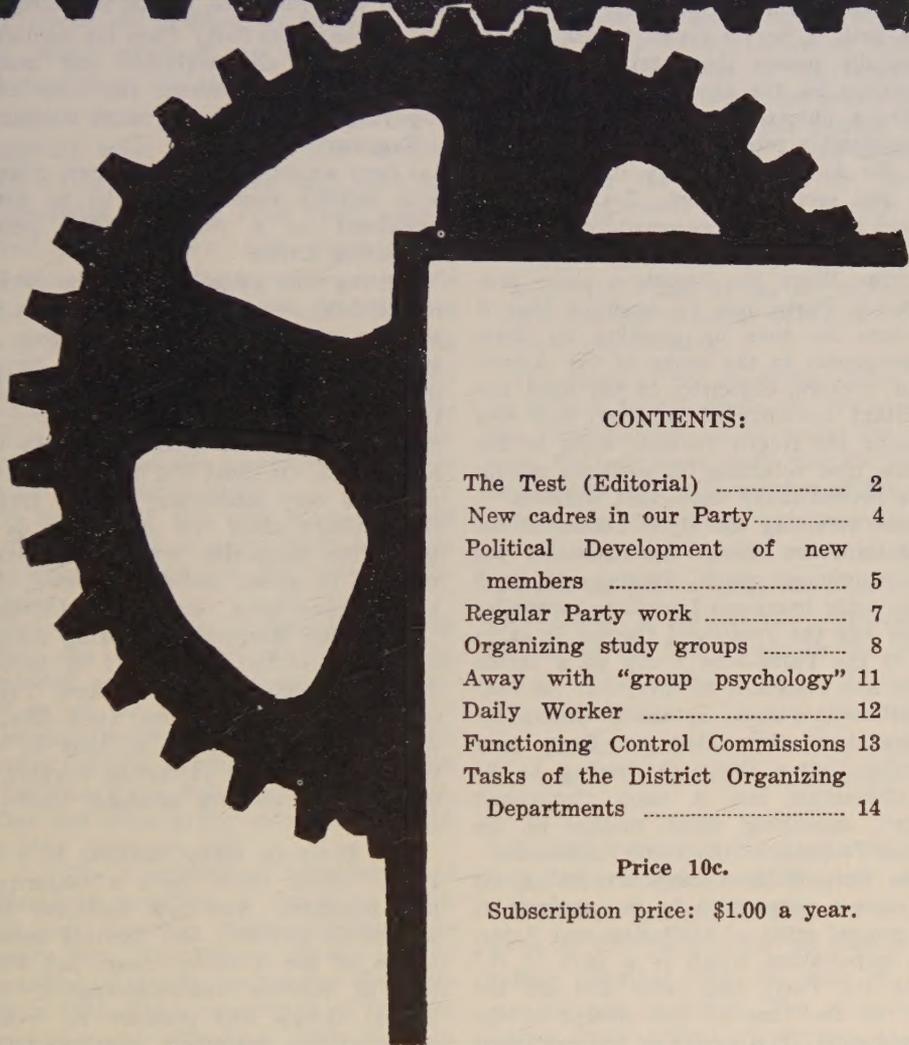


THE PARTY ORGANIZER



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Price 10c.

Subscription price: \$1.00 a year.

Vol. 3.

MARCH, 1930

No. 2.

Published by

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

43 East 125th Street, New York City

The Test

One year ago the Comintern stated in its Open Letter to the American Party:

"Its past still weighs upon its present. The relics of the previous period of its existence form the greatest obstacle in the path it has to travel before it successfully passes the turning point and develops in the shortest possible time from a numerically small propagandist organization into a mass political party of the American working class."

In the same document, the Comintern pointed out how to "successfully pass the turning point", by

"The Party can become a mass proletarian Party only on condition that it widens its base by creating its main strongholds in the ranks of the American workers, especially in the most important branches of industry, and also among the Negro workers, while at the same time retaining its positions among the revolutionary immigrant workers."

Since receiving the Open Letter of the Comintern, our Party has travelled far and experienced much. Having rid itself of the petty bourgeois Lovestone renegades—who join the Trotskyist Cannon in barking at the Party—the Party as a united whole has proceeded to carry out the four conditions laid down by the Comintern as "essential in order that the Party may definitely enter the path leading to its transformation into a mass Communist Party", something which neither of the former factions in the Party understood.

The first of these conditions called for "A correct perspective in the analysis of the general crisis of capitalism and American imperialism which is a part of it," which the Party has today and did not have at the time of the receipt of the Open Letter. The second of the conditions demanded "Liquidation of factionalism and drawing workers into the leadership," the first half of which has been successfully carried thru and the latter half is still to be taken up boldly and completed. The

third demand, "To place in the center of the work of the Party the daily needs of the American working class . . ." has as yet been achieved only partially and in a feeble way while the fourth condition,

"Freeing the Party from its immigrant narrowness and seclusion and making the American workers its wide basis, paying due attention to work among the Negroes"

has been seriously tackled in some districts with definite results—altho by no means completed as a whole—in the present Recruiting Drive.

Writing this prior to the conclusion of the DRIVE, with still one more week left, we can state with assurance that the quota of 5,000 new members will be surpassed by February 28th. Already (Feb. 16th) we have 4,797 new members in the ninth week of the DRIVE and 59 new shop nuclei. Of these 752 are Negro workers. The very incomplete reports from a few districts show the orientation is towards the industrial workers. A partial analysis in seven districts (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago and Minnesota) covering 2,209 of the new recruits show 1,997 or 90% as industrial workers and of these 194 or 10% are miners. In New York City, we see a gratifying result in that to date they have recruited 74 marine workers and twenty auto workers amongst their new recruits.

The Party in many districts is a new Party. Many nuclei have a majority of new members. The new members bring with them militancy and fighting determination of the working class; but also a lack of positive understanding of Communist theory and practice as well as many of the prejudices instilled artificially by the bourgeoisie over years of training. While developing and training these new members we must overcome these shortcomings, particularly guarding against expressions of white chauvinism.

The central task and campaign of the Party today is the absorption and activating of these new members. This necessitates complete changes in our methods of work in the districts, sections and nuclei.

The Comintern in its cable of February 9th, places the problem as follows:

"Rapid influx of new members raises before Party the task of their organization in factory and street nuclei whose activity must be raised, thus drawing them into daily practical Party work and organizing for them short Party courses and bringing the most capable into Party schools. Without such work directed towards meeting the requirements of the new members and keeping them in the Party, a considerable part will inevitably withdraw. The Recruiting campaign would thus, not only prove valueless but would also compromise Party in eyes of working mass."

To accomplish this task is the **real test of the leadership** of every Party organization, from the nuclei to the Central Committee.

The carrying thru of the campaign to **"Keep the New Members"** can only be conducted on the basis of active participation in all the Party campaigns—such as Unemployment Day, Defense of Soviet Union, Against Criminal Syndicalist Laws, Against Imperialist Wars, Building the TUUL, etc.

Our two tasks in the campaign to Keep the New Members, are:

1. The establishment immediately of discussion meetings or classes at which all new members must participate, in every city. The reports of the already established classes for the new members show that only a percentage of the new members are attending. This must be remedied at once.

2. The sharp changing and improvement of the organizational and political life of our shop and street nuclei. This means that every unit must discuss in

full the political campaigns and issues before the Party and HOW to carry these through in the everyday activity of the nucleus. Every nucleus must outline for itself, under the leadership of the District and Section leadership, concrete activity to carry thru in the factories the political and organizational tasks of the Party. Linked up with this is the improvement of the functioning of the nucleus which must meet regularly, on time and with the nucleus executive giving leadership at all times. In activating the nucleus, every member and particularly the new recruits must be involved in activity. The District and Section Committee must eliminate 'circular' leadership as far as possible and give detailed personal attention to every lower organization.

The result of the Recruiting Drive must be utilized by the Party in strengthening the revolutionary unions under its influence. Not only must every new Party member become an active member of the trade unions, but thru these new recruits tens of thousands of workers must be organized into the unions under the leadership of the TUUL. A part of the organizational activity of the Party must be the organization of its forces in Party fractions in the trade unions—a decisive weakness at the present time—in order to maintain and extend Communist influence and leadership.

To keep every new member in the Party needs the complete mobilization of the membership and functionaries. The entire work of the Party must be planned and knitted together with the task of keeping the new members. The campaign to **KEEP THE NEW MEMBERS** must be conducted with the same determination and success—introducing revolutionary competition in all Party organization—as the Recruiting Drive itself.

New Cadres in Our Party

There is a vast difference between the activity of a social democratic party and a Communist Party. The American CP has still too many organizational "left overs" from the social democratic past inherited from many of its former leaders; the whole activity of our Party is still too much concentrated upon meetings and halls instead of being mainly carried out in the shops and factories, among concentrated masses of workers. The many new forms of activity: in the factories, for mass-demonstrations, in fractions inside of non-party mass-organizations, workers defense work, anti-militarist work, etc.—put the utmost demands upon the membership and the leading comrades, not only at the top, but down in the basic organizations. In every Communist Party there is a shortage of leading forces, of cadres—not functionaries in the old meaning of the word, but active party forces capable of political leadership in different spheres of activity, and capable of organizing masses not only during times of special campaigns, but for achieving permanent results.

One of the first steps of building up real communist cadres in our Party was the cleansing out of the old right wing functionaries in our Party, the renegades following the reformist policies of Cannon and Lovestone. After this it was possible for our Party to begin a new life, free from the old factional fights—to begin the building up of a mass-party with real bolshevik cadres. We have not yet proceeded far on this way but the first steps have been taken, especially thru the successful membership drive.

When building up its bolshevik cadres, the Party must not approach the question mechanically. It is not enough to state that we have to draw in the proletarian forces into leading committees, etc. The ways and means how this is achieved must be shown. The best instrument for carrying out the task of drawing in new proletarian forces into our leading cadres is an active,

bolshevik **self-criticism**. Every unit should begin this self-criticism under the leadership of the responsible Party Committees. Every functionary should be criticized with proletarian directness, his abilities judged not according to his eventual eloquence at meetings, but according to his ability in leading the nucleus, carrying out his tasks as leader of a special activity, as a literature agent, as industrial director, worker correspondent, etc. Rank and filers not yet in leading positions should be discussed, their qualities put forward, and more boldly than ever before the Party has to bring new forces working in the factories to the forefront as leading cadres. Inactive and incapable comrades in leading positions must be replaced by more competent proletarian forces. Every Party conference, every Party committee must take this into consideration. Comrades having been put in positions, where their capabilities cannot be utilized should be given such work where they can be most useful to the Party.

Most of our Party members do not have any direct function in the regular daily Party work. The rest—the most active Party members — are overburdened with work, some comrades having up to four or five functions, sometimes more. This is a wrong **division of work**—an "exploitation" of Party forces which is inefficient and damages our activity as a whole. When new functions arise, according to the enlarged activity of the Party, new forces must be drawn in for this new work, already active forces not permitted to be overburdened. When carrying out self-criticism in the Party this point must not be overlooked. The more our activity is growing, the more dangerous becomes this form of pressing our most active forces to the utmost under the burden of ever enlarging tasks. Better distribution of the functions between our members! Every Party member must carry out some function of Party activity.

The best means of developing new cadres, is to intensify our activity on all fields, especially our political activity; the problem of new cadres is the problem of correct leadership in the struggles of the working class. Not mechanically so that when some hundred workers have been organized somewhere for struggle at once the cry arises to bring them a set of expert leaders from some other locality, but by developing the local forces for leading work. Sometimes it is necessary to strengthen the leadership with outside forces, but a too mechanical carrying out of such a policy tends to stifle or kill the initiative of the masses, tends to hinder the development of new leading forces.

The new members brought into the Party during the present membership drive must be drawn into direct Party work, given certain functions in the Party. Not a single new member must be left to himself. After attending the classes for new members, or already before they must be given Party work. The most advanced forces among new members can also be utilized for work in the auxiliaries, even in leading positions. Especially workers from the basic industries. We are too mechanical in placing almost only Party members in leading positions in the auxiliaries. In the TUUL, in WIR, ILD, FSU, etc., new members or Party sympathizers must be much more utilized than before. We will build our cadres best thru actual work, not only thru theoretical schooling.

The best school is active participation in the class struggle.

The theoretical level of our membership in general is very low. This demands of our Party the utmost attention to theoretical work. Our Party is publishing too few books and too few pamphlets explaining the problems of the class struggle. And our membership is reading too little of even the few books and pamphlets that our Party publishes. More theoretical activity in our units, at least one study group in every unit. Every functionary in the Party should be a subscriber to the Communist, every member of the leading district committees must regularly read the Inprecorr. Our Party has paid altogether too little attention to the original works of Marx and Lenin now published in English in this country. We must start a systematic study of this literature all thru the Party. This will help tremendously in developing our new cadres.

But the most important lever in this work is SELF-CRITICISM.

Self-criticism not only in the leading committees, in the units, but also self-criticism before the masses of workers. A Party that understands to correct its own faults openly before the masses and invites the masses to take part, will win the confidence of the masses. Such an activity combined with self-study, Party schools and classes—with every member of the Party active in the growing class-struggles, guarantees the building up of leading cadres, of new proletarian bolshevik leaders.

The Political Development of the New Members

As the statement of the Communist International pointed out, the test in our recruiting campaign is the keeping of those new members recruited into the Party during the drive. One of the major tasks that faces the Party is the political development of these new members. The

political development and education of the 5,000 new proletarians who joined the Party, if this is to be carried out successfully, must be conducted in a planned and systematic manner. The new members will not be developed if we will try in a haphazard manner to make them familiar

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with the theory and tactics of our movement. The political education of these new members must be conducted systematically, building their political education step by step until they succeed in absorbing and assimilating the theoretical foundation and the strategy of our movement.

Political Education Together with Political Activity.

One of the best methods thru which we will be able to develop the political thinking and consciousness of the new members will be by linking up their political education with the political campaigns of the Party. For example we are to take the war danger: In this respect it will be our task to have the new member learn the Leninist conception of imperialist war through direct struggle against war; the Leninist conception of the struggle of the colonial peoples against imperialism thru the direct participation in the support of the colonial peoples in their struggles. To be more concrete, this will resolve itself in having the new member carry on activity in the shop, trade union, or other mass organization against war and for the support of the struggle of the colonial peoples. The same applies to every other major political campaign of the Party. By linking up the political campaigns of the Party with the theoretical education of the new members, we can achieve the best results. We must condemn every tendency to separate the political development of the new members from the political campaigns of the Party. Merely taking a class will not develop the new member, and consequently it will be difficult for the Party to maintain them.

Must Be First Acquainted with the Fundamentals of Our Party.

In laying the basis for the political development of the new members, we must first of all acquaint the member with the fundamentals of our Party organization and the duties of a Party member. This could very successfully be carried out through the establishment of a four week course where Party problems are discussed

with the new members. After the new members learn the duty of a Party member, the relation of the Party to the trade unions and other mass organizations, the form of activities of the Party in the shop and mass organizations, the Party structure, etc., he will then be in a position to actually participate in the work of the Party and thereby strengthen our activities. Upon the conclusion of this course, these new members can later on attend classes on the fundamentals of our movement, taking up the theoretical background, etc.

Tasks of the Old Members.

In order to achieve this, the old members must help to draw in the members into the Party activity and do everything in their power to help the new members become active members in our Party. Concretely this resolves itself in improving the life of the unit, in showing the new member how to carry out Party assignments and Party tasks. In a unit where the old Party members will be engaged in an abstract theoretical discussion and arguments above the understanding of the new members, this will not help to maintain these new members. In units where the old Party members spend hours on useless discussion over technical matters, which could be easily settled in a smaller committee, this too will not help to maintain the new members. The old Party members must remember that there is a new situation created in the Party with the admission of 5,000 new members. We have many sections where over 60 or 70% of the membership consists of workers who only recently joined the Party. Therefore if we are to maintain them, we first of all must establish such methods of work which new members can understand and be involved in. In a discussion in the units, the old members must not monopolize the floor, making long drawn out speeches by repeating each other without considering that in that room there are new members who do not as yet understand the problems discussed or who

are being bored with the long drawn out discussion; all these factors must be taken into consideration. They may seem very small viewing them superficially, but the total effect of all these shortcomings is very costly to our Party.

The Expected Results.

If we proceed in a well planned and systematic fashion by first explaining the essentials of our Party organization and the duties of the Party members, we will be able to give a correct understanding to the new members concerning the Party and their tasks as Party members. If we succeed in combining the political educa-

tion of the new members with the political campaigns of the Party, we will be able to guarantee that the new members understand the problems of the Party by applying the Party policy directly to his daily work in the shops and factories. If the old members cooperate with the new, if the life of the unit is enriched, if our activities are planned and politicalized, the new members will find an interest in our Party organization and thereby involve themselves in the activities of the Party.

These are the immediate steps to be taken in our great task of developing the political level of our new members and of our entire Party.

Regular Party Work

Our Party has not yet succeeded in establishing the communist practice of every member carrying out regular daily work for the Party. Only a small part of the membership is working regularly for the Party—in most instances the functionaries—and the broad mass of members is attending meetings (irregularly), paying dues and other contributions—a great part of them not even doing this. Such inheritance of organizational dualism—the functionaries working and members remaining mostly passive—must be liquidated. How?

First of all by improving our leadership. Instead of nominal, burocratic leadership mostly thru circular letters, personal contact must be established; leadership thru active individual participation given by members of leading committees in the work of the nuclei, especially of leading comrades from the most important party committees taking part and giving leadership to the shop nuclei in more important factories. Section Committees should as far as possible avoid issuing circular letters, instead of that the members of the Section Committees should regularly visit the nuclei in their respective sections carrying out the decisions of the Section

Committees. Our unit secretaries (sometimes called organizers) should not remain routine functionaries, receiving letters, reading them to the nucleus and answering them—and after this procedure feeling that everything is okay. Every nucleus secretary in our Party must become a **political leader**.—Every member in the units must take initiative—bringing questions of his own shop or of shops in the neighborhood to the attention of the nucleus, bringing workingclass issues of local character or of general interest to the attention of the unit. This will guarantee a real political life in the units, make Party work more interesting than the repeated drives for funds and more funds and still more funds without corresponding political, interesting work for the members.

Secondly: by establishing a strict Party discipline not only in the units, but all thru the net of leading Party committees and thru the fractions in non-party mass-organizations. This means less of permanent threats about taking disciplinary measures, more of carrying out disciplinary decisions, when made. Now we have in our Party plenty with threats and too

many disciplinary actions decided upon and not carried out. This weakens the authority of the Party and is one reason for inactivity.

Thirdly: more attention to the shops! Every campaign of the Party must be carried directly into the shops, our papers and the Party literature should not be distributed only in meetings and on news stands, they must be found by the workers outside of factories, inside of shops. One of the central tasks of the Party is building new shop nuclei, issuing new shop papers—especially in large factories with thousands of workers.

Fourth: active self-criticism—not only from the leading bodies of the Party but by the members in the nuclei, under the leadership of the Party Committees—regardless of what persons will be criticized, with the aim of liquidating inactivity and

incompetence wherever it is found in the Party.

Thru a well organized self-criticism we will improve our leadership. With our activity concentrated mainly upon the shops and with a strict Party discipline, assisted by an intensive Party education by a Party press of a real mass-character, by organized study of Party literature—there will be ever new forms of activity more interesting to the members than the present routine work in our units. Improved leadership, new proletarian forces drawn into leading positions, eliminating incompetent or inactive “leaders” (even if very eloquent)—main attention to the shops—these are demands that must be boldly filled by our Party immediately. The process of carrying out these demands will activate the whole Party. The instrument of carrying them out is bolshevik self-criticism.

Organizing Study Groups

KEEP THE NEW MEMBERS.

Among the most effective methods of revolutionary mass-education is undoubtedly the “self-study” method under organized leadership. In this field the “study groups” must be considered one of the best forms.

A study group is a gathering of comrades, meeting at regular intervals, who thru joint efforts seek knowledge in the theory of Marxism-Leninism and thru active Party work train themselves to become competent fighters in the class-struggle and more able to fill their tasks as Party members.

When organizing study groups the following points among others should be taken into consideration:

1. The study groups should be organized in each nucleus (at least one or two). They can also be organized in non-party proletarian organizations of mass character. The study group should have at

its disposal—if possible—a room (private or in Party headquarters or in some building belonging to a sympathetic organization). Handbooks of a general character, or still better some sort of a reference library, should be available for the members of the study group.

2. Do not permit the group to consist of too many members, never more than eight or ten; not less than four or five.

3. The subdivision of voluntary members into special groups (never accept other students in the study groups than such that volunteer for it) is important as well as carrying on the study to more advanced subjects in relation to the Party, giving cause to the formation of new study groups of members eager for more involved and difficult problems.

4. The best way for a more advanced study group is to work in close cooperation with the nearest district or section Party School.

5. New Party members should always be propagated until they join one of the study groups working in the nucleus.

6. All members of a study group should be brought in closest contact with the practical work of the Party, not least in bettering and improving the programs and agenda of the nuclei meetings. The meetings of a study group should never be permitted to interfere with nuclei meetings.

7. The study groups should avail themselves of all American institution which in any way can aid them with material in their work, such as libraries, museums, scientific institutions, etc., but never take any guidance or advice from such sources.

DIFFERENT TYPES OF STUDY GROUPS

There are various kinds of study groups, varying a great deal according to methods under which work is carried on, to problems that confront the students, etc. Comradeship, leadership, punctuality, discipline should never be missing in a study group, if its work is to be successful. Every comrade who has registered in a study group must attend its every meeting and carry out the tasks assigned him by the group, these tasks being study in conjunction with practical Party work.

The initiative to organize a study group can be taken under leadership of the nucleus buro or the section committee—by one or two comrades, who are interested in the study of a certain Party problem and are so alive for the subject that they can interest others in the same thing. When a few comrades have come to the conclusion that they desire to study something and know what they desire, then it only remains to set the work going and organize a study group. A leader should be chosen. He does not need to be a "teacher", or to have greater knowledge on the subject than any of the others. But he should have an actual interest in the subject which is to be studied, understand how to keep the comrades together and be a good organizer. If he has greater knowledge, of course, this is an advantage.

Then the practical possibilities should be looked into: meeting place, books, eventually a lecturer, paper and other necessary material. All these things should be properly considered, the plan of study and the organizational working plans should all be laid out beforehand to the resources at hand.

THE READING CIRCLE.

The simplest type of study groups are so called "reading circles", which have a task to fill especially regarding new members or in nuclei located in isolated territories. The reading circle can take the form of a "book-ring", which the members cooperatively organize in order to buy books, which then are read at home by the members, each in turn, or brought to the meetings, read in part and discussed. (The start can be made by buying two or three different books on the same subject circulating them among the members.)

Later on such circles may be able to develop and enlarge to concentrate on a given outline for study and begin systematically to follow such plans which have been worked out either by a Party agit-prop or even by some competent member of the circle. There is nothing to prevent the comrades getting in this kind of a circle to jointly read aloud from a book, chapter by chapter, always followed by discussion. From this further interest will be developed so that later a certain subject and its literature can be tackled.

This is the simplest form of a study group, and it likewise is the original form. The many types are so variously used that it becomes impossible to always characterize a working study group as belonging to either this type or that. Many of the groups, during the time of their existence, show characteristics that are to be found in nearly all the different types of groups or at least in many of them.

THE DISCUSSION STUDY GROUP.

This group also works without a precisely stipulated plan. It takes up actual

daily problems of the Party, of the class struggle in general for detailed and thoro discussion. Each problem is treated separately, and a member is elected at the previous meeting, when the subject is decided upon, to lead the discussion. In this study group every member in turn has the possibility of advancing in the art of public speaking, of conducting meetings, etc. It is also a good plan to assign "pro and con". The bourgeois (eventually social democratic) standpoints must always be put forward and criticized. Likewise all right or left deviations from the correct Party line.

THE REPORTING STUDY GROUP.

This is a more thoro and systematic method than either one of the foregoing. This type represents a real effective form of a group. For a reporting study group an outline of study should be gotten and carefully followed thruout the whole course of study, which may take months or even a year, until the outline has been worked thru in meetings, every week or every second week.—When the outline is received from the Agitprop or the Party school it should first be explained and discussed by the group under the guidance of the appointed leader. Of course, it is possible and sometimes to be recommended, in insignificant details, to transgress from the plan, or change the order of the outline—all dependent upon the practical possibilities of strictly following it. But once decided, the order in which the subject is taken up, the directions must be followed accordingly.—Every member should be active in his group, everyone in turn getting a specific task to perform: the responsibility of reporting on a given part in the outline at a certain meeting of the study group; that is to say the student shall first read up on the subject assigned and then give a report on the same in accordance with instructions and advise by the leader or in the adopted outline.—In case the reporter is not used to public speaking he should write down before reporting at least the

principal points for reference. There can be joint reporters, or co-reporters—each speaking for only ten or fifteen minutes. Later when more experienced the speaker can take half an hour or more.—Every report should be followed by a discussion from the floor, in which every member should take part. Of course, all the members of the group should read the same books as assigned to the reporter.—When well directed this study group demands good qualities of its leader.

THE LECTURE STUDY GROUP.

This is a type of study group where the greatest importance is placed upon the lecturer (not the leader). The lecturer may be either a comrade on a tour, or a local force, who is particularly interested in the subject and well read. This group however, does not give good results, unless the student-members have been assigned reading for home work, or unless there is also a period for questions and discussion. (No comrade on tour staying only for one evening should be accepted as lecturer, at least four or five meetings must be given to a subject.)

THE COURSE GROUP.

This is a higher development of the "reporting group". The tasks for the meetings are more definitely laid down and the outline adopted carried out with utmost regularity over a given period of time. The selfactivity of the members is more intensive in this type of a group than in the lecture group. In the course a great deal of attention should be laid on the selection of a study leader, who in this sort of a group must serve as a teacher. That means that he or she must have a broader and deeper knowledge of the subject to be studied than the other members of the group. Important is that every member takes active part in every meeting. Reports, alternating with lectures by the leader, should be made by the members; questions and discussion are absolutely obligatory. Tasks for homework should be given between meetings.

THE SCHOOL GROUP.

This type of a study group can be recommended when subjects are selected that require a teacher, e.g., English, any other language, worker correspondence, etc. But even in this study group the work should not be limited only to class-work. Home work must be assigned, every member should take active part in the meeting, freely questioning, criticizing and discussing.

* * *

Every type of study group can be made to function very effectively. One type is more suited under certain conditions than another, one type can be used for studying a certain subject, when not suitable for another. If well conducted even the more simple types may give better results than the more involved. A very good thing is to utilize the study groups preparing more advanced courses in the Party school or following up on a certain subject started in the school.

Some advice:

Do not keep the group meetings too often with only short intervals between, except when unavoidable, e.g. a certain comrade on tour staying at the place for only a limited number of days.—Do not allow the meetings to go too far in the

night without the unanimous consent of all members.—It is better to have a few meetings with all members than many meetings with only a few members. — Prepare every meeting very thoroly. This applies to leader, teacher as well as to every member.—No heavy and dry parliamentary discipline, but order and discipline with a comradely spirit.—Every comrade who does not meet regularly or stays away without reason accepted by the study group should be dropped from the group.—A few handbooks on the subject studied—from the local library—should at meetings be placed in the room.

No study group activity except reading circles should start before outlines in at least the most important subjects are prepared by the Agitprops, which should direct and lead this work. Outlines at least on the following subjects should immediately be worked out: Principles of Communism, Working Class Economics, History of American Labor Movement, History of the CP of the USA, History of American Capitalism, Trade Union Tactics, Unemployment, Anti-Militarist Work, Worker Correspondence, Building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, the Negro Problem, Party Organization.

Away With Group "Psychology"!

Time and again our comrades, Party members, working in language organizations of non-party character, assure us that they consider the general Party work, the so-called "American" work, the most important Party work. We believe them, they consider it the most important.

But in reality most of our language comrades work isolated—more or less—from the general Party work. They attend their nucleus meetings when their language work permits them to do so. They carry out tasks given them by the nucleus, when language work permits, etc. Their main

activity is concentrated in their language field. In principle they admit that fraction work is next to unit work, but their whole approach practically is to the opposite.

What we demand is not a mechanical division between these two fields of work, but a more intimate combination of them. The language work of our comrades has to be brought closer to the general Party work. Our language work must be Americanized in a revolutionary sense, closer to the new growing revolutionary movement in this country.

Leading comrades in the language field must be brought into American work, combined with their language work. Others may already now be drawn completely into general Party work and replaced by new language forces, new Party members or close sympathizers. The leading Party committees, especially our District Committees, must pay more attention to the language work in their respective districts. The placing of comrades in leading positions must be carried out with more attention to general Party work.

Our language papers must take more seriously their task of working for the Daily Worker, more consistently, in their every issue under the most different forms. Not only stating at times of campaign for their own paper that "we have also to work for the Daily Worker."

Every Party member—irrespective of what language he speaks—must thru his activity show that he is a member of the Communist Party here in America.

Work for the "Daily Worker"

By numerous comrades, even leading comrades, the Daily Worker is treated as a separate institution, an outside "business" without connection with the Party leading committees and the Party members. A point of view prevails that the Daily Worker must establish an apparatus away from the Party and independent of it.

The correct Party position is, that the Daily Worker is the Party's spokesman for the Party membership and to the working class masses; that every Party member, every leading committee constitutes the Daily Worker apparatus to spread the Daily Worker in order to establish the leadership of the Party over decisive masses of workers; that Daily Worker representatives in the cities have the task of organizing the Party forces to secure mass circulation, of helping the Party to carry out its program to establish mass circulation.

1. Too few Party members read the Daily Worker and therefore are deficient in carrying out the Party political line and tasks in the various fields of Party activity.

2. The Daily Worker does not reach the workers in the industries, has no mass circulation.

3. The Party is not mobilized for the

purpose of making every Party member a Daily Worker reader, of securing tens of thousands of new readers for the Party official organ.

We are actually face to face with gigantic struggles and demonstrations of workers (10,000 in unemployed demonstration in Milwaukee, 50,000 in Katovis demonstration in New York) which have a deep political meaning for our Party. The workers in the industries are in a fighting mood because of extreme exploitation and speedup. The Party speaks every day to these masses of workers thru the Daily Worker, yet an insignificant number of workers hear the Party speak. And there are hundreds of members who do not hear the Party speak thru the Daily Worker and thereby incapacitate themselves as leaders of these working class masses.

We are on the eve of the unemployed demonstrations and not one district organizer has as yet politically or organizationally connected the Daily Worker with this campaign. There are still thousands of factory gates in front of which the Daily Worker has never been seen. Our thousands of members have tens of thousands of working class neighbors who do not know the Daily Worker exists. The Party recruiting drive has brought us 5,000 new members, but only 500 new readers for

the Daily Worker, despite the fact that getting our central organ every day is one of the best methods of keeping these new members and drawing them closer to the Party, into activity.

We held 142 Lenin Memorial meetings and only 12 cities ordered the Daily Worker to sell at these meetings. We are leading struggles in the mining fields, print the news and elaborate upon the policies in an attempt to establish the Party's influence among the miners and yet the miners in our Party and the district organizers in mining territory never spread our paper among the masses of miners. We sent a half million Daily Workers to the south during the textile struggle but we are losing ground there now; and our textile comrades and district organizers in the northern textile centers failed to spread the Daily Worker among the northern textile mill slaves.

The Party holds hundreds of meetings and there are additional hundreds held in which the Party has influence at which the Daily Worker never appears. We underestimated the Katovis demonstration and failed to issue a special edition of the Daily Worker for the 50,000 workers who stood for hours right in front of the Daily Worker office on Union Square, New York. We print hundreds of columns of workers' correspondence and the workers in the shops never get to read the stories about their own shop conditions.

The establishment of the Daily Worker as the leader of large masses of workers in all industries is a major political undertaking instead of a "business". Detroit sells and distributes 1,500 each day at factory gates and in working class neighborhoods. A one day house-to-house campaign by a Party unit in Philadelphia brought 60 new readers. Forty comrades went into Negro Harlem, New York City, and secured 80 new readers, twenty Party members and sold 200 Daily Workers in one day. National circulation within the last six weeks has increased one third on the basis of factory gate and house-to-house sales and distribution. These are very decisive indications, from which we must conclude that the workers actually demand the Daily Worker. It is our task to get it to them.

No matter what shortcomings the Daily Worker may still have, it is impermissible for any Party member to make them a program for his non-support. The Daily Worker is improving. What is demanded now is that every Party member, every district committee, every district organizer places the Daily Worker upon the daily agenda of Party tasks. The Daily Worker must go hand in hand with every Party undertaking.

Mobilize the entire Party for the Daily Worker. establish mass circulation—and the Daily Worker will mobilize these masses of workers for the Party. Mass circulation will build a mass Party.

Functioning Control Commissions

In addition to the tasks of dealing with cases involving breaches of discipline and giving general audit supervision over the finances of the Party, the District Control Commissions have the tasks of stabilizing the functioning of the Party units, departments and Party fractions.

Before the October Plenum, all the energies of the Control Commission of

District 2 were taken up with the question of cleansing from the ranks the Lovestone renegade group, who stifled the growth of the Party and made it impossible for the Party to throw its entire force into mass work. The real work of struggling against the right danger showed itself when we made the carrying out of the Party line the task of every Party member. We,

therefore, made it our major task to activate the Party fractions who function in mass organizations. To see to it that our comrades not only participate in the internal life of the Party but also bring the campaigns of the Party and its program to the broad mass of workers. Also, to make our comrades who are engaged in work in mass organizations participate in the internal life of the Party and help to enrich it. In a district like New York with its hundred or so units and hundreds of fractions, both local and district, it was impossible for the District Control Commission to handle the job in addition to its other tasks. In order to solve this problem, the section conventions recently held established Section Control Commissions whose function it is to activate the units in their section, to see to it that the fractions in their section function and that the directives of the District and Section are carried out. The results achieved so far prove the correctness of the establishment of this extra organizational form. Our units function more regularly and re-

spond better to Party tasks due to a great extent to the supervision of the Section Control Commissions.

In the District Control Commission we have systematically taken one fraction after another and reorganized them into functioning groups that fight and agitate for the line of the Party in the mass organizations of the working class. Those elements that refused to carry out the line of the Party and resisted its being carried out have been dealt with in the sharpest manner. The job has only begun, although we have handled a large number of fractions. The results achieved are encouraging. For the first time in the history of the Party we are really establishing our Party fractions on a functioning basis. This work must be intensified not only in New York but in every district and town where there is Party organization. We cannot tolerate members in our ranks who parade around with Party cards but in actuality are non-communist and in some instances act in an almost anti-communist way.

Tasks of the District Organization Department

1. To formulate concrete policies, directives, and instructions for all the organizational work in connection with the various tasks of the Party (against rationalization, building TUUL, unemployment, against imperialist war, defense of the Soviet Union, Gastonia campaign, recruiting campaign, etc.).

2. To be responsible for the carrying out of the organizational aspects of all decisions of the Central Committee and the District Committee.

3. Keep the closest contact with all the other departments and work out the structure and methods of work of each of the department, to coordinate their work. See that they meet regularly.

4. To examine constantly the organizational status of the lower organizations, their functioning and personnel, and to

perfect them in line with the experience gained.

5. Give guidance and direction in re-organization of the District on the basis of shop nuclei. Also supervise street nuclei's proper organization and functioning.

6. Orientation of the Party towards the factories, particularly the basic industries. Improvement of the composition of the Party.

7. Be responsible for organizing and functioning of Party fractions in trade unions and other mass organizations. Policy to be given fractions by the proper Party committees.

8. To formulate and utilize all the organizational experiences of Party work and of the reports coming in, to supervise the Party according to the social composition,

to control the activity of the members in the trade unions and other mass organizations, observe the membership fluctuations, the personnel of the various organs and committees, etc.

9. Link up all recruiting activities with every Party campaign. Keep the recruiting of members to the Party as a constant task of every Party unit.

10. Jointly with the Agitprop Department supervise and improve the existing shop papers and work out plans for extending our shop papers.

11. Improve the content of the life of the Party nuclei—overcome fluctuation.

12. Work out ways and means of collecting dues from every member regularly each week. Eliminate the discrepancy between actual membership and dues paying membership.

13. Check up on functioning of all auxiliary organizations—including functioning of Party fractions in same (ILD, WIR, LSU, FSU, AAAIL, Women's Councils, ANLC, etc.).

14. Building the Party press and literature.

15. Supervision of Party language fractions. There shall be established a Language Department, in those districts where there are five or more language fractions. The Organization Department shall cooperate with this Language Department regarding the supervision of language fractions.

16. Maintaining of strict Party discipline.

17. Keep a complete system of statistics and information of Party organization and membership.

18. Prepare organizational conferences and send regularly representatives to the sections to take up the carrying into practice of Party decisions.

19. Make regular reports to the DC and to the Org. Dept. of the CC.

20. Establish a planfulness of work in the district as well as responsibility towards all assignments (meetings, dues, classes, financial payments, etc.).

“To the duties of the Communist activity belongs also that of submitting reports. This is the duty of all the organizations and organs of the Party as well as of every individual member. There must be general reports made covering short periods of time. Special reports must be made on the work of special committees of the Party. It is essential to make the work of reporting so systematic that it should become an established procedure as the best tradition of the Communist movement.”—Third World Congress of the CI.

Lenin particularly stresses the activity and participation of the whole of the membership in the decision of Party questions. It is they who at the conferences and congresses elect all the leading party bodies, which are responsible to their constituents. At the same time, the decisions of the higher Party organs are obligatory for the subordinate Party organs. This is the application of the principle of democratic centralism.

... As regards the districts, one of their most important functions is properly to organize literature distribution. As a rule, I think, the districts should act as the intermediaries between the committees and the factories, and even as transmitters. Their chief duty should be the correct conspiratorial distribution of the literature received from the committee. This is an extremely important duty, for if we can secure contact between a special district group of distributors and all the factories in that district and of the largest number of workers' houses in that district, it will be of great value, both in case of demonstrations and in the event of uprisings. To train a network of agents for the rapid and correct distribution of literature, leaflets, proclamations, etc., is to perform the greater half of the work of preparation for an eventual demonstration, uprising.—Lenin.

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