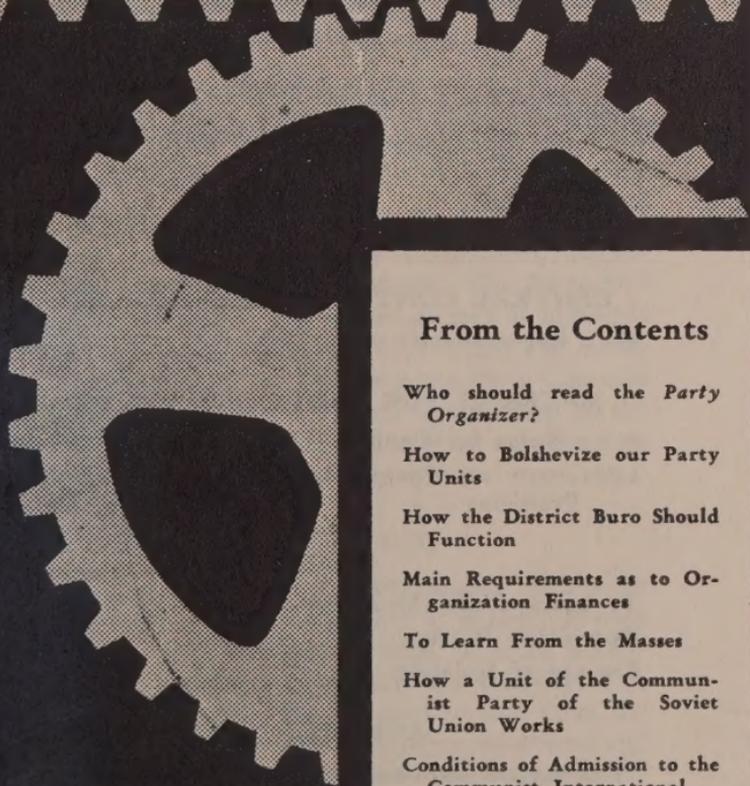


Party Organizer



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How to Bolshevizize our Party Units

How the District Buro Should Function

Main Requirements as to Organization Finances

To Learn From the Masses

How a Unit of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Works

Conditions of Admission to the Communist International

Vol. IV

FEBRUARY, 1931

No. 1

Issued by

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

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PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. IV

FEBRUARY, 1931

No. 1

WHO SHOULD READ THE PARTY ORGANIZER AND WHY

THE *Party Organizer* should be read by every functionary of the Party, by every member of a Party Committee, Bureau, Commission and Department, and finally by every leading and active Party member.

The material and articles in the *Party Organizer* are of immediate practical value for the Party Committees, departments, units and classes on Party Structure. The *Party Organizer* is a guide to action in the solution of tens of hundreds of day-to-day organizational problems confronting the Party. The *Party Organizer* must and will serve the Party Committees and Organizers as the practical guide in tightening up the Party apparatus and developing the structure of our Party on the basis of Bolshevik organizational principles.

For Party Members Only

The *Party Organizer* is an inner-Party organ. It is to be read by Party members only. The practice of selling it to non-Party workers, especially at mass meetings, must be discontinued. While there is nothing conspirative nor confidential in the *Party Organizer*, nothing that we need to hide from the masses, we must, however, differentiate between agitational and propaganda literature for the non-Party masses and inner-Party literature for Party members written for the purpose of improving the Party.

Who Should Write the Party Organizer

The *Party Organizer* is supposed to be a monthly magazine. Yet it comes out only every now and then. For eight months the *Party Organizer* did not appear, yet not a single D. O., not a single Party Committee, not a Party member inquired why it does not appear or when will it appear. It

seems that the *Party Organizer* did not satisfy a definite need in the Party.

Yet it is obvious that from the standpoint of organization our Party is poverty-stricken, inexperienced and loose to an alarming degree. The *Party Organizer* must become a weapon in overcoming these fatal organizational weaknesses.

But

the *Party Organizer* must reflect the life, the problems, the growth and experiences of the entire Party. In addition to editorship and guidance from the Center, the comrades in the field, the active comrades in Party Committees, departments and units must write to the *Party Organizer* about their problems, experiences and viewpoints.

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF PARTY UNITS

HOW TO BOLSHEVIZE OUR PARTY UNITS

WE have still many remnants of the old practise of "improving" our Party by writing resolutions, issuing mimeographed (and in capital letters) instructions, supplementing these with "must," "unconditional," and a lot of other hard and official sounding words. We will never Bolshevize or improve the Party or its work by written instructions. Even in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union each campaign, each organizational change, each important improvement is preceded or accompanied by an extensive ideological preparation.

We want our Party to become like an army, a Bolshevik army, who while understanding the policy behind each decision is prepared to carry it out with military promptness, without any hesitation or question and further, to carry out the decisions with Bolshevik judgment and maximum effectiveness.

Some of our District Committees send out instructions to units and sections of the following kind:

- Organize functioning unit buros.
- Organize Hunger Marches.
- Organize Lower Rent movements.
- Concentrate on Shops.
- Organize Shop Committees.
- Organize Shop Nuclei. Etc., etc., etc.

Not only must our leading Party Committees tell the lower units *how* to accomplish their various tasks, but each of the tasks must be *carefully and systematically prepared*. The first step in any campaign or any organizational improvement is to make the Party leadership or the Party active (leading cadre) thoroughly clear and acquainted with the problem.

Each important organizational change or inner-Party improvement (even though it comes from the CC as our instruction) must be thoroughly discussed in the leading committee or the Buro, with the most important functionaries and active comrades, and finally in the units.

The discussion should be so carried out that each succeeding discussion may have the benefit of previous discussions through resolutions, outlines and introductory summaries of discussions.

Following such ideological preparation and clarification the necessary changes should be put into effect under careful supervision. The changes must be periodically reviewed and studied, corrected and supervised. Especially is this important now in the series of organizational improvements which the Central Committee and District Committee are conducting in order to adjust the Party organizationally to its multiplying tasks in the present situation.

Today when a Party Committee proposes an organizational improvement or an important campaign they must always keep in mind that its effective realization depends on their ability to tell the lower units *how* and *why*.

THE ROLE AND TASKS OF THE UNIT BURO

(From *The Organizer*, District No. 2)

THE organizational principles of the Comintern lay special emphasis on the proper structure and functioning of the basic units of the Party. The effectiveness of our Party depends largely on how well our lower units function. The weakest link in our Party organization in New York is the unit meeting. Two, three and four hour meetings are wasted on small organizational details which in any other Communist Party are decided by the Unit Buro.

The unit Buro in all Communist Parties must be the leading committees which make decisions on all problems. *The decisions of the Unit Buro are binding on the unit membership.* The Unit Buro decides which problems shall be discussed and acted upon by the unit meeting. But the Unit Buro, like the Section Committee or the District Committee, has authority and power to make binding decisions. While the unit meeting has the right and power to change any decision of the Unit Buro, such cases take place when the Unit Buro is incompetent and unfit to be the leading committee of the unit. The Unit Buro in a Bolshevik Party makes decisions on at least 90% of the problems and questions of the unit. These decisions become the decisions of the Party unit and not recommendations to be discussed and again voted upon by the unit as a whole.

The basic change in the role of the Unit Buro must be made in our Party as the prerequisite for the improvement of the inner life of the unit and the bolshevizing of the Party units. Democratic centralism in our Party does not mean the false democracy where every question is discussed and decided by the entire unit. For instance the following tasks on the agenda under normal conditions should be decided by the Buro:

Division of work for the week. Arrangements for street and shop gate meetings. Assignments of committee for Daily Worker, etc. Transfers and leaves of absence. Disciplinary measures. Selection of chairman. Reports of committees. Report on activities of comrades.

At first it is important that the report on activities of members shall be made at the unit meeting and the Buro should further arrange that reports of certain committees shall also be made at the unit meeting. This change is absolutely needed but it must only be made after a thorough discussion in the unit and further, it must be made gradually.

The District Committee and the Section Committees will pay close attention to this change. Unit Buros shall keep the Section Committee closely informed on the progress of this work. While the change in the role of the Unit Buro is the most important, the District Committee has made a series of decisions that flow out of this change and help to further improve the life of the units. They are as follows:

1. One meeting in one room.
2. Meeting of buros in private homes.
3. Shop and factory nuclei start their meetings not later than 7 P. M.
4. Street nuclei meeting not later than 8 P. M.
5. Meetings shall not last more than 2½ hours.
6. The Unit Buro appoints chairmen of the meeting. A good chairman is a prerequisite for efficient work at the meeting.
7. The Buro should set a time limit for every point on the agenda and this time limit must be observed.
8. The Buro reports on the problems on which it was decided to have a discussion.
9. The communications from the Section or District shall not be read unless they are marked by the committee "To be read at unit meeting."
10. Payment of dues and financial transactions shall be a point on the agenda in the middle of the meeting. No dues payment shall be allowed during the meeting while the other points on the agenda are being taken up.
11. From now on we shall have 5 members for the Unit Buro.
12. The Unit Buros must meet at least a day before the unit meetings.

DISTRICT LEADERSHIP AND GUIDANCE

HOW THE DISTRICT BURO SHOULD FUNCTION

MEET outside of headquarters. Frequent change of meeting place. Only Buro members and those invited by secretariat should attend. Meetings to be held weekly on permanent night of week.

Points on agenda to be thoroly prepared beforehand by the secretariat and the departments. On each point the Buro to be presented with a brief, concise report and draft proposals as the basis for discussion.

The task of the Secretariat is not only to determine what shall be on the agenda of the Buro but to discuss beforehand and prepare concrete proposals on each subject. On important campaigns the Org. Dept. shall prepare a draft plan of the campaign and the tasks of other departments for the Buro.

What Shall Be on the Agenda

Usually, only one or two basic problems should be considered by the Buro at one meeting. Each Buro meeting should consider at least one trade union problem at each meeting. Each department shall draw up a plan of work for 3 months in coordination with the District Committee 3-months planned work and have it approved by the Buro. The progress of the plan of work should be reviewed and finally reported on at the expiration of the 3 months period. Time limit of discussion should be sent for each point on the agenda. Discussions must be strictly limited to the subject in question. Do not try to take up a dozen problems at one meeting. Minor problems must be decided by the Secretariat.

PLANNED WORK AND CALENDAR PLANS

MANY of the District Committees do not differentiate between Resolutions on Immediate Tasks of the Party and Plans of Work. You know what a resolution is too well, except that you make it ten times as long as it should be.

Plan of Work means exactly what it says—a Plan. If you are asked what activities does your district plan for the next

3 months, you wouldn't (or perhaps you would) cite a list of resolutions to explain the importance of the Unemployment Campaign, T.U.U.L., L.S.N.R., etc.—but, you would say that during the next three months you can plan certain campaigns, establishment of day-to-day tasks, improve inner life and structures of the Party, build new units, sections, etc., and approximately achieve so much result, and then you would indicate where and how much result you expect and why. And that is precisely what a Plan of Work means.

Then if you are asked how you were to proceed you would, or at least should, point out that each dept. would outline its tasks and work out a Plan and each section would do the same and also each unit. Then each committee and department, seeing that they have so many tasks and in order not to forget some and to treat all in proper sequence, would first of all divide responsibility among its members and work out a *Calendar Plan* of dates when each task would be taken up and elaborated and decided upon by the given committee or department meeting.

A Calendar Plan should be worked out by each District on the Unemployment activities, etc. A Calendar Plan for the month should be worked out by the Buro for its agenda and not work out the agenda the last minute. A Calendar Plan should be worked out for all inner-Party meetings so that you don't have so many conflicts.

The importance of Planned work is that at the end of the Plan you can check up and see to what extent it was realized and why not. *Every District shall formulate its Plan of Work in such a way that it ends March 31, after which date the entire Party shall be put to work on a synchronized 3-Month Plan of Work.* And thereafter a new Plan every 3 months, starting from the C.C. down to each unit.

ASSIGNMENT OF PARTY TASKS

(Resolution of District Buro, C.P.U.S.A., Dist. 2)

THE major task of our Party is the building of the revolutionary unions of the Trade Union Unity League. No less than 80% of the Party activity must be directed toward the building of the T.U.U.L.

The above correct policy of our Party must be concretized and definitely translated into bolshevik organizational steps, measures, methods and tasks.

The main task of our Party of concentrating on the shops and basing our activity in and around the shops, factories, and mines is the further concrete formulation of our task of building the revolutionary unions.

Each shop nucleus has the concrete task of working in the shop with the immediate main object of building a shop committee which is the basic unit of the revolutionary union.

The fact that the overwhelming number of our Party units are still organized on the territorial basis makes the principal task of these units the concentration of their activities on a specific shop in their territory, again, with the main concrete object of building a shop committee in the factory in addition to the agitation for other Party slogans and campaigns and winning the workers for the Party and establishing a shop nucleus.

In the shops the building of the T.U.U.L. must express itself in the concrete formation of a shop committee of a specific revolutionary union—metal, needle, food, etc.

Task of Every Party Member

Every Party member must be a member of a revolutionary union.

Every Party member must attend his union and shop meeting.

Every Party member must attend at least one fraction meeting monthly.

Every Party member must recruit workers for the revolutionary unions.

Every Party member must agitate for the revolutionary unions in the mass organizations where he is a member and in the shop where he is working.

Every Party member must attend Party unit meetings and pay dues.

Every Party member must give at least one evening to direct Party work under the guidance of the unit in addition to the unit meeting.

The above in general are the tasks of each and every individual member of the Party without exceptions. These are the tasks that fall under the general policy of "Every Party Member Must Build the T.U.U.L."

Assignment of Tasks Among Party Members

In addition to giving each individual Party member the tasks outlined above, it is of utmost importance that the members of our Party be given as their major task some specific activity in the building of the revolutionary unions, the Party, and other mass organizations.

To this end the District Committee has adopted as a principle the division of our comrades among the various activities of the Party in such a way that the largest possible number of comrades are released for the direct and indirect work of building the revolutionary unions and the Party.

We have in our District over 100 different mass organizations. Up to the present time the individual comrades decide for themselves in which of these organizations they would devote the major part of their time.

Bolshevik organizational principles provide that the Party through the Units and Sections shall determine the specific activity and the organization for each individual comrade.

In this way the Party assigns a given number of comrades whose major task shall be actively in the I.L.D., the revolutionary unions, the cooperatives, the Party unit, the fraternal organization, etc.

On this basis the District Committee in consultation with the leading fractions of our mass organizations has assigned a definite number of comrades for each organization under

our guidance or in which we are conducting work. The actual number of comrades to be active in the given mass organizations is based on the actual needs of the organization and the number of available comrades best fitted for that particular activity.

On the basis of the list of comrades submitted by the leading fractions of the mass organizations the Section Committees shall choose those comrades who shall give their major activity in the given organizations.

Great care must be exercised in the assignment of tasks so as to divide the most capable and responsible forces among the most important organizations. While the revolutionary unions must be supplied with the best forces available, care must be taken to retain reliable and developed comrades in the Section leadership as well as to include leading comrades in the unit bureaus so that the Party organizations are organically connected with the life and struggles of the revolutionary unions.

It must be borne in mind that the building of the T.U.U.L. unions is not confined to the unions alone but that the comrades actively engaged in concentrating on the factories and shops are also directly engaged in the work of building the revolutionary unions.

Checking up the Activities

The reorganization of activities and assignments on this basis will be a process that must be carefully supervised by the units and Sections and extreme care must be used to prevent mechanical application. However, with this system in actual operation the Party units will have a complete record of the activities of all members and will be in a position to actually check up on the activities and determine the results of these activities and the development of the individual comrades.

The units as well as the fractions in the mass organizations will regulate the activities on the basis of the amount of time each comrade has been assigned to the given organization.

PARTY MOBILITY

ONE of the larger aspects of safeguarding the Party consists in improving the inner life and the structure of our units. The perspective must be to have units of 10 to 15 members so as to enable them to meet in private homes.

In those cities and Districts where we have the old practice of meeting in halls the first step shall be to get the unit buros to meet in homes. Following this or simultaneously the smaller units and without exception the shop units shall meet in private homes.

All units without exception immediately must be reduced to a maximum of 25 and gradual steps by transfer and reorganization to 15. This shall be done by not increasing the membership in units of 10 to 15 and by organizing new units and transferring members from larger units.

The organizer of a small unit can memorize the names and addresses of his members and can generally check up on these activities much better, and what is more important, can notify them personally of meetings, tasks, etc.

The units further should be sub-divided into working groups of 3 to 5 with a captain in charge. These groups shall be given specific tasks as groups and function regularly—let us say one group shall be given as a task to sell the Daily Worker at a certain factory, or two groups together shall be responsible for the organization of street meetings, etc.

This subdivision within the units gives the Party still further safety and the necessary mobility. We don't have to wait until the unit meeting to mobilize the Party nor depend on the mail to bring them to a meeting.

Frequent emergency mobilization of the Party must be carried thru the system of personal notifications.

AGAINST BUREAUCRACY

ONE of the important obstacles to the development of new Party cadres is the presence of bureaucracy in the leadership of some of our Districts. While bureaucracy manifests

itself in many forms, the most outstanding expression lies in the *narrow leadership*.

In some of our Districts and Sections we still find the one-man leadership and sometimes its extension to two or three comrades. In these cases the leader of the given Party committee being undeniably the most developed comrade, completely fails to draw the local comrades into the leadership, into sharing of responsibility and the elaboration of policies and solution of problems. This type of a leading comrade prepares all materials and proposals alone and presents them to the Party committee without previous discussion or collaboration with other committee members.

In some cases two or three of the most developed comrades take upon themselves the right to make all decisions beforehand and monopolize the leadership among themselves. Under these conditions the remainder of the local comrades are either politically terrorized into silence or made to act the part of messenger boys for the "leadership." In some cases this practice results in bitter antagonism where the smallest shortcomings and petty matters are made into issues over which a struggle develops against the leadership. In other cases the situation is accepted as the road of least resistance.

And in all such cases the political and theoretical development of new cadres is criminally, if not intentionally, neglected.

Collective Leadership

Our all too insufficient cadre of leading comrades who have had the opportunity of developing their capabilities in the course of Party activity must undertake to share their development and experience with the rest of the Party. Every leading Party comrade must systematically and consciously assist the lesser developed members of a given committee or unit in carrying out their tasks and becoming a part of the leadership. Collective leadership implies close collaboration of all the comrades of a given Party committee.

The District Organizer must discuss the Party problems and tasks with the comrades before the committee meetings. He must deal with the newer Party members in a comradely

spirit and consciously strive to teach them how to solve problems, how to apply the line of the Party in practice, how to become Party leaders and organizers.

CENTRAL CONTROL COMMITTEE DOCUMENT ON FINANCES

MAIN REQUIREMENTS AS TO ORGANIZATION FINANCES

The Central Control Commission of the Party has repeatedly circularized all Districts with the demands for proper financial policies and records, and while, no doubt, certain improvement can be recorded, especially as far as the District offices themselves are concerned, many serious shortcomings still persist quite generally.

It is the duty of every Party member who is charged with financial questions or records, be it in the Party or in any other workers' organizations, to know and to observe certain main requirements, the disregard of which is bound to bring bad results.

Financial Policies

The extreme financial difficulties, under which the Party and other revolutionary workers' organizations are operating, has produced a "hand-to-mouth, we'll-get-through-somehow" policy with attendant laxity and irresponsibility, which militate against a fundamental all-around improvement of the situation, and which are absolutely impermissible.

Failure to look ahead, to plan in advance and to estimate the income as well as the expenditures (cutting the latter down to the lowest possible figure), results in waste and inefficiency and incomplete utilization of resources; while the impermissible irresponsibility of failing to meet financial promises and obligations not only further disrupts the finances by destroying sources of income and credit, but invariably damages the organizational and ideological influence of the organization.

To get out of this vicious circle, to establish the foundation for an improvement of the financial situation, it is

necessary to pay the greatest attention to financial policies: proper budgets must be drawn up and strictly carried out, utmost economizing must be enforced (cutting of staffs, cutting of rents and of all other expenses), and strict financial responsibility must be established.

Budgets

At the outset it must be understood that the drawing up of a proper budget is not a matter of mere figures, of mere averaging of income and expense items for the preceding period and their correction to the current conditions as they happen to be. All this has to be done, of course; without this the budget would be hanging in the air.

The important part, the constructive side of the budget, however, lies in a thorough and systematic analysis and planning of the organization finances.

All sources of income must be carefully scrutinized. Concrete steps and methods must be outlined for raising the regular income from dues, per-capita tax, literature and supply sales, etc. Plans must be drawn up in advance for getting regular contributions (sustaining fund), for certain periodic financial drives, for big income producing affairs and meetings, etc.

After that, the expense side must be gone over item by item, and they must be cut down to where they will be within the income possibilities of the organization. Special attention must be given to the main regular expense items, such as wages, rentals, traveling expenses and subsidies.

The practice of putting on full-time functionaries without considering the financial possibilities for their wages, of saying that one "is entitled to \$30-\$40 per week" when there is not enough income for even \$10 per week, in some instances not even for meals,—this practice is absolutely impermissible and invariably results in the demoralization not only of the individual comrades involved, but also of the work to which they have been assigned.

Wages, which have been agreed upon, within the Party scale of \$25-\$40 for full-time responsible functionaries, and

commensurate with prevailing general rates for technical assistants, *must be paid*.

This means that the number of full-time functionaries and technical assistants must be cut to come within the budget limits (even though it may require some retrenchment in activities also) and at the same time steps must be taken and plans made for voluntary (free service) and for part-time workers.

Financial Records

In the circumstances of living "from hand to mouth," of never having any surplus funds on hand, and of accruing large amounts of "unpaid wages," quite often it has been found that responsible functionaries have completely neglected to keep proper financial records and vouchers.

This is absolutely impermissible, and no argument can stand in the support of such neglect, not even the excuse of ignorance.

The Central Control Commission demands that the following minimum requirements in this respect must be satisfied without fail and without any exceptions by every Party member who, as responsible functionary or as technical assistant, has to deal with organization finances in all Party units and committees as well as in any other workers' organizations or institutions.

Any Party member who fails to comply with these minimum requirements after their publication in the PARTY ORGANIZER will be subject to disciplinary action.

Cash Received

1. For *every* amount of money received, an official receipt in duplicate must be issued; original—to payer; duplicate—to be kept for entry and auditing purposes.

2. All receipts are required: (a) To be numbered in advance; (b) To show from whom money was received; (c) When; (d) How much; (e) What for; and (f) The official signature.

3. If a receipt is issued in error, it should be marked "void," and the original should be attached to the duplicate with indication of the number of corrected receipts or other reasons for cancellation.

4. From every receipt issued (for every amount of money received) an analyzed entry must be made in a columnar cash book, showing—(a) Date; (b) Receipt number; (c) Name and explanation; (d) Analysis of what the money was received for (through special columns and a general column); and (e) Total amount collected on each receipt.

It is desirable to show also which moneys were deposited in the bank, and which were used for direct payments.

The special columns should be reserved for frequent items, a column for each kind, such as—dues, initiations, assessments, literature, donations. All other items, for which no special columns are provided, are to be shown in the “general” column together with full explanation needed for an analysis of this column at the end of each month.

Cash Paid

5. For every amount of money paid out, a proper evidence of payment must be obtained (or provided for, as in case of payment by check) together with full explanation of what it was for (either on the receipt itself, or on the check-stub).

6. When payment is made directly (not through bank check), failure to obtain a properly signed detailed receipt is entirely impermissible. The *only* exceptions to this rule are—(a) Traveling expenses, on which, then, there must be a detailed voucher signed by the comrade who made the trip, giving dates, fares (from —, to —), other detailed expenses, and also the purpose of the trip; and (b) Small items of postage, supplies, etc., where the obtaining of a receipt is practically impossible, in which cases the comrade himself should make out a signed voucher giving full itemized information;—but this should be the exception, not the rule.

7. When payments are made by checks, the returned cashed check is sufficient evidence of payment, except (a) When it is drawn to “Cash” or similar designation of “pay to the bearer”; (b) When it is drawn for traveling expenses; and (c) When it is drawn for an irregular extraordinary expenditure. In all these cases there must be filed with the returned check also receipts and vouchers as described in point No. 6.

8. For every amount of money paid out, an analyzed entry

must be made in the columnar cash book, in the same manner as described for cash received under point No. 4. (If payments are made sometimes by checks and sometimes by cash, which is not advisable, then there should be a separate "total" columns for each kind of payments).

Assets and Liabilities

9. On the back pages of the cash book (or in a separate book, or in an orderly file), there should be kept an up-to-date record of all *assets* (furniture, typewriters, accounts receivable, loans receivable, etc.), and also of all liabilities (loaned property, loans payable, accounts payable, unpaid wages, etc.)

Monthly Statements

10. A monthly statement of at least the cash received and cash paid must be drawn up *every month*, in an analyzed form along the following lines: *Cash Received*: Dues Rec'd, Initiations Rec'd, Assessments Rec'd, Literature Sales, Button & Supplies Sales, Proceeds from Mtgs. etc., Donations Rec'd, Subsidies Rec'd, Loans Payable Rec'd, Loans Receivable Repaid, Transfers & Exchanges Rec'd;—Total Rec'd during the month, Balance at the beginning of the month;—Grand Total.

Cash Paid: Dues Pd., Initiations Pd., Assess. Pd., Literature Purch. Wages Paid (with notation of amount unpaid), Traveling Expenses, Rent, Light, Office Maintenance, Stationery & Supplies, Postage, Telegraph, Telephone, Loans Receivable Given, Loans Payable Repaid, Transfers & Exch. Paid;—Total paid during the month, Balance at the end of the month;—Grand Total.

It is understood, of course, that further subdivisions and other accounts are to be kept to meet the peculiarities of each office or institution.

It must also be understood that *full* amount of dues, initiations, etc., must be shown. If any items are covered by subsidies, then the total amount of the subsidy must appear in cash received, and it must be shown also in the cash paid (added to the separate items on which the subsidy was applied).

Transfer of Offices to New Functionaries

11. The rather common practice of leaving one's post without proper transfer of office to the new functionary is absolutely impermissible. The old functionary *must* turn over to the new functionary in an orderly and systematic manner— (a) Full information and materials about current and pending work; (b) Full information as to future plans and as to the office routine; (c) All financial information, books, properties, accounts, etc.

12. Every effort should be made by the old functionary to have his books up-to-date and to turn over to the new functionary an audited statement showing income and expenses, balance on hand, assets and liabilities, etc.

13. Only in exceptional circumstances can the old functionary be permitted to leave without turning over *audited* books and accounts. In such cases, however, there should at *least* be established a clear and definite cut-off; that is, from what point the new functionary takes over the receipt book and other books (in what condition); how much cash on hand and how much in the bank (a bank statement must be obtained, even though it should be in the middle of the month, and a reconciliation be made with the check book); also schedule of other assets and of all liabilities.

14. The responsibility of the old functionary then remains for whatever discrepancies may be disclosed in his work and books by an audit, which *must* be arranged within a few days. The cut-off is very important for the determination of the responsibilities of the old functionary.

15. The new functionary must keep in mind that he is not starting with a "clean slate," but that there is such a thing as continuity of the office. It means that he is taking over not only the assets of the office or institution, but also its liabilities and obligations.

MATERIAL FOR PARTY STRUCTURE CLASSES

SOME RULES FOR CONDUCT OF PARTY STRUCTURE CLASSES

(1) Content of the subject, methods of conducting class, material to be read, composition of students and the instructor must be thoroughly discussed beforehand.

(2) The instructor wherever possible should be organically connected with the organizational problems of the Party.

(3) The students shall be picked by the Party Committee; to be composed mainly of unit organizers, organizational secretaries, etc. This should not eliminate having additional classes of volunteers.

(4) The class should consist of fifteen to a maximum of twenty students.

(5) The class must be conducted on the laboratory system, that is, the students shall gain their knowledge mainly by systematic reading, observation and experiments which are to be guided by the instructor. While introductory lectures are necessary, it must be strictly understood that the class is not conducted on the basis of lectures.

(6) The subject shall be divided into a number of topics. Reading material indicated for each topic. The instructor gives an introductory lecture for each topic which is followed by a ten to twenty minute report by one of the students, after which a discussion takes place into which all students must be involved if necessary by direct questions. The instructor sums up after each topic.

LITERATURE ON PARTY STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION PROBLEMS

THE Central Committee is at present preparing considerable material on Party Organization Problems. In the near future a number of pamphlets, among them, the *Party Workers Handbook*, will be published.

For immediate use for the Org Departments and Party

Structure classes, the following material is on hand and will be sent to the Districts or outside sections at ten cents per copy:

The Structure of the Russian Communist Party.

*The Org Resolution of the Third Congress of the CI.
About the Work of Factory Nuclei.*

Several other titles are in preparation. *Vassiliev's Pamphlet* is in the hands of every District Organizer who must see that every Section Committee has at least one copy available. This pamphlet is to be used by instructors of classes only.

MASS WORK

TO LEARN FROM THE MASSES

“Did you have contact with young workers before you joined the League?” Answer: “Oh, yes.” “Did you retain and develop those contacts after you joined the League?” Answer: “No, I did not.” These are answers to questions put to one of the students at the New York District Training School on their day of graduation.

This peculiar situation of young workers joining the League and then losing their contact with the masses is not only a specific League occurrence, but it is also in many instances true of the Party. How shall we explain the fact that workers who come to the Party as a result of the Party's general mass activities, after they are attached to a Party unit and become active in the unit, lose their contact with the masses? This is primarily due to the fact that the life and activities of the units separated from the mass activities of the Party, that the unit does not establish itself as a leader in the class struggle in its respective territory. The result is that many new members lose their mass contacts and lose the habit of mingling with the masses and begin to lead the same sectarian life that the Party unit is leading.

Instead of nursing and developing the mass contacts brought in by a new member, the life and activities of the unit is, in

many instances, carried on in such a manner that these valuable contacts are lost.

Another young fellow who is in the Party for about nine months stated, "I was sitting at a meeting and I wondered what the heck was going on." If at times, there was a political discussion in the unit, it was carried on in such an abstract manner that it was of no benefit to the Party membership in so far as increasing its understanding how to better orientate themselves on questions and make them more fit for mass work.

The above incidents are given in order to emphasize the various points stated in the Plenum resolutions which must result in organizing the work of the Party units in such a manner that the question of activities, the building of shop nuclei, the following up of mass contacts, will result in the establishment of the unit as a leader in the class struggle. Coupled with that, systematic political education carried on by the units must be most intimately linked up with the day to day activities of the Party.

* * * *

At the above mentioned graduation of the students of the N. Y. District Training School, the main discussion as to what the students have gotten out of the school concentrated around the question in what way, the school made them more fit for mass work. Linked up with this was a second question, what were some of their non-Bolshevik habits which would make it difficult for them in their contact with the masses. The students, in a very self-critical manner, stated that the tendency to be impatient with the masses, clannishness, a "know it all" attitude, a tendency to issue instructions instead of convincing the masses and learning from them would make it difficult for them in their contact with the masses. All of these, of course, are definite bureaucratic tendencies.

In our contact and work amongst the masses, we must always be guided by the following Leninist conception:

"First of all, that the Party must have a good ear for the voice of the masses, must pay close attention to

their revolutionary instinct, must carefully enquire whether the policy is sound—and must, therefore, be ready, not only to teach the masses, but to learn from them.

This means, in the second place, that the Party must from day to day win the confidence of the proletarian masses; that, by its policy and its activities, it must secure the support of the masses; *that it must not order but persuade*, helping the masses to become aware by their own experience that the Party policy is right; that it must, therefore, be the guide, the leader, the teacher of the proletariat.” (Stalin).

Not only to teach the masses, but to learn from them, is a Leninist approach to the winning of the masses and establishing contact with them. *Not to order, but to persuade*, another fundamental conception of winning the masses to an understanding of the correctness of the Party policy.

RECRUITING WORK

PARTY members must be most persistent in moulding the minds of individuals on political questions, taking advantage of the slightest opportunity for that—the dinner, the way home, special walks with individual workers who display interest in the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions. *In recruiting members at the time of mass campaigns the Communist Parties must endeavor right now to carry the daily agitation among individuals to join the party in the factory.* The existing factory can be strengthened and new ones organized primarily and chiefly by means of persistent individual recruiting work in the factories. The influence of the Party can be given organized forms with the help of such work and the new elements who will join the Party as a result of it will not be people who enter after an enthusiastic speech by some Communist orator only in order to withdraw the next day, but sound revolutionary elements who will have a clear understanding as to why they join the Communist Party and what they are going to do when accepted.

If working class members will be recruited on the basis not only of a simple explanation of the aims and objects of the Communist Party but also by drawing sympathizing workers into the daily work of the basic factory organizations, the best results will be obtained and the most progressive elements of the working class will join the Party, and people capable of carrying out the instructions of the Party in the factory with regard to the mobilization of the masses and their preparation for the common struggle of the working class will be best able to do so.

BEWARE OF ISOLATION

IN one city in District — where we have three Unemployment Councils of about 400 members, the City Committee of the Unemployed Councils decided to mobilize the unemployed and march them to the City Hall to demand jobs from the official in charge.

The City Committee, composed of the leaders of the unemployed movement simply forgot to take the necessary organizational steps to mobilize the unemployed. No mass meeting was called, no leaflets were distributed, no agitation carried on.

At the City Hall about sixteen of the leading members of the Unemployed Council appeared. Realizing their isolated position they quickly decided to call themselves the elected delegation of the unemployed. They were all given jobs and put to work by the city the same day.

The Unemployment Councils were left without a leadership at least for a period. There would be a different story to tell if they organized at least the 400 members to accompany them to the City Hall.

QUOTATIONS FROM LENIN

“To folks who are used to morning gowns, slippers, to a family life of sensuous indolence, formal statutes (constitution) seems as something repressive, narrow, burdensome and base, bureaucratic and feudalistic, restraining the free process of intellectual debate.

Discipline and organization, so indigestible to the bourgeois intellectual, are particularly easily assimilated by the proletariat because of the very fact of factory training.”

AGITPROP ACTIVITY

RAISING THE POLITICAL LEVEL OF COMRADES

IT is about time that we stopped repeating the time worn phrases of "politically backward" and need of "raising the political level" of our Party comrades. The leading Party Committees must work out plans with their agitprop departments and begin doing something in the direction of helping our comrades in their theoretical development.

Here are a few elementary suggestions that are prerequisites before any further serious steps can be taken:

(1) Every Party member must unconditionally have at least one evening a week for reading.

(2) Every new Party member must be given at least two evenings for reading and class work.

(3) Agitprop departments and directors must understand that inner-Party education, classes and personal guidance to self-education is one of their major tasks.

(4) The tendency to keep the active comrades busy at practical tasks seven evenings a week must be stubbornly combatted by the Party committees, units and members.

(5) Party education, whether in form of classes or individual reading *is Party work* and must be treated as such, must be regulated and comrades be assigned to classes, assigned evenings for readings, as a matter of discipline.

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FROM INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCES

HOW A UNIT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION WORKS

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is entirely organized on the basis of shop, factory, mine, collective farms and institutions. In the larger enterprises the basic unit is the Department Nucleus. In the average factory the Party membership is around 10% of the workers (1928).

General membership meeting of the nucleus is held about once each month. The Nucleus Buro composed of from 7 to 15 members is elected by the membership meeting every six months. The Nucleus Buro meets weekly.

The leading functionary of the nucleus is the secretary of the Buro. The small committee which acts on problems between Buro meetings is called the "troyka"; it is equivalent to the secretariat and is composed of the Secretary, head of the organization department and head of the agitprop.

The Nucleus Buro makes plans, conducts activities and makes final decisions binding on all members of the Nucleus. The Nucleus Buro selects the Org Commission and the Agitprop Commission which meet weekly. These departments or commissions are composed of from 7 to 9 members.

The Nucleus Buro upon its election draws up a six-months plan of work based on the tasks of the Nucleus in the next six-month period. This Plan of Work is worked out in some detail for the first 3 months and is further elaborated in a monthly calendar plan to indicate what problems will be taken at the various meetings of the Nucleus Buro. Using the Nucleus Buro plan of work as the basis, the Org and agitprop commissions work out a plan of work as well as a calendar plan. In the Plan of Work the main tasks of the departments are indicated and one or more of these tasks is assigned to each member of the departments.

The fractions in the unions (the shop committees), in the I.L.D. (Mpor), etc., also work out plans of work for the respective mass organizations, all of which are organized on a factory basis. The Nucleus Buro decides who shall head the various mass organizations as well as who shall compose the leading committees of the mass organizations.

(This is done by proposing a list of Party and non-Party workers to the meeting of the given mass organization, who are elected by ordinary voting.)

The meeting of the Nucleus Buro or of its departments is carefully prepared beforehand. Each committee meeting is presented with draft plans and proposals as the basis for discussion and final decision on each point of the agenda.

For instance if the Buro decides to improve its patronage over a collective farm, the comrade in charge of the patronage committee will draw up proposals, consider them in the committee and bring final proposals to the Buro for approval.

If the educational work in the factory is to be improved, the agitprop will work out a plan for classes, shop paper, lectures, etc., and bring the plan to the Buro. If there is a situation where some comrades have too many tasks and others too little, the Org. Dept. will study the activities of all comrades and propose necessary changes to the Buro. Even in this case the work of the Org. Dept. is so subdivided that one comrade is specifically in charge of supervising the tasks of all comrades in the Nucleus and he brings definite proposals for changes to the Org. Dept. meeting.

At the end of 3 months the Buro hears the reports of its secretary and its departments on the activities for the past 3 months and the degree to which the Plan of Work was realized, and the next meeting will already be presented with another 3-month plan of work.

At the end of six months, election takes place for the new Nucleus Buro. This is preceded by the discussion of the report of the Buro to ascertain whether or not the tasks for the 6 months were carried out.

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENT

Conditions of Admission to the Communist International
(Adopted by the Second Congress held in Moscow August, 1920)

THE First Constituent Congress of the Communist International did not draw up precise conditions of admission to the Third International. At the moment of its convocation only Communist currents and tendencies were existent in the majority of countries.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International, however, assembles under different conditions. There are now in most countries not only Communist tendencies and groups, but definite Communist *Parties and organizations*.

The Communist International more and more frequently receives applications from parties and groups that, but a short time ago, belonged to the Second International, and now seek to join the Third International without really being Communists. The Second International has completely collapsed, and the various intermediary factions and groups of the "center" are trying to lean upon the growing Communist International, hoping at the same time, however, to preserve a certain measure of "autonomy" that will enable them to pursue their old opportunist or "centrist" policy. The Communist International has become the fashion. The desire of these leading groups of the "center" to join the Third International is indirect evidence of its influence on the majority of the class-conscious workers of the world, and that its power is strengthening every day. The Communist International consequently runs the risk of being weakened by the adhesion of wavering, lukewarm groups that have not as yet abandoned the ideology of the Second International.

It must be remembered that in some of the larger Parties (*i.e.*, in Italy, Norway, etc.) the majority of whose members adhere to the Communist attitude, there still remain considerable reformist and social-pacifist elements that await only the moment to revive in order to begin an active "sabotage" of the proletarian revolution, and thus give a new lease of life to the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

No Communist must forget the lesson of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The Hungarian Communists paid dearly for

their unity with the so-called Social-Democrats of the Left.

For these reasons the Second World Congress of the Communist International considers it essential to lay down definite conditions for the affiliation of new Parties, as well as to point out to Parties already affiliated the duties which affiliation involve.

The Second Congress rules that the conditions of affiliation to the Communist International shall be as follows:

1. General propaganda and agitation must be of a definite Communist character and correspond to the program and decisions of the Third International. The Party Press must be edited by reliable Communists who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be spoken of as a mere hackneyed formula. The facts of everyday life must be systematically recorded and interpreted by the Party Press in such fashion as to make the necessity of proletarian dictatorship self-evident to every worker, soldier and peasant. All periodical and other publications of the Party must be under the control of the central executive of the Party, independently of whether the Party is legal or illegal. Wherever the adherents of the Third International can gain access and by whatever means of propaganda are at their disposal—in the columns of newspapers, at public meetings, within the Trade Unions and Co-operatives—it is essential that they denounce not only the capitalists, but also their allies, the reformists of every color and shade.

2. Every organization desiring to join the Communist International must be bound systematically and regularly to remove from all responsible positions (in the Party, committee, editorial staff, trade union, parliamentary group, co-operative society and municipal council) all reformists and supporters of the "center" and to replace them by tried Communists, even at the risk of supplanting, for a time, "experienced" men by rank and file workmen.

3. The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is reaching the threshold of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal machinery which at the decisive moment will do its duty by the Party and in every way possible assist the revolution. In

every country where, in consequence of martial law or other exceptional laws, the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully, a combination of legal and illegal work is absolutely necessary.

4. A persistent and systematic propaganda is necessary in the army, where Communist groups should be formed in every military unit. Wherever, owing to repressive legislation, agitation becomes legally impossible, it is necessary to conduct such agitation illegally. Refusal to carry on or participate in such work should be considered as treason to the revolutionary cause and incompatible with affiliation to the Third International.

5. A systematic propaganda is necessary in the agricultural districts. The working class cannot achieve victory unless it gains the sympathy and support of the agricultural workers and unless other sections of the population are equally utilized. Communist work in the agricultural districts is of paramount importance at the present moment. It should be carried on by Communist workmen of both town and country who have connections with the rural districts. To neglect this work or to leave it to untrustworthy semi-reformists is tantamount to renouncing the proletarian revolution.

6. All Parties desiring to join the Third International must renounce not only avowed social-patriotism, but the false and hypocritical social-pacifism as well. They must systematically demonstrate to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, neither international arbitration nor conferences regarding the limitation of armaments, nor the "democratic" reorganization of the League of Nations will be capable of saving mankind from new imperialist wars.

7. Parties desirous of joining the Communist International must recognize the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the "centrists," and must advocate this rupture amongst the Party membership. Without this condition a consistent Communist policy is impossible. The Communist International unconditionally and peremptorily demands that such break take place with the least possible delay. The Communist International cannot tolerate the suggestion that such avowed reformists as Turatti, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hillquit, Longuet, MacDonald and others

should be entitled to membership in the Third International. This would make the Third International merely a counterpart of the Second.

8. On the question of colonies and oppressed nationalities, an especially distinct and clear line of conduct is necessary in the case of Parties in countries where the bourgeoisie possesses colonies or oppresses other nationalities. All Parties belonging to the Third International shall be in duty bound to denounce without reservation the colonial policy of their respective imperialists, and to support, not in words only, but in deed, the movement for Colonial independence. They must demand the withdrawal of their imperialists from such colonies, cultivate among the workmen of their own country a genuine fraternal attitude towards the working population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and conduct a systematic propaganda in their own army against every semblance of oppression of the colonial population.

9. All Parties belonging to the Communist International must carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies and other class organizations of the workers. It is necessary to form Communist groups within those organizations in order, by persistent and lasting work, to win them over to Communism. These groups must consistently expose the treachery of the social-patriots and the vacillation of the "centrists." These groups must be completely subordinated to the Party as a whole.

10. All Parties belonging to the Communist International are bound to conduct a relentless struggle against the Yellow Amsterdam "International" of Trade Unions. They must propagate insistently amongst the organized workers the necessity of a breaking with the Amsterdam International and joining up with the new Red International of Trade Unions adhering to the Communist International.

11. Parties desiring to join the Third International must inspect their parliamentary groups in order to remove therefrom all unreliable elements and must subordinate such groups to the direct control of the Party executive. They must demand of their representatives that they shall devote their activities entirely to the interests of real revolutionary propaganda.

12. All Parties belonging to the Communist International should be based on the principle of democratic *centralization*. In this acute period of civil war, the Communist Party will be able fully to discharge its duty only if it is thoroughly well organized, if it possesses an iron discipline, and if its executive enjoys the confidence of the Party members, who are to endow the executive with complete power and authority.

13. The Communist Parties operating in colonies where Communist activity is legal should make a periodical inspection of their membership roll in order to eliminate the petty middle-class elements which may penetrate the Party ranks.

14. Parties desiring to join the Communist International must render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggles against counter-revolutionary forces. They should conduct an organized and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to make or handle any kind of military equipment intended for use against the Soviet Republics, and should also carry on, by legal or illegal means, a propaganda among any troops sent against the Workers' Republics.

15. Parties which have hitherto stood upon the old Social-Democratic programs must immediately draw up a new Communist program applying to the special conditions of their country and in accordance with the resolution of the Communist International. Such program shall be endorsed by the next Congress of the Communist International or by its Executive Committee. In the event of the program of any Party being rejected by the Executive Committee, the Party concerned shall have the right of appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

16. Resolutions adopted by the Communist International and its Executive Committee are binding on all affiliated Parties. The Communist International, operating in a period of acute civil strife, must be centralized in a more effective manner than was the Second International. At the same time the Communist International and its Executive Committee must, in all spheres of their activity, have regard to the variety of conditions under which the different Parties have to work and struggle, and obligatory resolutions should be passed only on questions on which such obligatory resolutions are practical.

17. In conformity with the foregoing conditions, all Parties

about to join the Third International must change or amend their names and be known as: The Communist Party of such-and-such country, section of the Third Communist International. This is more than a mere matter of name and form; it is a political question of great importance. The Communist International has declared war upon the whole capitalist system and the old Yellow Social-Democratic parties. It is of vital importance that the workers should be able to distinguish clearly between the Communist Parties and the old official "Social-Democratic" and "Socialist" parties, which have deserted the cause of the working class.

18. All the leading Press organs of every Party are bound to publish the more important documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

19. All those Parties which have joined the Communist International, as well as those which have expressed a desire to do so, are obliged, as rapidly as possible, and in no case later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, to convene a special congress in order to discuss these conditions. In addition to this, the Executive Committee of these Parties should take care to acquaint all the local organizations with the regulations of the Second Congress.

20. All those Parties which at the present time are willing to join the Third International, but have so far not changed their tactics in any radical manner, should, prior to joining the Third International, take care that not less than two-thirds of their Committee members and of all their central institutions consist of comrades who have made an open and definite declaration, prior to the convening of the Second Congress, as to their desire that the Party should affiliate to the Third International. Exceptions are permitted only with the approval of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The Executive Committee has the right to make an exception also for the representatives of the "center," as mentioned in paragraph 7.

21. Those members of the Party who reject the conditions and the theses of the Third International are liable to be excluded from the Party. This applies particularly to delegates at the Special Congress of the Party.