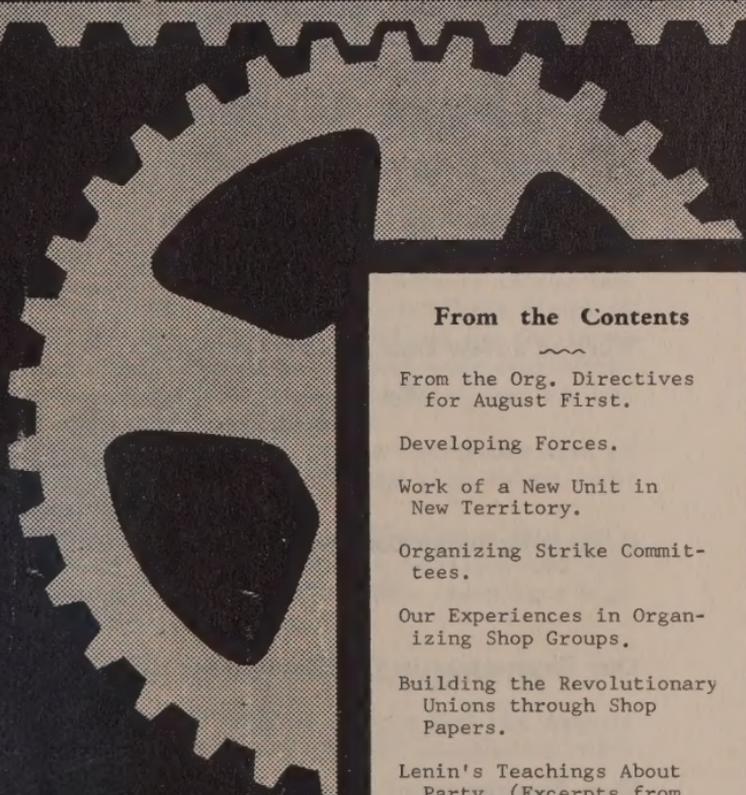


Party Organizer



From the Contents

From the Org. Directives
for August First.

Developing Forces.

Work of a New Unit in
New Territory.

Organizing Strike Commit-
tees.

Our Experiences in Organ-
izing Shop Groups.

Building the Revolutionary
Unions through Shop
Papers.

Lenin's Teachings About
Party (Excerpts from
Book by V. Sorin).

Vol. IV

JULY, 1931

No. 6

Issued by

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

CONTENTS

FROM THE ORG. DIRECTIVES FOR AUGUST FIRST	1
--	---

IMPROVING WORK OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATION

Developing Forces	5
<i>By R. M. (District 12)</i>	

Work of a New Unit in New Territory	7
<i>By D. W. (District 2)</i>	

MASS WORK

Organizing Strike Committees	9
<i>By Jack Johnstone</i>	

Our Experiences in Organizing Shop Groups	12
<i>By J. Steuben</i>	

Shop Experiences of Two Comrades	16
--	----

Building the Revolutionary Unions Through Shop Papers	19
<i>By M. K. (District 9)</i>	

LENIN'S TEACHINGS ABOUT THE PARTY <i>(Excerpts from Book by V. Sorin)</i>	23
--	----

PARTY ORGANIZER

Vol. IV

JULY, 1931

No. 6

From the Org. Directives for August First

International Red Day Against War.

AUGUST First is the International Red Day of Struggle against Imperialist War.

August First, 1931, is the 17th anniversary of the Imperialist War of 1914. On August First all the forces of the international proletariat are mobilized by the Communist International into one vast world wide demonstration against Imperialist War and especially against the imminent war against the Soviet Union.

Struggle against the war danger is a day-to-day task of the Party and is organically linked up with every campaign and activity of the Party.

August First campaign is the intensification of our Anti-War and Defense of the Soviet Union activities and agitation over the period of several months, reaching a high point on International Red Day.

Coordination of Campaigns.

Today we cannot stop with statements that the August First Campaign must be linked up and coordinated with all other campaigns.

The District and Section Committees must explain to all Party units and Party members exactly how this coordination can be achieved successfully.

No single campaign or activity of the Party can stop or be weakened during August First preparations.

Unemployment activities must be continued on the basis of struggle for immediate relief, unemployment insurance, against evictions, etc, in the form of mass resistance to eviction, hunger marches, and relief for desperate cases. But especially during this period must we emphasize the demand "All War Funds for Unemployment Relief," not only by use of the slogan but by explanations and formu-

lation of demands on state and city governments that the specific appropriation for armories, militia, school military training, etc., be used for unemployment relief. National War Budget expenditures must be cited in speeches, leaflets, bulletins and contrasted with starving conditions of workers. Unemployed Branches must especially be brought into active preparations for August First by electing delegates to United Front Conference, sending committees to factories, especially war munition plants, at noon and before and after working hours, and visiting workers organizations always bringing forward the unemployment problem in the light of the war preparations.

Strikes which are now sweeping the country can best be utilized by pointing out that the bosses cut wages and at the same time spend billions for war preparations against the Soviet Union where workers have abolished capitalism, unemployment, wage cuts, etc.; that police terrorism, arrests, etc., on behalf of the bosses government is a part of the war preparations; that wage-cuts, speed-up, stagger system are a means of raising the competitive abilities of U. S. imperialism in foreign markets and are part of the war preparations to conquer foreign markets thru a new war.

Scottsboro Campaign to free the nine boys must be utilized to win the Negro masses, especially to struggle against the coming war of the white bosses who lynch Negro workers in "peace" time and on a wholesale scale in war times. Increased terrorism against Negro masses and foreign born is part of the war preparation plans to use Negro masses as cannon fodder.

All other campaigns must be utilized in a similar way especially the Election Campaign. Detailed slogans and methods of linking each campaign with August First must be worked out by each District and Section Committee.

Factory Activities.

The main emphasis, the principal activity and the aim of all preparatory work for August First must be in the factories and at the factory gates.

Our task on August First is to bring the workers from the factories out on the streets together with the unemployed to demonstrate against war on the issues of unemployment, wage-cuts, speed-up, terrorism, etc., as a part of the bosses' war preparations.

Most of our Party units and revolutionary unions are now concentrating at thousands of factories, mines and mills with the object of organizing the workers to struggle against wage-cuts, speed-up, part time, etc. *This work is to continue* and must be intensified and improved. Our task is to link up our anti-war agitation with our immediate economic demands in the factory. Our main task—to organize the workers into unions, shop committees, grievance committees, factory groups and recruiting of the most advanced workers into the Party—continues unchanged.

In our shop leaflets, shop papers, speeches and conversation we raise the slogans against war danger and intervention as a part of and linked up with our immediate demands by specially calling the workers' attention to the imminence of war and the bosses' preparations for war. We further call on the workers and approach them individually to participate in the organizational preparations for the world wide demonstration against war by accepting to serve on a committee (Anti-War Committee) to mobilize the workers of the factory for the August First Demonstration.

In factories where *Shop Committees*, Union factory branches or factory groups exist, our comrades and TUUL members in these committees raise the issue of the war danger and August First preparations for the purpose of sending delegates to United Front Conference, selecting an Anti-War Committee as a sub-committee, calling a meeting of all factory workers, issuing leaflets, conducting noon-time conversations, etc.

The existing factory committee (Shop Committee, Grievance Committee, factory branch) *does not change its name or purpose*. It assumes an additional task: preparing the workers of the factory for August First. The factory committees shall select Anti-War (sub) committees composed of their own members who, however, must broaden these committees by selecting additional workers from the shop and this involving new elements into definite organizational work.

Unions and other mass organizations must be urged to call upon their members in the factories and factory committees to carry out the above tasks.

Every member of the Party working in a factory shall be assigned the task (and told how to do it) of forming

an Anti-War Committee for August First in his or her factory. Two or three or more of the advanced workers can be invited to a comrade's home to discuss this matter, or the discussion can take place at noon time or even during working hours.

In a factory where no committees exist, we endeavor to involve a few friendly and sympathetic workers into a committee to undertake simple activities of talking to other workers; giving them anti-war literature, inviting them to meetings and finally mobilizing them for the August First Demonstration. This is an elementary organizational form with a specific task. This Anti-War Committee is not a permanent body in itself, but provides the basis for the building of a permanent factory group or factory branch of the union.

The basic task of involving the mass organizations in the August First campaign consists in getting the members of these organizations to prepare their fellow workers in the factories for the demonstration as well as their neighbors in the territories where they live.

Form of August First Demonstration.

All August First demonstrations to take place *outdoors*. Every effort to be made to organize *marches and parades* even tho of short duration. International demonstrations to be organized in border cities.

Where stationary demonstrations are held, organized groups of workers should march to demonstration.

Generally the demonstrations must be arranged for an hour when the workers from the factories can attend as well as the unemployed and strikers.

While the main slogans must be Anti-War slogans at the demonstrations and marches, it is of utmost importance that all main slogans of our campaigns be used in the demonstrations on August First.

Preparatory marches, demonstrations and meetings are to be held prior to August First especially as various events of a war nature take place during the next preparatory period, such as military manoeuvres, war budget appropriations, intervention in colonies, anti-Soviet measures, articles, speeches, etc. We must immediately react to these events and utilize them fully in the campaign.

Note: What is your Section and Unit doing about getting its supply of August First pamphlets and organizing their sale?

Improving Work of the Party Organization

Developing Forces

By R. M. (*District 12*)

LACK of forces" — who hasn't heard the cry? How many valuable hours have been spent discussing "lack of forces" which could have been used to better advantage in developing Party and non-Party workers?

Basically the initiative of the masses must be aroused. Latent or dormant forces can become dynamic forces and it is up to us to find methods whereby we can more efficiently make the workers conscious of their power and ability to improve their conditions and to change the system.

Strikes and the fights for unemployment relief set great numbers of workers in motion. We should endeavor to use this momentum by showing the workers how to continue the struggle against capitalist suppression, propaganda and ideology in their every-day life.

This is very important because the political level of the workers is much below that of the Party members and because there are two thousand or more workers to every Party member. Lack of knowledge of how to defend their class interest is a great handicap to the American workers.

One of the ways how the bosses' propaganda holds workers back is shown by how workers can talk with understanding to a fellow worker about their problems, but when it comes to speaking to a group they hesitate — don't think they can do it "good." We must develop more writers and speakers among the workers by teaching them that it isn't so hard to learn these things as boss education would have them believe. Workers must realize their ideas are the important thing in speaking if they want to speak to a group it is only necessary for them to *think* about *what* they are going to *tell* others, just raising their voice louder than usual.

The "gap" — the difference between our ideological influence and organized strength — and lack of forces exist side by side. Many of our comrades are good agitators

but when it comes to the more careful and detailed work of organizing, fail to qualify.

Here are some suggestions for developing our comrades:

1. More thorough supervision and guidance of Party members' reading. Reading list to be compiled by Districts with suggestions of reading material suited to development of comrades, Also a reading list to be made out in the center with two or three lines explaining contents of each book or pamphlet.

2. Greater utilization of District and local classes.

3. A more equal distribution of forces throughout the country and Districts so comrades can gain practical experience and learn to be responsible for some part of the work.

It is up to every Party member to try to become more of a leader. Many of the Party members don't understand the functioning of collective leadership and continue to "look up" to someone else for ideas and leadership, neglecting to make an effort to improve themselves for responsible functionalities. Sometimes this social democratic habit is carried to such a point that those that like to have some one to "look up" to get into the habit of expecting a particular leader to also do most of the work.

Some developed comrades claim they don't have time to think politically because of being so swamped with work. This is a serious situation. Failure to develop and inspire more initiative and confidence in Party members and workers together with too extensive plans, help to create the "lack of forces."

A reaction from the above "cry" is taking place in this District (12) and we are setting about to end the bad habits as well as the cry. These are some of the methods by which we are tackling the problem:

1. Conducting a class in the A B C of Communism and one for functionalities.

2. Spreading forces at the center more evenly throughout the District.

3. Having our comrades work more in unions, clubs, fraternal societies, etc., and drawing more workers into activity.

4. Making more use of all public meetings pertaining to labor problems, by sales literature, discussions, etc.

Work of a New Unit In New Territory

By D. W. (District 2)

WHAT do our experiences in working with a small unit of seven members in a new territory about ten miles away from the Section prove to us? First of all, we had to give up the idea that the Section must plan the work for us and that all the unit had to do was to carry it out. Instead of that, we developed our own initiative and worked out our plan of activity according to our territorial problems. This was approved by the Section Committee.

We immediately made up a list of the closest sympathizers we knew of and every comrade was made responsible for one. The result was that in three weeks we recruited three new members.

Then we decided to have open air meetings at least once a week in the workers' section of our territory. For this we made sure that a committee was on the place at every meeting. At least five were to be on the committee, each having a function. One comrade was to take care of the platform; one was to act as chairman; one was to sell the *Daily Worker* and literature; and two comrades were to mingle with the crowd and make contacts. We also managed to get some non-Party members to help us sell the *Daily Worker*. At every meeting we got from five to ten contacts. The names of the contacts were given to the comrades at the meeting and immediately followed up the next day. We got some of them as subscribers for the *Daily Worker* and some of them for the L. S. N. R. This also gave us a start to build up the *Daily Worker* carrier route.

In the process of building the *Daily Worker* carrier route, at first, used the old method of trying to get the comrades to come down every Sunday for canvassing for subscribers for the *Daily*. This was a failure. Since the comrades are occupied all week with meetings it is physically impossible for them to come out every Sunday. We found out that by giving the comrades a chance every other Sunday for themselves and every other Sunday to canvass for the *Daily Worker* we achieved the results we wanted. This applies also to the open air meetings. It is established now that when a comrade comes down to

the open air meeting on Saturday he is free on Sunday. The next Sunday he canvasses for the *Daily Worker*. With this method applied we were able to establish a *Daily Worker* carrier route of 50 in two months.

Another method of getting subscribers to the *Daily Worker* was this. We issued a letter to the readers telling them about the Daily. We put this into the copy of the *Daily Worker* which we distributed. We marked this "Sample Copy," so the reader would know that we weren't giving him a present. In the letter we told him we would leave the *Daily Worker* six times in succession and after that we would come around and talk to him. We distributed ten samples a week and out of the first ten we got four subs.

The next step was to build a functioning group of the L. S. N. R. We found that by using the old method of calling meetings by mail proves to be a failure. By sending out 40 letters, only four came down. We found that by using the personal approach, that is by circulating a leaflet around an issue in the territory, and visiting some of the contacts personally, that we were able to obtain much better results. For instance, we found that a Negro worker was attacked by the K.K.K.'s and accused of the old "rape" charge. By finding out all particulars we issued a leaflet convincing the workers that they must fight the bosses and that they must organize into the L. S. N. R. As a result of leaflet circulation and personal visiting about 25 came to the meeting where we were immediately able to start organizational work.

We were given a list of names by the Section. We immediately visited these contacts to organize a workers' club. We found that some of these workers were not ripe for the Young Communist League, so we organized a Youth Branch of the International Workers' Order with these elements and with the others we formed a unit of the Y. C. L. If we had proceeded with drawing all these contacts into the Y. C. L. the result would have been that those not yet ready for the Y. C. L. would have been lost to the movement.

When the comrades went out canvassing for the *Liberator* or *Daily Worker*, they also tried to get contacts for the League. With this method we were able to bring in about eight Negro workers into the League.



Organizing Strike Committees

By JACK JOHNSTONE

IN this issue of the *Party Organizer* I will deal with only one phase of revolutionary strike strategy, *the organizing of the strike committees and their tasks*, because this is the weakest phase of the present miners' strike

In the miners' strike, one thing stands out: the rank and file have taken charge of their strike, i.e., in this strike, there is a much larger percentage of strikers, their wives and children involved in activities than in any other strike. But there is no clear plan of organization or continuity of tasks applied in these activities. The N.M.U. has enthused the strikers to a tremendous fighting pitch. But their activities are based on fighting enthusiasm with the minimum of organization.

In the miners' strike the strike committees should take the following forms: elected local mine strike committees with representation from the women; section strike committees composed of a minimum of 3 delegates (2 men, 1 woman), from each struck mine in a given territory; central strike committee composed of three delegates, one a woman, from every mine in the strike area. It is obvious that the local mine strike committee is the key or basic strike leadership. The weaknesses or strength of the mine strike committee reflects itself in the upper directing strike committee and affects every task and activity in the strike.

The tasks of the Mine Strike Committee are the following:

1. To be responsible for the conduct of the strike, militancy of the strikers and the carrying out of all decisions of the Section and District Strike Committee and body of strikers.

2. To organize mass picketing.
3. To spread the strike in neighborhood mines.
4. To direct the collection and distribution of relief.
5. To organize and lead mine strike mass meetings.
6. To help establish locals of the N.M.U.
7. To register and check up on the activities of all strikers.
8. To elect delegates to the Section and District Strike Committee.
9. To organize the defense of strikers with assistance of the I.L.D.

It is comparatively simple during the period of enthusiasm to elect a strike committee and to outline the tasks of this committee. The difficulty is to carry them out. This depends on the type of strike leadership that is elected to the strike committee. Generally the first committee elected contains unstable elements, deadheads, etc. A conscious cleansing process must be conducted during the entire strike so that the best and most class conscious leadership is developed. *Under no circumstances should a strike committee be allowed to drop members and cooptate others. The strikers must be told at their meeting why some members should be dropped and others elected. The development of new leaders must be a conscious process by the workers.*

The first duty of the strike committee is to draw all strikers and their families into strike activity in some organizational form. It must not leave the striker to decide for himself whether he should picket or not. The first organizational necessity is to organize everyone involved in the strike into groups with responsible captains. The development of these captains is also a process of developing new leading forces. Those that do not function properly should be replaced. The extent that this elementary, but fundamental, group form of organization is developed will, to a very considerable degree, determine the tempo at which we will be able to spread and consolidate the strike. From it will radiate the fullest energy and activity in every phase of the strike.

It is impossible to give proper leadership to a strike of more than 40,000 strikers, totaling with women and children probably 150,000, covering a strike front of 70 miles, with only a handful of organizers and strike committee chairmen who assume the responsibility for all

tasks and if arrested or become sick have not trained others to step into their place. So it becomes absolutely necessary to draw as many strikers and their families into group activity. Many strikers will accept the leadership of a group of 10 but would decline to accept work as chairman or secretary of a strike committee. In a week he will probably be ready to assume a greater responsibility. It is in this manner that we will develop a broad cadre of new leaders. In this we have so far failed in the miners' strike.

The development of committees must start right from the beginning of the strike. If possible this should be done during the preparatory work. However, one must use judgment. All needed committees cannot be organized at once.

To stabilize and strengthen the work of the mine strike committees, the following committees should be set up. All members of these committees need not be members of the strike committees, but the heads of these committees must be members of the Strike Committee.

1. Picket and defense committee.
2. Relief Committee.
3. Committee for Work among Women and Children.
4. Youth Committee.
5. Committee for Work among Negroes.
6. Literature and Publicity Committee.
7. Committee to Build the Union.
8. Committee on Unemployment.

However, the quantity and quality of work of these committees is determined by the type of strike committee that has been elected and the extent that this leadership has been able to direct the organization of the strikers into various activities. A committee of 3 or 5 cannot collect relief or distribute it, or sign up every strikers in the union alone. They must draw in hundreds and thousands of workers in an organized way. We should not depend upon volunteers to collect relief. They should be assigned by the strike committee. A thousand individuals cannot be assigned unless they are organized and assigned in groups. The Committee to build the union can best draw every striker into the union by having each picket captain to sign up his group.

Our Experiences in Organizing Shop Groups

By J. STEUBEN

THE recent experience of the N. Y. local of the Metal Workers League in organizing shop groups can be of value to the Party and T.U.U.L. Without any high falutin' introduction, I will proceed to outline the methods as used in organizing shop groups. These groups were not organized accidentally. Two months ago the Executive Board of the local picked these places for concentration. The basis for picking the shops was their relative importance and because we had some contacts, although extremely weak ones. As to how we went about our work, it will be best to relate by concrete examples.

B. N. Y. Shop

This is a very important place, especially in connection with our struggle against the war danger. About a year ago, several workers joined the Metal Workers Industrial League. They attended a few meetings but gradually began to drop out. They were on the mailing list and were called to every meeting. Without any exaggeration, hundreds of circular letters were sent to them but the workers never responded. We began to write individual letters, but no response. We started to visit them personally—they promised to come to the "next meeting," but never did. For a time we could not understand the attitude of these workers, because they were shy in giving reasons why they stay away and instead, gave promises to come.

Finally, we decided instead of the general membership meeting, to call these workers to a private house. One of the workers of the B. N. Y. Shop gave us permission to meet in his house. The meeting was called and we were shocked with the results. Five came to the first meeting. At this meeting we asked the workers to be frank and tell us why they didn't come to previous meetings. The unanimous reply was: "As much as we were with you all the time, we have families and could not endanger our jobs." One worker told us that he was even spotted coming up to the headquarters, by a company stool pigeon.

At this meeting a long discussion developed on the organizational forms to be adopted, a program of work, what are the most pressing needs of the workers, etc. It was finally decided on a regular meeting night in a private house, a secretary of the group was elected. It was also decided to work out a shop program, which will contain a series of demands. It is interesting to note that it took more than four weeks to prepare the demands, not because of the slowness of the workers, but because of the necessary investigations about conditions in various departments, in order to make sure that the demands were correct. It was also decided as a general rule, that new members can be invited, *only after the names of these workers were proposed at a previous group meeting.* The group is growing continually, and is starting to function as a shop organization. We have now fourteen members. There is not one Party member in this place.

E. M. C. Shop

This factory is notorious for its exploitation. Several strikes took place in the past. These were led by the A. F. of L. and were defeated. It was also one of the first metal shops to introduce the stagger system. Comrade M. has been a member of the Metal Workers Industrial League for about 6 months, but up to recently, he was (just like the rest of the members) never asked where he was working. However, after we found out that M. works in the E. M. C., we sat down with this worker and outlined to him in a simple way how to proceed to organize a group *on the basis of fighting the stagger system inside the shop.* M. went to work and sure enough, organized a group of four and now it has eight members, all paid up in dues and initiation. In this shop, too, there is not one Party comrade. At the last meeting of the group they worked on a shop paper, themselves writing articles, drawing cartoons of the bosses and covering all expenses for the paper. The group now meets regularly and is functioning as a shop organization, taking up their own problems.

O. E. C. Shop

When it's busy, several thousand workers are employed in this factory. Unlike the other shops, we had a Party nucleus that has been in existence for more than a year.

They have continually issued shop papers, leaflets, etc. Numerous wage cuts were introduced for the last year, speed-up has increased, and various other company schemes were put over on the workers. The Party nucleus not only failed to organize the O. workers against the wage cuts, the comrades inside the factory even failed to organize a small shop group—although every Party member agrees that “should another wage cut be introduced, the men will walk out on strike.”

It is only for the past three weeks, that steps have been taken by the Metal Workers League together with the Party, to lay the basis for a shop group. How is this being done? Very simple: we began to insist that the comrades stop just talking about “organizing the whole shop, developing strike situations” and begin to organize a small shop group. The representatives of the M.W.I.L. together with a Party comrade, went out to visit workers individually. The conversation with these workers was around the most burning issues in the shop. After several visits were made the first group meeting was called and six were present. At the very first meeting, the compulsory “insurance” scheme of the company was taken up, a program of struggle against the new scheme was worked out. This shop group could have been organized a year ago if the nucleus was functioning properly. Of course, it goes without saying the nucleus did not grow—and could not be expected to grow when it has done next to nothing.

Space does not permit to describe a few more shops. Generally, in our organization work inside the factories we proceed along the following lines:

1. We carefully check up members working in the medium or large-sized factories.
2. As soon as we find out and make a list of the members, we are not in a hurry and don't call them all to one meeting.

Instead, we call in individually these workers for an hour or two discussing with them the possibilities of doing active work inside the shop, taking up with them the most minute problems. In taking up the shop problems with the workers, it is first necessary to convince the worker that it is possible to do work in his shop, and that there might be many more men who feel the same way as he does. The second task is to give this worker a certain amount of confidence, that he is capable to do the

work. By all means must we avoid giving rigid instructions, as for example, "by this and this date you *must* have a group organized with so many members." Such instructions help to discourage the worker. We must exercise the utmost amount of patience and be sensitive to difficulties the workers buck up against in organizing a shop group.

3. When the group is finally organized, one of the best comrades must be assigned to help them out. However, this comrade must not stifle the initiative of the workers, or be a "commissar" there. His main task is to help the group work out the proper demands, to get comrades for an outside distribution of a leaflet, etc. The representatives to the groups must not be changed every week. This hurts the work.

4. We overcame the wrong notion that the organization of shop groups is an aim in itself. From experience we now realize that the real work *only begins* after the group is organized. The working out of a set of demands to concentrate on certain key departments, or certain individuals inside the shop, the formation of a grievance committee for the elimination of some aggravated situation that is of importance to the workers, the preparation of the workers to resist wage-cuts, speed-up, etc. Should the group fail to work along these lines, it will not exist for a long period of time.

5. Much stress has been laid by the Party in regards to the development of functionaries in the Party and T.U.U.L. in general. But the development of a *shop leadership* out of the best workers who belong to the shop groups is indeed decisive. The tempo in developing shop leaders must be a rapid one.

The following can serve as an example as to how important the problem is: Comrade M., the leader of the group in E., was fired as a result of May 1st. We thought the group was smashed. However, we were amazed at the next membership meeting—the workers from the E. came up and said: "M. was fired because he was a damn good union man—we will carry on the good work he started." It is because M. established himself not only as the leader of the group, but he was respected by the opponents in the shop, that the workers felt that the work must go on.

Shop Experiences of Two Comrades

Experience of Comrade M.

SINCE November, 1930, I sold 65 pamphlets. I started with talking to one worker in the department who is sympathetic. The starting point would be the progress of farming in the Soviet Union and comparison with this country. Many of the workers are from Tennessee and originally come from farms. So we have an easy start. He first told one sympathizer that he knew where he could get a book or pamphlet on the progress of farming in the Soviet Union. Then he would give him five pamphlets. The sympathizer in turn sold them and got in contact with other workers. They would tell me what they think about the Soviet Union.

Then I got acquainted with another fellow worker. With him I have worked ever since. I went to his house and had discussions with him. He had quite a few sympathizers because of his long standing in the department. During the election campaign I took leaflets into the shop and put these leaflets into the tool boxes, the pockets of the workers' coats whom I knew were sympathetic. This comrade would help me out a great deal.

I would also find out who is sympathetic to the Unemployed Councils and the workers who would speak favorably about our demonstrations and the activities of the unemployed. By this method I got 10 subs to a language paper. I also took along some copies of the *Daily Worker*. I got two subs. In the same way I would distribute about 10 copies of each issue of the shop paper. On this I would speak to the workers and ask them to write to the shop paper.

I would speak to sympathizers about our Party affairs, mass meetings, etc., and invite them. The next day I would let them know that I had seen them at the place.

I have now brought three new members into the Party through the activities in the department. The easiest way to speak in the factory is through unemployment and the Soviet Union. We are doing work for the Soviet Union. When I speak to the workers on the Soviet Union I take the Five-Year Plan and apply it to the metal industry and wage cuts; I also speak of the cultural part, and I can feel the response of the workers that they appreciate very much

how the workers in the Soviet Union are bettering themselves.

I sold 20 tickets for the First of May Concert in my department while selling only 5 on the outside. In the evening I checked up and found that quite a few of the workers came to the affair.

Experience of Comrade C. (in the same department)

My activities date back to November, 1930, from the meeting I attended because of a leaflet given to me by comrade M. in the factory. By the end of February I started to collect names from the clock cards and so far got about 200 addresses. The best pamphlet we have sold here is "Class Against Class." I would buy a bunch of them and then mail one each to at least 5 or 6 workers. Many of the workers would tell me about receiving the pamphlet. I would ask them to bring it down and I would take it home and the next day I would bring it back with a favorable report. So far I have sold 54 pamphlets in the shop and 10 outside.

For May First, to the foreign-born workers I would come and say: "in your country they are making quite a big fuss about May First. Did you receive any letters from there recently?" and then I would lead up to the May First demonstration in this country and speak about the First of May Concert. I would tell them that I knew a fellow who could get tickets. In this way I sold 65 tickets.

I am specializing on the Daily Worker and getting monthly subs. 54 subs from the 29th of April to May 24th. I work in a secret matter and speak to the workers. I always tackle one individual at a time. I have an easy line of approach, one for the foreign-born workers and one for the American-born workers.

The foreign-born workers I would approach in the following manner: "did you get a letter from your friends in the old country lately? What do they say about unemployment? What is the general situation there? Are the people hungry? I would keep on talking to him, just depending upon his answers and then I would come out with the following: "There is a heavy unemployment and starvation everywhere except in the Soviet Union.

Things are getting pretty bad in this country, too. We are liable to be laid off any day. Did you ever see a radical newspaper? I can get you a little paper which costs 50 cents a month." And so on.

To the American-born workers I would say, "What do you think about the situation in the country this winter? You know the taxpayer's money is all gone. This year many of the city and county governments have been spending money on soup and I am telling you that we are headed for a big revolution, and it won't be very long before we will have it. Do you read anything about the revolution?" Then the workers, naturally, would tell me they never did. Then I would ask them if they had ever seen the radical paper called the *Daily Worker*? And they would say, No. Then I would say, "you know that the bosses don't want us to have this paper. Therefore, if you are a friend of the bosses, don't read it." This, naturally, would bring out the hatred towards the bosses. I have had some very good results.

From our contacts Comrade M. and I invite 2 or 3 workers into our house on Saturday afternoons, and we discuss questions with them and see whether they are ready for the union or the Party.

We have the sympathizers work for us. I have already gotten some sympathizers involved and one of them got 2 subs for the *Daily Worker* for me. Another sold 10 pamphlets, also some tickets. I can see that if they have a little success they have smiles when they report back to me.

I have been working for the Party for about 4 months. I started without being a Party member.

Note: No Party member can be capable of doing his or her best work in developing organization and struggle in the shops if they have not read "Problems of Strike Strategy," Decisions of the International Conference on Strike Strategy held in Strassburg, Germany, January, 1929. See that you get it and read it.

Building the Revolutionary Unions Through Party Shop Papers

By M. K. (*Section Mesaba Range, District 9*)

THIS section has twenty units with a membership of 188. But in spite of the fact that metal mining is the most important industry here, only two are mine units. The rest are either farm or town street units. The composition is almost entirely Finnish. Union work was (and to a certain extent still is), the weakest point in our activity.

A few months ago the Section Committee decided that the E. mine unit must issue a mine paper. The E. mine unit was not a mine unit in the strict sense of the term. It was composed of miners working in different mines in the same town. This unit continuously insisted on meeting with the street unit and, consequently, neglected the work in the mines, union work, etc.

This mine unit (which was then the only mine unit in the section) accepted the decision of the Section Committee about the shop paper without much enthusiasm. The apparatus was set to work, the Section Organizer went to E., gathered information and came back and got out the first issue of the "E. Miners' Voice." Although this paper contained some good material it was poorly constructed. The paper was distributed, but because of the lack of understanding how to work on the part of our Party miners, nobody knew how our paper was accepted in the miners. The second issue came out on time the next month in the same manner as the first and with the same results.

We decided that we must involve the E. comrades in making up the paper. We called a special meeting and we discussed the possibilities. As the meeting the comrades pointed out that the paper was constructed poorly and that its appearance was bad; some of the information was not correct; it contained too much of Party phraseology, etc. A decision was made that our miners should write the articles themselves. Our next paper improved a hundred per cent. The appearance was nice; a special comic page was established; the technical work was carefully made up; the material was written in workers' language; the involved Party terminology was eliminated.

At the next mine unit meeting we discovered that the miners were accepting our paper with enthusiasm. The material is being discussed by the miners and they are awaiting the next issue anxiously. When the next issue came out *one* day late we were informed that twelve calls were made inquiring when it was coming out.

At the next mine unit meeting plans were made on how our miners should approach other miners in discussing the bulletin. This planned activity resulted in a house recruiting meeting. Some miners were taken into the union. Now we can register the following successes. Before this shop paper activity started we had a few members in the N. M. U.—all Finnish old-timers. Now we have shaft committees in three mines and the composition of the union changed entirely. We now have Bulgarians, Slovenians, Italians and Finns. Our paper became really popular. We received offers to subscribe for it by the year. In the last issue we printed a little song made by a miner ridiculing Charles Trezona, the steel trust captain of the E. mines, and also mayor of the city. And now the young miners are walking in the streets and singing it "to beat the band." Our influence in this steel trust town has improved manifold. When, for instance, a street meeting called by the Young Communist League in preparation for National Youth day was broken up and five comrades were arrested, the next protest meeting was attended by over a thousand workers from a town of six thousand population. And even after the fire truck was called out (for the first time since the 1916 strike) they could not break up this meeting.

Note: Have you gotten your copy of "The Shop Paper Manual"? This handbook on shop paper work should be in the hands of every comrade working in the shops or active in shop work. See that all comrades in your Unit have it.

Lenin's Teachings About the Party

(Excerpts from book by V. Sorin)

DISCIPLINE

THE special feature of the Communist Party is its strictest discipline, *i.e.*, the unconditional and exact observance by all members of the Party of all directions coming from their Party organizations. A Party member may disagree with this or that Party decision, may consider it wrong, but once the decision is passed it must be observed. Failure to comply with Party discipline, disobedience and breaches of discipline are regarded by the Bolsheviks as a most serious offense against the Party and violations of the Party discipline are severely penalized down to expulsion from the Party. Moreover, during the civil war, especially during times of danger to the Republic, the Party imposed a war discipline upon its membership. There were even cases of Communists being shot for refusing to go to the front by orders from the Party which threatened to demoralize the other members of the Party.

Why do the Communists attach so much importance to discipline? Because without discipline the Party could not fulfill the immense tasks confronting it. What would happen if every soldier in the army were to be allowed to disobey the orders of his superior officers? The army would cease to exist. The general staff orders an attack; one section of the army decides to obey and go into battle; the other finds that it is wrong to give battle and refrains from taking part in it; still another section decides to quit the position and move to the rear. Such an army would be defeated in no time, for instead of discipline it has willfulness, lack of unity and demoralization.

Similar is the case with the Party. The Party will be strong if all of its members act as one, if they are absolutely unanimous. Were each Communist to be allowed to choose whether to submit to the Party discipline or not, we would have a debating club instead of a Party. Were each Communist to comply with only those of the Party decisions which he likes and to ignore those with which he

disagrees, it would be impossible altogether to create a Party.

The Party must be sure that each of its members will do what the Party tells him even if he disagrees with it. That is the whole thing: *it is easy to obey decisions with which you agree*; the difficult thing is to comply with decisions with which you disagree. That is just the meaning of discipline that each one must subordinate his personal will to that of the group, to that of the Party majority, must do what the Party considers necessary.

People join the Party voluntarily. They are free to withdraw from it. No one can be forced to join the Party or to stay in it. But once you are in the Party you undertake the obligation to obey all the Party decisions. Party discipline is based upon the class consciousness of the Party members, upon their conviction that, without the minority accepting the decisions of the majority, without the subordination of the lower Party bodies to the higher ones, there can be no solid Party of the proletariat.

The Bolsheviks are proud of their Party discipline. This discipline was one of the reasons for the Bolshevik victory. In 1920 Lenin wrote:

“By now it must surely be clear to everybody that the Bolsheviks could not have maintained themselves in power even two and a half months, not to speak of two and a half years, without the strictest discipline, without a really iron discipline of our Party.

The experience of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia clearly showed to those who are unable to think and who do not have to think about this question, that absolute centralization and the strictest discipline among the proletariat are one of the fundamental conditions of its victory over the bourgeoisie.” (*The Infantile Sickness of Leftism in Communism*, 1920.)

Throughout their existence the Bolsheviks differed from the other Parties particularly by their discipline. No Party has ever known such discipline in its ranks. The role and importance of discipline to the proletarian Party Lenin always emphasized. The Party must have unity of action. The entire Party from top to bottom and from one end to another must act as one man. Such unity is possible

only if all the Party members will be trained for years and decades in the spirit of the strictest proletarian discipline.

The Party discusses various questions, treats them from their various aspects, sometimes submits them to the entire membership for discussion, but once the decision has been adopted all members of the Party must fulfill it without question.

DISCIPLINE AND THE PETTY-BOURGEOIS ELEMENT

Discipline, firm and unrelenting, is necessary not only during the period of underground work and struggle against Tzarism, not only during civil war, but even during the more peaceful times, such as is experienced by the Soviet Republic at present when the Party is firmly in power and is dealing not with military problems, as was the case during 1917-1921, but with economic and agricultural problems. Let us see what Lenin had to say about the discipline of a Party effecting the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are struggling in a predominantly petty bourgeois country: the working class in Soviet Russia represents a small island in a peasant sea. We want to establish socialism, *i. e.*, to abolish the division of society into classes, into groups of people with opposed interests.

"To destroy the classes," Lenin wrote, "is not only to drive out the landlords and capitalists — this we have accomplished rather easily; it means to destroy also the small commodity producers who cannot be driven out, who cannot be put down; it is necessary to come to some arrangement with them, they can and should be made over, re-educated, only it will take long, gradual, careful organizational work."

The re-education of tens of millions of petty commodity producers (the peasantry) will require years and decades. This task can be accomplished only if the Party will always be able to resist the petty-bourgeois element. And the dangers which are connected with the proximity between the working class and the many millions of small and petty commodity producers are very great.

"They (the commodity producers) surround the proletariat on all sides by the petty-bourgeois element, permeate them with it, corrupt them by it, constantly revive within the proletariat the petty-bour-

geois characterlessness division, individualism, the changes from enthusiasm to dismay.”

That the danger of the petty-bourgeois influence upon the proletariat and its Party is real rather than imaginary has been shown by the experience of all the oppositions to Lenin's policies with which the Party has had to contend.

Every one of these oppositions without exception (the “left wing Communist of 1918, the “group of democratic centralism” of 1920-21, the “workers’ opposition” of 1920-21 and the last opposition headed by Trotsky, Sapronov and Preobrazhensky in 1923-24) represented petty-bourgeois tendencies within the Party. The point is that the working class and its Party are not separated from the rest of the population by an impenetrable wall. There is a large number of transitional steps from the petty working property owner to the pure proletarian of the big machine industry. Among the proletariat too, there are groups closely connected with the peasantry and representing semi-labor and semi-peasant elements. Nor can the Party consist of absolutely homogeneous elements. There are always people in it who fail to take up the standpoint of the proletariat to the end. The result is that at times of a political or economic crisis, change, dislocation, the petty-bourgeois element within the Party (the small commodity producers) begins to waver and becomes agitated. The individuals constituting this element find themselves out of their depth, out of their customary economic conditions. They become agitated, nervous, they cannot find a place for themselves, their sentiments rapidly sink, they lose their heads and go to extremes. Such waverings may differ in character, degree, force and extent. Inasmuch as the unstable elements are found within the Party as well, they are particularly sensitive to the pressure of the petty-bourgeois elements and, under the influence of the latter, they begin to advocate views favorable to the petty-bourgeoisie and essentially hostile to the proletariat. In such cases, we have manifestations of the petty bourgeois spirit within the Party on the part of those elements who fail to take up the point of view of the proletariat completely and without hesitation. But the petty-bourgeois element exerts pressure upon the Party not only during particularly acute moments, but at all other times as well as for as long as they exist it is impossible to get away from them. The petty-bourgeois influence manifests

itself in the penetration among the Party members of the views, sentiments and morals of the petty bourgeoisie. It is against the pressure of the petty-bourgeois element that

“. . . the strictest centralization and discipline is required in the political Party of the proletariat in order to resist it, in order correctly, successfully and victoriously to play the organizational role of the proletariat (which is its main role).”

Those who believe that, now that we have defeated the bourgeoisie, discipline has become unnecessary should be reminded of the meaning of the proletarian dictatorship and of the petty-bourgeois “enemy” who is still to be defeated. Lenin continues:

“The dictatorship of the proletariat is a determined struggle, bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative, against the forces and traditions of old society. The force of habit of the millions and tens of millions is the most terrible force.

“Without an iron Party hardened in the struggle, without a Party enjoying the confidence of all the honest elements of the class, without a Party capable of keeping in touch with the sentiments of the masses and influencing them, it is impossible successfully to conduct such a struggle.”

The greatest danger to the workers' Party in a country such as ours is that of being dissolved in the petty-bourgeois element. At the present time the struggle is in certain respects more difficult than it was during 1917-1920. It is a thousand times easier to defeat the big centralized bourgeois than the millions and millions of small property owners, who by their everyday, invisible, unnoticeable, demoralizing activity bring about the very same results that are necessary for the bourgeoisie, that are restoring the bourgeoisie”; and Lenin completes his thought as follows:

“He who weakens in the least the iron discipline of the proletarian Party (especially during its dictatorship) actually helps the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.”

DISCIPLINE AND THE TRANSITION TO NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

Discipline, firmness, strength of spirit, self-possession, clarity of thought are always required by Party members but particularly so at times of danger during the period of retreats, during periods of sharp changes when one is forced to leave the ordinary routine and go over to something new, untried. In 1921 the Party abandoned its Military Communism and took up the New Economic Policy. This was retreat carried out under very difficult conditions. There were some individuals who became dismayed and began to shout that we were retreating, surrendering our positions to capital and that therefore everything has been lost and Communism has perished. Had the Party succumbed to such panicky sentiments, had it lost its self-possession, the Soviet power might possibly have perished. But under Lenin's leadership, the Party moved over to new positions.

"On the whole we carried out our retreat in fairly good order," though "there was no lack of voices representing the retreat as a panic." (Speech at the 11th Congress, 1922.)

Up to 1921 we had been in the main on the offensive. Then it became necessary to retreat. Here is what Lenin said about Party discipline during a retreat:

"The most dangerous thing during a retreat is a panic. It is extremely difficult to retreat after a great victorious attack. . . . (During an offensive) discipline even if it is not maintained, leads to everybody pushing on ahead by themselves. . . . (During a retreat) discipline must be intelligent and is a hundred times more necessary for when any army retreats it does not know where it is to stop but it merely sees the fact of retreating; here sometimes a few panicky voices are enough to cause everybody to run and the danger becomes immense. When such a retreat takes place in a real army, machine guns are brought forth and when the orderly retreat develops into a disorderly one the command is issued: 'Fire!' And this is as it should be. When people cause a panic even if they are guided by the best of intentions, when a difficult retreat has to be carried out and it is necessary to

maintain order at all costs, at such a time the least breach of discipline must be ruthlessly, cruelly, mercilessly punished. . . ."

The greatest enemy of discipline is the showing of panic, the repetition after the bourgeoisie of sinister rumors, gossip, interfering with the orderly and proper movement of the Party to new positions. Gossip, rumors, inventions are one of the weapons of the bourgeoisie. "The Bolsheviks have surrendered the railways to the capitalists," the bourgeoisie spread the rumor about, which was a way of agitating for this surrender, and there were some dispirited Communists who believed this and, becoming panic-stricken they began to frighten others by talk of the necessity of "surrendering the power" (the Bolsheviks want to surrender the Soviet power as well to concessionaires" was the current joke at the time), thus creating a highly nervous and strained atmosphere in the organization. When the panicky elements were put to shame and prevented from demoralizing the Party they began to shout, of course, that they were deprived of the right of speech, that they "merely" wanted to point out the dangers facing the Party, etc.

Gossip, rumors, are not at all trifles about which there ought to be no mention in a book devoted to our Party. In Soviet Russia where the bourgeoisie has been deprived of the right to publish its own press, gossip and rumors are the political weapons of the bourgeoisie. This should be well remembered. Any worker knows that whenever the Soviet power of the Party experienced some difficulty of an internal or external character (the last discussion, for instance) a mass of rumors and gossip immediately began to be spread by the bourgeoisie and the man of the street, and sometimes, alas! some of the Communists also picked them up. Belief in bourgeois gossip is a sign of petty-bourgeois characterlessness. The object of bourgeois gossip is to spread confusion, suspicion, lack of confidence, hesitation. It is necessary to be able to withstand the bourgeois wiles.

THE UNDERMINING OF DISCIPLINE

The bourgeoisie fully appreciates the importance of discipline in the workers' Party. The stricter the discipline, the stronger the Party, the more dangerous is it to the

capitalists. The bourgeoisie is interested in shaking and weakening this discipline. How can this be done? It is necessary to ridicule this iron discipline of the Party of the proletariat, to defame it in the eyes of the weaker Communists and of the working class, to arouse doubt as to its necessity to represent it as the suppression of the free individual. For this reason the bourgeoisie keeps repeating that discipline is the suppression and restriction of the individual, that it is a new form of slavery, that the Party is a prison, that it demands blind obedience, etc. Some of the less firm Communists who have not yet freed themselves from the influence of the bourgeois ideology sometimes succumb to these views. A certain Norwegian Communist wrote: "Discipline, discipline! I cannot bear the work. There is something in it that lowers the dignity of the free man." These words reveal a complete failure to understand the importance of discipline in the labor Party. But the Bolsheviks know well that without discipline there can be no militant, effective Party. And opposition to discipline is opposition to one of the fundamental rules of the structure.

Upon penetrating the Party the petty-bourgeois element not only attempts to break the discipline, to evade and sabotage the restrictive Party rules but to undermine discipline as a whole.

The petty-bourgeois elements do not always have the courage openly to assert that discipline is unnecessary. Such a position is too untenable. It is much more convenient and "convincing" to represent things as follows: "We are all for a strict proletarian discipline, but . . ." and this is followed by the question: "What is to be meant by discipline?" These people do not want to take discipline in the simple, natural sense ("whatever has been decided must be done") but convey to this word such a "meaning" that it loses its whole effect, that of solidifying the Communists into a single iron body.

A "subtle" distinction begins to be drawn between "real discipline" and "formal, mechanical discipline," between "discipline proper" and "reasonable, intelligent discipline." The meaning of these "profound" arguments is that the Party decisions may be ignored on the grounds that the Party members know better than the Party which actions are necessary and reasonable and which are not, that the members know better than the Party what should and

should not be done. Such views are completely repulsive to Bolshevism. The idea of a strong, centralized, disciplined organization requires the subordination of a part to the whole, of the lower body to the upper one.

"You believe in strong discipline and unquestionable compliance with all Party decisions," the Bolsheviks may be told, "do you believe then the higher Party institutions are infallible, that they are never mistaken, that their decisions are always correct? But you must surely know that the people in the 'center' are like the rest of us and are also liable to make mistakes. Why, even Lenin himself admitted mistakes. It would be better for you to say that you believe in blind mechanical subordination and that your slogan is: 'Do not argue!' "

All this is not to the point. The "justification" of discipline consists not at all of the Party as a whole or its individual institutions and organs being "infallible" and never in the wrong. This is not the point. Of course, there are cases (though the more experienced and politically mature the membership of the leading groups, the less frequently do these cases occur) of decisions being adopted by a higher body as affecting a lower body or an individual member of the Party which are later reversed or changed. But is this an argument in favor of disobeying a Party decision? Not in the least. If the Party decision is thought to be wrong it is necessary to demand its reconsideration but it is wrong to disobey the Party on the ground that you disagree with its decision. A refusal to obey a decision has the effect of breaking the organization connections with the Party. To allow everyone to break the discipline is to destroy the Party as a body. The Bolsheviks favor strong, iron discipline in the Party and fight against all attempts to weaken or undermine this discipline.

During the last discussion the opposition which acted as the spokesman for the petty-bourgeois sentiments in the Party, expressed entirely unbolshevist views as to the importance of Party discipline. "The speeches of a number of opposition representatives," the 13th Congress resolved, "represent a crying violation of the Party discipline and bring back to memory the days when Lenin was forced to struggle against the 'intellectualist anarchism' on organizational questions and defend the fundamental rules of proletarian discipline in the Party." In 1903-04 the Men-

sheviks (Axelrod, Martov, Trotsky, who was then a Menshevik, and others) displayed "intellectualist anarchism" in their views upon Party structure, *i. e.*, they undermined, denied, ridiculed the idea of discipline. Something similar to it took place during the discussion. The 13th Conference decided to forbid "all erroneous references to Party discipline when the rights and duties of the Party members affecting the discussion and decisions of questions with which they are concerned, are involved." The workers in the nuclei are able to discuss all questions of interest to them without interference. But inasmuch as the opposition broke the discipline and established its own "fraction" in violation of the decision of the 10th Congress, the Conference had to remind it that "freedom of discussion within the Party does not by any means signify freedom of undermining the Party discipline"; therefore "the Central Committee of the Party and all Party centers must immediately take the severest measures to maintain the iron Bolshevik discipline wherever an attempt is made to shake it."

It is also necessary to remember the following words of Lenin:

"He who weakens to any degree the iron discipline of the Party of the proletariat (especially during its dictatorship) is actually helping the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."

ABOUT AUTHORITIES

Very edifying is Lenin's opinion of the importance of authorities in the labor movement. Among the intellectual youths, even those sympathizing with the working class, the following boisterous voices are sometimes sounded: "Why do you always refer to Marx and Engels? Why refer to authorities at all? I recognize no authorities!" Those talking in this way consider themselves extremely "independent." In reality this "independence" from the principal ideas of Marxism, from the conclusions and lessons of the preceding revolutionary period, reveal the dependence of these young men upon the petty-bourgeois ideas, and an "independence" in the worst sense of the word. Here is what Lenin wrote in 1905 about the importance of authorities, particularly of the authority of Kautsky who supported the Bolshevik tactics in 1905-

1906 so that his opinion was highly valued by the Russian workers:

"Marxians cannot adopt the ordinary viewpoint of the intellectual radical with his would-be revolutionary abstraction: 'I recognize no authorities.' No, the working class which carries on a hard and stubborn struggle for its complete emancipation throughout the world needs authorities, but of course only in the sense in which young workers need the experience of the old fighters against oppression and exploitation, of fighters who conducted many strikes, who participated in a number of revolutions, who have gained revolutionary traditions and a broad political outlook. The authority of the world struggle of the proletariat is wanted by the proletariat of each country. The authority of the international social democracy is necessary for us in order to clear up the program and tactics of our Party. But, of course, this authority has nothing in common with the official authorities of the bourgeois science and police politics. This authority is the authority of a more many-sided struggle in the same ranks of the world socialist army." (*Preface to Kautsky's pamphlet, 1906.*)

The opinion of an authority is valuable of course, as long as it conforms with the demands of the revolutionary struggle. If the "authority" begins to hold the working class back he ceases to be an authority. For a long time Plekhanov was considered the greatest authority of the Russian social democracy, including the Bolsheviks, but when he began to preach opportunism, Lenin declared a "merciless war" upon him. Here is what Lenin wrote about Plekhanov:

"His theoretical works, chiefly his criticism of the populists and opportunists remain the common acquisition of the social democracy of all Russia, and no "fractionism" can blind a man possessing any 'physical mind' to the point of forgetting or denying the importance of these acquisitions. But as a political leader of the Russian revolution, as a tactician, Plekhanov has proved to be quite worthless. He displayed in this field such opportunism as might injure the

social democratic workers of Russia a hundred times more than Bernstein's opportunism injured the German workers. And upon this Cadet-like policy of Plekhanov . . . we must wage a most merciless war."

Later, during the war, the Bolsheviks parted ways with Kautsky as well, who joined the bourgeoisie. We continue to value the Plekhanov and Kautsky of the period when they were still revolutionists and we give them their due. To that extent their opinion is valued by us. The best and most revolutionary contributions of Plekhanov and Kautsky have been adopted by our Party, but their opportunist ideas we leave to the bourgeoisie and its followers.

Note: The excerpts from the book by Sorin on Lenin's Teachings About the Party are completed in this issue. They have appeared in the May, June and July issues. Together they form an invaluable source of understanding of the organizational principles of the Party. Those comrades who wish to get these three issues can order them through their unit organizer. The three issues will cost 15c.