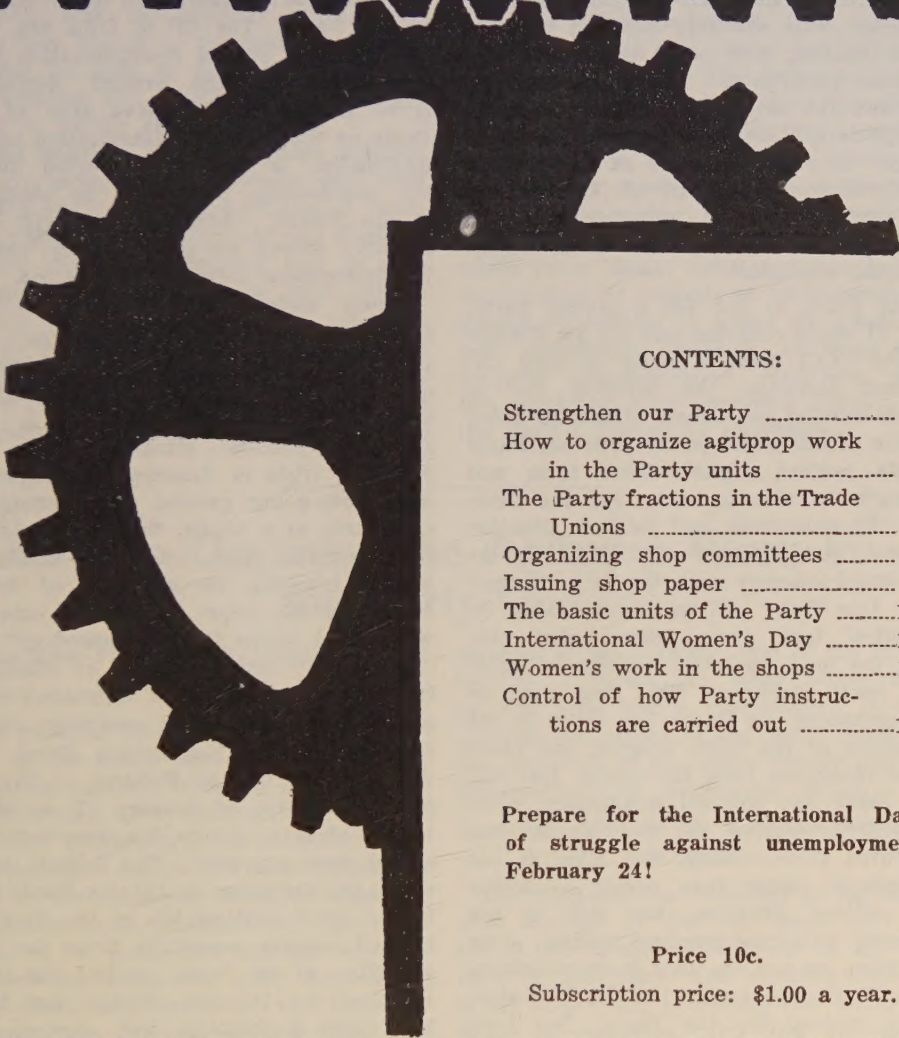


# THE PARTY ORGANIZER



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## Strengthen Our Party!

### The Aim of Our Recruiting Drive.

In publications from the CI (1928) we read about 440 shop nuclei in our Party. This misinformation to the CI was part and parcel of the bluff-policy of the Lovestoneites, who cowardly resorted to lying when nothing else could cover up their political bankruptcy. The CI found them out, and now these typical American petty-bourgeois politicians are outside the world party. Only at the close of the present membership drive, the CP of USA will for the first time have an opportunity to get a reliable statistical picture of its organizational strength.

Our Party is not yet a strong party, The VI world congress and the 10. Plenum of the ECCI made a series of very important decisions, the carrying out of which demand the utmost efforts of every section of our world-party. Will our Party in its present organizational form and strength be able to carry out the tasks that the economical and political situation present, and which were outlined by the VI world-congress and the 10. Plenum? Yes. Our Party will be able to fulfill its historical task during this period only thru the most energetic activity in building itself stronger. The first step in strengthening our Party was taken in the expulsion of the right wingers, the Lovestone renegades from the Party. But still our Party has political weaknesses, altho its activity during the last months has improved tremendously, and altho it has understood better than before to utilize the political situation. But still we are too slow in taking practical political steps in action, we are too slow in transforming a political opportunity into an organizational victory for the Party. We have still too few members, too few connections with the masses of workers in the mammoth factories of American heavy industries. In general we continue working too much according to old socialdemocratic

traditions, using obsolete methods: centering more of our activity on halls and residential meetings, than upon revolutionary work in the shops. We have not yet completed the reorganization begun in 1925 by our Party. The CP of USA has been in a stage of eternal re-organization since 1925, and only the present Recruiting Drive is the first decisive step of the Party on the way of bolshevization organizationally. If the work started during the Membership Drive will be continued in the future, then we soon will have a Party strong enough to carry out all the tremendous tasks of this period.

Newly united, freed from a factional fight, that weakened it during years and years of unprincipled petty intrigues, quarrels, fights, and permanent conflicts, the CP of USA now stands in a very favorable political situation, when the economic crisis in America, the beginning of a deep-going general world crisis for capitalism as a whole, throws the American working class into **mass-unemployment**, lowering its standard of living, worsening its labor conditions, cuts its wages and whips it thru "speed-up" and "stretch-out" into struggles of resistance taking a more and more aggressive character. The Party's first campaign during this period: the Membership Drive, was characterized by the Polburo of the CC in its resolution of January 17, as showing satisfactory results, "in some instances a real good progress". The Polburo spoke about the campaign as "a new fresh wind in the inner political life of the Party"—and all reports, especially from the rank and filers of the Party, confirm this statement of the Polburo. Seldom has there been such enthusiasm and eagerness to work in our Party as now. Since the adoption of the Polburo resolution there has been a decided improvement in tempo on all fields of the drive. Already now we can correctly characterize this recruit-

ing campaign as the most successful drive of our Party.

This does not mean that it is a splendid campaign without shortcomings. Far from that. The Polburo resolution listed many of the rather serious shortcomings of the drive, but in the spirit of communist self-criticism and revolutionary competition, which now begins to penetrate the Party, we will be able to eliminate the worst shortcomings and go forward, a stronger Party in harder struggles.

More political initiative, more political sagacity, more political courage—and more fighting spirit in our organizational work, more organizational alertness and flexibility—and more understanding how to concentrate our activity on the main issues!

There are many fields for bolshevik activity in America: the campaign against imperialist wars, for the defense of the Soviet Union, for the organization of the unorganized, for leadership in the strug-

gles of the unemployed, anti-militarist activity in the army and navy, taking part in the struggles of the Negro workers, mobilizing millions of working women in America, taking the leadership of the growing wave of sharper and broader strike struggles, fighting fascism, cleansing the labor movement from all its capitalist agents, the fakers and misleaders, and many more. The American working class is standing before tremendous struggles. The immediate issue before the Party is to mobilize all its forces for the broadest possible unemployment campaign, culminating in the International Unemployment Day, February 24. The whole Party should assist and lead in the organization of councils of unemployed, of special committees of action for employed and unemployed workers of large and frequent demonstrations, combining with this drive the most energetic activity for the Party's Recruiting Campaign.

## How to Organize the Agitprop Work In the Party Unit

### 1. The Main Phases of the Agitprop Work in the Nucleus.

The political mass activity of our party must be the center around which all the life of the nucleus is to be concentrated. The unit must carry through the political activity of our party in the territory under its jurisdiction and in the shops where its members are employed. Every member of the nucleus must participate in the campaigns of the party and actively share in this political work. In order to achieve the political activation of our membership, the unit agitprop director must see to it that the policies laid down by the central and district committees are understood and explained to the membership. However, the political tasks of the party and its major campaigns can best be un-

derstood if the political level of the membership is raised. In other words, side by side with active participation in the political campaigns of the party must go the education of the party membership in Marxian-Leninist theory and tactics.

### 2. Every Unit Is to Have an Agitprop Director.

The comrade who is elected as the agitprop director of the unit must first of all be active and participate in all the work of the party. The agitprop activity is not a specialty of certain individuals or group of comrades. The first consideration in this case is the activity of the comrade, his devotion to the organization, and correct understanding of the party's tasks. The unit agitprop director works in close cooperation with the unit buro,

carrying out especially the specific instructions of the agitprop departments of the section and the district.

### 3. How to Bring the Political Campaigns of the Party to the Masses.

All the campaigns of the party must concentrate especially in the factories. This is accomplished through:

(a) individual agitation and propaganda of every member of the unit in his factory.

(b) Through the special concentration of the unit in the mass distribution of literature, in holding of shop-gate meetings in the factories in the city or section of the operation of the unit and its membership.

(c) Through the establishment of factory discussion groups wherever possible during the lunch hour or at any other time.

(d) Through mass agitation in the form of mass meetings, which should come as a result of work in shops and working-class organizations.

### 4. Make the Party Unit Function in the Factories.

The unit agitprop director must always be familiar with the conditions in the factories where the members of the unit are employed, as well as in the important factories and industries situated in its territory, where we as yet have no connections. The mass activity of the unit, such as distribution of leaflets, party newspapers, sale of other literature, is initiated systematically in front of a number of factories. Comrades working in the shop where literature is distributed and agitation and propaganda is consistently carried on, utilize the activities of the unit in this factory for the purpose of gaining new members and sympathizers for the Party. The perspective is to be to organize a shop nucleus, to issue a shop paper, and to establish firmly the party in that shop.

In factories where the nucleus has no members working, but carries on consistently literature distribution and other

forms of agitation and propaganda, we try to establish contact with the workers either through special factory gate meetings, through connections in fraternal organizations and through regular approach to the sympathizers that we can secure by checking up on the circulation list of our party press, as well as through other means.

### 5. Concrete Steps of Developing the Agitprop Work in the Units.

The unit agitprop director must always explain and popularize to the workers the issues and problems of the various political campaigns initiated by the party. This first of all necessitates to secure proper literature for distribution in the factories, working-class organizations, etc. In order to carry on successfully individual agitation and propaganda by every member of the unit, it is necessary first of all to explain to the membership of the unit the campaigns of the party, the basis of the campaign, as well as the tasks. This is to be accomplished thru the discussion of the campaign as a whole or of certain phases. This discussion is to be arranged with the assistance of the unit executive committee or the next leading committee in charge, such as the section or the district agitprop committee. At the same time, special provisions are made through the agitprop director in cooperation with the other members of the unit executive committee in securing the proper literature which will give an opportunity to the members to get more detailed information and analysis of the party political tasks and campaigns, and thereby equip them for more effective agitation in the shops and in the mass organizations. **This shop activity when organized in a systematic form must bring definite organizational results.** The unit agitprop director must immediately check up on the reaction of the workers and in order to establish the party more firmly in the factories, he must see to it that agitation material is issued, such as leaflets, bulletins or special articles appearing in our party press. At

the same time the unit agitprop director pays special attention that the party comrades in the shop shall react to every problem facing the workers, such as the Negro question, the youth question, etc.

#### 6. The Political Education of the Membership.

This activity must be carried out simultaneously with our mass activities in the shop and factory. The political education of our membership is accomplished through the establishment of study groups on general party questions or special party problems, of classes in the units proper, through the attendance in the workers' schools, and through the semi-monthly discussions in the units. The agitprop director is responsible for the arrangements of the unit classes with the assistance and direction of the section and district agitprop committee. He also stimulates the attendance of classes in the workers' school through a registration of the

members of his unit, paying special attention to those members who are comparatively new in the party and still are politically backward. The discussions in the unit are organized on the basis of the general direction received from the higher agitprop committees. The agitprop director stimulates further study of the question discussed by the membership by arranging for the sale of the proper literature and other information material dealing with that question.

#### 7. The Relation of the Unit Agitprop Director to the Unit Executive.

Like all other divisions of work, the unit agitprop director always tries to enlist the support of other comrades, and in this work is responsible to the unit bureau. He makes periodic reports and always brings up before them his plans for approval and discussion. The work of the agitprop director is therefore not an entity by itself but is an organic part of the work of the entire unit.

## The Party Fractions in the Trade Unions

### Role of Fractions.

The Communist fraction in the Trade Unions have as their aim the winning of the majority of the trade union members under the influence and leadership of the Communist Party. The more devotedly, practically, and energetically they know how to head the interests of these members, the better they understand how to defend proletarian class interests in every way, in all spheres, and on all occasions and to link up the fight for the immediate tasks with the fight for the final aim of the working class, the more easily will they succeed in gaining this influence.

This means that the Communist members of each union, whether TUUL, AFL or independent must be united into a Communist fraction and conduct active fractional work.

### Relation of Party to Fraction.

The Party fraction is not a basic unit of the Party. It does not determine the main line or policy of the Party. The policy to be pursued in every union is determined by the Party committee. The fraction is the instrument of the Party in carrying out this policy. The fraction can only make decisions insofar as they refer to applying the policy of the Party as already decided upon by the Party committee. Within the limits of the general Party directives, the fraction shall deal independently with the questions of their inner life and current work.

Important tasks of the fractions shall be discussed in the Party Trade Union Dep't, in the presence of representatives of the fractions. In case of serious differences of opinion, between the fraction and

the Trade Union Department, the Party committee shall decide the matter, with representation of the fraction present. The decision of the Party committee must be unconditionally carried out by the fraction.

The success of the fraction work is dependent upon the unity and discipline of all the members of the fraction. It must be remembered that it is not the individual or even the fraction as a whole which is held responsible by the masses, for the activity of the Party fraction, but the Party as a whole.

Candidates for all conventions, committees, etc., shall be nominated by the fraction executive and approved by the proper Party committee. If necessary, the Party committee itself can nominate candidates.

The fraction executives are obliged to give regular reports to the proper department and higher fraction executive.

The organization and supervision of the functioning of the fraction in the trade unions is under the jurisdiction of the Organization Department; the Trade Union Department is responsible for the Party policy pursued in the trade unions.

#### **How to Organize Fraction and Structure.**

The Party shall compile—thru various registration means—the list of all Party members in each local trade union organization. The Party members in each trade union organization shall be called to a meeting and established as the Party fraction. A complete roll of all Party members eligible, shall be established. The Party fraction must meet regularly before every meeting of the local union. Where the fraction is a large one, an executive shall be established, for preparing the work of the fraction, etc. Every fraction must have a secretary.

Attendance and activity is a Party duty and failure to carry out fraction activity will result in Party pressure, even to disciplinary measures being taken against the comrade involved.

Party fractions shall be organized in all the various divisions of all trade unions, such as local unions, shop committees,

delegate councils, joint boards, Central Labor Councils, District Councils, International Boards, etc. Also all Communist delegates to all trade union conventions shall act as a fraction.

#### **Duties and Functions of Fraction.**

The duty of each fraction in the trade union is to carry thru the Party line as embodied in the Party resolution on trade union work (latest resolution is October, 1929) and adapted to the specific problems of each union.

The main task on the trade union field is the organization of the unorganized, one of the prerequisites of which is the building of the TUUL—which especially means the building of the new unions and National Industrial Leagues.

All ideas that it is not necessary to build Party fractions in the TUUL unions must be sharply combatted. Only thru the proper functioning of the fractions can the TUUL and its affiliated unions be built into fighting revolutionary mass unions and a revolutionary trade union center. On the district and local TUUL executive, the Party fraction (with addition if Party Committee sees fit) must function as the Party Trade Union Committee.

Concentration on building TUUL does not mean deserting of fraction work in A. F. of L. unions. **Party fractions must be established and work must be engaged in actively in all A. F. of L. unions.** All tendencies to neglect work in the A. F. of L. must be sharply condemned and corrected. In the A. F. of L. locals the Party fractions must win the influence of the membership away from the traditional fakirs and also the "left Muste" type of misleaders. This must be done on the basis of the Party fraction putting forward fighting militant policies, to meet the bosses offensive on the living standards of the workers, pointing out that this offensive is in agreement with the A. F. of L. leaders. **The Party fraction in all the A. F. of L. unions must build up the TUUL minority groups of all the workers who will respond to the TUUL program.**

### Fractions and Campaigns of the Party.

The Party fractions must carry into the unions all the campaigns of the Party (anti-war, unemployment, elections, etc.) and win the union membership for support and participation in these campaigns. Similarly, on all such occasions as International Red Day, May Day, Lenin Memorial, Russian Revolution Anniversary, etc., the Party fraction must win the largest masses of workers in the unions, to participate in these.

The Party's trade union work is not conducted only thru its fractions. The entire Party membership must conduct trade union work in the factories. This

work is under the supervision and control of the Party nucleus.

Every member of the Communist Party must join a union to which he is eligible. This is mandatory, according to the Party statutes, which every worker upon joining the Party pledged to adhere to and strictly carry out.

Activity in a Party fraction in the trade union is not a substitute for general Party activity and attendance at Party nucleus meetings. Every Party member—including every leading comrade up to the Central Committee must attend their nuclei meetings.

## Organizing Shop Committees

In this period of rationalization, speed-up, unemployment, and war preparations, the organizing of Shop Committees, as the basic fighting units of the new revolutionary industrial unions, is the major mass organizational task that confronts the Party; and it is very necessary that all members of the Party have a clear conception of what constitutes a shop committee, what is its role and function in the factory, what are the necessary steps to be taken in the building of a shop committee, what are the political and organizational relations of a shop nucleus to the shop committee.

The term shop committee is too loosely used, it is being applied to many committees that are not shop committees. The organizing of the workers in a given factory has not reached the shop committee stage until a sufficient number of workers are participating in the work of the committee and have broadened it out from the propaganda stage into real action, i.e., taking up grievances of the workers, preparing for or leading strikes. Until this stage has been reached the committees set up by the workers are elementary

forms of organizing committees, whose task is to transform themselves, as speedily as possible, into shop committees. Shop committees are the basis upon which the revolutionary industrial unions are built.

In the basic unorganized industries our first task is the setting up the elementary rank and file organizing committees. "Committee to organize the Packing House Workers," "Committee to organize the steel workers," etc. These committees at the beginning will naturally be composed of the most advanced among the most exploited workers in the factory. They may be composed of 10 or 100 workers scattered thruout a factory that employs thousands of workers.

The task of these organizing committees is to carry on an energetic propaganda and organizing campaign; the raising of demands based upon the conditions within the factory around which the workers can be rallied for struggle; the popularization of these demands by leaflets, shop papers, mass meetings, factory gate meetings, stickers, etc.; linking up the everyday concrete factory demands, in a propaganda sense, with the major demands covering

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the entire industry, and the general class struggle program of the TUUL.

These elementary organizing committees from their very inception should be placed upon a dues paying basis, and hooked up to the TUUL either directly or thru their National Industrial Unions or National Industrial Leagues. In the work of building these elementary organizing committees, both organized and unorganized workers must be drawn in. We form a united front from below, building these committees, drawing in Negro Youth and Women on the program of the TUUL.

To call these elementary organizing committees "shop committees" is bound to create confusion. It must be made clear to the workers that these are preliminary steps, in the organizing of the workers to enforce the demands raised by the organizing committee, that the building of functioning shop committees is an absolute necessity in the preparations for strike struggle.

The development of these elementary organizing committees into functioning shop committees will not be a quiet peaceful transition. Discrimination and terroristic methods will be the weapon of the employers. It will mean the transition of propaganda organizations into organs of struggle.

Shop Committees, unlike the elementary organizing committees, represent the full fighting force of the workers in a given factory, and form a basis for the revolutionary industrial unions. This does not mean that only members of the industrial unions participate in the work and strike struggles led by the shop committees; all workers are drawn into the work and in the process of struggle they should be enrolled into the union. Where the craft unions exist the rank and file of these unions, as well as the unorganized workers, are drawn into the work of the shop committees, into strike committees, negotiation committees, etc. In this manner the united front from below is formed

and the leadership of the bureaucrats and social reformists undermined and destroyed.

The building of shop committees involves a struggle between the revolutionary union and the A. F. of L., supported by all the types of social reformism, company unions, etc., for leadership of the workers in the factories. Against their class collaboration slogans we raise class struggle slogans and demands, exposing them as traitors before the unorganized, as well as to the rank and file of their own organizations. In the building of shop committees, the taking up of everyday grievances and fighting for the concrete demands of the workers in the factories, is basically important: it is around these issues that the workers can be drawn into broader economic and political struggles.

Official factory organs or literature issued, either by an organizing committee or a shop committee, must deal basically with the conditions and demands affecting the workers in that particular factory, linking up the general class struggle program, fight against the war danger, defense of the Soviet Union, etc., directly with the struggles of the workers in the factory.

In large mass production factories where tens of thousands of workers are employed, the same basic structural form prevails as in smaller factories. For example, the shop committee of a small factory with a few hundred workers, even if it included every worker in the factory, can meet and elect their representatives or officers in general membership meetings. This becomes impossible in a factory with 10 or 20 thousand workers, but still the same forms and methods must prevail in the large as in the small factories. This means that in the larger factories, while the basic shop committee shall include all workers in the factory, the organizational procedure is not so simple as in the smaller factories.

This entails the organizing of a number of sections, either by departments or some

divisions dictated by the structure and work relations of the workers in the industry itself. These sections, or department committees, however, are not basic. While they have special tasks to perform, sectional or department authority, the basic organization is the whole shop or factory committee. The election of factory or shop executive committees in these large factories must also be by the rank and file. Obviously this cannot be done in a general membership meeting. This has to be overcome by placing the candidates before the sections, or department membership meetings to be voted upon, with a special election committee to supervise the election; or election of delegates from the section or department membership meetings, to a factory delegate conference, at which shall be elected the necessary factory executive committees and officers. To summarize:

1. The organizing of all contacts in a

given factory into an elementary organizing committee, upon a dues paying basis, connect them up with their respective TUUL organizations.

2. The formulations of concrete everyday demands of the workers in that factory. The carrying out of an energetic propaganda and organizing campaign, linking up these demands with the general and specific class struggle program and demands of the Party.

3. The speedy transformation of these organizing committees into fighting shop committees which means that the skeleton structure (the organizing committees) has to be transformed into fighting form, that the workers are participating in the work, accepting the leadership of the shop committee, and have entered into struggle.

4. While we must not underestimate the importance of preparatory work, we must not, however, approach strike struggles from a too mechanical point of view.

## Issuing Shop Papers

The importance of shop papers is being much better understood by our Party now than it was several years ago, but still the papers are far from the standard they ought to reach. This is due in part to the inexperience of the comrades in this important mass work, partly to the lack of shop nuclei which can efficiently carry on such work, and in great part to the absence of centralized direction and control of the work by the Central Committee.

There are a few elementary things which must never be lost sight of in issuing a shop paper, and which will be dealt with very briefly here. The paper must be issued with the view of putting it out as a permanent regular thing. It must not be written by one comrade alone. The reason for this is obvious—when the comrade can no longer for some

reason or other write it, the paper collapses and has no real Party base.

One of the extremely important things is **accuracy**. It is impossible to stress this point too much. If, in issuing the paper, we say things which are untrue of the shop, the paper, instead of becoming the leader of the workers, simply becomes the laughing stock of the shop. It may be necessary for comrades, not members of the nucleus, to help in writing the paper due to insufficient command of English language by the members, but when the paper is ready to be issued, it is absolutely imperative that the members of the nucleus go over every bit of material and check up on the facts. Many comrades have a scornful attitude toward paying so much attention to final details, but they need only read what Krupskaya has written about how Lenin carried on this kind

of work to convince themselves that no comrade is "above" it. Krupskaya tells of how Lenin used to ask a worker about every small detail of the condition in his shop before issuing a leaflet for it. She used to disguise herself as a working woman and go to workers' quarters to gather and verify material.

"Only on the basis of material gathered in this way," she writes, "did Vladimir Ilyich write his leaflets. One really ought to examine his leaflet to the workers of the Tornton Factory. What a knowledge of the smallest details of conditions there! And what a training that was for all the comrades who worked with him! Thus one learned to pay attention to petty details! And how deeply such details were impressed upon our consciousness." — (Krupskaya's Memoirs of Lenin.)

### The Political Aspect

of the paper is important in many ways. It must not only be in line with the current campaigns of the Party, but must be so linked up with shop conditions as to make it more readily understandable to the workers and help to rouse their class-consciousness. And the political articles must be carefully written in language understandable by the average worker.

There is no need to emphasize again the necessity of holding to Party trade union policy in dealing with trade union problems. It is one of the most important problems in issuing shop papers and in capitalizing the results organizationally.

The technical make-up of the paper is determined by local conditions, size of factory, financial resources, etc. But one thing is clear—the paper must be at least **readable**, which cannot be said of many of the papers now being issued. Illustrations also play a great part in making the paper attractive.

We must not forget our **auxiliary organizations**, but also we must not go about them in such a way that a worker is confused. Several papers appearing recently have two or three appeals per page to join this or that organization until the worker can't tell one from another and doesn't know where he is at. Of course he must be continually urged to join the Party.

We have much to learn, and we can learn from past experiences and also from our brother parties. The reissuance of the "Party Organizer" will be of great help in this work. The purpose of this article is merely to state the problem in its broad and general aspects, and to invite discussion from the comrades engaged in it—they should tell of their experiences, give suggestions on methods they have found successful, and criticize the papers now being issued.

The next issue of the "Party Organizer" will contain a general plan for conducting the work in a centralized and homogeneous manner, and suggestions from comrades will be very welcome.

## The Basic Units of the Party

In some sections in our largest district we still today have "language branches" of the Party. We find today Party units where comrades speak only Finnish or Lithuanian or some other languages except English. This must be liquidated immediately and no Section Committee or District Committees can be allowed to permit

language branches of the Party to continue as Party units. Every such "language branch" must at once be reorganized and the members placed in existing shop nuclei or street nuclei, or they themselves build up American shop nuclei or street nuclei.

There are also other forms of units in our Party. For instance, in some sections

of New York, we find "industrial nuclei" comprising, for example, needle trades comrades from many different shops, or "Factory District Area Nuclei", consisting of comrades working in factories in a certain neighborhood. Another form is "building nuclei" consisting of comrades in different shops in the same building. These nuclei obviously were meant to be some sort of a transition organization, preparing for building up shop nuclei; but during the permanent reorganization of four years duration in our Party, they just remained as "Factory District Area" or "Industrial Nuclei"—and are still today functioning as such. In some sections there are four or five of them meeting in the same hall on the same evening and at the same hour! Routine work is carried out, tickets for sale distributed, collection boxes given out but political questions are seldom discussed. Everyone disturbs the other. No serious communist work can be carried out under such conditions.

It must be made clear once and for all in our Party that there are only two forms of units in a Communist Party: shop nuclei and street nuclei. All other forms of organizations, claiming to be basic units of the Party, have to be dissolved. The shop nucleus consists of all Party members working in the same shop;

the street nucleus of all Party members, not working in any shop, living in the same residential district.

The Communists have to influence the workers in the shop, to propagate the tactics, program and slogans of the Party, to organize and lead the workers in struggle. This can be best done where the workers are together as a mass, in the shops. That is the reason why the C. P. insists upon its basic units being organized in the factories.

The shop nucleus, a Party organization, should actively participate in all conflicts between the workers and the bosses, formulate the demands of the workers and show the other workers how the struggle is to be carried on. All economical struggles have to be combined with the political demands of the Party.

The street nucleus has to carry on the same activity in its residential district, sometimes larger, sometimes smaller. A street nucleus can have as its sphere of work a whole ward or may be only a few blocks at a given street. The street nucleus as well as the shop nucleus must in its practical work understand how to combine the general slogans and demands of the Party with the local demands and struggles of the workers in their area or shop.

## International Women's Day — March the 8th

The campaign of International Women's Day is a campaign of the Communist International which concerns all the workers and not only the women workers. The aim is to draw the women workers into the class struggle, to enroll them into the militant trade unions, and to win the most class-conscious for Communism. As such, the 1930 International Women's Day campaign is a campaign of the Communist Party as a whole and not only the cam-

paign of the Women's Department and the women members of the Party.

The conditions for winning large masses of working women for the revolutionary trade unions and the Party during the 1930 IWD campaign are exceedingly favorable. The results of the economic crisis—millions of unemployed, increased speed-up, lower wages for women and men, has dealt a severe blow to the conditions of the working class, has resulted

in a much greater class-consciousness and determination to fight against the bosses, for instance, the mass strikes of the working class taking place with the working women playing a prominent part.

To direct politically and lead the working women as part of the working class in all their struggles, to win them for the revolutionary trade unions and for the Party, to broaden the Communist influence among the broad masses of women in the shops and factories, are the tasks of the Party and not only of the Women's Department of the Party.

International Women's Day this year must be a mass demonstration of revolutionary solidarity of the working class for struggle against U. S. Imperialism, against imperialist wars, in defense of the Soviet Union. It is to be linked up with the political struggles of the Party, with the unemployment drive and with the anti-war campaign.

The preliminary organization instructions for I. W. D. campaign are:

1. The campaign is to be conducted under the open leadership of the Communist Party, with the cooperation of the militant trade unions and sympathetic organizations.

2. The unemployment Campaign for the big demonstration Feb. 24 (International Unemployment Day) has to be utilized also in preparing the IWD.

3. Street demonstrations to be held in New York, Chicago, Detroit, Boston, Cleveland, and San Francisco of a broad character, representatives from nearby industrial cities, from textile, automobile,

mining areas, should attend and address the meetings.

4. Preparations to consist in systematic work in factories, shop nuclei, thru fraction work and local conferences of working women, meetings in working class neighborhoods and factory gates. Special work among Negro women.

5. If no women's work directors are appointed in important shop nuclei, they are to be elected at once. Districts are to send responsible active women comrades in to assist in strengthening the work among women in shop nuclei.

6. Propaganda for a working women's delegation, every woman delegate to be elected by shops or organizations, to go to the Soviet Union for May first (details to be worked out later).

7. The Daily Worker, Working Woman, The Communist, and the language press to have special editions for March 8th.

8. Posters, leaflets, and a pamphlet on working women in U. S. will be gotten out by the Women's Department of the Central Committee.

9. Mobilizing masses of working women to fight against the consequences of the economic crisis: unemployment, wage cuts, worsening of labor conditions, lowering of the standard of living, and to carry on this mobilization in connection with other campaigns and struggles of the Party.

10. Special shop bulletins—women's pages.

11. Districts to hold special functionaries meetings for mobilization.

—Women's Department of the C. C.

## Women's Work In the Shops

The greatest weakness in our Party today is the small number of shop nuclei, together with the fact that those which are organized are not in basic industries where the masses of workers are to be found. Along with this general lack of penetration into the important factories goes a more specific weakness that needs

the particular attention of the Party at this time. Even in those few shop nuclei existing, there are scarcely any women members, and among the insignificant number of women shop nuclei members, scarcely any American women can be counted.

The lack of women members in our shop

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nuclei cannot be waved aside as being due merely to the Party's general weakness. What must be recognized by the shop nuclei, section and district Party organizers is that general agitational and organizational methods are not sufficient to attract women members. For a long time it has been a by-word in the Party that "Women's Work" has been neglected or underestimated. Just what is meant by this should be made clear. It is not so much that organizers do not "think" about making communists out of the women workers, but what is necessary is that they should think and act constructively, that is, that they should realize that, due to certain historical, economic and psychological factors, which need not be discussed here, the same appeal that might mobilize men into the Communist Party may leave the women workers still indifferent or prejudiced.

Special organizational and agitational steps must be taken thruout the Party to reach the masses of working women in the shops, factories, and mills. The first step in this direction has been taken by the establishment of a Women's Department of the CC, together with Women's Departments in the various districts and sections. Building up a special apparatus for women's work must be carried on thru all the units.

The first and foremost task of the nucleus is the establishment of a functioning apparatus. In nuclei operating in factories employing both women and men, a comrade, man or woman, should be appointed as responsible for women's work, working under the direction and guidance of the Nucleus Executive. The nucleus must keep in mind that women's work is not the work only of the comrades assigned to direct work among women, but is the work of the entire nucleus.

The question of colonizing responsible and energetic women comrades, to work in important, large factories where we have nuclei, must be given serious consideration. The nuclei must carry on con-

tinuous agitation, propaganda and organizational activity adapted to women.

What are the special methods? To have an understanding of the type of women employed in that factory, their social customs, their particular problems, hardships, and grievances in that factory, and their living conditions at home. By making personal and social contacts. Once you win the confidence of the women workers you can utilize this in the right direction.

When carrying on individual recruiting, avoid starting your conversations with such questions as: religion, marriage, etc., that will shock and antagonize undeveloped women workers.

Another important factor is to mingle with the girls in the shop, attending their affairs, and joining them in their activities, etc., always discussing the problems affecting them in the shop.

Agitation and propaganda activity in the factories should be conducted thru the circulation of the Working Woman, Daily Worker, Labor Unity, etc., thru getting workers correspondence for the above papers, thru introduction of regular women's sections in the shop bulletins, not of a general nature but criticizing the conditions of work for the women in that factory, raising the demands required for their needs, for instance, in some shops where the work makes the hands of the girls dirty and sticky, hot water is an immediate pressing demand. Other demands should be, e.g., rest periods, Saturday afternoons off, clean linen, going to the toilet without asking the forelady; also constantly continue to break down the conception that the women workers are only temporarily in the factory, and impress them with the fact that they are a part of the permanent army of the workers.

Organize special women's meetings in the shops to discuss special problems and issues pertaining to women and of interest to women in that shop. Bring them together ready to fight for their demands, to take part in organizing shop commit-

tees and rally the women workers together for organized struggles.

These are the first organizational steps. Pay special attention to the form of the leaflets. More illustrations, bright colors, etc.

The next organization steps consist of drawing them into outside activities, such as sending them as delegates to the Trade Union Unity League Conferences, building of anti-war committees, organizing wo-

men's mass meetings, taking part in Workers' School, etc., continually pointing out to them the function of the Communist nucleus. Have the best elements drawn into the nucleus, the others into shop committees and other spheres of special activity in the shops, preparatory for bringing them into the Party nucleus.

These are some of the elementary steps of work among women in the Communist Nucleus.

## Control of How Party Instructions Are Carried Out

That it is necessary to verify the carrying out of Party instructions is clear in itself and needs no special arguments in its favor. We know very well the importance that was ascribed to that by comrade Lenin. In Lenin's VIII symposium there is a number of letters and notes on this. Almost in all his writings, particularly during the period of 1922, he emphasises the importance of verification as to how instructions are carried out. The control over carrying out of instructions is a slogan which has already gained the right of citizenship. That this is so is evident from the fact alone that we speak so much about it, that we recognize its usefulness, and that we actually do verify as to whether instructions are lived up to. But that is still insufficient. Control over carrying out of decisions has not yet become an organic part of our daily work, it has not yet definitely permeated our conscience as something to be guided by in our future work, it has not yet become a system in our work.

But how are we to control these things?

First of all we cannot control everything. We have more instructions than we should have. Control should be organized on decisive issues which determine our work in general. To look after

"trifles" would give us too much work and important as well as unimportant matters would be piled together. We would lose sight of the most important items. It is possible to avoid this evil only if the Party institutions plan concrete work for a period of one to three months.

Experience has shown that verification as to whether instructions are carried out does not give the desired results if it is done a long time after the instructions are issued. We find almost always that some points in the decisions of the Party institutions are carried out, some of them are in the process of being carried out, and most of them are not carried out, etc. Such investigations are followed by new decisions which very often are but a repetition of the former decisions. The number of decisions is thus piled up while actual work does not make sufficient headway. On the other hand control over the carrying out of instructions from the start gives better results. The system of so-called "impromptu" verifications unquestionably quickens the carrying out of instructions by the lower organizations. It should be borne in mind that this also helps to find out whether the instructions are correct, to correct the mistakes and shortcomings contained in them, etc. For

this it would be most expedient to utilize the leaders of our mass organizations, the institution of unpaid instructors, etc., who might quickly reach the numerous organizations and institutions and help them to carry out the various decisions. The method of control in the second instance is better than in the first, but it is by no means sufficient. Both forms must be applied and while we control the carrying out of political and organizational decisions of the Party, in the process of their enforcement, periodical general verifications of the materialization of such decisions are also necessary. It is only if we adopt both methods that we shall be certain to avoid hasty conclusions and learn from the experience accumulated within certain periods of time which may serve as the basis for the next step in the forward movement of the Party in the given sphere of construction.

Comrades who fail to carry out properly the decisions of the Party institutions should be called to responsibility by the Control Commissions and strictly reprimanded. That would teach comrades who are indifferent and sluggish in carrying

out Party decisions, to act quickly in the future. That would raise their sense of responsibility in carrying out Party decisions. Comrades directly responsible for carrying out certain decisions must on their own initiative inform the respective Party committees about the obstacles interfering with their work.

Naturally in investigating as to whether Party decisions have been carried out, it is the most important points that have to be looked after.

Of course the decisions and instructions themselves must be better than they are today. They must be improved from the point of view of brevity, conciseness, and concreteness. They must concretely point out the person or organization to be responsible for their enforcement. Naturally the number of circulars and resolutions on questions upon which Party decisions already exist must be reduced to the utmost. That will release the people concerned from the duty of reading duplicate circulars and will enable them to concentrate their efforts on actual work in the factories or institutions which is so important in the present period.

## OUR PARTY

has for years used old forms for the names of our leading organs, names that do not correspond to the tasks of the respective committees.

Most of our leading committees are called "Executive" committees, in spite of the fact that in a Communist Party, organized on the basis of democratic centralism, the leading committees are not only executive bodies but at the same time political leading bodies, making political decisions. That is the reason why we do not speak about The Central Executive Committee any more. Its correct name is **The Central Committee of the CP of USA**. When abbreviating it do not use the old form: "the CEC", use the CC.

Our Central Committee has a political buro, which very often is called The Political Committee, or abbreviated the Polcom. It is not a special political committee in difference from the Central Committee, it is a buro of the CC; hence the **Polburo**, not the polcom.

The Central Committee has at its side a special commission for disciplinary and other investigations and controlling functions—the **Central Control Commission**, which very often in our Party is called the Central Control Committee.

All our District Committees are not so much executive organs of the Party as political leading organs: hence **District**

**Committees** (not District Executive Committee—DEC) abbreviated DC.

District Committees have special bureaus appointed, the District Bureaus. Instead of the former Section Executive Committees we should now use the more correct Section Committees (SC), and instead of the Executive Committees of the nuclei, we should speak about The Bureau of the Nucleus, as the more correct name.

Still we have the impossible name: National Office instead of the correct name: the Central Office of the Party. Many of our Language Bureaus use the name Na-

tional, e.g. The Jewish National Bureau, or the Lithuanian National Bureau, instead of the correct name: The Jewish Bureau of the CC, the Lithuanian Bureau of the CC. The Language Bureaus of the District Committees should not be called District Bureaus, better for instance The Finnish Bureau of District Committee No. 9; or the Finnish Bureau of the Minnesota District Committee.

The most important changes are in the names of the Central Committee, the Polbureau, the Central Control Commission, the Central Office of the Party and the Nucleus Bureau.

## The Party Organizer

will from now on appear regularly every month. The Org Department of the Central Committee is responsible for its publication, and we request every active party member to become a regular co-worker in this monthly publication, dedicated to the building up of the Party organizationally. Cooperation in the form of questions regarding practical party work will be very useful. All sorts of self-criticism exposing weaknesses in our party life and party organizational activity, etc., will contribute to strengthening the Party. We will expect not only the functionaries but every active party worker to read THE PARTY ORGANIZER, and every sort of suggestions, criticism and practical proposals regarding its editing are welcomed by us.

THE PARTY ORGANIZER must become an active instrument in the work of every shop and street nucleus of the Party. No question is so unimportant that members of the Party cannot address it to the editor of the PARTY ORGANIZER—provided the question has some connection with the life and activity of the Party or his nucleus. He will always receive an answer, if not officially thru publication of his question with answer, then either indirectly by his problem being

touched upon in articles printed or directly by mail. Address all communications to:

ORG DEPARTMENT OF THE CC.  
43 E. 125th Street, New York City.

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