

# RADICAL PERIODICALS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1890-1960

## FIRST SERIES

- Alternative (1948-1951)  
Amerasia (1937-1947)  
American Appeal (1920-1927)  
American Socialist (1914-1917)  
American Spectator (1932-1937)  
Black & White (1939-1940)  
Blast (1916-1917)  
China Today (1933-1942)  
Class Struggle (1917-1919)  
Class Struggle (1931-1937)  
Clipper (1940-1941)  
Common Sense (1932-1946)  
Communist (1919-1921)  
Communist International (1919-1940)  
Conscientious Objector (1939-1946)  
Dialectics (1937-1939)  
Enquiry (1942-1945)  
Equal Justice (1926-1942)  
Forerunner (1909-1916)  
Good Morning (1919-1921)  
Industrial Pioneer (1921-1926)  
Industrial Unionist (1932-1950)  
International Class Struggle (1936-1937)  
International Review (1936-1939)  
International Socialist Review (1900-1918)  
International Socialist Review (1940-1959)  
Labor Action (1940-1958)  
Labor Age (1913-1933)  
Labor Bulletin (1936-1938)  
Marxist Quarterly (1937)  
Militant (1928-1934)  
Modern Quarterly (1923-1940)  
Modern Review (1947-1950)  
Modern Socialist (1941-1942)  
Monthly Review (1934-1935)  
Monthly Review (1949-1960)  
Mother Earth Bulletin (1906-1918)  
Nationalist (1889-1891)  
New Foundations (1947-1954)  
New International (1934-1958)  
New Militant (1934-1936)  
New Nation (1891-1894)  
New Review (1913-1916)  
New Trends (1945-1946)  
New World Review (1932-1960)  
One Big Union Monthly (1919-1938)  
Pacifica Views (1943-1947)  
Party Organizer (1927-1938)  
Politics (1944-1949)  
Radical Review (1917-1919)  
Rebel (1895-1896)  
Retort (1942-1951)  
Revolutionary Age (1918-1919)  
Revolutionary Age (1929-1932)  
Socialist Appeal (1934-1937)  
Socialist Review (1932-1940)  
Spanish Revolution (1936-1938)  
Spanish Revolution (1936-1937)  
Student Advocate (1936-1938)  
Student Review (1931-1935)  
U. S. Week (1941-1942)  
Weekly Review (1936-1943)  
Workers Age (1932-1941)  
Workers' Council (1921)  
Workers' League for a Revolutionary  
Party Bulletin (1937-1959)  
World Survey (1941-1942)  
Young Worker (1922-1936)

# Party Organizer

Volumes 1-3  
1927-1930

Introduction to the Greenwood reprint by  
PHILIP TAFT  
Department of Economics  
Brown University  
Providence, Rhode Island



Greenwood Reprint Corporation  
New York  
1968

AS B4 A4 B0

This reprint edition reproduces, in an unaltered form, the entire contents of the original publication, as far as it has been possible to determine.

*Introduction*

Copyright © 1968 by

GREENWOOD REPRINT CORPORATION

This work has been printed on long-life paper and conforms to the standards developed under the sponsorship of the Council on Library Resources.

Printed in the United States of America

L

## Introduction

By 1927, when the *Party Organizer* was established, the Communists had emerged from the underground where the post-war Palmer anti-red raids had sent many of the leaders. The Workers Party had been established as the legal arm and "Communist" had been added when anti-radical sentiment began to recede. The Aesopian name was soon changed to "Communist Party of the United States of America." The party had also temporarily ended several years of factional controversy during which those unwilling to submit to "iron discipline" had left or had been forced from the ranks.

The *Party Organizer*, published for the next ten years, was not intended for general circulation. It was issued for "Party functionaries so that the National Organization Department will issue instructions and give assistance . . . in the Party campaigns. The 'Party Organizer' is not a mass organ. It is for the Party membership." <sup>1</sup> When the leaders became aware that it was being circulated among non-members, an order was issued that "the practice of selling it to non-Party workers must stop." While the directive denied that the *Party Organizer* contained confidential or conspirative information, it noted: "We must, however, differentiate between agitational and propaganda literature for the masses and inner-Party literature for Party members written for the purpose of improving the Party." <sup>2</sup> The magazine is an indispensable source for discovering the programs and policies of the party. The usual jargon and tone typical of other Communist publications are generally avoided. Its purpose is not conversion of unbelievers, but increased effectiveness. With an occasional exception, the unsigned articles are directed to improving the efficiency of the organization and the success of the campaigns in progress. The second issue (April, 1927) emphasizes the need for concentrating attention upon train-

AS  
D4  
A7  
D8

ing nuclei and fraction "secretaries and active workers in the districts, sections and sub-districts." Articles on how to influence large groups on behalf of the party, or on how to run a meeting, are printed alongside instructions to concentrate upon campaigning for a labor party. How to establish and operate a shop paper is a recurring theme.

A review of the *Party Organizer* tells us the particular areas and plants to which party activists are asked to direct their major attention. No effort is made to hide shortcomings or failures. A constant complaint is the high membership turnover, and suggestions for reducing the outflow are continually discussed. The *Party Organizer* can therefore provide a limited check of the claimed successes which are found in other Communist publications. Reference to specific campaigns conducted by the party are frequently given, and party members are told when and how to promote them. In 1928, party members were urged to give first priority to promoting the anti-administration campaign in the coal miner's union, and to raise funds for a conference to launch an opposition to that organization.

Beginning in 1928, an increasing number of articles stress the importance of establishing party nuclei in factories, especially the large ones in Ohio and Michigan. Advice on campaigns in the textile industry and how to conduct open-air meetings and study circles is also given. The *Party Organizer*, from 1929 on, gives increasing attention to the duty of party members to join trade unions and to become active in them. Details on specific behavior in these organizations are also offered. For example:

Communist members of each union . . . must be united into a Communist fraction and conduct active fractional work. . . . The policy 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

L

insofar as they refer to applying the policy of the Party as already decided upon by the Party Committee. . . . The decision of the Party Committee must be unconditionally carried out by the fraction. 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 its candidates. <sup>3</sup>

This type of directive did not appear in literature published for general circulation, and the value of the *Party Organizer* is in revealing aspects of policy which are not publicly discussed or acknowledged. The affiliation of several thousand Communists with the trade unions made it necessary to convey this order through semi-secret channels.

Interspersed among articles on how to handle finances and work in mass organizations are discussions on recruiting and the relations of the member to the party. In March, 1931, the central committee said: "Refusal to act in accordance with the line laid down by higher specific committees of the Party, or refusal to carry out specific decisions and instructions issued by the leading committees within their respective jurisdictions, are absolutely impermissible." <sup>4</sup>

Articles in 1931 and 1932 deal with work in mass organizations; extending influence to small towns; and how to act under arrest, stabilize finances, conduct anti-war demonstrations, and develop shop nuclei. Several articles appear on organizing war and heavy industries, and how to work among the unemployed. The recruiting of Negroes into the party is urged with greater frequency in the early 1930's and continues thereafter. How to improve agitation is another topic which is periodically examined. Special stress is placed upon infiltrating particular large plants, and the manner by which success can be achieved as illustrated by the

AS B4 A4 B3  
experience of others. Shop papers put out by party activists are examined, and there is frequent discussion of how to make these publications more attractive. How to win the confidence of workers in the shop, and the art of concentrating upon certain plants are gone over a number of times. The articles seek to go from the general to the particular, and illustrations from experience are frequently given to show how grievances in plants can be utilized to gain influence for the party.

Throughout 1933, the winning of "key workers in key industries" is given attention, and instructions on how to promote the "united front" against war and in favor of unemployment insurance are also published. Information on how to avoid arrest and the safeguarding of membership lists and records from police seizure is given in another article. A number of strikes are discussed, and advice is also offered on how Communist minority blocs can operate within unions without arousing opposition. Recruiting of strike activists into the party is another favorite topic, they and the young being prime targets of Communist recruiters.

The first Roosevelt administration opened possibilities of organizing millions of workers into unions, and a number of issues devote space to directions for concentrating major attention upon particular plants in industries which appear promising to Communist penetration. Over the entire period of publication the recruiting and fluctuation of membership are given periodic attention, and members are advised on methods by which recruits can be kept in the party.

Housekeeping topics are not avoided. Advice on how to keep financial accounts and hints on effective expenditures and dues collections appear. Shortcomings in methods and failures in specific situations are continually examined, and

L

advice offered on how to avoid future failures. Effective methods of distributing literature, penetrating Negro groups, establishing shop newspapers, capitalizing on grievances, training "Communist cadres," writing a leaflet, organizing a shop meeting, an election rally, or a class on Leninism, are all analyzed and members are urged to heed them. The aim is to make the activist more efficient in work within the party, and also within non-party groups in which he may be operating.

The pages of the *Party Organizer* are almost completely free of denunciation of opponents or exaggerated claims. The ten years in which the *Party Organizer* was issued was a period in which the Communist party enjoyed its greatest influence in the United States. It is one of the important records of party activity during this time, and one that no student can overlook.

—Philip Taft  
Providence, 1968

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>*Party Organizer*, April, 1927, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, February, 1931, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, February, 1930, pp. 5-7.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, March, 1931, p. 10.



A3

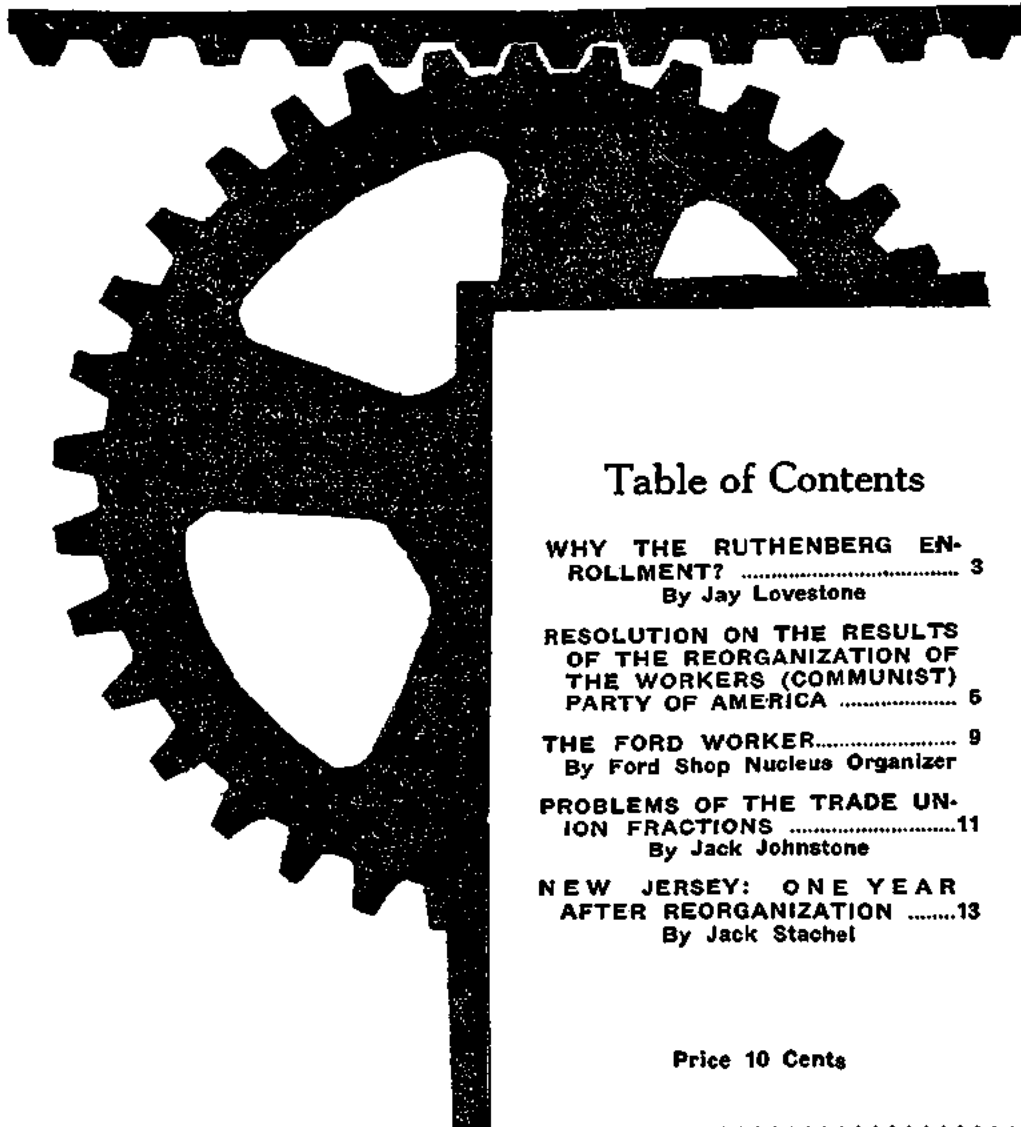
B4

A4

B3

L

# THE ► PARTY ORGANIZER



## Table of Contents

WHY THE RUTHENBERG EN-ROLLMENT? .....	3
By Jay Lovestone	
RESOLUTION ON THE RESULTS OF THE REORGANIZATION OF THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA .....	5
THE FORD WORKER.....	9
By Ford Shop Nucleus Organizer	
PROBLEMS OF THE TRADE UNION FRACTIONS .....	11
By Jack Johnstone	
NEW JERSEY: ONE YEAR AFTER REORGANIZATION .....	13
By Jack Stachel	

Price 10 Cents

Vol. I.

APRIL, 1927

No. 1.

Published by  
WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA  
1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

# "The Communist"

is the only theoretical Marxian-Leninist Magazine in America. It retails at

**25 Cents per Copy.**

To assure uninterrupted delivery of "The Communist"

**You Must Subscribe!**

Subscription price is

**\$2.00 Per Year**

Subscription in foreign countries, \$2.50.

**SEND YOUR SUBSCRIPTION  
AT ONCE!**

*Address*

**THE COMMUNIST**

1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

## WHY THE RUTHENBERG ENROLLMENT?

By Jay Lovestone, Acting Secretary, Workers (Communist) Party

**M**ERELY to ask the question is to answer it.

Outside of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our Party is the only one in the Comintern that has in recent years lost an outstanding figure of the active, virile central leadership. What this means to us can be seen with special clarity, when we examine the weakness of our forces, the slow, painful and costly process of building up revolutionary proletarian leadership, and the tremendous difficulties under which the Communist Party is working in the United States.

Consequently, the Ruthenberg enrollment, the Ruthenberg Recruiting Drive, is not a campaign of bemoaning or mourning over our incalculable loss. At once the Ruthenberg Enrollment becomes that center, that unifying force of all our campaigns which serves to inspire and energize even our most inert and inactive members to greater efforts in every field of our work.

For revolutionary, for proletarian leadership there are needed three outstanding qualifications. These are:

1. Revolutionary inspiration.
2. Intelligence.
3. Industry.

Comrade Ruthenberg represents a rare combination of these three basic prerequisites for proletarian revolutionary leadership in abounding proportions.

Obviously, the why and wherefore of the Ruthenberg Enrollment is to

be found in the need for the Party's bending every effort to make up the immeasurable loss of our leader.

If we take stock of the condition of our Party, we find its many weaknesses only aggravated now. We, as Communists, must then set ourselves to the task of removing our shortcomings, of strengthening, of improving every phase of our Party life and efforts.

The death of Comrade Ruthenberg only serves as a terribly costly yet powerful reminder of the need for our fighting on, for our building the Party.

In the Ruthenberg Enrollment all campaigns can merge. Making our existing shop and street nuclei better living political units, getting new members, fighting to save the unions as weapons of working class struggle, the fight for a labor party, struggling against imperialism—all of these and many other of our activities converge towards the Ruthenberg Enrollment as the pivotal point of inspiration and energy.

Through the Ruthenberg Enrollment the Party membership must fortify itself in every way so as to improve our political and organizational fighting capacities.

From Comrade Ruthenberg's revolutionary inspiration we must draw courage and inspiration for greater powers of resistance and attack in all our work.

From the keen intelligence of our

dead leader, as evidenced by the concrete contributions he has made towards the Party's development, we must strive to learn the need for raising substantially the theoretical level, the Marxian, the Leninist level of our Party forces.

And from the unbounded industry of Comrade Ruthenberg, as shown by his dynamic role in all of our campaigns, we must learn the need for redoubling our efforts, for bestirring ourselves to more intense Party activity than ever before.

All of our moves, all of our steps in the Ruthenberg drive are to be based

solely on the magnificent role and inspiring, splendid achievements of Comrade Ruthenberg towards the advancement of the interests of our class, towards the building of our Workers (Communist) Party.

Yes—let every member bring in a new member.

Let us build the Party.

Let all of us become more energetic, more effective, more devoted Communist fighters.

This is the only road open to us by way of which we can hope to make up for our irreparable loss in the death of Comrade Ruthenberg.

**Subscribe—Solicit Subscriptions  
Order Bundles—Solicit  
Advertisements**

# THE DAILY WORKER

The only American labor daily that fights for the advanced demands of the workers.  
Sample copies furnished on request.

### Subscription rates:

<b>IN NEW YORK</b>		<b>OUTSIDE NEW YORK</b>	
1 year .....	\$8.00	1 year .....	\$6.00
6 mos. ....	4.50	6 mos. ....	3.50
3 mos. ....	2.50	3 mos. ....	2.00
<b>IN CANADA</b>			
1 year .....	\$8.00		
6 mos. ....	4.50		
3 mos. ....	2.50		

## THE DAILY WORKER

33 E. First Street,  
New York, N. Y.

# RESOLUTION ON THE RESULTS OF THE REORGANIZATION OF THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA.

*Adopted by the Organization Department of the Communist International.*

## I. SUCCESSES OF REORGANIZATION.

1. In view of the report on the reorganization of the Workers (Communist) Party of America and the results hitherto achieved, the Organization Department of the Executive Committee of the Communist International declares that, through the reorganization of the Party on the basis of factory and street nuclei, the necessary organizational premise for a real Communist Party has been created. In spite of language difficulties, better collaboration already exists between the English-speaking and the foreign-born workers, and considerable progress has been made with respect to welding together the Party (which consisted formerly of 19 separate federations, each of which constituted, so to speak, a party of its own) into a united, centralized Party of the American proletariat. Despite the great difficulties, which were even greater in the United States than in other countries and despite the talk of the "impossibility of reorganization in America (Lore)," and the pessimistic attitude of some comrades within the Party, who in the face of the difficulties and of some mistakes and shortcomings in the process of reorganiza-

**A**T the Seventh Plenum of the Comintern, the Organization Department of the Communist International made a thorough investigation of the results and status of the reorganization of the Workers (Communist) Party.

The American Delegation to this Plenum worked closely with the Organization Department of the Communist International in the investigation of our reorganization problems.

The resolution herewith presented represents the findings and recommendations of the Communist International.

tion, clamored for the "reorganization of the reorganization," the reorganization had been a great achievement for the Party. It has proven that reorganization is possible even under the most difficult conditions.

2. Through reorganization on a factory nucleus basis, the actual composition of the Party has been improved and the nature of the Party work has been changed. While formerly the work, particularly in the language federations, was more social and of the nature of entertainments, and the entire Party life was carried on separately in the individual federations, now it may be said that a beginning has been

made, with the transference of the work into the factories, and that this work has already had initial successes (election success at the committee elections to the Company Union, successful strikes conducted by the nuclei in several big enterprises of the motor-car industry, the textile workers' Passaic strike, etc.)

3. The activity of the Party membership is growing, as shown by the much better attendance at factory and street nucleus meetings, and in the publication of factory newspapers.

4. Through the publication of 40 regularly appearing factory papers (mostly in the key industries) with a circulation of 80,000 copies, a great

step forward has been made towards the permeation of the masses and towards the increased influence of the Party over them.

## II. SHORTCOMINGS OF REORGANIZATION.

1. In comparison with the number of street nuclei, the number of factory nuclei is still rather small in many districts. In some places most of the factory nuclei are still small and have in some cases but three or four members; most of these nuclei being in small or medium-sized enterprises. The reason for this is that the Party is, so far, strongest in the cities where small or medium enterprises predominate, while industrial centres, where the heavy industries and big enterprises are concentrated, have hitherto been neglected. The fact that so many members are isolated in small or medium enterprises is a great obstacle in the way of further development.

As street nuclei are more numerous and as their average numerical strength is greater than that of factory nuclei, there is the danger of the street nuclei swamping the factory nuclei. There are furthermore a few places where part of the membership is still organized in the old residential groups.

2. The political life of the nuclei

is still weak. They have not yet become real fundamental units of the Party, capable of taking up a definite attitude on all Party questions. There are still but few nuclei which have proper executives. This is partly due to language difficulties and partly to lack of suitable and well trained functionaries.

3. Through the reorganization many members, some of them very good proletarian elements, have been lost. This loss of membership has not yet been made good by the recruiting of new members.

4. Work in the mass organizations of the foreign-born workers, particularly the work of the fractions in these organizations, is still inadequate.

5. In connection with the publication of factory newspapers in enterprises employing mostly foreign-born workers, the fact that they do not know English was not sufficiently taken into consideration, i. e. no provision was made for columns in the language of these workers.

## III. THE IMMEDIATE ORGANIZATIONAL TASKS OF THE PARTY.

1. The continuance and completion of reorganization must be combined in all the districts with the campaign to increase the membership. For this purpose the Party should concentrate on the centres of heavy industry where the mass of the industrial proletariat is to be found. In this connection more attention should be paid to work among the Negroes who are very numerous in heavy industry and who constitute good proletarian elements. This work requires the sending of suitable comrades into these districts and into big

enterprises where factory nuclei should be formed.

In view of repressions on the part of the police and employers, the factory nuclei should function secretly, so that the leading cadres of the nuclei remain unknown to the police and the employers. However, these precautions must not weaken the contact of the nuclei with the masses of workers in the enterprise. For this purpose, in particular, the work of the factory nuclei should be strengthened in every way, and all its members, as well as sympathizers and

non-Party workers, should be drawn in the work of the nuclei.

2. The most important task of the Party is the consolidation of the already existing factory nuclei and their politicalization through the establishment of real nuclei executives capable of carrying out the necessary work.

It is necessary to call attention to the fact that factory nuclei restrict themselves, in a great many instances, to the discussion of questions appertaining to factory life only. They must participate in the discussion of all important questions concerning the general political situation and general Party problems. As the nuclei meetings can only be short for many reasons and sometimes only deal with the most urgent questions and cannot always discuss thoroughly important political questions, general membership meetings on a city-section and sub-section basis must be called systematically so that the members can, according to the principle of inner Party Democracy, take a position on all these questions and express their opinion on them. For this purpose, efforts should be made to train more functionaries through the organization of courses for functionaries.

The Central Executive Committee of the Party must pay special attention to the very important problem of producing a cadre of capable Party workers. Chief attention must be concentrated on the preparation of nuclei and fraction secretaries and active workers in the districts, sections and sub-sections. The fundamental task, in preparing cadres of active workers, must be the preparation of leaders from the ranks of the workers and from lower organizations; then, again, such comrades should be provided with systematic direction and assistance on the part of the competent Party committees.

3. The proletarian elements who were lost to the Party during the re-organization must be brought back into the ranks of the Party at all

costs. In addition to this, the Party must double or even treble its activity with respect to recruiting membership in general. Systematic and persistent recruiting activity must be engaged in in order to win new members for the Party.

Simultaneously with the recruiting work, every effort should be made to retain the new members in the Party. This should be carried out by means of organizing short-term Party courses; supplying the comrades with suitable popular literature, and also by drawing the new members into the everyday work of the nuclei and the local organizations, and through these into the general Party work. The Party must do all in its power systematically to bring forward into active Party work, American proletarians. The work within the trade unions must be strengthened by increased recruiting work within the already existing unions and by strengthening and extending the fractions within the trade unions.

4. The organizational co-ordination of the work of comrades who are isolated in small and medium enterprises, must be carefully studied. In this connection the experiences resulting from the concentration groups should be fully utilized. In view of the fact that there are still many members in the street nuclei although they are working in factories, it is especially necessary to hasten the transfer of such members into the factory nuclei (thereby avoiding mistakes of solving this problem mechanically).

5. The district executives must be systematically instructed by the competent departments of the Central Executive Committee.

Special attention should be paid to the development of the, as yet, weak district executives, as well as to the development of city, section, and sub-section executives. All of them must be developed into real executive organs, capable of controlling and guiding the entire political and organizational work of the nuclei. There



should be a proper distribution of work through the establishment of departments (above all, Organization, Trade Union, Agitprop, and Women's Department). Corresponding departmentalization should be established in the factory nuclei.

More district organization conferences should be organized. The Central Executive Committee must strengthen its work in the organizational and political instruction of the local organizations and also its control over the carrying out of the decisions of the Central Executive Committee.

6. In view of the ever-growing demands made on the Party and the necessity of giving support and guidance to the work of the lower organs, the question of strengthening the various departments of the Central Executive Committee should be seriously considered.

Special emphasis should be placed on the regular and proper functioning of the various departments of the Central Executive Committee (Organization, Trade Unions, Agitprop, Negro, Women's, Agrarian), the Organization Department of the Executive Committee of the Communist International considers the strengthening of the Organization Department to be of particular importance. This should be done by drawing into the department some capable comrades who might be used as instructors in the districts (see directions on the structure of the Organization and Trade Union Department of the II Organization Conference of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.)

7. As co-operatives form a favorable ground for Party activity, the advisability of creating co-operative departments in the Central Executive Committee and in the district executives should be considered.

8. Increased attention must be given to the improvement of **THE DAILY WORKER**. The paper must be improved as regards its contents and must be brought nearer to the

workers through increased drawing in of the workers from the factories as collaborators (worker correspondents).

The paper must also deal more with questions of Party life, i. e. with all sides of Party activity. It should not be overloaded daily with lengthy, formal material. The organizational questions (difficulties, achievements, shortcomings) should also be dealt with more than hitherto in the light of practical experiences. Especially important is to popularize the achievements attained in various big enterprises and to get the utmost value of them. The experiences gotten on this field are not only an encouragement for the comrades in other enterprises in the United States itself, but are also of great practical value for the other sections of the Comintern.

On the other hand the shop nuclei must make all efforts to distribute **THE DAILY WORKER** in their shops, to win new subscribers and to organize collections among the workers in the shops and in the unions in order to better support financially the party organ.

9. The Young Workers (Communist) League, which is backward with respect to reorganization must receive special attention and support from the Party, particularly in the establishment of factory nuclei. In enterprises where Party nuclei already exist, and where many young workers are employed, the Party must take the initiative in establishing Young Workers League factory nuclei (by introduction of youth columns in the factory newspapers, etc.)

10. In enterprises employing large numbers of women, the work of the Party must be adapted to this circumstance, i. e., all Party organs must devote attention to this question.

11. It is also necessary to concentrate more attention on the work of language clubs. The clubs should be of a universal type, having lectures, theatre performances, cinemas, dancing, etc. Courses in the English lan-

guage should be organized in such clubs.

Wherever possible English should be the language spoken at the meetings. But this should not be a hard and fast rule. Where the majority is composed of comrades who cannot understand nor speak English, the meeting should decide in which language proceedings should go on. (This applies also to the shop papers, which should also cater for the foreign-born workers).

Translations must be provided in order that all comrades who cannot understand the principal language spoken at the meetings can follow the proceedings and take an active part in the whole life of the Party. The lower Party committees, city, section and sub-section, must make every effort to assist the nuclei in this respect, by appointing comrades as translators, translating instructions into the respective languages, etc.

## THE FORD WORKER.

*By the Ford Shop Nucleus Organizer.*

SEVERAL arrests and attempted prosecutions have been part of the experience of the Ford shop nuclei of Detroit in issuing THE FORD WORKER, their official organ. In spite of this opposition of the Ford Motor Co., and the Highland Park and Fordson police and judges, the monthly sale at the factory gates reached at one time a total of 13,000. Our experience will be of benefit to other shop nuclei who are striving to issue their shop paper. The first obstacle that the nucleus was confronted with was the question of financing the paper in order that it could come out regularly each month. We held a raffle under the auspices of an educational club and raised \$367.50. One hundred dollars of this money was donated to THE DAILY WORKER last May. The balance of the money was used in printing the paper for free distribution. Beginning with the fifth issue, in July, the paper has been sold at one cent a copy. The paper is more than paying for itself. There was a surplus of \$100 for September. This was donated to THE DAILY WORKER.

Twenty-five hundred copies of the first issue were distributed free at the Highland Park plant and this total was increased at the rate of

1,000 copies until we reached 5,500, with the fourth issue. The reason that more papers weren't distributed was that Ford secret service and the municipal police interfered with the distribution. There is an ordinance forbidding free distribution in Highland Park and Fordson, especially in the case of literature pertaining to the education and organization of the workers. May 1 three comrades were arrested for distributing and were fined \$20 each. The case was appealed to the Wayne County Circuit Court and the decision was reversed. By refusing to submit to Ford dictatorship exercised through the municipal police, Ford Shop Nucleus No. 1 won an important victory.

In the free distribution we organized a distributing squad of comrades who did not work at Ford's,—women comrades for afternoon and men comrades for midnight distribution. We had to work under cover and fast. Toward the last the comrades distributed about five minutes and at the most ten minutes and then dispersed.

The police, together with the Ford Motor Co., have made it so hard for us to distribute any papers that in the latter part of June we decided to get newsboys' licences. Comrade

Sarah Victor, the Detroit DAILY WORKER agent, was arrested three times one afternoon. The next morning Chief of Police Charles W. Seymour and the city attorney could not convince the judge that THE FORD WORKER was not a newspaper. When the judge dismissed the case the chief told Comrade Victor that at the next session of the city council her newsboy license and the license of six others would be revoked. The council has met many times but has not yet taken action against this growing shop paper.

In spite of this opposition we have succeeded in reaching a mass of workers who not only buy the paper to read it themselves but who distribute it among their shopmates and contribute stories about shop conditions.

THE FORD WORKER gives us the opportunity to agitate or propagandize among our shopmates. When the paper comes out we naturally ask our shopmates if they read the last issue of THE FORD WORKER and if they liked it. In the conversation that follows we get suggestions, pointers or valuable criticism. Even boys in the trade school and women in the plant are interested in the paper.

Through our activities with THE FORD WORKER we are also convincing the comrades who have stayed out of the party that the reorganization of the Party along the basis of shops, mills and mines is effective. Through our activities all comrades are taking more interest in the Party work.

## The Workers [Communist] Party

WHAT IT STANDS FOR  
WHY WORKERS SHOULD JOIN

By C. E. Ruthenberg.

PRICE 5 CENTS.

20 copies 50 cents. Get 20 copies and sell to your shopmates.

THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING Co.

33 E. First Street, New York City

## PROBLEMS OF THE TRADE UNION FRACTIONS.

*By Jack Johnstone.*

**T**RADER UNION fractions, although not units of the Party, are very effective cells for the carrying on of Communist activity within the trade unions and for the building of a strong left wing.

As our Party more and more develops mass leadership, the fractions will be found not only to be complementary to the Party, but a source of strength and a power through which we can develop the shop and street nuclei.

In other words, not only must we organize our Party members in the unions into trade union fractions, but all units of the Party must be familiar with the work of the fractions, and, in many instances, directly take part in what is generally considered trade union tasks. For example: In a drive to organize the unorganized our Party may or may not take part in this work officially. If the campaign, through the effective work of the left wing, is launched by the unions, the Party units can aid the campaign in their particular sections, taking advantage of the situation, through the distribution of literature, supplying of speakers, etc.

And in order to be able to do this work effectively, the Party members not only should be active in the campaign, but the nuclei must be familiar with every phase of the work.

The need for mobilizing our Party forces for trade union work should be obvious to all members of the Party. However, the small percentage of members who belong to the unions, and a still smaller percentage who are active therein, shows that we have still the task before us of convincing a fairly large number of the necessity of working within the reactionary trade unions.

Why does the Communist International emphasize the importance of

trade union work? Why is it that the Communist International, in the letter to the Party, said:

No worker in an industrial country like America, can be a real Communist unless he is an active labor unionist. Those who desire to remain in the Party must be real Communists.

Why is it that the Central Executive Committee demands that every member of the Party who is eligible to join a union must do so and become active in trade union work?

These questions must be answered in the ideological struggle with those comrades who still refuse to participate in the trade union work of the Party.

There is something radically wrong with the comrade who stands back and applauds those comrades who in the trade unions are pushing their way forward as mass leaders, such as Ben Gold, Weisbord, etc.; who will gladly donate to such campaigns as now being conducted in the Miners' Union; who agrees with the proposition of amalgamation; is for a Labor Party based upon the trade unions; who accepts our main slogan of "Organize the Unorganized!" yet refuses to join a union and take part in trade union work.

The task of getting our members to join a union is a big one. It cannot be done by a Central Executive Committee alone. The comrades remaining out of the trade unions must be shown that they are wrong. This means that an intensive ideological campaign must be carried on within every unit of the Party.

In line with this campaign, every member who is a member of a trade union must be organized into a trade union fraction. Help to build a powerful left wing within the union.

Get connected up nationally and industrially, so that all progressive proposals can be pushed simultaneously upon as wide a basis as possible. In order to do this, the following measures are necessary:

1. Every district, city, section, and sub-section must immediately elect a trade union committee.
2. An industrial organizer must be elected in every nucleus.
3. Trade union work must be placed on the agenda of every unit.
4. Industrial organizers' meetings should be held by sections or cities once each month, to discuss the trade union campaigns of the Party and to develop ways and means of pushing the work in their localities.
5. A net work of trade union fractions must be organized, which should include every member of the Party who is a member of a trade union or eligible to join one.
6. Wherever a fraction exists a (T. U. E. L.) left wing and a progressive group must be formed.
7. Whenever fractions are organized they should be connected up with the National Office through their secretary.
8. The fractions should keep the city trade union committee informed of their work, the problems confront-

ing them, and report the Party members not attending to fraction, left wing, or union meeting so that these matters can be taken up in the proper Party units.

These are only a few of the necessary things that must be done in order to carry out effectively the tasks of the Party. While there are specific trade union tasks, every external campaign of the Party must be carried into the trade unions. "Keep The DAILY WORKER" campaigns should be as much a trade union campaign as that to "Organize the Unorganized" is considered to be. It can be said without contradiction that until we have enlisted all available Party members into trade union activity, organized them into a network of trade union fractions, coordinated their efforts nationally and industrially, that the Party enters every campaign under the severest handicap, being compelled to operate with its minimum instead of its maximum strength.

The internal Party slogan is, "EVERY MEMBER OF THE PARTY AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF A TRADE UNION."

What is being done in your nucleus to realize this slogan?



## NEW JERSEY: ONE YEAR AFTER REORGANIZATION.

By Jack Stachel.

**T**HE Sub-District of New Jersey recently held a very important conference. This conference was held about one year after the reorganization of the Party. The status of the Party there at the present as compared with the Party in that section before reorganization, is concrete evidence of the achievements of the Party due to reorganization.

### Once Only Foreign-Speaking Branches.

The Party in the New Jersey Sub-District prior to the reorganization consisted of a number of language branches, Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Czechoslovak, German, Polish, Italian, etc. There were practically no English-speaking branches although in some

of the cities there were isolated comrades here and there that formed the nucleus of an English-speaking branch. The few English-speaking members were mostly student members of the Young Workers League. The Party therefore functioned among the foreign-born workers and had practically no contact with English-speaking workers.

### No Trade Union Work in the Past.

Most of the comrades were outside of the trade unions. In fact it is more correct to state that very few of our members were in the trade unions. This was due to the reason that our comrades had been in isolation for so

long a time that there were some of them even opposed to working in the unions. Also due to the fact that our comrades thought that there were insurmountable obstacles in their way to join the unions. Finally our comrades, the majority of whom worked in large factories, in industries where there were no unions, naturally found themselves outside of the unions.

### Nature of Other Mass Work.

The mass work that was carried on in the various language fraternal organizations in most cases had no bearing on the life of the workers in this country. Outside of the immediate problems connected with such organizations of workers as benefit societies, the work in these or-

ganizations was limited to questions pertaining to the country from which the comrades came to the United States. In very few cases was the work in the language organizations connected up with the problems of the foreign-born workers as workers in the American industries. Except for such issues as the protection of the foreign-born, there was no political work carried on by the Party.

### Many Little Parties Then.

The comrades of the different language branches looked upon each one of their language branches as an isolated single Party with no definite connections with the District Committee or the Central Executive Com-

**C**OMRADE STACHEL is head of the Organization Department of the New York District. He has had considerable experience in practical organization work and is well-acquainted with the most acute problems of our reorganization campaign.

This article should prove of special interest to all Party members located in the smaller industrial centers near our biggest cities.

mittee. The comrades bought their dues from the District or National Language Federations; received their literature from them, the general directions for work and in many instances looked upon directions from the Central Executive Committee and the District Executive Committee as "outside" interference.

The fact is that prior to reorganization there was no committee in New Jersey to look after the work there and the District Committee in New York could not directly give the necessary attention to the work in New Jersey. This contributed to this loose working attitude towards the Party committees on the part of the comrades in New Jersey.

#### At the Last Conference.

The reports from the different cities at the last conference showed a remarkable change of condition in the Party organization in New Jersey. To begin with instead of many little parties the delegates all represented English-speaking or International Branches and Shop Nuclei. During this period the comrades have learned to speak English and participate in the discussions, and general work of the Party. The reorganization compelled them to overcome the language difficulty. The delegates at this conference discussed the general problems of the labor movement, the problems of the workers in New Jersey instead of, as in the past, merely their narrow language problems. The composition of the delegation showed that the Party had made some progress in winning over English-speaking and American elements.

#### Now in the Unions.

A good beginning has been made in work in the trade unions. Many of the comrades have joined the union of their industry and are among the most active members of their union. Our comrades are also realizing the importance of the central labor bodies in the various cities and have already achieved considerable success.

One of the greatest achievements of the Party in New Jersey in the past year has been the stimulation of the organization of the unorganized. This has been achieved through the shop nuclei organized and the factory papers published.

New Jersey is a fertile field for the organization of the unorganized, and the Party has a great task ahead of it. To this end it is necessary that a number of comrades who have gained experience working in the city of New York be sent in to the larger factories in New Jersey to help carry on the work there. It was due to the fact that some "colonization" was carried on that the successes were achieved. The District Committee will continue this "colonization" and now has gained some valuable experience as to whom to send in, and what should be the relations of the local comrades and the "colonizers."

#### The Local Labor Movement Discovered.

Our comrades discovered the local labor movement. Not only have they gained influence in the unions but thanks to the new orientation they have turned their attention to the political problems of the city in which they live and work. Heretofore they lived only in their language colony. This is manifested by the participation of our Party in such campaigns as the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, the agitation for a labor party, exposure of corruption in local union administrations, defense of the Negro masses in the Catharet race riots, etc.

Also the mass meetings arranged by the Party have been more of a mass character and have attracted new and American elements.

#### Only a Beginning.

All this is a good beginning and but merely a scratching of the surface. What we need at the present time is more systematic work in the large factories, the trade unions and

the local labor movement in general. One of the greatest difficulties we are faced with is the lack of trained comrades to carry on the work. This we are trying to overcome by inducing some of the active comrades to take courses in the Workers' School, the organization of local

study classes, and by sending in some able comrades to New Jersey. In this way we hope to raise the ideological level of the Party in New Jersey and equip it with the necessary knowledge and experience really to become the leader of the labor movement in New Jersey.

**Read It! Sell It! Distribute Widely!**

## The Labor Lieutenants of American Imperialism

By Jay Lovestone

Author, *The Government—Strikebreaker, American Imperialism, What's What About Coolidge, Why America Wants to Conquer Europe, Etc., Etc.*

---

PRICE 10 CENTS

---

Published by

THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.

33 E. First Street  
New York



# BUILD THE COMMUNIST YOUTH SECTION

"A League Unit Wherever There  
Is a Party Unit"

## We Need More Members.

By SAM DARCY.

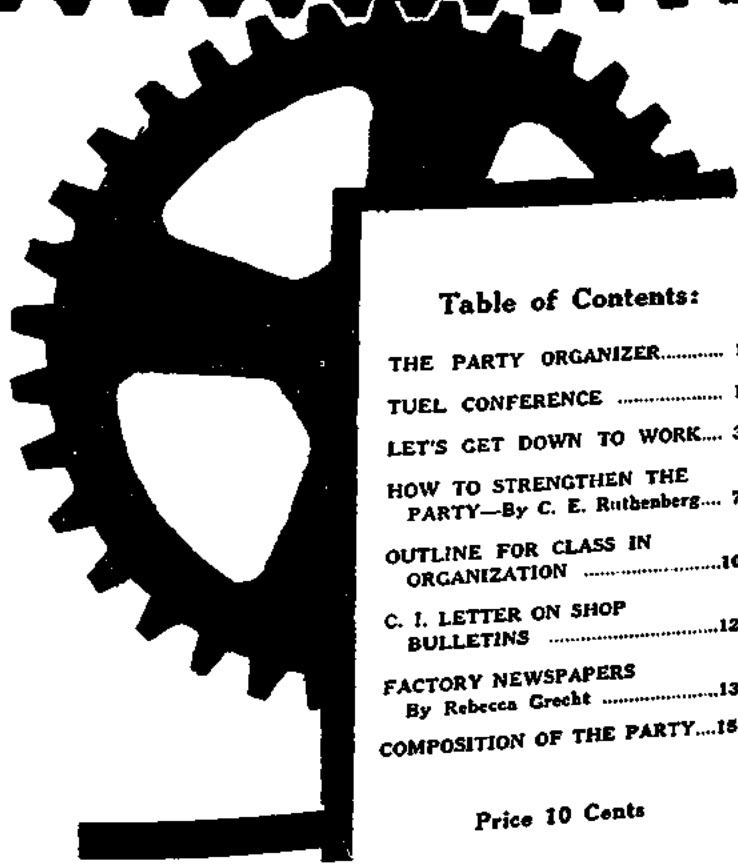
Systematic organizational work will build the League. It is our greatest need and also our great shortcoming. Of the nineteen hundred members who hold League cards and attend meetings of the units only about a thousand pay dues regularly. Increasing the membership would be a simple task if properly organized. This we must accomplish or we don't grow. We have about six thousand readers of the Young Worker. Only one-third of these are League members. This is an immediate source and a rich one for recruiting. Our subscription list, exclusive of bundle orders, totals three thousand. Less than half of our members are subscribers. This means that about two thousand of these subscribers are not League members. Thousands more whose subscriptions have expired in the past years and with whom we have lost contact might have joined if properly approached. Let our comrades see the possibilities in their districts by the following list of subscribers (exclusive of bundle orders):

District	Subscribers	Estimated Membership	Dues Payments
1	190	150	50
2	608	400	152
3	233	125	102
4	12	25	12
5	296	70	3
6	121	75	27
7	139	75	53
8	434	200	73
Twin Cities	88	25	13
Superior	442	380	211
12	33	120	45
13	126	65	50
Miscellaneous	102	150	80

This does not include the many readers that we reach through the sale of bundle orders which average from one to three thousand per issue.

The contribution that our subscription list can make to the organizational growth of the League lies not only in the new members it can give but also in the new contacts in cities where we have no Leagues at present. We have a total of ninety-five cities where units are located. We have subscribers in four hundred cities and towns.

# THE PARTY ORGANIZER



## Table of Contents:

THE PARTY ORGANIZER.....	1
TUEL CONFERENCE .....	1
LET'S GET DOWN TO WORK....	3
HOW TO STRENGTHEN THE PARTY—By C. E. Rutbenberg....	7
OUTLINE FOR CLASS IN ORGANIZATION .....	10
C. I. LETTER ON SHOP BULLETINS .....	12
FACTORY NEWSPAPERS By Rebecca Grecht .....	13
COMPOSITION OF THE PARTY....	15

Price 10 Cents

Vol. I.

December 1927

No. 2

Published by  
WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA  
43 East 125th Street, New York City

## THE PARTY ORGANIZER

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Give Full Support to the Forthcoming Conference of the TUEL**

**A** NATIONAL Conference of the Trade Union Educational League is scheduled to take place in New York City on December 3rd and 4th, according to a statement published by its National Committee. The agenda and general aim of the Conference, as outlined in the statement, promises to make this gathering an important milestone in the development of the left wing in the American trade union movement.

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

(Continued on page Sixteen)

## LET'S GET DOWN TO WORK

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

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

### Our Central Tasks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Labor Party and United Labor Ticket

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Recognition and Defense of the Soviet Union

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

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

#### Protection of Foreign Born

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

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

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

#### Strengthening the Party Organization

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4) Language difficulties.

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Organization Drive

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

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

#### Aims of this Drive

The aims of this Drive will be:

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

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

15. To increase the sale of party literature.

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

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

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

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

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

## HOW TO STRENGTHEN THE PARTY

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

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

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

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

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

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

Here is a broad field in which to

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

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

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

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

With double the membership the



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

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

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

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

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

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

#### **We Must Recruit New Members**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Build the Party

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

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

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

LENIN

(Infantile Sickness—1920)

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

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

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

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

#### WHAT LITERATURE TO SELL THIS MONTH

##### Russian Recognition and Defense Campaign

1. The Tenth Year—by Louis Engdahl
2. Report of the American Trade Union Delegation
3. Russian Workers and Workshops in 1920  
Foster
4. The Youth and the Russian Revolution  
Published by the Young Workers League

##### Labor Party Campaign

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

##### General

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

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

## OUTLINE FOR CLASS IN ORGANIZATION

(For Party Functionaries and the Training of Party Functionaries)

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

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

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

### II. PRINCIPLES OF LENINIST ORGANIZATION (2 sessions)

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

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

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

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

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

#### IV. PROBLEMS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATION

(3 sessions)

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

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

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

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

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

ADDITIONAL READING IN THIS COURSE: Imprecorr—Vol. 5, Nos. 5, 63, and 88; Vol. 6, Nos. 2, 28, 30, 34, 36, and 37.  
 Lenin's speech at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern;  
 Organization Decisions, Third Congress of the Comintern;  
 Kaganowitz—Der Organisatorische Aufbau Der KPR (German);  
 Zinoviev—History of the Russian Party (can be obtained in German or Russian, or in the back Nos. of the Workers Monthly.

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

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

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

Dear Comrades,

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

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

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

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

Factory newspapers should inform the

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

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

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

(Signature)

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

From Third Congress  
Communist International

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

From Third Congress  
Communist International

## FACTORY NEWSPAPERS

By REBECCA GRECHT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on page Sixteen)

## COMPOSITION OF THE PARTY (BY DISTRICTS)

PREPARED IN AUGUST 1927

Dist- rict	Total memb.	No. Shop Nuclei	Mem- bers	No. Street Nuclei	Mem- bers
1	800	6	40	30	760
2	4000	50	400	50	1500
3	550	4	33	25	445
4	334	4	53	18	281
5	510	26	216	23	263
6	496	18	131	24	365
7	600	12	350	15	250
8	1100	18	200	52	896
9	721	3	21	70	700
10	216	10	68	20	130
12	560	3	15	31	545
13	439	2	11	22	428
15	130	0	0	6	130
Agric. Dist.	191	11†	109	8	82

**Summary:**

10538    166    1646    394    6775

9 non-reorganized branches—76 members.  
Members at large—41.  
2,000 members in Fact. Dist. Street Nuclei

**Explanations:**

In District Two there are 50 Factory Dist. Nuclei with total membership of 2000.  
In District Three—8 non-reorganized br. with total membership of 72.  
In District Five—1 Farm Nucleus of 9 members. Members at large—23.  
In District Eight—1 non-reorganizer br. of 4 members.  
In District Ten—Members at large—18.

† Farm Nuclei.

**Shop Papers**

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

**DISTRICT 7**

Ford Worker .....20000  
Dodge Worker .....3000  
Packard (auto) .....2000  
Hudson ( " ) .....3000  
Fisher Body (auto) .....3000  
Flint Fisher Body .....1500

**DISTRICT 8**

Harvester Worker (Machine) .....5000

**DISTRICT 9**

Dock Worker .....2-3000  
Garment Worker  
Shop Bulletin (upholsterer) ..... 200

**DISTRICT 10**

Packing House Worker ..... 500  
The Organizer (packing) .....1000  
Oil Worker ..... 500  
Railroad Worker ..... 500

**DISTRICT 12**

None ..... None

**DISTRICT 13**

None ..... None

**DISTRICT 15**

None ..... None

**AGRICULTURAL DISTRICT**

None ..... None

**SUMMARY: 25 Shop papers with a total circulation of .....68,000**

**Organized Fractions in Industries**

**DISTRICT 1**

Needle Trades, Building Trades, Shoe Industry, Machinery, Textile, Granite Cutters

**DISTRICT 2**

No information received.

**DISTRICT 3**

About 40 members scattered in many industries.

**DISTRICT 4**

Small membership scattered in many industries.

**DISTRICT 5**

Mining, Metal, Needle Trades, Food, C L U

**DISTRICT 6**

Mining, Steel, Metal, Needle Trades, Building Trades, Rubber.

**DISTRICT 7**

Machinist, Auto Union, Tailors, Barbers, Butchers, Street Car.

**DISTRICT 8**

Needle Trades, Metal Trades, Building Trades, Railroad, Food, Printing, Mining.

**DISTRICT 9**

Upholsterers, Dock Workers, Garment Workers.

**DISTRICT 10**

Mining, Food, Clothing, Transportation, Machine, Building.

**DISTRICT 12**

Building and Miscellaneous.

**DISTRICT 13**

Food, Building, CLC of Los Angeles, CLC of San Francisco, Build. Trades Council

**DISTRICT 15**

Machinist, Painters, Carpenters.

**AGRICULTURAL DISTRICT**

None.



(Continued from page Fourteen)

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

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

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

"Every work-shop must be our

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

(Continued from page Two)

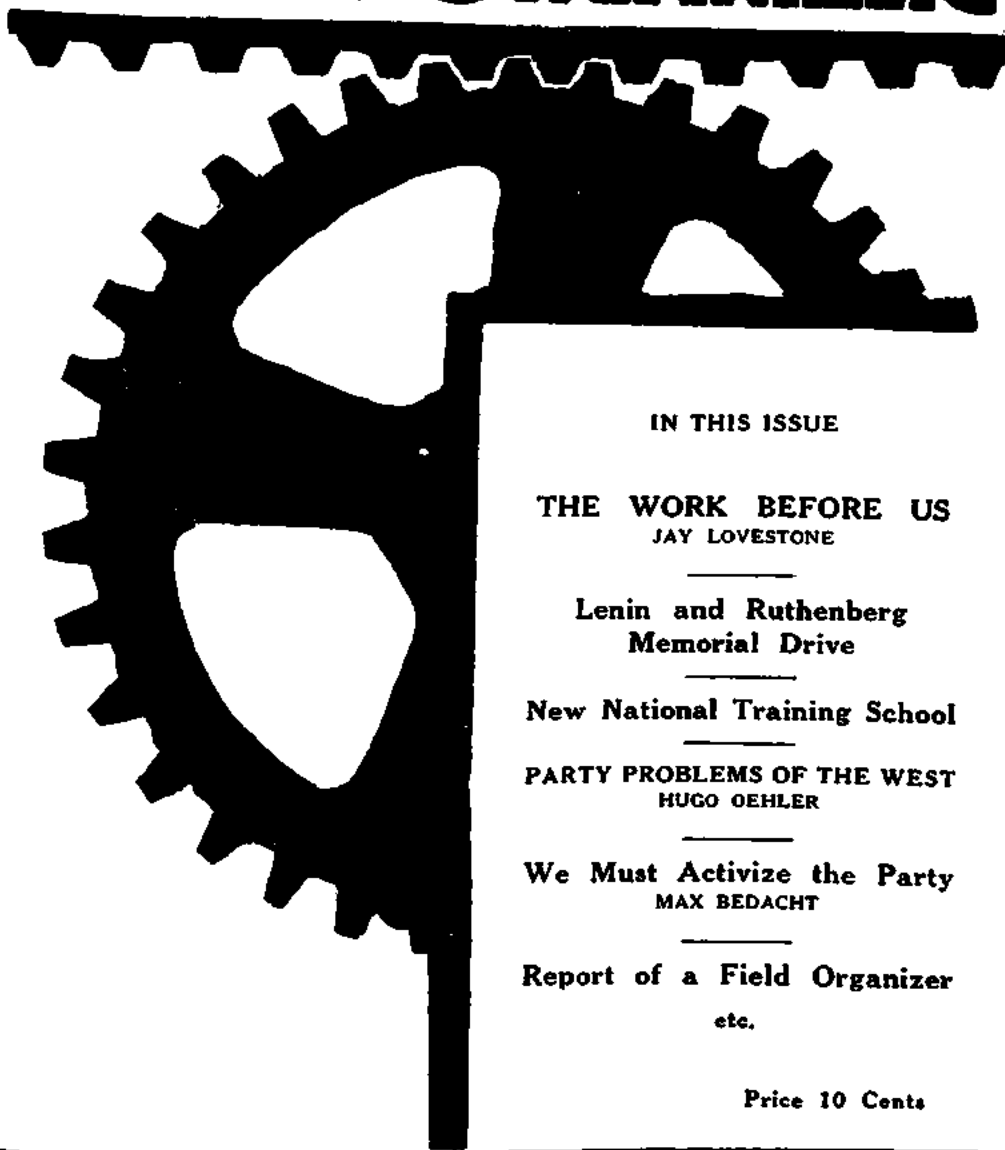
light of this task, the building, broadening, and strengthening of the left wing assumes tremendous importance. This the Party membership and particularly the Party organizers must realize fully, and translate this understanding into concrete action.

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

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

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

# THE ► **PARTY ORGANIZER**



IN THIS ISSUE

**THE WORK BEFORE US**  
JAY LOVESTONE

—  
**Lenin and Ruthenberg  
Memorial Drive**

—  
**New National Training School**

—  
**PARTY PROBLEMS OF THE WEST**  
HUGO OEHLER

—  
**We Must Activize the Party**  
MAX BEDACHT

—  
**Report of a Field Organizer**  
etc.

Price 10 Cents

Vol. II.

January-February 1928

No. 1-2

Published by  
**WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA**  
43 East 125th Street, New York City

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO HOLD FULL MEETING

THE first meeting of the CEC of our Party since the last Nat'l Convention, will be held in New York beginning February 4th. District organizers of the Party, who are not members of the Central Executive Committee, heads of the Language Fraction Bureaus, Editors of all Party papers, NEC members of the Y.W.L.—have a right to be present at the sessions of the CEC.

The order of business for the sessions of the Committee is as follows:

1. Report on the general situation and the tasks of the Party.
2. Report on the trade union situation and the trade-union problems and activities of the Party.

3. The question of the Trotsky-Zinoviev Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International.

This Plenum is of especial importance to the entire Party and to the workers as a whole. Special attention will be paid to the political prospects for 1928, the question of the Labor Party movement and the economic situation. Stress will be laid on the problems confronting the trade union movement concerning the crisis particularly facing the United Mine Workers of America.

An Organization and Agitprop conference will be held immediately after the CEC meeting.

## THE NEW MEMBERSHIP CARD

EVERY Party member will have to exchange his old card for a new one to be in good standing.

The new card is good for one year only and expires December 31, 1928.

Every book will be numbered. The letter signifies the district, as for example, the letter D means that the book was issued in District No. 4. Each district having its own letter on the card will begin with number one and go to whatever number they have. The district will keep a close check on the cards distributed and will receive from the nuclei a blank provided for them for information how every card was distributed, specifying the number given to each member.

A very important innovation in connection with the new card is one sheet on which is provided a place for the filling out of the attendance of the member at nuclei meetings, section or subsection meeting, trade union fraction meeting, etc. Also a

record of the activities of every member as to sale of literature, securing of new members, sale of pamphlets, etc.

The attendance record and activity record will be kept as follows:

At every nucleus meeting before the member leaves the meeting, the nucleus secretary will have to put his initial in the book of the member. If a member desires to go home before the meeting ends, he is to receive permission from the chairman and have his card initialed by the secretary.

The activity record is to be filled out once every three months. A special meeting is to be set aside for this once in three months or is to be made a special point on the order of business and the literature agent and the organizer together are to ascertain the information required and the organizer is to affix his initials next to the number filled in in the specific column.

## The Work Before Us

**DEAR COMRADES:** In the month that has gone since the last political letter has been sent you by the Secretariat, there have been some new developments in the economic and political situation. We herewith review briefly these factors, examine the party activities and shortcomings in recent weeks, and outline the tasks before the party in the face of the present objective conditions.

### 1. The Economic Situation

Not since 1921 was there so much unemployment in "prosperous" America. According to the most conservative sources of the Coolidge Administration, at least six out of every hundred workers who were on a job last year at this time, are now out of jobs. At least twelve out of every hundred workers employed in 1923 are now unemployed.

Wage cuts are increasing in frequency. As usual, the New England Textile mills are setting the pace in wage-slashing. The non-union coal fields are not far behind and are preparing new wage reductions. There is talk of lower wages in the steel industry. Rumbblings of wage-cuts are heard even in the building trades. The western railway magnates are refusing to go thru with the award of a paltry wage increase of thirty cents a day given some time ago to their locomotive enginemen and firemen.

Within the last year the payroll totals have fallen by eight percent. Today the total wages are at least eleven percent less than in 1923. The New York lodging houses are "caring" for a record number this winter. Chicago now boasts of longer bread lines than it has had at any time since 1913.

Despite all the loud talk about farm prosperity, the farmers are still in the hole. Tho the crops harvested in the last fiscal year were the largest in the history of the country except

for the years 1915 and 1920, yet there was a drop of nearly six hundred million dollars in the combined value of crops and animal products within the last twelve months.

In short, the Coolidge prosperity bubble and bluff have broken. The trend of trade and industry is unmistakably downward and the workers are beginning to feel it.

### 2. The Political Situation

Both at home and abroad American capitalist reaction continues in full sway.

The Seventieth Congress has opened in the shadow of the most gigantic lobby of big business in the history of the country. At the head of the splendidly organized biggest capitalist interests now dominating the millionaire and lawyer-ridden Congress is the huge Power Trust. Vicious anti-labor legislation is being considered, particularly against foreign-born workers.

In the Republican Party, Mr. Hoover, representing the most conscious capitalist interests and whole-heartedly indorsed by Governor Fuller who murdered Sacco and Vanzetti, is leading the race for the nomination to fill the place now occupied by "King" Coolidge. In the Democratic Party, Governor Smith of New York who has worked overtime to ruin the garment workers' unions of his state and to shield the most sordid species of Tammany Hall corruption, is setting the pace in the Democratic chase for

the White House. The so-called progressives, the self-styled insurgent group led by Borah and Norris, have deserted the farmers' ship altogether. Especially treacherous has been the conduct of the so-called Farmer-Labor Senator Shipstead of Minnesota who is now registered as a Republican.

Energetic efforts are now being made by the imperialists to extend and perpetuate their domination. A special drive has been launched against Latin-America. Fake goodwill messengers of the type of Lindbergh are now being used to draw Mexico and other countries South of the Rio Grande closer to the United States so that these weaker countries may see and feel the prowess of American imperialism and stop being restive. Pres. Coolidge and his Secretary of State Kellog are going to Havana, Cuba, on a warship, along with Charles E. Hughes, erstwhile secretary of state and agent for the biggest oil corporations, in order to "lend proper tone and atmosphere" to the Pan-American Union Congress soon to be held.

The silent, economy-loving Coolidge is now yelling for billions for the navy. The antagonisms with England are growing sharper. The bloody hands of Yankee imperialism are extending everywhere. New thrusts are being made by Wall Street in the Near, Middle and Far East. The Chinese militarists and imperialists lickspittles dined and planned with the American Admiral Bristol before they plunged into their barbarous butchery of defenseless workers in Canton and peasants in the provinces.

At the same time, there is developing increasing resistance to American imperialist aggrandizement. Huge cartels are being formed in Europe

to beat back America's invasion of the European capitalist markets. Germany is raising the tariff against American goods. England is again complaining about the burdensome war debts. The developing difficulties for the Dawes Plan are only embittering the European bourgeoisie and decreasing their willingness to continue to pay tribute to Wall Street.

#### The Situation in the Labor Movement

The whole trade union movement is fighting with its back to the wall. The once-powerful United Mine Workers of America is flat on its back—a victim of the blackest treachery in the darkest pages of the history of our labor movement. Lewis and Company, backed up by Green, Woll and the whole official leadership are guilty of paralyzing what was for many years the most effective fighting force in the trade union movement. Today, these reactionary labor-bureaucrats are criminally holding back the other workers from coming to the aid of the battling miners and are even crippling effective miners' relief by their do-nothing policy in the face of terrorism and outrages of an unparalleled sort being visited upon the starving coal-diggers from Pennsylvania, Ohio and Colorado.

A devastating injunction mania is menacing the workers. The old Palmer and Daugherty injunctions in the mine and railway strikes of 1919 and 1922 are messages of encouragement for the workers in comparison with the injunction against the coal miners in Pennsylvania issued by Federal Judge Schoonmaker and the injunction secured against the subway workers by the New York Interboro Rapid Transit Company.

The program of the capitalists is clear. They are out to destroy even the most conservative, docile craft

unions. They have no longer any need even for such unions. But the reactionary trade union leadership is doing nothing to lead the workers to resistance. On the contrary, they are aiding the employers to crush the most militant fighters, as in the New York needle trades, and are planning an abject surrender of all the rights won by the workers in many years of bitter struggle.

In this treachery the official leadership of the Socialist Party is playing an active and enthusiastic part. These so-called socialists are helping and even leading the expulsion of militants from the unions and are sabotaging every effort to organize a labor party or a united labor ticket for the coming presidential elections.

But there are also growing signs of rising militancy. The heroic spirit of the miners after nine months of struggle shows that there is still plenty of resistance left in the workers. The inspiring determination of the needle trades workers and their left-wing leaders indicates that the workers will fight to the last ditch to save their unions. The increasing sympathy for the Soviet Union in the ranks of the American trade unionists, despite the campaign of calumny and terrorism waged by Green, Woll and Company, is a most hopeful sign. Last but not least, the smash-up of the frenzied high finance schemes of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Banks is throwing a cold blanket even over the most ardent advocates of labor-banking and sundry other class collaboration schemes.

#### What The Party Has Been Doing

Within the last month there has been a considerable improvement in the working of the Party. Our slogan "Get Down to Work" has not fallen on deaf ears. The Party on the whole responded well in many in-

stances, tho there is considerable room for improvement.

The organization structure of the party and its functioning have made strides in the last weeks. Attendance at units is reported to be improving in many districts. There is more life in the shop and street nuclei. Shop papers are being revived and new ones being gotten out. Mass meetings are better attended, workers' schools are being set up and forums are increasing in number. Several national field organizers are now on the job. There are a number of special organizers in the mine strike area. This is the second consecutive month the Party Organizer is appearing.

In the campaign for a labor party, effective steps were taken by a number of districts toward the setting up of broad trade union committees. The possibilities in this field are good.

The last National TUEL Conference was successful in the face of vicious expulsion campaigns of the reactionary bureaucracy. A number of prominent American trade union militants will certainly develop as a result of the proceedings and deliberations of this historic gathering for the broadening of the left wing and the vitalizing of the trade union movement. On the whole, the Party organization responded well in doing its share for the building of this national conference of the TUEL.

Slowly but surely the Party is mobilizing itself for miners' relief. Today the Party members are the leaders in the whole relief campaign for the Pennsylvania, Ohio and Colorado strikers. In the A. F. of L's November Fourteenth Conference at Pittsburgh, it was only the voice of the left wing which was heard in behalf of the locked-out coal-diggers. In the Colorado fields, despite over-

whelming obstacles, our Party is sinking its roots and working most energetically to lead the strikers to victory.

Today, only the Cleveland District has done good work to meet the growing unemployment crisis.

The smash-the-injunction activities of the Party are going on apace. Nearly half a million leaflets have already been distributed in the industrial centers. In action our comrades have carried out the Party's policy by flagrantly violating every injunction order on test. A number of our comrades have been arrested for distributing anti-injunction leaflets and violating injunctions.

The campaign against the war danger has not developed as well as it should have done. Insufficient efforts, except for a few districts, have been made to organize the increasingly favorable sentiment for the Soviet Union. Until recently there was a dangerous notion in some of our ranks that the war danger has decreased. The bloody events at Canton show the very opposite to be true.

Insofar as the quality of our literature and the Daily Worker is concerned, there is much improvement to be noted.

In the intense educational campaign waged by the Central Committee against Trotsky-Zinoviev Opposition, it was shown, by the results of the discussion and the voting in the principal districts, that the overwhelming majority of our Party is for the line of the Comintern, the CEC, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This campaign has done much to elevate the ideological level of the Party.

#### Our Main Shortcomings

Our Party has many shortcomings to overcome before it can function

well in the class struggle. We here mention only five of the main and most serious errors and shortcomings of our Party as shown in our recent activities. These are:

1. **THE PARTY SWAMP**—there is still too big a party swamp. There are too many members who do nothing for the Party except merely belong to it and sometimes pay dues. Remember, if you are a member of the Party swamp, you are only a millstone around the Party's neck. No member of the Party is worthy of the name Communist unless he or she is an active member—vigorously active in every Party activity. The work of the Party is falling upon too few shoulders.

2. **THE UNEMPLOYMENT SITUATION**—We are now facing the first serious unemployment situation since our Party was reorganized on the shop and street nuclei basis. If our districts continue to pay inadequate attention to the unemployment crisis, then our units will be severely hit and we will lose many members. First of all, every unemployed Party member must keep in good standing by getting exempt stamps as long as he is out of a job. Secondly, unemployment activities must tie up the organized with the unorganized workers very closely. This means redoubled activities by the entire membership in the trade union work of the Party. Thirdly, as soon as possible, Unemployment Councils should be formed along the line of the one organized in Cleveland.

#### 3. THE FACE OF THE PARTY—

There is still too much of a tendency in our ranks to hide the face of the Party. Altogether too often do our members participate in such campaigns as the labor party, for the protection of the foreign-born workers, and in the work among the Negro

masses as mere individuals with certain special standing, influence or connection and with insufficient emphasis as representatives of the Party as a Communist Party. That is why we now and then tend to lose the initiative to wavering elements. Particularly must we avoid this danger in the labor party campaign. Our Minnesota comrades must be on special guard to develop a distinct Party position and activities in the campaign for a labor party so that the success of the campaign will be best insured, the wavering elements energized, and the traitorous conduct of the Shipsheds effectively exposed. Here also we must mention the need for sharpening the attack on the Socialist Party which, with the death of Debs, has lost the last fig leaf of traditions of militancy, hiding its treachery and sordid opportunism.

4. **THE PARTY PRESS**—The Daily Worker and the language press in particular are not reflecting sufficiently the life of the Party. Our Party press does not participate enough in the campaigns of the Party. They do not push the Party campaigns energetically. They are not sufficiently responsive organs of the Party. Not until the entire Party press is mobilized for the Party activities, will we be able to rally the Party and the masses for the struggle.

5. **FINANCES AND RECORDS**—For many months the Party has not waged any campaign for raising funds from the Party members. Our policy has been to raise funds as much as possible from the broad sympathetic working masses. But the Party members must learn to support more vigorously certain party institutions and activities. We have in mind especially the Daily Worker. Too many of our district organizers and active members look upon selling literature and building the Daily

Worker as little things. This is nonsense and very dangerous for the Party. It is just these so-called little things that will go a long way towards building a real big Bolshevik Party in the United States.

Our Party does not buy enough literature. Our members should read and study more. Our members must learn to pay for the literature they get. Otherwise we cannot print and distribute literature.

Dues must be paid more regularly. Today only about sixty five percent of our Party membership pays dues regularly. This is an impermissible condition. The unit organizers must learn to keep after every member to be in good standing. Unit records of finance and activities must be kept up regularly. The district organizers and various district department heads should follow the same advice.

#### **Clean Out the Party Swamp**

We need more members and we need better members. This is the best way to reduce the large turnover in Party membership. There is plenty of work to be done. The opportunities for building our Party organization and influence are many. The labor movement is in dire need of militant leadership. If our Party should fail, then there is no hope. But our Party will show its capacity for leadership in the present grave crisis confronting the American labor movement. Our membership will redouble their activities. Every Party member must become an active Party member. This is his communist duty.

The Central Executive Committee expects every Party member to do his or her duty.

**EVERY PARTY MEMBER ON THE JOB!**

**LET US CLEAN OUT THE PARTY SWAMP!**

**Jay Lovestone.**



whelming obstacles, our Party is sinking its roots and working most energetically to lead the strikers to victory.

Today, only the Cleveland District has done good work to meet the growing unemployment crisis.

The smash-the-injunction activities of the Party are going on apace. Nearly half a million leaflets have already been distributed in the industrial centers. In action our comrades have carried out the Party's policy by flagrantly violating every injunction order on test. A number of our comrades have been arrested for distributing anti-injunction leaflets and violating injunctions.

The campaign against the war danger has not developed as well as it should have done. Insufficient efforts, except for a few districts, have been made to organize the increasingly favorable sentiment for the Soviet Union. Until recently there was a dangerous notion in some of our ranks that the war danger has decreased. The bloody events at Canton show the very opposite to be true.

Insofar as the quality of our literature and the Daily Worker is concerned, there is much improvement to be noted.

In the intense educational campaign waged by the Central Committee against Trotsky-Zinoviev Opposition, it was shown, by the results of the discussion and the voting in the principal districts, that the overwhelming majority of our Party is for the line of the Comintern, the CEC, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This campaign has done much to elevate the ideological level of the Party.

#### Our Main Shortcomings

Our Party has many shortcomings to overcome before it can function

well in the class struggle. We here mention only five of the main and most serious errors and shortcomings of our Party as shown in our recent activities. These are:

1. **THE PARTY SWAMP**—there is still too big a party swamp. There are too many members who do nothing for the Party except merely belong to it and sometimes pay dues. Remember, if you are a member of the Party swamp, you are only a millstone around the Party's neck. No member of the Party is worthy of the name Communist unless he or she is an active member—vigorously active in every Party activity. The work of the Party is falling upon too few shoulders.

2. **THE UNEMPLOYMENT SITUATION**—We are now facing the first serious unemployment situation since our Party was reorganized on the shop and street nuclei basis. If our districts continue to pay inadequate attention to the unemployment crisis, then our units will be severely hit and we will lose many members. First of all, every unemployed Party member must keep in good standing by getting exempt stamps as long as he is out of a job. Secondly, unemployment activities must tie up the organized with the unorganized workers very closely. This means redoubled activities by the entire membership in the trade union work of the Party. Thirdly, as soon as possible, Unemployment Councils should be formed along the line of the one organized in Cleveland.

#### 3. THE FACE OF THE PARTY—

There is still too much of a tendency in our ranks to hide the face of the Party. Altogether too often do our members participate in such campaigns as the labor party, for the protection of the foreign-born workers, and in the work among the Negro

masses as mere individuals with certain special standing, influence or connection and with insufficient emphasis as representatives of the Party as a Communist Party. That is why we now and then tend to lose the initiative to wavering elements. Particularly must we avoid this danger in the labor party campaign. Our Minnesota comrades must be on special guard to develop a distinct Party position and activities in the campaign for a labor party so that the success of the campaign will be best insured, the wavering elements energized, and the traitorous conduct of the Shipsheds effectively exposed. Here also we must mention the need for sharpening the attack on the Socialist Party which, with the death of Debs, has lost the last fig leaf of traditions of militancy, hiding its treachery and sordid opportunism.

4. **THE PARTY PRESS**—The Daily Worker and the language press in particular are not reflecting sufficiently the life of the Party. Our Party press does not participate enough in the campaigns of the Party. They do not push the Party campaigns energetically. They are not sufficiently responsive organs of the Party. Not until the entire Party press is mobilized for the Party activities, will we be able to rally the Party and the masses for the struggle.

5. **FINANCES AND RECORDS**—For many months the Party has not waged any campaign for raising funds from the Party members. Our policy has been to raise funds as much as possible from the broad sympathetic working masses. But the Party members must learn to support more vigorously certain party institutions and activities. We have in mind especially the Daily Worker. Too many of our district organizers and active members look upon selling literature and building the Daily

Worker as little things. This is nonsense and very dangerous for the Party. It is just these so-called little things that will go a long way towards building a real big Bolshevik Party in the United States.

Our Party does not buy enough literature. Our members should read and study more. Our members must learn to pay for the literature they get. Otherwise we cannot print and distribute literature.

Dues must be paid more regularly. Today only about sixty five percent of our Party membership pays dues regularly. This is an impermissible condition. The unit organizers must learn to keep after every member to be in good standing. Unit records of finance and activities must be kept up regularly. The district organizers and various district department heads should follow the same advice.

#### **Clean Out the Party Swamp**

We need more members and we need better members. This is the best way to reduce the large turnover in Party membership. There is plenty of work to be done. The opportunities for building our Party organization and influence are many. The labor movement is in dire need of militant leadership. If our Party should fail, then there is no hope. But our Party will show its capacity for leadership in the present grave crisis confronting the American labor movement. Our membership will redouble their activities. Every Party member must become an active Party member. This is his communist duty. The Central Executive Committee expects every Party member to do his or her duty.

**EVERY PARTY MEMBER ON  
THE JOB!  
LET US CLEAN OUT THE  
PARTY SWAMP!**

**Jay Lovestone.**

# Lenin Memorial and Ruthenberg Memorial Membership and Daily Worker Drive

5,000 NEW MEMBERS—10,000 NEW READERS

THE Central Executive Committee has decided that the entire Party shall devote itself to a campaign to increase the Party membership and the circulation of the Daily Worker, beginning with the Lenin Memorial and extending to the Ruthenberg Memorial—from January 22nd until March 2nd.

Our aims in this drive are:

- (1) To secure five thousand new members for our Party;
- (2) To secure ten thousand new readers for the Daily Worker;
- (3) To raise the ideological level of the Party membership, and
- (4) To activate the Party membership.

This drive is not to be an abstract campaign for new members and new readers, but is to be based on and result from the following activities of our Party:

1. Campaign for Miners' Relief and to save the miners' union.
2. Fight against the injunctions.
3. To fight for the protection of the foreign-born.
4. Fight against unemployment.
5. Struggle against war and for the defense and recognition of the Soviet Union.
6. For a Labor Party or at least a united labor ticket in the 1928 election campaign.

This drive can only be successful to the extent that our Party will participate in the above activities and make conscious efforts to gain organizational results from these activities.

## Mobilization for the Drive

District Executive Committees must arrange for section membership meetings in the largest cities and city membership meetings in the smaller cities to discuss ways and means of how to conduct this drive, for distribution of literature, application cards and other material for the drive that should be passed down into the hands of every member of the shop and street nuclei. At these mobilization meetings the representative of the District Executive Committee should make clear the aims of the drive, the methods to be used, etc. Every Party committee from the district down to the various nuclei executives is to have a special comrade appointed as director of this drive. These directors may in the higher committees organize a subcommittee to aid them in this work. Special meetings of functionaries should be held for the purpose of mobilizing all the leading comrades in the drive.

Meetings of trade-union fraction secretaries should be held to mobilize for the drive in the unions. The language fraction secretaries should be called together and their part explained to them in this drive. Each district and city shall work out its activity for the period of these six weeks the drive will last to suit the local situation with special appeals concentrated in different industries and territorial divisions. The report by the director of the drive shall be on the order of business of every meeting of the district committees, city and section committees, etc.

The drive should utilize the following means in its course:

- 1) Regular shop recruiting and securing of readers in the shops and open educational meetings of shop nuclei.
  - 2) Section and city mass meetings arranged on the various issues in the locality and on the Party campaigns enumerated above. At these meetings special efforts to recruit new members and to secure readers for the Daily Worker.
  - 3) Conference of Daily Worker readers and readers of all other language papers to be conducted by the language bureaus.
  - 4) Special drive at the Lenin Memorial and Ruthenberg Memorial meetings that mark the opening and closing of the drive.
  - 5) Recruiting at all open forums, mass meetings, and other affairs arranged by the Party organization or sympathetic organizations.
  - 6) Special efforts to recruit Party members from sympathetic organizations and such organizations as T.U. E.L., I.L.D., Women's Councils, etc.
  - 7) Special recruiting by street nuclei in their neighborhood, canvassing for readers.
  - 8) Utilization of all lists of readers of Party papers in the drive.
  - 9) All leaflets distributed must have appeal for readers for Daily and membership, giving address of Party headquarters.
  - 10) Special appeal in all shop papers for members and readers for the Daily Worker.
  - 11) Special local Editions of the Daily Worker to be followed up for regular readers and recruiting for the Party.
- The drive shall utilize and emphasize special appeals to:
- (a) Negro workers.
  - (b) Women workers.

(c) An especially worked out appeal to attract native American elements to the Party.

(d) Efforts to secure young workers to join the Young Workers League under the general slogan: "A League Unit Wherever There Is a Party Unit".

(e) The building up of the children's movement—The Young Pioneers.

The committees and departments in charge of these activities are to work out material and supervise the special appeals in each case and see that they are utilized thruout the drive.

#### Methods of Recruiting

1. Every member shall at all times carry with him application cards.
2. Every member should at all times carry with him one or more copies of the Ruthenberg pamphlet, "The Party, What It Stands For, and Why Workers Should Join".
3. Recruiting must not be approached in an abstract manner. As a rule when a comrade tries to recruit new members, he thinks of the whole working class—at least of his entire union or shop, with the result that he embraces the whole working class and succeeds in getting none into the Party. Comrades must learn to approach this question in a concrete manner. Namely, the comrades in the factories, unions, fraternal organizations must make a list of the various sympathizers to be approached for membership. Some are not yet ready for membership and should be approached only with literature and for subscriptions to the Daily Worker. Those that are ready for membership should be divided up among the comrades in such a manner that those that have the best possible contacts with certain sympathizers shall be assigned to go after

these sympathizers. Sympathizers and those who are ready to join the Party can be found out thru the selling of our literature, pamphlets, discussions in the factories on current questions of interest to the workers, etc. Every Party member is to concentrate on one or more individuals, learning all about the personal life, his prejudices, his illusions, so that he can overcome these prejudices and illusions and know what prevents the said worker from joining the Party and try to overcome it.

#### How to Regain Old Members that Dropped Out during the Party Reorganization

Many members who dropped out during the reorganization can be taken back into the Party. These comrades dropped out because of language difficulties or because they could not understand the reorganization, and for other reasons. They can best be gotten back thru the language fractions and trade union fractions because most of them belong to clubs together with other Party members and in the various trade union groups. Our language fractions and trade union fractions must pay particular attention to the drawing in of these members who dropped out, by personal visits, thru personal conversations, and other methods to be worked out.

#### Propaganda Work of the Nuclei

1. The first three weeks of the drive shall be utilized by the nuclei for the discussion of the life and work of Lenin. Special discussions on the life and work of Lenin should be arranged by the nuclei. Non-Party members should be invited to these meetings and these meetings shall be utilized to spread the ideas of Leninism among our Party and among workers that can be attracted to these open meetings of the nuclei.

At these meetings suitable literature shall be sold and every effort made to draw the sympathizers into the Party.

2. The remaining three weeks shall be utilized for open educational meetings to discuss the life and work of Comrade Ruthenberg, explaining his role in the American labor movement and the American Communist Party. Special literature suitable to these meetings shall be sold and here too every effort should be made to draw the sympathizers into the Party.

#### Literature For The Drive

Below is a list of literature for the various campaigns to be used in connection with the drive. The literature should be obtained by the Districts from the Workers Library Publishers, 39 East 125th Street, New York City, and by the units thru the District and City Committees.

#### 1. Lenin Memorial

Lenin, by G. Yaroslavsky.

Lenin, by Lozovsky.

And the following pamphlets by Lenin:

1. State and Revolution.
2. Imperialism.
3. The Infantile Sickness of Left Communism.

#### 2. Ruthenberg

Ruthenberg—His Life and Work (Now in Preparation).

"The Workers Communist Party, What It Stands For and Why Workers Should Join", by C. E. Ruthenberg.

#### 3. Russian Recognition & Defense Campaign

The Tenth Year, by J. Louis Engdahl.

Questions and Answers to American Trade Unionists, by Stalin.

Report of First American Trade Union Delegation.

Report of First American Rank & File Labor Delegation.

Pamphlet on Russian Opposition—  
Bertram D. Wolfe (Now in preparation).

#### 4. Labor Party

- 1) Labor Party—Jay Lovestone  
(Now in preparation).
2. Coolidge program—Jay Lovestone.
3. The Government Strikebreaker—Jay Lovestone.
4. Al Smith—Wm. W. Weinstone  
(Now in preparation).
5. Wrecking the Labor Banks—  
Wm. Z. Foster.
6. Misleaders of Labor—Wm. Z.  
Foster.

#### 5. China.

Civil War in Nationalist China—  
Earl Browder.

China and American Imperialist  
Policy—Earl Browder.

Awakening of China—Jas. H. Dol-  
sen.

China—A Survey— By Seng Sin  
Fu.

China In Revolt.

This does not mean that this is the  
only literature that should be sold.  
Other literature shall be sold and  
shall be at the disposal for all meet-  
ings, both of the nuclei, section mass  
meetings, and other meetings for the  
workers. However, these are the main  
pamphlets related to campaigns of  
the Party and should be concentrated  
upon.

#### The Ruthenberg and Lenin Stamp

Every Party member who will  
secure a new member or a subscrip-  
tion to the Daily Worker, or both,  
will receive a specially designed  
stamp of Lenin and Ruthenberg to  
be pasted in the membership card.  
This will serve as a permanent record  
of the activity of the member for the  
Lenin-Ruthenberg drive.

#### Let Us Build Our Party

With the present crisis in the labor  
movement, with the drive to destroy  
the very trade unions of this country,  
with the unemployment that is be-  
coming more acute, with the naked  
imperialism that is spreading out to  
every corner of the earth; our Party  
has a great task to perform. Our  
Party is the only force in the labor  
movement today that defends the in-  
terests of the workers—that leads  
the way.

In order that our Party may be  
able to carry out the task, that our  
Party may be able to mobilize the  
masses for the coming struggle it is  
necessary for us to extend our base  
and our influence. The present drive  
to increase our membership by five  
thousand and to gain ten thousand  
new readers for our Daily Worker is  
therefore an immediate necessary  
step in this direction so that our  
Party may be able to mobilize larger  
masses in the present struggle.

Comrades, let us honor the memory  
of our great teacher and leader,  
Lenin, by carrying forward his work  
and spreading the ideas of Leninism,  
by gaining new recruits to the Party  
of Lenin in America.

Let us honor the memory of Ruth-  
enberg by our untiring efforts in the  
struggle of the American working  
class and by extending the influence  
of our central organ, the Daily  
Worker.

Let us gain five thousand new mem-  
bers in this drive.

Let us make every effort to secure  
ten thousand new readers for the  
Daily Worker in this drive and we  
will go a long way towards laying  
the foundation for a real, fighting  
mass Communist Party in the United  
States.

Org. Dept.

## NEW NATIONAL TRAINING COURSE

IN order to train new district organizers and other leading district officials, the Party is opening a national day training school on February 1, at the Workers School in New York, to run for a period of three months.

Every district will be expected to send its one outstanding comrade capable of further development to the Workers School for this three-months period. The districts are not permitted to send more than one, because the Central Executive Committee is anxious to have only outstanding comrades, and no district can afford to weaken itself by sending more than one of its first-line comrades for so long a period as three months.

Out of this training course, it is hoped that material will be created both for work in a leading capacity in the district, from which the comrade came, and also new timber for district organizers in other districts, particularly in new districts which the national office hopes to be able to create.

The work will be of both a theoretical and practical nature. Special attention will be paid to the problems before the American working class and the Party. Opportunity will be given in connection with the course to attend sessions of the Plenum of the Central Executive Committee, of the Political Committee and Organization Committee, of union fractions, model nuclei, cooperatives, etc. Each worker student will be routed to meetings of various kinds according to his special interests and the special direction that training should take. Thus a district sending its agitprop director will be given special supplementary training in agitprop work and the functioning of the

agitprop committee and sub-committees, teaching methods, factory newspaper work, etc. A comrade whom the district wishes to specialize in organization work will have corresponding specialized training in organizational work.

The best Party instructors at the Workers School for this special type of work are being selected to give the courses, and the political committee has made a decision that these comrades will not be permitted to go on tours or to undertake any other work that will interfere with their teaching dates during these three months.

The instructors are:

J. Lovestone, Wm. Z. Foster, Jack Stachel, H. M. Wicks, Alex Bittelman, Max Bedacht, Alexander Trachtenberg, D. Benjamin, Bertram D. Wolfe, Art Shields, Carl Brodsky.

The last two have been selected for special subjects, Workers Correspondence and Public Speaking, which are the only courses that will be given in the evening. All other courses will be given during the day.

The courses that are offered are the following:

Marxism-Leninism. Three times a week for three months. Instructor, Bertram D. Wolfe.

History of the United States and American Political Problems. Twice a week for three months. Instructor, Jay Lovestone.

Theory and Practice of Trade Unionism and Special Trade Union Problems. Twice a week for three months. Wm. Z. Foster.

Party Organization, Theory and Practice. Three times a week for three months. Jack Stachel.

History of the International Labor Movement, and of the Party. Three

times a week for two months. Max Bedacht. Bittelman first month, 3 times a week.

Marxian Economics and Advanced Marxian Economics. Twice a week for three months. H. M. Wicks.

Methods of Research. Six hours only. Alexander Trachtenberg.

Methods of teaching in workers classes. Six hours only. D. Benjamin (Assistant director of the Workers School).

Public Speaking. One night a week for three months. C. Brodsky.

Workers Correspondence. One night a week for three months. Art Shields (In charge of the New York branch of the Federated Press.)

In addition to the above courses, there will be a few special lectures on outstanding problems before the Party, and it is hoped all students will be given the opportunity to attend the Plenum of the CEC of the Party, which will be held a few days before the opening of the course.

#### Problem of Finances, Railroad Fare

The outstanding difficulty in the selection of the right kind of student will be the problem of their maintenance for three months, during which time they will not be able to earn any money. To meet this problem, the following procedure has been worked out by the Political Committee:

**Railroad fare.**—Every district is expected to provide the railroad fare for the student selected. This must be done by arranging a send-off for him in the form of a dinner or a dance or both. The proceeds of this affair are to go to the payment of the fare of the student and where possible and necessary an additional sum toward his maintenance.

#### Maintenance and Text-Books

The students are also expected to raise such sums as they can by loans,

and the national office will make an effort to supply those students who require it with the sum of \$10.00 a week for expenses.

Lodging, breakfast and in some cases supper will be arranged at the houses of comrades of the New York district who volunteer to supply these necessities.

Comrades who are able to contribute money to help in the payment of the ten-dollar a week contribution to the expenses of the students or who can help in the purchasing of text books should communicate at once with the Workers School telling what sums they are prepared to contribute.

#### Return Fare

The district is expected to raise the round trip fare and not merely the fare one way.

The above arrangements for the from 12 to 15 students which are expected mean a budget for the Workers School of about \$5,000, and therefore contributions from comrades and sympathizers capable of aiding with substantial donations are urgently needed. For example, a donation of \$300.00 will provide the most necessary text books for all students. A donation of \$120 will provide the \$10 a week maintenance money for a single student. The donation of \$10.00 will keep a student for a week, and a donation of \$25.00 will provide him with text-books.

Each district should try to get one or more comrades in the district to supply the funds to meet all the needs of their chosen representatives at the training school.

Questionnaires are being sent to all districts for filling out. The DEC of each district is empowered to make the selection of candidates, whose names and qualifications and records will then be submitted to the national agitprop and organization



departments for final section. Comrades should be selected on the basis of the following qualifications:

1. Activity.—This should take first place because it is not the aim of the Workers School in general or of the Party Training School in particular to give information and education for their own sake, but for the sake of their use and application in the class struggle, and a comrade who has been inactive, however studious and well read he may be, is unfitted for study at the national training school.

2. Previous training and previous reading.—While the major emphasis is laid upon activity, still all comrades selected will have to have a certain minimum of previous training if they are to benefit from a course of this nature. Comrades once they are selected will be immediately given a reading list for further study, so that when they come to the training school all comrades will be expected to have a certain amount of basic reading already accomplished.

The courses will upon a brief examination of the students based upon this minimum reading, and comrades whose preparation is obviously inadequate, so that they will not be able to keep up with the work, will not be admitted to the school.

Nevertheless, every point will be stretched in favor of the active comrades without great theoretical preparation as against theoretically prepared comrades who have not done the requisite amount of activity and who have not the requisite experience.

Districts should keep this in mind in making their choice.

Further information on any of the matters involved can be gotten by writing to Jack Stachel, National Organization Secretary, or Bertram D. Wolfe, National Agitprop Director.

Inquiries concerning funds, fare, maintenance, and the duties of the districts and the individual in this connection, should be addressed to Comrade Stachel. Inquiries concerning preparation, courses, bibliography, etc., should be addressed to Comrade Wolfe.

Agitprop Dept.

## LENIN ON DISCIPLINE

Upon what rests the discipline of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat? How is it tested, controlled? How is it reinforced, strengthened? Firstly, by the consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the Revolution, and heroism, spirit of self-sacrifice and steadfastness. Secondly, by its ability to mix with the toiling masses, to become intimate with and to a certain extent, to fuse itself with the proletarian masses primarily, but also with the non-proletarian toilers. Thirdly, by the soundness of the political leadership, carried out by the vanguard, and by correct political strategy and tactics, based on the idea that the workers from their own experience may convince themselves of the soundness of this political leadership, strategy and tactics. Without all these conditions, discipline in a revolutionary party really capable of being a party of the advanced class whose object is to overthrow the bourgeoisie, is impossible of realization. Without these conditions all attempts to create discipline result in empty phrases, mere contortions. On the other hand, these conditions will not arise suddenly. The creation are created through long, painstaking labor and hard, bitter experience. The creation of these conditions is facilitated by correct revolutionary theory, which in its turn is not dogmatic, but which forms itself in its finality only through close connection with the practice of the truly mass and truly revolutionary movement.

LENIN.

## TWO IMPORTANT PARTY UNITS FORMED

The two most important Party units formed in the last month are in Reading, Pa. and among the striking miners in Colorado. The Reading unit is significant because of the election of a Socialist municipal administration. The importance of the Colorado unit is obvious.

We feel certain that we will soon hear much from our Party organization in Reading and Colorado.

## DISTRIBUTE ANTI-INJUNCTION LEAFLET. UNEMPLOYMENT LEAFLET COMING

We still have about 50,000 leaflets left of the "Down with Government by Injunction" issue.

Districts are urged to order more immediately so that we can complete the half million distributed, before we start the distribution of the Unemployment leaflet, which will be off the press in a few days.

## OUR PARTY AS THE CREATOR OF MASS MOVEMENTS

By H. PURO

Member of the Central Executive Committee and Political Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party.

NO, this is no longer an empty phrase. Our Party is becoming involved in many forms of mass work. Recently I attended a subdistrict Fraction meeting in Upper Michigan, where a district meeting of the Finnish Workers Clubs was also held, and was astonished at what I saw. The delegates to these meetings were composed of workers of the Iron & Copper mines, lumber workers and poor farmers who formerly worked in the mines and lumber camps. Many comrades in the Eastern industrial centers hardly know what Upper Michigan is. They probably think that it is a very small isolated town. This is due to the fact that our Party lives very much in the East only and thinks that west of Chicago there is some boundless North-western Territory where some scattered Party activities exist.

This is a great mistake, but what can we do when Americans, our Party comrades included, are so very poor in geography. Upper Michigan is very wide territory, part of District Nine, altho it should be an independent District and in the future will be. This District consists of numerous Iron and Copper mines surrounded by lumber camps and farms.

Both, the miners and the lumber workers are highly exploited and poorly paid. They are unorganized. At one time they were strongly organized into the Western Federation of Miners. They fought bitterly during 1913-14 against the mine owners in the Copper Country strike, but were defeated and their organization

destroyed. Many workers were blacklisted, could not get work in the mines, and went to the farms, this being their only means of existence. They began to till the soil from which all lumber had been removed. It has been a hard fight to make a bare living for their families in this cold climate where nature does not yield much. Part of the year they still work in the mines and lumber camps. In this hard, bitter struggle for existence the miners, lumber workers and farmers have not forgotten the lessons of their earlier struggles. There have been enough reminders. During the last year there were two big mine disasters, one in Ironwood and one in Ishpeming. In Ironwood the miners were rescued by the heroic efforts of their comrades after being buried alive for 48 hours. In Ishpeming, however, over 50 miners were drowned when the bottom of the river dropped into the mine. In addition about a month ago several workers lost their lives in the copper mine disaster.

In the light of these experiences and fighting against the iron and copper mine owners and against hard unyielding nature, these miners and farmers have learnt their lessons. Especially since the Party reorganization they have created many forms of mass activity. They have organized Workers Clubs in almost every town and village. They have established Cooperative Stores. They have organized Women's Sections. And around all these our Party is rooting itself, established nuclei here and

there. The Young Workers League is growing stronger as is also the Young Pioneer movement. The growth of the youth movement is especially due to the Women's Sections, which have worked hard collecting money and helping to organize the youth. The cooperative movement is strong and is ever growing as are the Clubs. These are real movements, not mere paper organizations.

These educational and propaganda organizations offer a very good basis for our Labor Party campaign. Already there is a strong participation in the school board elections and municipal elections in the various communities. In these activities, these workers and farmers are gaining experience for independent political action of the workers and poor farmers. The result is that they are very anxious to organize a Farmer Labor Party.

In all these activities our Party is the guiding spirit, altho Party units are numerically small. Participants of these movement look toward our Party as the leader of their movement. And one is really amazed to find what our Party has taught these workers and farmers. One farmer-comrade told me a story of how they learnt the value of the Party. He said the Ku Klux Klan were going to drive them out of the

local cooperative creamery and were also trying to wrest control of the local Cooperative Store. They called in one of the subdistrict organizers of District Nine, asking his advise. He told them to use their Party apparatus and to organize a fight against the KKK. Our comrades did this and the result was that they came out victorious in the struggle against the Klan.

The foregoing is proof that our Party can and is becoming a greater and greater factor as the creator of mass movements amongst the industrial workers as well as amongst the poor farmers. I have also tried to prove that we would make a very great mistake were we not to pay more attention to the outlying districts where important heavy industries exist and where tens of thousands of poor farmers live. These workers and farmers can be brought close to our Party. District Nine, consisting of the state of Minnesota, North Wisconsin and Upper Michigan is due to these growing mass movements our third, if not second, biggest district.

Every Party member must study these mass movements in District Nine in order to apply the experiences gained there in building up our Party elsewhere.

## SOME PARTY PROBLEMS OF THE WEST

By HUGO OEHLER

Comrade Oehler is the District Organizer of the Kansas District, which includes the states of Colorado, Nebraska, Missouri, Texas, New Mexico, and Iowa. Comrade Oehler has recently been jailed in connection with his activities in the Colorado Strike and is now out on bail.

In the West there are a few factors that must be given thought by the comrades in order that our Party may be built; problems that are inner Party and do not face the comrades in the Eastern section. In the past, to a great extent, the comrades of the West have been isolated. Press arrives late, activity is not so great and groups are small. They often live under the cloud of isolation and think that they are treated as a

colony of the Party. A colony to be exploited for relief drives for strikers, press, etc. This is not true. However, there are many who have this impression. The reason they have such ideas is because the major part of the activity has been relief for just such campaigns. And the reason they have a wrong conception is because they have only been functioning in one avenue of expression of Party activity and have a lopsided program.

In the East they carry on as much of this kind of activity as we do, if not more, but with this they also carry on the most important activity in mass organizations, strikes, etc., giving them a well balanced program. We must carry on this work as before but we must see that the real work of local issues and participation in workers needs and strikes bring to the fore the important activity that will give us a correct outlook. Many of the comrades seem to be in a rut, carry on this first activity, and when local opportunity of leading strikes or participation is mass activity locally comes to us we do not recognize it because we think and act as automatons instead of Marxians. If we realize that the following of the line of the class struggle in our section and doing our share where the fight is the sharpest and the need of clear thinking is the keenest, we will also realize that by such activity we do not lessen the former activity we were conducting. The success of such participation in the class struggle in our section only heightens the other activities all down the line.

Another important condition is that we often take instructions from the National Center and do not apply the instructions to local conditions. That is—we should keep a uniform policy but often need other tactics to obtain

the results and the carrying out of the policy. Such is the case only on special occasions, for most tactics are adaptable, but when such conditions do arise we must meet the situation as communists and not take the attitude that nothing can be done.

These misconceptions combined with the process of reorganization and the language faction misunderstanding are the basis of many local factional fights of many of the cities of the West. Of course the subjective factor—personalities, enter into the fights more so than the factional fights on a national scale, discoloring the true background of differences.

The comrades of the West will never build a powerful section of the Party unless they right themselves on these and other issues. The West has the potentialities that if unshackled will build a section of the Party that the world proletariat can be proud of. We will not build that if we don't have confidence in this section and our forces. We must push in the background the faultfinding attitude and push to the fore activity. Build the structure that will eliminate that which made you a fault-finder with shortcomings.

---

Ben Gitlow, member of the Secretariat of the Central Executive Committee is now on a western tour visiting the Party organizations in the various districts, helping them in their work. The CEC is planning to devote a great deal of energy towards the building up of the Party organization in the west. In this connection it is planned to bring a number of comrades from the districts in the west to the National Party Training School to help develop leadership in the West.

In the next issue we hope to have a report of Comrade Gitlow on the situation in the West as to the status of the Party organization with particular reference to the Labor Party campaign. Comrade Gitlow is devoting a great deal of attention to the stimulation of the Labor Party campaign and the coming elections generally.

## HOW WE MUST ACTIVIZE OUR PARTY

OUR slogan is "The face of the Party must be toward the masses" We have had this slogan since we extricated the limbs of our Party out of the dawning clothes of its infantile diseases of leftism. We are not so proud of those diseases; but we are proud of the inner health and ideological power of our Party which allowed it to extricate itself. We have still a long road to travel. We decided to direct the face of our Party toward the masses and now we have the task of giving a face to the Party.

As long as the life of the Party is almost exclusively internal and as long as the external life consists only in the statements and decisions of the CEC, and in the work of our fractions, our Party's face is lacking an important organ. One of the most effective means of showing its face to the masses is the creation of real external political life of our Party units. The Party fraction in a non-party labor organization is there to act as a substance of revolutionary fermentation amongst these workers. The raising of class issues of the workers, the proposal of methods of solving problems for the workers, all agitational and propagandistic activities of those fractions have as their final aim the revolutionizing of the minds of the working class members and the establishments of ideological leadership of the Communist Party over them. The very same principle applies also to street and shop nuclei.

In the shop nuclei we have carried on our work in the past pretty much on the basis of this principle, but the street nuclei are far from being what their name implies; nuclei of communists within a certain territory to act there as communist agitators, pro-

pagandists, as a substance causing revolutionary fermentation among the workers. The reason for this is the absence of independent political life in our street nuclei.

The great task to be performed by the Communist Party in the United States is the winning away of the proletarian masses from their adherence to capitalist ideology. This task can be performed only if we adapt our Party to the execution of political activity based on the understanding and ideology of the American workers. Our big demonstrations and mass meetings are altogether too much confined to events that appeal only to the revolutionary and more progressive worker who, after all, is the exception in the American working class. We rally thousands for revolutionary celebrations of one sort or another. That is very good and necessary, but it is not sufficient. These affairs appeal only to such workers as ours, already under the influence of revolutionary ideology, but the practically unsophisticated masses of American workers cannot be reached by these mass meetings and mass demonstrations. They can only be reached by discussions of problems and issues which they understand and recognize. Capitalism, unfortunately, is not yet an issue with them, nor is it a problem of theirs. However, many manifestations of capitalism are issues with them. In Chicago, for instance, we are confronted with a number of problems which the masses of workers of Chicago recognize as problems even though they do not understand their nature. We have the traction problem, the miserably mismanaged school system, political graft to the point of open cash and carry political

favors, favoritism toward rich corporations in property assessments, injunctions against labor, unemployment, etc. We communists see in all of these problems only one base; capitalism. The masses of workers however, do not see that basis, but they do see the problems.

The establishment of independent political life of our street nuclei must be accomplished by taking-up these problems in neighborhood meetings and other methods of neighborhood propaganda, to discuss these problems with the workers in their territory and help to establish a connection in the minds of the workers between these problems and capitalism. That is revolutionary activity because it revolutionizes the minds of the workers.

By doing this we also eliminate one of the most effective reasons for the great turnover in our Party membership. By supplying work for the Party members we inspire them, we encourage and fill them with the understanding of their importance in the scheme of work of the Party, we convince them of their indispensability in this scheme. As long as the street nucleus has no other but routine life such a feeling of importance of participation in this life by the individual member cannot be created. On the contrary, the member comes to the conclusion that the Party can live without him; and the unfortunate fact is that this is so. Namely, that as long as the Party units do not carry on political work, the participation of the individual member in the work of the unit becomes unimportant, is of little value to the Party, and contributes little to the revolutionization of the working class.

Comrades, let us apply our energy to the general activization of our

Party. Let us put upon the shoulders of our Nucleus Executive Committee the duty to organize all the forces of the nucleus into a machine of political propaganda and agitation within the territory assigned to our nucleus; then let us cooperate with our nucleus executive to help it to make a success of this job. The leading committees will devote themselves to the accomplishment of this transformation of our Party into an effective organ of political leadership of the working class of America. And with your help, comrades, it will succeed.

Max Bedacht.

---

#### OUR PARTY ACTIVE IN PITTSBURGH-OHIO COAL FIELDS.

A Negro, Italian, Hungarian and South-Slav Organizer have been placed in the Pittsburgh-Ohio coal fields for Party activity.

Also Comrade Grecht, National Field Organizer, is spending the second month organizing in this district.

The Party is facing some important problems in this area. Our comrades have been unemployed for some time, and are the first hit from the terror of the coal barons. Now most of them are on strike. Many of our units are compelled to function secretly.

The organizers placed by the Party in this district have a difficult but important task.

---

#### DISTRICTS SEVEN AND TEN SHOW BEST RECORD OF ACTIVITY FOR LAST TWO MONTHS

Districts Detroit and Kansas-Colorado show an all around best record of activity for the months of November and December.

In dues payments, distribution of leaflets, and general tightening up of the Party organization as well as in general activity they are doing a good job.

Districts 12 and 13 have, probably, been last in the last few months in dues payments, literature sales, leaflet distribution and general activity, except for the Los Angeles subdistrict which is carrying on good work, as it seems, even in spite of the inactivity of the District.

## PAGE FROM REPORT OF A FIELD ORGANIZER

PAT DEVINE, National Field Organizer, reporting

Comrade Devine, National Field Organizer of the Party has had extensive experience in organization work, and has done much to "pep-up" the work in the Philadelphia District in his month's tour. Comrade Devine was formerly the District Daily Worker Agent in New York and is a member of the Political Committee of the New York District. Comrade Devine will now work for the next month or two in the Chicago District.

THE following is a report of the lower anthracite.

Dec. 13—Luzerne. 28 members. 20 present at meeting. Good meeting. Almost everyone took part in discussion. Labor Party enthusiastically taken up. Question of mine nucleus taken up. Up to date nothing had been done. The meeting after discussion unanimously decided to organize mine nucleus and set about preparing for publication of mine papers. Considering classes in English and Fundamentals. Decided to begin Daily Worker Drive. Sold \$11.00 literature.

Dec. 14—Wilkes-Barre. 13 members present. Same enthusiasm as above. Concentrating on mine nucleus. Forming Labor Party committee. One new member. Sold \$1.00 literature.

Dec. 15—Pittston. New unit of 5 members. Spirit very good. Set organization in motion. Very good meeting. Splendid possibilities. Sold \$2.40 literature.

Dec. 16—Scranton. 18 present. Prevailed upon comrades to reorganize. Labor Party possibilities good. Made good contact with group of Scotch miners. One new member—two more at next meeting.

Dec. 17—Mass meeting in Luzerne. 50 present. Very good meeting. raised good Labor Party sentiment. Likely to get some new members at next Party meeting. ILD meeting afterwards. Many new members.

Dec. 18—Pittston, at 2:00 p. m. Miners Relief Meeting. 83 present.

Fine response and splendid possibilities for building good committee.

Hanover, 7 p. m.—Mass meeting. 60 present. Many Socialists. Very good questions. Well received; expect many new members. Sold \$2.80 literature.

Met with members afterwards. Just newly formed unit. Received a very necessary impetus. All were enthusiastic at the treatment of Socialists who had previously been causing trouble. Comrades optimistic about future and determined to do big things.

Luzerne, 9:00 a. m.. Meeting with comrades to set about forming mine nucleus. Two comrades left in charge of each of 5 mines with instructions to form nucleus at each one. Also decided to act at once and prepare for factory paper. Question of classes also taken up and plans made for future.

Dec. 19—Lucerne. Mass meeting for women. Over 500 leaflets distributed at mill gates. About 30 present. First women's meeting held in district. Chief of police in attendance... was called on phone and advised to be present. Very good meeting. Prospects of a few joining our Women's Club. (Am sending special report of this to Daily).

### Recommendations

a) If subdistrict is to function it must have a subdistrict organizer With one or two exceptions all are in favor of such action.

b) Two or three comrades should be colonized in order to give foreign

speaking units an American outlook and guidance. Such comrades should be prepared to work hard.

c) Definite instructions should be sent to all units on function of our members in fraternal and auxiliary organizations and clubs. This because much of our activity is dissipated in the above organizations without any results for the Party. In fact in many places instead of these organizations helping the Party they in many instances "kill" many of our comrades, because of their continued appeals for financial assistance. This is a burning question in many units.

d) Ensure that all organizers sent out by language bureaus first of all report to Party units for information on activities of their language comrades in units. This is necessary because many of such comrades just attend to language work in clubs to the exclusion of all other Party work.

e) Do something regarding the work among women. Many of our comrades still have the idea that woman's place is in the kitchen. Women's Councils or such like should be propagated with a view of starting work among the numerous girls in mills around this section.

f) So far as miners' union is concerned, the Italian Bureau should try to give more attention to this section which is thickly populated by Italians.

g) Unemployment as a problem should be tackled organizationally. Most of the miners are working half time.

h) The role of the laborer in the

union should be emphasized. In many places I found a tendency among the laborers for a new union for themselves. The situation is that miners hire laborers at about \$6.00 per day whilst they secure in many cases twice as much. This is causing dissatisfaction. Something concrete on this question should be sent to the comrades here. Slogan "Equal Rights"... bearing in mind not to antagonize the miners.

Special Note: Polish situation here. Polish organizer when last in Anthracite, made many good contacts and secured many subscriptions for Polish paper. He did good work and was invaluable to comrades for work among his language workers. The Polish and Italian dominate the situation. An effort should be made to have some Polish comrade come to work in the mines here. Such comrade should receive all contacts made by the Polish organizer. In any event the contacts should be sent to the subdistrict for working purposes.

My general remarks in previous report also apply here and should be attended to as tightening of connection, etc., etc.

#### CLEVELAND DISTRICT—BEST IN TAKING UP LOCAL ISSUES.

The Cleveland District for the past period shows the best response to local problems. In this connection the outstanding achievement of Cleveland is the activity in connection with unemployment.

Also Cleveland is tackling the problem of amendments to the City Charter.

Districts 8, 7, 9 and 1 follow in responding to local problems.

Other districts are still very weak in this field.

We cannot build up strong local organizations unless more attention to local issues is shown by our Party.



# DISTRICT QUESTIONNAIRE

## National Organization Department

### DISTRICT NUMBER TEN

The answers to the questionnaire below give a good picture of the work in District 10. In the future we hope to print such reports from the different districts regularly so that the Party as a whole will know what is being done in the various districts and utilize the experiences gained by the comrades in all districts. All districts send in such reports on the average three times a year.

1. How many shop nuclei are there in your district? 9.
2. How many street nuclei? 9.
3. How many new units formed since September 1, 1927? 1.
4. What is the total membership in your district?  
155 Good standing; 19 Arrears.
5. How many of your members are in shop nuclei?  
55 Good standing; 6 Arrears.
6. How many of your members are in street nuclei?  
100 Good standing; 13 Arrears.
7. How many of your members are in non-reorganized branches?  
None.
8. How many members have joined the Party in your District since September 1, 1927?  
Sept. 2; Oct. 8; Nov. 3; Dec. 9.
9. How many members have left the Party since September 1, and why?  
Two members. 1 broke with our movement; 1 disappeared.
10. What have you done to increase the membership in your district?  
District Organizer carrying on propaganda at strike meetings in Colorado mining camps. Party units have organization committees that visit prospective members, selected from Party mailing lists. Appeal for new members at party mass meetings. Daily Worker agents solicit new members from the subscribers, after same have been O. K'd by city or district committee. Send out invitations to sympathizers, in outlying districts, to join the Party.
11. What have you done to improve attendance at meetings?  
Have eliminated the habit of always begging for money at nuclei and committee meetings by taking up one or more collections. Distributed party work among all members so as not to antagonize the outstanding active members by overloading them with work. Always having some new and interesting Party work to discuss at each meeting, or another phase of Party work.
12. What have you done to develop more and better Party functionaries?  
Are holding study classes in Advanced Economics, Elementary Economics, Public Speaking, etc.  
Are holding class in Party Organization work.  
Sent out 5-page circulars to units. (Copy attached hereto).
13. Specify what have been your greatest difficulties with functioning of the units in your district?  
Lack of leadership in the lowest Party units.
14. What suggestions can you make to the National Office for improving the functioning of the units?  
Make it possible to have organizer or other competent party member visit each of the units, in outlying territory, at least once each two months, to develop leadership in those units, and pep-up the rank-and-file members, and to obtain new members

for units functioning in "Company towns" where members are afraid of being discharged and blacklisted, if they are caught soliciting members for the Party, or teaching Communism.

15. How many shop papers are published in your district?

None at present.

16. What papers went out of existence since September 1, 1927 or thereabouts?

Our shop papers went out of existence in July and August and were as follows: The Packing House Worker, The Oil Worker, the Railroad Worker.

17. What papers were started since Sept. 1, 1927?

None.

18. Do the shop and street nuclei report regularly to you?

60 percent of our units report regularly, and 40 percent of them irregularly. Improvements in reporting are being made at this time.

19. What are the principal questions considered by your street nuclei?

Increase in membership. Have all members pay up their dues. Building units of the Y.W.L. and Pioneers. Raising coal miners' relief. Farmer Labor Party. Unemployment. Sustaining the Daily Worker. Financing Party work in the district.

20. What are the principal questions considered by your shop nuclei?

Beginning the publication of Shop Paper. Also the questions listed under the question 19.

21. How many thousands of leaflets did you distribute since September 1, 1927?

About 30,000 of all kinds.

22. How many pamphlets did your district sell since September 1, 1927?

About 200.

23. What other literature sold?

Scott Nearing's books—about 6; Lyons, Sacco-Vanzetti 2; Bogdanoff's books, about 12; Russia after 10 Yrs. 4 books; Lenin's Collected Works Vol. 13, 2 books; Bucharin's Historical Materialism, 3; Lovestone's, Government Strikebreaker, 5.

24. Is your Org. Department functioning, and how?

D. E. C. functions as the organization department on important questions, and organization secretary handles routine organization work with the assistance of 3 members drafted from the various nuclei in district city.

25. What other departments are there in your district?

Agitprop, Trade Union, Anti-Imperialist, Youth, Literature, Parliamentarism.

26. What have been principal activities in which your district has been engaged during past four months?

Colorado coal strike, Protest meetings, Raising miners' relief, Hand-off China meetings, Earl Browder's H.O.C. tour; Stanley Clarks' propaganda tour of Wyoming and Montana, Hugo Oehler's tour, showing motion pictures. (Breaking Chains, etc.).

27. What suggestions do you have for improving Party organization?

National office to allow district 10 a subsidy, so the district will be able to keep a paid organizer in the field continuously. Also as stated in answer to question No. 14 of this report.

28. What cities in your district participated in the last election campaign? State briefly results in each?

Only one special election held in this district this fall, in Denver, Colo. F. L. P. candidate receive about 263 votes.

# HOW OUR SECTION MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE WORKS

By S. BOURGIN

Chairman of the Bronx Section Membership Committee, New York District

**T**HE Bronx Section Membership Committee consists of a membership director and one delegate from every nucleus in the section. These delegates from the various nuclei are at the same time the chairmen of the nuclei membership committees. There are in all seven members on the Section Membership Committee. The following are the activities we are now doing:

1) Visiting delinquent members. That is, all those who are absent three consecutive meetings from their units without any excuse.

2) To get new members by sending committees to all public meetings arranged by the Party.

3) Appealing to the Party members and all the units to give to the committee the names and addresses of sympathizers in the shops where our members are employed and from among their friends, acquaintances, etc.

4) Visiting fraternal organizations, clubs, Workmen's Circles, women's councils, etc., with the idea of obtaining new members from these organizations.

As to visiting delinquent members, we divide the section into neighboring centers thus giving each of the visiting committees territory to be covered in their own neighborhood.

As to the fraternal organizations, delegates are sent to obtain from the secretaries of these organizations the names and addresses of sympathizers.

The chairman of the Membership Committee keeps a file of the names and addresses of all the sympathizers and they are sent literature regularly and also announcements of meetings and lectures arranged by the Party.

From time to time some of these sympathizers are visited by members of the Membership Committee or others assigned by the Membership Committee for this work.

If we compare the conditions of our units immediately after the reorganization with the state of affairs of the units at the present time, the results are more or less gratifying. Attendance has increased. We do not see any longer comrades hanging around the headquarters of the section looking for their membership cards, hunting for their transfers, or hunting for the secretary of a unit and trying to locate their own whereabouts and where they belong. Of course, there is still plenty of room for improvement. There is not yet sufficient cooperation on the part of the unit organizers and the section committees.

In the period of nine months from March to November, 1927, the Section Membership Committee has assigned 270 new members, including 125 comrades who were taken in in a very short period during a membership drive. In addition to this many transfers from other sections passed thru the hands of the Section Membership Committee.

If the Section Membership Committee were to be made a regular institution of the Party and the unit organizers were informed that they must give the necessary cooperation to the Section Membership Committee and that all new members should pass thru the hands of the Section Membership Committee, much more progress could be made in the proper placing of the comrades and drawing them into Party work immediately.

# THE PARTY ORGANIZER



## CONTENTS:

	Page
May Day .....	2
Our Immediate Tasks .....	3-6
Organization Work in Detroit.....	9-12
Ohio Nuclei in Large Factories .....	13-14
Party Work and Accountability .....	14-15
Stabilizing the Party Units .....	16-17
Concretizing Our Slogans .....	17-19
Some Shop Papers Problems .....	19-21
What We Did for The Daily Worker in Connecticut .....	21-22
More Party Readers for the Daily Worker	22-23
What Americanization Means to Our Party .....	23-24

Price 10 Cents

---

Vol. II.

March-April 1928

No. 3-4

---

Published by  
WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA  
43 East 125th Street, New York City

# M A Y D A Y

The issues confronting the workers of the country will make possible the celebration of May Day this year on a larger scale than ever before in the history of our Party.

The offensive against the trade unions, the attempt on the part of the coal barons and the Lewis machine to destroy the Miners' Union, the war against Nicaragua and the preparation for a world war, the tremendous unemployment, the use of the government against the workers in their daily struggles, and many other issues facing the workers of this country is bringing home to an increasing number of workers the correctness of the program of our Party and is moving large masses to struggle around the slogans raised by our Party.

May Day this year will be a gathering of the forces of the militant workers for greater struggle. We must make preparation at once for the participation of hundreds of thousands of workers in the May Day celebration.

## PREPARE FOR MAY DAY MEETINGS

Every city and town where we have a Party unit must have a demonstration or mass meeting to celebrate May Day.

Every District and City Organization must strain itself to the utmost to arrange May Day celebrations even in those cities where we have no Party organization as yet. This can be done either thru a sympathetic organization or some connections thru an individual Party member or sympathizer.

Get busy now. Make all arrangements for the May Day meeting in your city and send the information to the District Office and the National Office as to date, time, name of hall, and as to speakers.

## MAY DAY LEAFLETS.

A million leaflets dealing with the problems facing the workers of this country will be distributed in preparation for May Day. Place your order with the District Organizer immediately. For further information watch the press.

## DAILY WORKER

Every Daily Worker agent has received a special circular from the circulation manager of the Daily Worker in connection with the special May Day Edition of the Daily Worker. Every Party member and every unit must be mobilized to help make the May Day Edition one of 300,000 copies. This will be a tremendous achievement. It can be done if the Party units and the nuclei executives will give this problem the necessary attention.

## MANIFESTO AND PROGRAM

A Party manifesto dealing with the issues and slogans that will form the center of the May Day agitation, will be printed in a few days.

The District and City organizations will also receive in a few days from the Agitprop Department an outline of the May Day Campaign similar to the one sent out in connection with Tenth Anniversary Celebration.

Comrades: Let us make this year's May Day demonstration a real mobilization of the masses for the campaigns' slogans of our Party.

## OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS

**T**HE last Plenum of the Central Executive Committee adopted unanimously a thesis covering in a most detailed manner, the economic and political situation in the country, the situation in the labor movement, and the tasks before us on the basis of this analysis.

This thesis, which is now available in pamphlet form, should be studied by every Party member. Only by making a careful study of this thesis, will the Party membership be able to understand thoroughly the various campaigns that our Party is engaged in at the present time, and their relation to one another.

In the light of the thesis, what are the chief tasks at this moment? They are:

- (1) Mining Campaign;
- (2) Fight against Imperialist War;
- (3) Fight against Unemployment;
- (4) Organization of the Unorganized;
- (5) Election campaign and campaign for a Labor Party;
- (6) Strengthening of the Party and the Daily Workers.

The above campaigns do not exclude our every day tasks, such as work among women, special appeals to win the Negro masses, protection of foreign-born, etc. These activities and their proper place in the various campaigns mentioned above, must be given the greatest possible attention, if we are to be successful in the chief tasks before us.

### 1. MINING CAMPAIGN.

The chief campaign of the moment is our mining campaign. We must mobilize the entire Party and the sympathetic elements around it for a program of the "Save the Union Committee." We must also bring our Party into the campaign as a Party, and out of this campaign must strengthen our organization by enrolling the most class-conscious among the miners into our Party and extend our influence among the mass of miners.

The "Save the Union Committee" of the United Mine Workers of America has issued a call for a National Conference to be held in Pittsburgh, April 1st. This conference follows after a series of successful local conferences held in the most important of the organized sections of the Miners Union and also in some unorganized fields. Our Party, which has been the driving force throughout this campaign, must now every-

where intensify its activities. The outcome of this National Conference and the struggles that will take place after this conference, will have the greatest bearing upon the American labor movement and the development of our Party for some time to come. It is therefore necessary that the entire energies of the Party be thrown into this campaign.

This campaign is not only to be conducted by those districts involved in the struggle in the Miners Union. This campaign must be made a campaign of the entire Party membership, of those districts as well, that are not included in the mining districts.

The entire Party membership must be made acquainted with the importance of the mining campaign and its bearing on the rest of the labor movement.

Our concrete tasks in this campaign are the following:

(1) In the mining districts, that is districts 3, 5, 6, to an extent district 7, and then districts 8, 10 and 12; these districts must concentrate all their energy, and the resources at their disposal for the election of as many delegates as possible to the National Conference on April 1st.

(2) They must also aid the National "Save the Union Committee" in the formation of Save the Union Committees locally, where they have not yet been formed, thru the holding of local conferences, and by building up of the forces of the "Save the Union Committee" in every local union.

(3) All districts must help to raise funds in financing of delegates. While the money will come chiefly from the miners themselves, the appeal has been sent out by the "Save the Union Committee" to the rest of the labor movement and our Party must see to it that everywhere its members are mobilized in the varying of funds to help finance the delegations from the various districts to the "National Conference." The National Save the Union Committee has issued special coupons from \$1.00 to 25c and around the sale of these coupons we should create a tremendous agitation in favor of the Save the Union Committee among the miners as well as among the rest of the organized and unorganized workers.

(4) We must take the initiative and stimulate the left wing everywhere to organize the workers in unorganized fields.

(5) Relief must be pushed to the utmost. The Pittsburgh-Ohio Relief Committee has been attacked by the Senate Investigation Committee. This Committee is being attacked because it is recognized by all the enemies of

the miners and of the Save the Union Committee, that through its activities in relief it has stimulated the miners in all important mining centers and in the greatest number of locals of the United Mine Workers of America for a militant struggle against the Lewis machine and the coal operators and given them the confidence and determination to fight until victory is won.

The Pittsburgh-Ohio Committee must be supported in every way possible. Our comrades everywhere in all mass organizations must take the initiative and see to it that as much money as possible is raised and sent to the Pittsburgh-Ohio Relief Committee. In districts and cities where no conferences for relief have yet been organized, such conferences must be organized. In districts where Colorado committees exist, we must make every effort to turn them into committees to help the Pittsburgh-Ohio miners. Tag days must be organized everywhere to help raise funds. In all this work our Party must take the initiative and stimulate the "Save the Union Committee", all the left wing forces, all the progressive forces to help feed the miners and keep them fit for the battle.

(6) In this campaign our Party must also find its place as the Party. Already, we have met with much success in getting many miners into the Party, in Pittsburgh, in the anthracite, in Ohio and in the Kansas district many miners have already joined the Party, and applications are being received every day. If our Party in these districts, will make a real effort for organization, we should enroll hundreds, if not thousands, of miners into the Party and extend our work and influence among the great mass of miners.

## 2. FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR.

The thesis of the C. E. C. laid down as a central task of the Party, the fight against imperialist war. Our Party has already done some excellent work in many parts of the country in this campaign. The work has been conducted in connection with the Chinese Revolution, in defense of the Soviet Union and also in connection with the war of the United States against the Nicaraguan people.

The Party must now intensify this campaign. We must point out to the masses that all resolutions and conferences about peace are merely a form of preparation for war. We must point out that the imperialists of the world are preparing for a war against the Soviet Union and to crush the revolutionary movement in the colonies and at home.

We must connect up the war preparations now in process, with unemployment and the offensive against the trade union movement in this country. In addition to the above mentioned tasks in this campaign, we must (1) Organize as broad united fronts as possible against imperialist war. In these united fronts, we must see to it that our Party maintains leadership; it is particularly dangerous to allow pacifist elements to assume any leadership in such a movement; (2) Carry on a campaign for recognition of the Soviet Union; (3) Work for the defeat of the American Imperialism in Nicaragua; (4) We must carry our propaganda into the armed forces; (5) We must bring to the broad masses of this country the Leninist teachings on war.

## 3. UNEMPLOYMENT.

There are over 5,000,000 unemployed in this country at the present time. This issue must be utilized by our Party to the fullest extent. We must make clear the nature of the present unemployment situation. We must point out that unemployment to day is not merely seasonal nor even due to slackening industry alone, although largely that. Also there are a large number of the unemployed that can be termed as disemployed, that is they have been thrown out of the processes of production as a result of the rationalization and increased exploitation of the workers, and we must demand the shortening of the workday. We must point out that while there are fewer workers being employed today than a few years ago, the production has increased tremendously. We must connect up the unemployment with

the war danger, and we must conduct work among the unemployed against war, because many of these unemployed, unable to find jobs, become the victims of the various recruiting agencies that are recruiting cannon-fodder for the coming imperialist war. We must concentrate on the following in this campaign:

(1) Agitation to bring to the workers clearly the cause of the unemployment and put forward demands for relief in line with the program of the Party. At the same time, we must make clear that only by the abolition of capitalism, can unemployment be abolished.

(2) We must take the initiative in the formation of councils for the unemployed. These councils will become the center for the mobilization of the workers against unemploy-



ment. These councils must organize mass demonstrations and demand relief from the government, etc. Our Party must try, through its members in the councils, to exercise political leadership and guide the development of the councils.

(3) Concretely, the task we have before us is the task of distributing half a million leaflets during the coming month. This leaflet dealing

with unemployment gives a good analysis of the present unemployment conditions, the struggles, methods of fighting, and how finally to abolish it. Our Party everywhere must see to it that this leaflet receives a wide distribution. Every nucleus, no matter how small, even if it has only three members in a factory, must resolve to distribute a minimum of 1,000 of these leaflets.

#### 4. ORGANIZATION OF THE UNORGANIZED

With the unions rapidly disintegrating, we must give life and reality to the slogan "Organize the Unorganized." We must not be content with merely calling upon the A. F. of L. leadership to organize the unorganized, but while putting forward such demands to them that will expose their refusal to organize the unorganized, we must take the initiative in forming rank and file committees in the various unions to organize the workers in the industries and where this is impossible through the existing unions, form new unions. The question of organization of the unorganized must not any longer be approached in the manner of propaganda merely. It must be taken up concretely in every district. As for example, the New England district must pay the greatest attention to the work of organizing the

textile and shoe workers. The New York district, the traction workers. The Cleveland district, the rubber workers, steel workers. The Detroit district, the auto industry, etc. Similarly, in every district, important industries must be concentrated upon for campaigns to organize the workers.

The Party Committees in the various districts, must give the greatest possible help to the comrades in these industries. These campaigns, if they are to be successful, must receive the attention of the entire Party in the various districts and localities. Efforts must be made to colonize capable comrades in those industries where organization campaigns are undertaken, so that we strengthen the forces of the Party as the steel rod in these campaigns.

#### 5. ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND CAMPAIGN FOR A LABOR PARTY.

We must begin immediately the work of placing our Party ticket in every state possible. There is no conflict between the campaign for a Labor Party or a United Labor ticket in the 1928 election campaign, and our immediate work is mobilizing the Party to place our ticket on the ballot. In the event that the Labor Party will be formed, or a United Labor ticket, our Party must

be on the ballot at the same time. For even in cases where we would have local Labor parties, or even a National Labor Party, our Party will conduct its campaign, nominating candidates on its ticket in the various localities and endorsing the candidates of the Labor Party in places where it would be advisable.

And in the event that there is no Labor party, of course, it is clear

that we must have our ticket on the ballot. In either event, our ticket must be placed on the ballot and the work must be done immediately.

At the same time, we must do everything possible to stimulate the organization of local trade union committees for a Labor Party and all steps taken in the various central bodies, the local unions, as can be taken in the various localities to stimulate the organization of a Labor Party or at least United Labor ticket, in the coming election campaign.

Concretely, on the election campaign, we must do the following:

(1) Secure all the necessary information as to the legal requirements for placing a ticket on the ballot;

(2) Organize our forces in such a way that we plan out our activities and that we make sure that we will be through much before the time

for filing has arrived, so as to be sure that we will be on the ballot.

In the last National election campaign, our Party was on the ballot in only 15 states. If we make a real effort now, we can get on the ballot in 40 states.

At the same time, each district must begin to plan out its election campaign in line with the other campaigns that are being conducted. The election campaign will not be an abstract campaign. It will be based on the issues before the labor movement today and organically connected up with all the other activities that our Party is conducting at the present time.

Plans for open-air meetings must now be made to begin May Day. Among other things these meetings can be utilized as an aid to gather signatures for our petitions.

## 6. LENIN RUTHENBERG DRIVE ON TO MAY FIRST

**T**HE Lenin-Ruthenberg drive for 5,000 members and 10,000 readers to the Daily Worker, has been extended until May 1st, by the CEC, following the request of the New York district.

### Achievements

Already we can report the following achievements in the drive:

1) About 1,000 workers joined the Party, among them many miners and others in the basic industries.

(2) A number of important new units of the Party were organized, among the miners, textile and shoe workers and in many places where the Party had no organization before.

(3) The Daily Worker has gained a substantial number of new readers.

(4) Many districts are distributing free copies of the Daily Worker in large quantities throughout the drive,

the New York district, for example is distributing 100,000 copies a week, or an average of 17,000 per day in addition to the regular circulation. These are distributed every day at the same factories and among the traction workers.

(5) A great number of old members have been brought back into the Party and party activities.

(6) The Party and its work is being brought to the attention of tens of thousands of workers, who have never heard about our Party before.

### Shortcomings

At the same time we must note certain shortcomings of the campaign. These are the following:

(1) The Party has not yet learned to recruit new members in the struggles and campaigns it is engaged in. There are still too many comrades who believe that they are

so busy doing mass work that they cannot spare the time to go out and get new members and new readers for the Daily Worker. This wrong attitude is not limited to the rank and file of our membership. An example of this was the statement of a leading comrade stated that "We must first build the left wing and then we will go out and get new members".

(2) The failure to concretize recruiting. The members do not go after a number of sympathizers that they are acquainted with and work on them systematically. The work is done by hit or miss method.

(3) Insufficient support from the Party press. The Party press does not publish the achievements of the membership drive and does not connect up the importance of the workers joining the Party with the Party campaigns and activities that it is featuring daily.

(4) The plenum of the C. E. C. broke up the work more than three weeks, since most of the important functionaries were in New York and the work suffered as a result.

(5) Insufficient preparation from the center before launching the drive.

(6) Insufficient attention to recruiting at the Lenin Memorial and Ruthenberg Memorial meetings as well as other mass meetings held in the various districts.

#### Intensify Drive

Between now and May 1st we must intensify our activity in this drive. We must overcome the difficulties mentioned above. The districts and the various functionaries should refer back to the last issue of the Party Organizer and again acquaint them-

selves with the various tasks set for the various Party units, fractions and other organizations. Concretely, in addition to what is suggested in the plan outlined in the last issue of the Party Organizer, we must emphasize the following for the remainder of the drive:

(1) Every effort to overcome the shortcomings mentioned above.

(2) At every DEC meeting, city section and nucleus executive, the membership drive must be taken up and checked up.

(3) At every nucleus meeting, every member must report on the activity in the drive.

(4) Open educational meetings of the shop nuclei, neighborhood meetings conducted by the street nuclei, open forums on local issues, must be organized on a large scale and at each of these an appeal for membership and subs for the Daily Worker.

(5) Every fraction, every mass organization must list the sympathizers, distribute them immediately among the members of the fraction for personal recruiting.

(6) The readers of the Party press must be canvassed. They have been sent to all district organizers.

(7) Old members must be visited and induced to come back to the Party.

(8) Greater attention must be paid to livening up the existing units so that the new members find that they want to belong to the Party.

(9) Every effort must be made to immediately assign the new members to work, at the same time to see that they get the opportunity to develop politically, through new members classes, through discussions, etc.

JACK STACHEL.

## Organization Work in Detroit

**D**ISTRICT 7 of the Workers (Communist) Party is unique in several ways. In the first place 84 per cent of the membership is in one city which has 15 of the 22 nuclei and 480 of the 570 members of the entire district. This means that the district office can be in far closer touch with most of the nuclei than in most districts.

In the second place the membership is almost entirely proletarian. Of the 570 members in the district only about 5 per cent are non-proletarians, the rest being proletarians and their wives.

In the third place the district is predominately a one industry district, automobile (furniture in Grand Rapids) so that the problems are relatively simplified and the membership more bound together.

Fourth, most of the members are concentrated in large factories, providing the Party with the opportunity of building shop nuclei and street nuclei that can work in the factories also. Of the 480 members of the Party in Detroit 210 it is estimated, are in shop nuclei. These shop nuclei represent the most important automobile plants in Detroit with nearly 200,000 workers. These nuclei have their five shop papers, which come out more or less regularly and are sold. The papers are Ford Worker, Packard Worker, Hudson Worker, Dodge Worker, Fisher Body Worker.

Fifth, the 16 Party Language Fractions are very well representative of the foreign speaking population. These fractions also have good contact with their respective nationalities.

Generally speaking, the Party is in

a relatively healthy condition and has been making progress.

### Organizational Work.

The first problem in the district was the establishment of a strong collective leadership. To accomplish this the following changes were necessary.

1. A secretariat of three full functionaries was created that considered every problem collectively and met almost every day.

2. The polcom was called to meet every week instead of once in two weeks as before and a regular night set aside for the meeting.

3. A full DEC meets once in six weeks or so. Since the Polcom (with candidates) is so large and since the cities outside Detroit are so few, there are only a few comrades outside Detroit who come to a DEC meeting. To take in comrades on the DEC who live in Detroit but who are not on the Polcom, enlarged Polcom meetings are held from time to time.

The second problem was the correct departmentalization of the work.

1. The organization committee of the district was abolished in line with the recommendations of the CEC Organization Committee and an Org. Department established instead.

2. The Agitprop committee was entirely reorganized to meet the new functions which were placed on it. Each nucleus and section now has an agitprop director.

3. The Trade Union Committee took a new life as the auto campaign began to open up. Each nucleus and section now has an in-

dustrial organizer thus making the committee head of a department.

4. A women's work department was established with representatives in the nuclei and sections.

5. A Negro Department was created with representatives in each nucleus and section.

6. The cooperative committee was reorganized.

7. Anti-imperialist committee was reorganized.

8. An unemployment director was established.

9. A district control commission was established.

10. A District Investigating committee was established.

Each of the various departments have already had their department conferences with representatives from the nuclei and sections. A full program of work has now been mapped out for each department.

#### Stabilizing the Units

The third big problem was the building up of the nuclei. The nuclei had fallen down for several reasons:

- a) Unemployment.
- b) Members fired from the plants for being Communists, etc.
- c) Insufficient attention.
- d) Previous factional situation.
- e) Lack of nuclei bureaus and insufficient departmentalization of work.
- f) Creation of too weak nuclei.
- g) Changing day and night shifts.

To build up the nuclei the following was done:

- 1) Each nucleus was assigned a leading polcom member of the district.
- 2) This member was to take a post in the nucleus and regularly attend.
- 3) Tuesday was set aside to the nucleus meetings or the nucleus bureau meetings. In case of shop nuclei where the members worked

nights, Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings were allowed. On Tuesdays no other meetings were allowed to be arranged.

4) The nuclei meet twice a month, and the nuclei bureau twice a month in between meetings of the nuclei.

5) A complete new registration is being taken. This new registration will enable us to transfer comrades to their proper shop nuclei from street nuclei, to build new shop nuclei and to place comrades in the street nuclei where they live.

6) "Floating" street nuclei have been abolished. Each nucleus now has definite boundaries in which to work.

7) Some nuclei have been dissolved and others merged.

8) Every effort has been made to build up a leadership in the nucleus thru the raising of the dignity and power of the nucleus bureau.

9) The nuclei bureaus have been entirely reorganized in conformity with the reorganization of the Party generally. The bureau consists generally only of the Organizer, who now is the only one to receive the mail in the nucleus, the industrial organizer, the agitprop director, the women's work director, the negro work director, and in the case of shop nuclei, the shop paper editor. This is the bureau of the nucleus.

made to activize the membership

10) Every effort now has been behind the various departments. Each nucleus is now to have a leaflet distribution committee, and a shop paper selling committee, besides a Daily Worker Agent, a Literature Agent, and a shop paper editorial board of the nucleus. The job of benign recording secretary and financial secretary is usually combined with one of the political posts in the nucleus.

11) A Party functionary class has been established with great success.

The class is compulsory for all functionaries on the bureaus.

12) Inner agitprop work has been developed through nuclei discussion bulletins prepared by the agitprop, so as to liven up all meetings and to give the comrades a better understanding of the problems.

Another problem connected with this was the problem of handling spies.

1) The new members nucleus was abolished.

2) In its stead a district investigation committee of three has been created.

3) A new members class will be started.

4) And a district control commission has been established.

Hand in hand with the building up of the nuclei went the building up of section meetings and of section executives. The old section delegate system was abolished and section executive elected instead. While section meetings have been called the attendance is still insufficient, and the section executives still do not meet as they should. This is something which must be developed more than before.

Regular district membership meetings have been held in each case combining practical work with theoretical discussion. The first meeting Comrade Weisbord was the reporter on the meaning of the Russian Revolution. At the second meeting Comrade Bittleman was the reporter on the Build-The-Party Drive and Schmies reported on the Auto Campaign. At the third meeting Comrade Gitlow reported on the Trotzky Opposition.

#### Centralization

The fourth big problem was the centralization and coordination of the language fraction work. The DEC now appoints all bureaus of all frac-

tions where necessary. The DEC has now assigned a DEC representative to each language fraction. Each language fraction now reports to the center in periodic conferences which are held and where the fractions are brought into the general line of Party activity. The rule that ten per cent of all fraction affairs go to the district is being strictly enforced.

The fifth big problem of an organizational nature was the bringing of the cities outside of Detroit, something very important, closer to the center. Each month or so now these outside cities, some of them very far from the center, receive a representative from the district. In the month of November all of the outside cities were covered by speakers on the Russian Revolution demonstrations. At the same time in membership meetings organizational questions also were taken up. In the month of December all units with the exception of Pontiac were covered on the question of protesting against the murder of the miners in Colorado. At the same time in membership meetings the Trotsky question was taken up. During the month of January all units outside of Detroit held Lenin Memorial Meetings with speakers from the center.

Besides the matter of meetings, the outside units have received help in other ways and more attention than before. In all of the campaigns of the Party the outside cities were included. When New Year's Ball was arranged in Detroit, letters were sent out to see that a Ball for the Daily Worker was arranged also in the other cities. So far they have responded. On miners relief almost all of the outside cities are now busy with their united front conferences.

Hitherto these outside cities had received much less attention than

they should have. It is the first time, for some of them, that they had Russian Revolution meetings. It is the first time that they have united front movements established. This policy should be continued ever more that before.

The sixth big problem was the building up of the shop papers. It was clearly established that the nucleus itself must make the paper, of course with the guidance of the district, but with its own initiative and work. The fact was that the nuclei were not participating sufficiently either in making or distributing the paper. A district editorial board has now been established composed of the editors of all of the shop papers and one from the district. In each shop nucleus now a unit editorial board has been created. In each section and in each street nucleus shop paper selling committees have been formed. However, we are only in the beginning of this work. A great deal yet has to be done.

#### Building the Party

The seventh organizational problem was the problem of capitalizing the sentiment for the Party by getting new members. Here too only a beginning has been made. The language fractions have been instructed to canvass carefully all clubs and other such organizations for material for the Party. Fraction and sympathizers meetings have been arranged to be addressed by the district representative to bring in those sympathizers into the Party. A good deal of attention is being paid to how to draw in the person that comes to our mass meetings into the Party. This too, has to be worked out better. And finally, through the proper distribution of leaflets, it is hoped to increase greatly our members.

The matter of leaflet distribution is no longer a haphazard matter but

is receiving careful study as a method of building up our street nuclei and creating new ones. The streets of Detroit have been carefully mapped out to include proletarian centers, in each section of the city. Each nucleus, shop and street, elect leaflet distribution committees which are assigned to particular streets in territory within the jurisdiction of the street nucleus or section where the committee belongs. Each month or so from 30,000 to 50,000 leaflets on some special topic are being distributed. The same comrade going to the same streets on each successive month. At the end of five or so months, with the beginning of summer, there will be a mass distribution of the Daily Worker, and then this will be followed up with personal canvassing of those people who were found to be sympathizing and those sympathizers will be drawn in to the Party.

Further advance in organizational lines have been made in a complete analysis of the finances that have been made and the drawing up, for the first time in Detroit, of a budget. The budget is still very crude and unpolitical but it is better than no budget and will be improved with time.

A further step has been the rigid enforcement of written reports from all subcommittees of the district. This rule will gradually be extended to include all language fractions and nuclei.

To conclude we see progress has been made:

- 1) In the building up a strong collective center theoretically developing and knowing all phases of the Party.
- 2) In completing the reorganization of the Party.
- 3) In building up the nuclei and developing functionaries.

## Ohio Nuclei in Large Factories

THE Ohio District has a total number of 23 shop nuclei with about 160 members. The rest of the membership is organized in street nuclei. The objective conditions for work are quite favorable, and all of the nuclei are in large plants as follows:

CLEVELAND		
Plant	Number of workers	Number of members
Steel .....	3,000	10
Metal .....	2,000	4
Automobile ....	4,000	8
Automobile ....	1,500	3
Textile .....	5,000	4
AKRON		
Rubber .....	12,000	5
" .....	10,000	10
" .....	8,000	5
" .....	1,500	7
YOUNGSTOWN		
Steel .....	5,000	6
Metal .....	8,000	17
WARREN		
Steel .....	1,500	4
" .....	5,000	17
" .....	5,000	11
" .....	700	4
" .....	2,000	3
MINE UNITS		
A .....	350	6
B .....	500	3
C .....	700	8
D .....	400	4

The total number of workers in the plants where the factory nuclei are organized exclusive of the mining nuclei is over 80,000 or an average of over 4,000 per factory. The average size of the shop nuclei is 7.

There are published in all eight Factory Bulletins with a total circulation of about 12,250 as follows:

McKinney Steel .....	1,000
Fisher Body (Auto).....	1,500
White Motor .....	750
Cleveland Worsted .....	1,000
Firestone Rubber .....	3,000
Penn. R. R. ....	200
Republic Steel .....	1,500
Trumbull Steel .....	1,500

The factory nuclei thru their everyday activity have developed a great deal of influence but have not yet learned the art of recruiting new members to the nuclei. Most of the comrades are foreign born. The various cities outside of Cleveland have not a sufficiently strong organization to be able to pay the necessary attention to the work of the factory nuclei and the District Committee also is only able to send representative from time to time.

The National Organization Department must help in "colonizing" a number of capable and English-speaking comrades in the above-mentioned plants. If we had such a comrade he could activate the work of each of the nuclei we could increase our influence tremendously and we could undertake big things in the field of organizing the unorganized. We could with proper tactics recruit many new members into these shop nuclei.

We are developing shop committees in some of these plants, and the prospects for work are very good.

While there are thousands of important plants thruout the country where we have no members at all that we must penetrate, we feel that if we can spare any forces from such cities as New York, they should be "colonized" in those factories where we have nuclei that are inactive and the work that we can do will become known to the workers thruout the country in the respective industries and make it easier to penetrate those factories with which we have no contact today.

Comrades who are willing to do this important work can find jobs providing they will not merely visit



the plant once and decide that they cannot secure a job. Persistent effort, day after day, will enable many of the comrades to get inside of these large factories.

The comrades who secure jobs

must not merely be visitors but must make up their minds to stay for a long time. For if a comrade comes in and begins work and a few weeks later leaves his job, this only serves to demoralize the local comrades.

## Party Work and Accountability

By JAMES P. CANNON

AT the recent Party membership meeting in Philadelphia one of the comrades drew attention to the failure of many Party members to render accounts to the respective Party committees on the execution of the work assigned to them, and asked how this condition could be remedied. This is a timely question and one deserving consideration by the Party. The February Plenum of the Central Committee estimated the sharpening economic situation and foresaw a period of increasing and expanding struggles of the workers. With the perspective before us, the problem of the tightening of the Party machine and strengthening its capacity to shape and guide these struggles acquired a particular importance.

It is a well known fact that Bolshevism clashes with reformism on organization questions no less decisively than on points of general politics. The looseness, laxity, and general flabbiness which characterized all shades of opportunism in the realm of organization is alien to the Communist Party. Lenin would never tolerate the idea that Party membership could be enjoyed by do-as-you-please people who took no part in the general work and activity of themselves to the Party Committees. It was over a section in the Party constitution dealing precisely with this

quotation that the formal break between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks took place in 1903. The difference today on these questions are no less marked.

The old socialist parties, and all reformist organizations generally, are characterized by an active bureaucracy and a passive membership. The "business" of the organization is attended to by a small group of officials while the participation of the masses of the membership is largely formal and financial. It is obvious that this method and form of organization is not suitable for serious struggles in which the mass power of the workers must play the decisive role. Of course, this is not a defect in the eyes of the opportunists since it is not their policy to struggle against capitalism but to adapt themselves to it.

The Communist Party which organizes the proletarian vanguard for the revolutionary struggle breaks with all these conceptions of organization and carries on a continuous struggle to extirpate their remnants from its ranks. Such a Party must know its forces and be able to estimate correctly their capacities and mobilize them for action. The assignment of definite tasks to every party member and the construction of a whole net-work of responsible committees to supervise and regulate

this work is the Communist organization principle.

This leads to the construction of a flexible but strong party apparatus interwoven with the entire mass of the party members and drawing them all into active party work.

Fierce fights over these conflicting organization principles took place in the Russian labor movement prior to the Revolution. The Mensheviks revived those theories of Lenin and attacked the Bolsheviks as "apparatus men" and "committee workers." But thanks to their superior apparatus, as well as to their general political program, the Bolsheviks were able to annihilate the capitalist regime and with it the Mensheviks. In good time the same result will be recorded in America.

It goes without saying that our Party, which is only gradually and painfully developing on the path of Bolshevism, suffers from the remnants of many old and false conceptions and practices, and the question propounded by the Philadelphia comrade draws attention to a common evil. A glaring disparity exists everywhere between the plans and decisions of the Party committees and their practical execution. Passivity and indifference hamper the movements of the Party everywhere like a growth of poison vines. This evil can never be completely eradicated. How to reduce it steadily and increasingly to the minimum is the problem.

This task has two sides. In the first place, especially now in the face

of impending struggles which will tax all the capacities of the Party, we should undertake a general tightening up of the Party apparatus. The Party committees and sub-committees must be galvanized into a more intense and better regulated activity and the practice of assigning specific work to Party members and checking up on its performance must become more thorough and systematic. The practice of reporting on work done by the party members to the respective committees must be insisted on until it becomes the general and accepted order of things. Every party member must be trained in the habit of accounting for his specific work.

This pressure from the apparatus alone, however, will not solve the problem. Hand in hand with it must go a thorough-going campaign of education on Communist organization principles, together with widespread enlightenment on the party policies which are given life only by the multiform practical activities of the party members, and the reasons for them.

The key to successful mobilization for collective work is the permeation of the party members with enthusiasm and conviction. A general campaign of education within the Party on these questions, reinforced by a proportional intensification of discipline and accounting, will go a long way toward solving the worst features of the present difficulties and equipping the Party to play a more influential part in the impending battles of the American workers.

## Stabilizing The Party Units

By BERT MILLER

TWO years have past since the Party has taken the first fundamental step toward its transformation into a real communist party, a party based in its organizational forms, upon the concrete needs of the class struggle as a whole, rather than the demands of electoral activity only. The language branches have been abolished and the Party has turned its face toward the shops.

The Party now faces the opportunity and the need for strengthening itself by the addition of fresh, militant forces into its ranks, in preparation for the severe struggles ahead. Hand in hand with a correct program and the most energetic advocacy thereof, our Party units must develop that firmness and stability of organization which will not only attract many new recruits to our ranks but hold them as well.

In this direction the Party has taken a distinct step forward with the inauguration of the "Know your field" campaign. To know the composition of the working class in the field, in which we are operating, to determine the various strategic points which furnish a more or less favorable opportunity for Party activity and approach, and to estimate to what extent the Party has exploited or failed to exploit its opportunities, is a cardinal prerequisite for correct Party organization.

The old story of the frog who tried to inflate himself to the size of an ox, furnishes a comparison not inapplicable to certain stages in the building of our Party units. For the Party unit to overestimate its resources and its frank limitations, to

bite off more than it can possibly digest, is to invite disillusionment among the Party members, and discouragement toward further activity. The Party unit must soberly estimate its resources, and on the basis of knowledge of its field, pick out those important tasks, perhaps very few and simple, which it can really tackle with some results. It is therefore necessary that every unit have a definite base of operations, a particular shop or building, a particular street or part of a street, with a definite character and particular problems of its own. Without such a base of operations, without a definitely outlined field of work, the unit loses its flesh and blood, loses its identity and personality and becomes instead a mere aggregation of names and faces.

With the realization of its tasks, concretely and definitely, the units must cease having merely an internal life. We must not merely meet to propagandize each other. The face of the unit should be turned toward the masses, to those simple tasks of mass work which it has chosen for accomplishment.

In this connection the question of mediums with which to reach the masses of workers, assumes paramount importance. It is for this reason that the membership campaign has been linked up correctly with the drive for more readers of the Daily Worker. It is for this reason that the unit must develop more initiative in the establishment of its own shop papers, wall papers, street papers and leaflets. The existence of a reliable machinery for the distribution and sale of leaflets and lit-

erature, hitting out again and again to the unit's chosen objective, reaching time and again a definite group of workers in a certain shop or street, this is an acid test of whether a unit has its face toward mass work or not. Another test is the existence of some type of forum, running all the way from the dignified meeting in a hall, to the informal, but none the less valuable discussion circle in a shop, street, lunchroom, or home. Finally the existence of a headquarters, of some kind or other, suitable to the resources of the unit and the workers we desire to reach, will test whether the unit meeting is just a stopover, at which comrades stay for a while on the way home, or whether it is a living, organic part of the life of the workers in a given shop or territory.

System and regularity in our work gives real prestige to the meeting of the unit, in the eyes of both the old and the new member. They are a necessary part of our campaign to build the Party. In this connection promptness in opening meetings, the arrangement of a definite and an in-

teresting order of business by the unit executive, the systematic check-up of dues, attendance and general activity, the establishment of unit discipline, gives the unit a certain authority and dignity, which is a distinct and necessary asset.

We should study with care the size of our unit. Is it so large that individual comrades are discouraged from active participation, and attendance? Does it have an absentee list of over 25 percent at meetings? Or is the unit so small, that it lacks political leadership and direction, the outward dignity of a real unit of our Party? Adjustments made in this direction will help toward the stabilization of the Party unit.

There is no doubt that by giving renewed energy to the campaigns of the Party, the capitalizing of them to get new members and by tightening up the screws and bolts of the Party machinery to hold those we secure, the Party can take a real step forward in the direction of becoming a mass party, during the coming period of more intensive struggle.

## Concretizing Our Slogans

By CARL SKLAR

Section Six, District Eight, Chicago

**SLOGANS** raised by our Party dealing with inner organizational questions involve a special problem which requires the attention of every comrade responsible for any kind of organizational work. This is the problem of giving concrete application to such slogans, and developing the "mechanics" through which application of organizational slogans is made successful. Two examples will suffice for purpose of illustration:

At the February 4th plenum of the C.E.C. two organizational slogans were emphasized:

1) Politicalize the life of the nuclei,

2) Strengthen the Party apparatus.

Some experience has been had in certain Party sections which helps in the successful application of these slogans. In a particular section we have in mind the Section Executive Committee had for some time issued

instructions to units to cut down the business part of the nucleus meetings and to increase the time allotted to educational and agitational work. This instruction, however, did not bring satisfactory results. Although the problem was emphasized in the eyes of the membership and while the will for better meetings was enhanced—the Section did not supply the units with the actual mechanics of applying the slogan.

The Party took a step in this direction in initiating the function of the Nucleus Executive Committees. But this step is not yet sufficiently developed. Attention must now be directed to the proper functioning of the Nucleus Executive Committees. Here is where the Section took an effective step towards the solution of this problem. It said to the Nucleus Executive Committees — "Exercise leadership. When you come to the nucleus meetings, have prepared propositions on every order of business. If there is a meeting to be arranged, do not leave such questions as admission, time, place, program, etc., open for discussion at the nucleus meeting. Have prepared proposals to meet all these technical requirements." All such can be submitted through a report of the Nucleus Executive Committee. The entire report can be made by the Nucleus Secretary. In nine cases out of ten a motion is made to accept the report of the N.E.C. and in this way the great bulk of technical questions usually taking up the time of the nucleus can be quickly disposed with. Sometimes a few minor changes or additions to the decisions of the N. E. C. are made. Some nucleus Executives appoint the chairman for the next meeting of the Nucleus thus further saving the time of the unit.

Those nuclei which took advantage

of the practical methods outlined above, reported very favorable results.

In regard to the second slogan—"Improve the Party Apparatus." A few effective suggestions on the part of the District Organizers to the Section Committees and other leading bodies will furnish the "mechanics" for the effective application of this slogan. One example will suffice.

Let us assume a Section of five units. Let us assume also that such a section has 15 functionaries. It may happen that one unit contains five good functionaries. The other four units may have functionaries of lesser capabilities. As a result of such a situation it will be found in most instances that the unit with good functionaries will function well—and units with poorer functionaries (assuming the character of the territory to be the same) will function on a much lower plane.

Under such circumstances it is the duty of the Section Committee to take stock of the forces at the disposal of the Section and to make recommendations to the nuclei for the most effective distribution of forces. The first task of the Section is to see to it, wherever possible, that each nucleus at least should have a good secretary. A good Secretary is the first prerequisite for a good unit and for proper response of the unit to the campaigns of the Party and Section and the proper connection between the units and the centre. Such attention to distribution of forces and especially as to secretaries is very often the secret of successful organization.

Many other similar examples can be given illustrating the necessity of greater attention to the actual mechanics of the application of our

slogans. The subject can not be enlarged upon in this article. Let us remember, however, to illustrate the point of this article in a large way that even in the case of such mighty

slogans as "Peace and Bread" Lenin furnished the masses with the means of applying such a slogan by developing the idea of the organization of the Soviets.

## Some Shop Paper Problems

By GERTRUDE HAESSLER

Head, Shop Paper Committee, New York District

**A**CCORDING to the experience of the Shop Paper Committee of District No. 2, there are six stages required in the development and continual maintenance of a shop paper.

- 1) Agitational—rousing the members to the importance of the work.
- 2) Organizational—starting the paper under the proper conditions.
- 3) Editorial—contents, proper balance, arrangement of material, etc.
- 4) Technical and financial—funds, technical form of the paper.
- 5) Distribution—by whom and how, combatting police, etc.
- 6) Follow-up work in the shop—capitalizing the effect, protecting the nucleus, making contacts, etc.

Of these, Point 4, the technical and financial, has been the biggest problem in District No. 2. Delay in getting out the paper after it is once made up has disastrous effects in many ways, which need not be recounted here. And yet, because the work is not properly financed, because the Organization Department, which is responsible for the technical end of this work, is already overburdened, because we must depend on casual volunteer help, the issue has been distributed in some cases as much as three weeks after the material was in.

By experimenting for over a year on the "Wright Propeller", the Committee has finally worked out a

smoothly-working apparatus, and certain basic rules to be more or less elastically applied in the matter of the technical getting out of the paper. Shall it be mimeographed, printed or multigraphed?

The "Propeller" started as a single mimeographed sheet—the stencilling and mimeographing being done by volunteers in the office. But this work requires such care in order that it is turned out in a readable and attractive form, that we had to abandon this method. The volunteer comrades, most of whom were green at the job, merrily turned the mimeograph 500 times without watching about inking, flaws, etc.—and the result was an almost unreadable mess. So, in our impetuous enthusiasm, we printed the second issue.

Printing is by far the most desirable, but when one considers that most of the shops in the New York District, where present possibilities of issuing a paper exist, are shops like the Wright Shop, with about 500 workers, a printing bill of somewhere between 25 and 30 dollars per month seems out of proportion. And the main point is—the money simply isn't available. We found that after dashing into print as a result of our enthusiasm, we couldn't keep it up month after month.

The "Propeller" has also been multigraphed, but we find that the cost is nearly the same as printing,

since it is her officially assigned Party work, executed under the direct supervision of the Organization Department, she gives the work the conscientious care and attention that it requires.

This now will apply to all other papers we will issue unless we have one in a shop with so many workers that mimeographing is impracticable. But if ever we are in a position to hit so large a shop, ways and means will also be found to get the necessary funds for printing the paper, for it will be worth the money.

Two issues of the "Propeller" and two of the "Mascot" have now been issued under this new system, and the result has been twofold—first of all a tremendous improvement over the appearance of the other issues, and secondly, the element of delay, which is so great a factor in affecting the effectiveness of the paper in the shop, has been nearly eliminated. The days of distributing a shop paper containing announcements of meet- and with the added difficulty of getting illustrations.

The final plan has been to come back to mimeographing, but with this difference—a systematized apparatus has been set up which supplies the necessary element of care and responsibility which we cannot expect from casual volunteer help.

A Party comrade who is a typist has been attached to the Shop Paper Committee for each paper—which means intensive work for her once a month to get out her particular paper. The dummy comes to her in perfect shape from the Editorial Committee—all she needs to do is to make the stencils according to the model and run them off. She is notified some days ahead of time when the dummy will be in her hands, and no time is lost. She becomes familiar with the paper itself, and

ing which have already taken place, or ignoring important events in the shop because they took place during the long interim after the material was in but before the paper was issued—now seem to be past history.

Under the the system, the paper is sprinkled full of illustrations and cartoons which liven it up. Much of the inspiration for this work has come from the British shop papers, which are practically all mimeographed, and which contain some very original and unique ideas.

A word about financing. Contributions are naturally solicited in the papers from the workers in the shop, but, although, some support through this means has been forthcoming, it will probably not be sufficient for a long time to come to warrant our basing our work upon it. The fairy god-father in Rochester, who appeared so mysteriously in connection with "The Kodak Worker", and deposited \$25.00 to cover the expense of printing the second issue, does not seem to visit New York, and even if he did, we could not depend regularly on such unexpected support

The Committee is about ready to tackle the job of finances, and, borrowing from the experience of the Chicago District, will recommend to the District that a special voluntary shop paper stamp of ten cents be sold to the comrades. This will have not only the tangible effect of getting some funds for the work, but also the general effect of rousing the interest of the comrades as a whole in this work. There seems to be plenty of comprehension as to the value and need for the work, but because thus far in this District it has been carried on by a few devoted comrades, working hard but individually, the work has not attracted the attention of the Party membership as a whole.

Everyone active in Party work

knows how difficult it is to get a newly-formed committee to function actively and cooperatively as a committee. This is a problem our committee is still facing, but more important still is the problem of making this very important work among the masses into general party work, which attracts the interest and support and active cooperation of the general membership.

As to the distribution of the paper—so far there has been no violent interference with our distribution. We have always been very careful that no comrade connected with the getting out of the paper has anything to do with its distribution, in order to protect our nucleus inside. Great credit must be given the Pioneers in Paterson for their courageous work in regularly distributing

the "Propeller" for over a year without being intimidated by company watchmen, plain-clothes men and police.

The problems in New York District with respect to shop papers are different from those in Detroit, Cleveland and Chicago, where enormous factories exist, with nuclei of from ten to twenty members in some of them. As long as we are restricted to the smaller shop in this District, we face these unique problems, and if other districts are deterred from developing shop-paper work because they can't afford printing and don't believe in mimeographing, or because the shops are small, perhaps the experiences of the New York District will be of some use to them in tackling this important phase of Party activity.

---

## What We Did for the Daily Worker in Connecticut

IT is surprising what amount of work one can do in the field for the Daily Worker. In a place like New Britain, Conn., where the Party membership is composed of only three active comrades, we went around on Sunday and secured 13 subs in one day's time. The comrades we approached were merely those that did not speak or understand English very well, but they had grown-up children, and their children were only too anxious to get something of the facts from the papers that their parents had read. Naturally, it was not very hard, in fact it was an easy matter to get thirteen subscribers to the Daily Worker from these workers.

Then in a place like Collinsville, with only three thousand inhabitants and two Party members. We secured 8 subscribers for the Daily Worker and four members for the Party.

And then from there we went to Stamford. Stamford has a very good Daily Worker agent and not much work can be done there for the Daily Worker, but still and all, by going around seeing new faces, especially the faces of women, has a great effect and great influence on outsiders especially, perhaps not Party members so much, but outsiders very much, and we made ten subscribers to the Daily Worker.

In Hartford, it was very hard because the comrades there didn't have very much time to do work, but still we secured 28 subs in about a week's time.

When we come into a place where the older people don't understand, read or write English, we try to get their children. If they're small we get them to read the Young Comrade, the Young Worker and then when



they're older, we get them to read the Daily Worker also.

It's a very easy task for a girl to go out and to do this work. They somehow listen to a girl much more than to men.

In Ansonia where the Party branch consisted of four comrades, the four comrades immediately subscribed for the Daily Worker, two out of the four not even being able to understand English and pledged to do as much as they can for "The Daily." Well, we went out and got eighteen subscribers in a small place like Ansonia, most of them Russians. We got in touch with the Weavers' Club, made good connections there among the Italians, and so on, a field that had never been touched before.

In New London, where the unemployment is very severe, we got 8 subscribers to the Daily Worker, dug up a comrade that had been the organizer for "The Workers Party" somewhere in Pa. He showed a charter from the Party that he had hidden away in his trunk in the cellar a number of years ago and, it was quite interesting to have a talk with him. He was very glad to have had the opportunity of getting somebody to see him from the Workers Party again, and join the Party again and has offered to do his utmost to build the Party up again.

All that's necessary in going out to see people, is to impress upon them the importance of having the only English workers' paper in their house, in order to see that their children get along and not drift away from the idea that their parents have had. It brings the importance of the workers' paper through the struggles of the workers, direct to the workers themselves.

The importance of getting the news of the workers' struggle and counteracting the news that we get in the capitalist press is mainly dwelt upon. The opportunity of having a complete set of books is also dwelt upon. We speak to them about the importance of workers reading books, reading of the struggles of the American labor movement in books and so on, and that also gets them. I would recommend that we get as many of the girl-comrades as we can and send them out to work for the Daily Worker. The comrades are only too eager to put them up for the night, give them food and give them all the minor expenses that they need and all that they really would have to use is the expense of the car fares and train fares in going from town to town and they can do lots of work for the Daily Worker outside that day.

ANNA HERBST.

## More Party Readers for The Daily Worker

**F**OR some comrades this slogan will appear as rather out of order. Since when does a Party paper have to canvass for readers among Party members? Is it practiced in any other country?—These questions will be asked by comrades who have not analyzed this situation.

Of course, this slogan would be

out of order in England, the U.S.S.R., France, Germany, etc. There every Party member is a reader of the Party official paper, because there practically are no language Party papers. But here in the U. S. every language bureau has its paper, weekly or daily. The greatest majority of our Party members are still filled with

the Federation ideology and are supporters of their language paper, while reading of the Daily Worker is only a secondary matter.

My contentions are based on the following facts: I checked up in my sub-section, and out of 150 members I found that 60% are reading the Freiheit only, 10 per cent reading the Freiheit and the Daily Worker, 25% the Daily Worker only, and 5 per cent the New York Times and other capitalist papers only, neither the Freiheit nor the Daily Worker.

The announcements that appear in the Daily Worker reach only the 35% of the party members who read the Daily and perhaps a few additional by accident. The unit organizers have to send out letters. So it is with the S. S. announcements. I am S. S. Organizer since re-organization, and I have never been able to get any response if letters were not sent out.

If every S. S. Organizer would check up his sub-section, he would find the same situation there.

The problem before us is: How can we make every party comrade a reader of the Daily Worker?

I would suggest the following method, which I will apply in my sub-section:

1. Agitation. The Daily Worker agent should make it his duty to agitate those that are not reading it, to ask the comrades what articles they have found there—very good ones and bad ones.

2. A rule should be established in all Party offices in New York that no meeting should be called by letters—through the Daily Worker only. If functionaries are called, have a roll call. Report to the units about those absent.

3. Have special Daily Worker meetings in the unit where comrades should discuss the Daily Worker editorials, articles, news items, etc. The 5% that are reading the capitalist papers only will soon adopt the habit of reading the Daily Worker also. Those reading the Freiheit only will also acquire the habit of looking over the Daily Worker every morning.

There are a thousand and one ways to enforce the reading of the Daily Worker, and every unit Daily Worker agent can have his way and method. Where there is a will there is a way.

J. L. COOPER.

Sub-Section Organizer 1A,  
New York

---

## What Americanization Means to Our Party

**A**LTHOUGH Americanization is one of the main problems of our Party, there exists a great deal of misunderstanding as to just what is meant by the term. We must do away with this misunderstanding as the first step in the solution of the problem.

To begin with we must remember that there was no Communist Party in United States in 1917. Yet in 1919 there appeared for the first

time a political party with a program demanding a Proletarian Dictatorship. Now what great event took place in America which called forth this new development in American political parties? The answer is that this great event did not occur in America but many thousands of miles away. It was the successful Proletarian Revolution in Russian which led to the formation of a Communist Party in America.

The principles and theories of the Communist Party were worked out by Lenin many years before the 1917 Revolution. And it was because the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin, applied and used these principles and theories in conducting the class struggle in Russia that their Revolution was a success.

The most advanced sections of the working class in every country saw in the Russian Revolution the only way to emancipation of the working class of their countries.

The task of the Workers (Communist) Party is the emancipation of the American working class. From Comrade Lenin we have received the theories upon which we base our strategy. The Bolsheviks have shown to us what can be done by apply-

ing this strategy to their country. Our main problem then, is the application of Leninism to America. That is what we mean by the Americanization of our Party.

The chief task in the Americanization of our Party is to win the leadership of the American working class. We will not be able to do this until we have rooted ourselves deeply in the workshops of the country, and this can only be done by the building a live, well distributed shop nuclei, by the building of a strong Daily Worker and a strong network of shop papers, by taking the lead in the organizing of the unorganized, in the campaign for a Labor Party, and in the fight against the war danger.

ARNOLD ZIEGLER.

**5,000,000 unemployed**  
in this country at the present time.

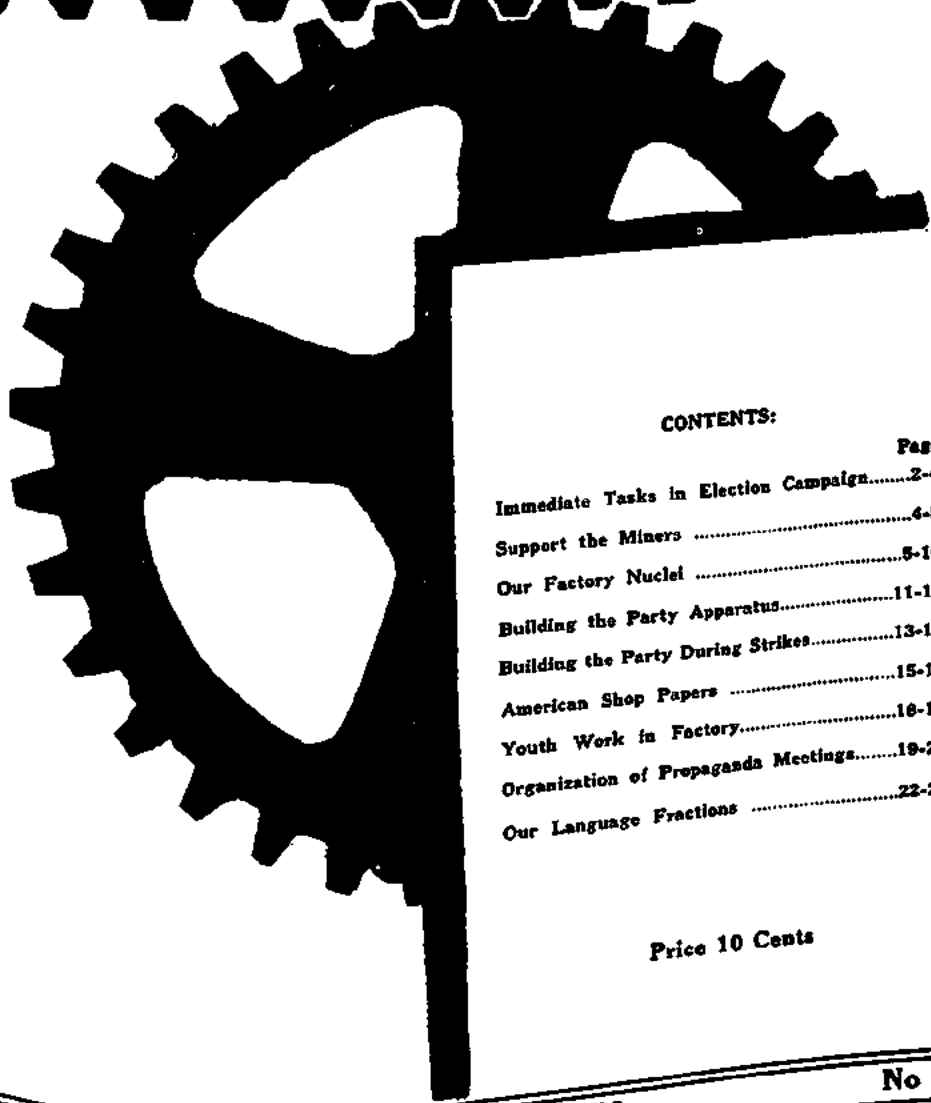
Organize a fight against unemployment!

**Distribute 500,000 leaflets**  
dealing with the cause of unemployment  
and how to fight it.

**50,000 leaflets distributed**  
and paid for by the Chicago District.  
How about your District, City, Section,  
Nucleus?

Order from your District at \$2 per thousand. Every nucleus must distribute  
a minimum of 1000 leaflets.

# THE PARTY ORGANIZER



## CONTENTS:

	Page
Immediate Tasks in Election Campaign.....	2-4
Support the Miners .....	4-5
Our Factory Nuclei .....	5-10
Building the Party Apparatus.....	11-13
Building the Party During Strikes.....	13-14
American Shop Papers .....	15-17
Youth Work in Factory.....	18-19
Organization of Propaganda Meetings.....	19-22
Our Language Fractions .....	22-24

Price 10 Cents

Vol. II.

MAY - JUNE, 1928

No 5-6

Published by  
WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA  
43 East 125th Street, New York City

## Immediate Tasks In the Election Campaign

**A**N excellent beginning for an effective election campaign has been made with the holding of the National Nominating Convention. It was a real convention in every sense of the word. A real Communist Convention. For the first time in the history of our Party there were 39 states represented. From Maine to Texas and from Massachusetts to California there came delegates. In all there were represented 300 regular delegates and close to 150 fraternal delegates representing labor unions, fraternal organizations and factories. Among the 150 fraternal delegates there were a large number on non-Party workers.

The fraternal delegates included representatives from the striking miners in Ohio, the striking textile workers in New Bedford, and from factories including Ford (Detroit), Winchester Arms, Wright Aeroplane, Bethlehem Steel, and many other important plants thruout the United States.

The fraternal delegates also included representatives of American colonies and Latin-American countries, among them from Mexico and Nicaragua.

Not only was the convention a truly national convention representative of all sections of the country but also representative of every section of the working class. There were represented a large number of Negroes, women, and young workers. There

were also present a number of working farmers from the South and Northwest as well as from New England.

The delegations included workers from all industries, miners, steel workers, railroad workers, building trades workers, textile workers, needle trades workers, printers, laborers, machinists, metal workers—in a word a truly representative convention of the American workers.

### Class Struggle The Keynote

The keynote of the whole convention was the class struggle. The entire proceedings beginning from the report of the credentials committee down to the closing session dealing with the ways and means committee report was considered in the light of the mobilization of the greatest possible number of workers for struggle. The unanimous adoption of the platform after a lengthy discussion provides the Party with a document that it can well feel proud of and can carry before the masses of workers and working farmers and ask them to rally to our Party for its support.

#### 1. Placing the Party on the Ballot

The most urgent task confronting us at the present moment is to place the Presidential ticket on the ballot in as many states as possible. That we will double the number of states the Party was on the ballot in the 1924 elections is almost a certainty. But that is not enough. We must exert every possible effort to get on in every state physically possible so that we will not disfranchise the workers whom we will convince thru

our agitation to support our program and our candidates.

We must not delay placing the Party on the ballot. We must proceed at once. We must not merely assign this task to some "specialist" and forget about it. The placing of the ticket on the ballot must be the concern of the entire District Executive Committee of every Party functionary and of every Party member.

The work of every District Organizer and every District Committee for the next period will be judged among other things in the light of their achievements in the election campaign. The first concrete task in the campaign is to place the Party ticket on the ballot.

The campaign to place the Party ticket on the ballot must be utilized to expose capitalist democracy and for the broadest propaganda for the platform of our Party.

## 2. Mobilize the Party

Every Party unit should hear a report on the National Nominating Convention. District Committees must tour the delegates to the Nominating Convention to the various cities and nuclei giving the Party membership a full report on the nature and achievements of the convention. Only if this is done will the Party be mobilized successfully for the election campaign.

In reporting on the Convention care must be taken that the Party position on the election is placed correctly before the membership. For example we must never fail to point out that our main task in this campaign is to mobilize the masses for a struggle against capitalism, and while putting forward our program of immediate demands we must not fail to connect them up with the final aims of the Party. A careful reading of

the platform before making the report will help to bring the Party position before the membership. At the same time we must urge every member to study the platform so that he can become an agitator and propagandist for the Party throughout the campaign. Party Units should organize discussion on the platform. The platform appeared in the Daily Worker on May 26th and will appear as finally amended, in pamphlet form soon.

## 3. State Conventions.

The Districts must hold State Conventions where none have been held as yet, for the adoption of a state platform and the nomination of state and local candidates. It would be a great mistake if our Party would limit itself to the nomination of Presidential candidates and a National Platform.

These state conventions must be organized on the broadest possible basis with fraternal delegates from factories, labor unions and workers' fraternal organizations. At these conventions like at the National Nominating Convention, we must have large representations of Negroes women and young workers.

## 4. Bring Campaign to Workers.

Mass meetings should be called as quickly as possible to hear the reports of the delegates to the National Nominating Convention. At these mass meetings the delegates should report on the nature of the convention, the representations, the platform, the candidates, etc. These mass meetings if properly organized will be a good start to bring the election campaign before the masses, will aid in placing the Party ticket on the ballot, and are a good means of getting our Presidential Nominations into the local capitalist press.

In the smaller cities where we have not the means to call large mass meetings we could arrange to give the reports to the nucleus at an open meeting inviting as many sympathizers as possible.

lets published must give ample space to the Election Campaign.

6. Not only must open air meetings be held on a more extensive scale everywhere, but factory gate meetings must be organized in as many places as possible.

5. All Shop Bulletins and leaf-

All literature, printed matter, shop bulletins, etc., must carry a special advertisement for the campaign:

For President

**WILLIAM Z. FOSTER**

For Vice-President

**BENJAMIN GITLOW**

Vote Communist

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<b>WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY</b>
-------------------------------------	-------------------------------------	----------------------------------

### Support the Miners!

**T**HE National Miners Relief Committee (Formerly the Pennsylvania-Ohio Committee) has sent out a call to all labor organizations for increased aid for the striking miners. The Lewis machine uses most of the funds it has on hand to pay the high salaried bureaucrats and to fight the rank-and-file of the miners. None of the miners who fight against the Lewis betrayal are given any relief. Such miners are even driven out of the barracks. Yet the rank and file of the miners continue to defy Lewis in greater numbers and are everywhere taking steps to take over the district, sub-district and local union machinery in their own hands. Lewis has already succeeded in crushing the once powerful U. M. W. of A. But the miners who have behind them many decades of the best traditions for struggle in the American labor movement, will build a new and powerful union on a national scale, uniting all miners in a struggle against the bosses and their agents, for the organization of the unorgan-

ized and for the realization of the demands betrayed by Lewis and other demands that are in the program of the Left-wing and Progressive miners.

We must mobilize the entire left wing and progressive movement throughout the country for the support of the striking miners. We must, over the heads of the bureaucrats, raise money from the rank and file in every local union and send it to the National Miners Relief Committee—as the only guarantee that we are actually helping the miners.

The great mass of the unorganized that form the overwhelming majority of our working class must be reached for miners relief thru relief committees organized in the shops, mills, etc. Our Party members everywhere must take the initiative in this work and stimulate the greatest activity for the relief of the miners. The miners are fighting the battle for the entire American working class, unorganized as well as organized. They must be given full support.

The language fraternal organizations, and fraternal organizations generally are a fertile field for the collection of miners relief.

All sections of the working class must be reached in this bitter and gigantic struggle. Youth and women's relief conferences, the mobiliza-

tion of the children in this work is a task we must set for ourselves. Where this has been done great results have already been achieved.

All money collected must go to the National Miners Relief Committee. If it is sent anywhere else it will be used against the miners.

## Our Factory Nuclei

By JACK STACHEL

NOTE: The article below is from the report of Comrade Stachel to the Organization Conference held May 28. In subsequent issues of the Party Organizer we will print the discussion, speeches and the concluding remarks of Comrade Stachel. The Org. Conference was attended by all District Organizers, the Org. Secretaries of the most important districts, representatives of other departments (women, agitprop, etc.), the National Field Organizer and a number of functionaries of the New York District, among them Section and Factory Nuclei Organizers. Comrade Amter, District Organizer of the Cleveland District, acted as chairman of the Conference.

**N**O more than 10 per cent of our Party membership at this time is organized in shop nuclei. The questions we must ask ourselves are: Why so few, are we making progress, are we going backwards, what are the problems, and the means with which so solve them?

Of course, when we first reorganized, we organized a large number of nuclei. How did we do it? Wherever we had two comrades in a shop, we added a third one and we had a shop nucleus. According to that, we had 200 shop nuclei in New York alone, which were not really shop nuclei. Where there were two comrades who happened to work in the same shop in which there were 10 or 15 workers employed, we organized shop nuclei thruout New York and other sections of the country.

At this time we have no more than 100 real shop nuclei thruout the country, with an approximate membership of 1500. In January, 1928, we had about the same number of shop nuclei with 11000 members. In May, 1927, we had 158 shop nuclei with 1524 members.

The districts where the bulk of our

nuclei are organized at this time are: Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Kansas. The industries are: mining, automobile, steel, rubber, metal industries, railway, textile, shoe, needle trades and packing houses.

In Pittsburgh at this time, there are 24 shop nuclei according to the latest report, covering the last four months, with 500 members in the district. In January they reported 22 nuclei with 168 members. In May, 1927, there were 510 members, 26 nuclei with 250 members. From May to January, there was a decrease and from January to May, 1928, an increase. The total membership is now over 800.

In Cleveland, May 1927, there were 496 members and 18 nuclei. In January, 1928, 528 members in district, 23 nuclei with 170 members. Today, there are 654 members, 25 nuclei with 200 members.

In Detroit, May, 1927, there were 600 members, 12 nuclei with 350 members. In January, there were about five hundred some members, with 215 in nuclei. In May, 1928,



700 members, 12 nuclei with 300 members.

In Chicago, May, 1927, there were 18 nuclei with 200 members and 1100 total members in district. In January, 1928, there were 9 nuclei with 150 members and 1100 members. Present report not received.

In the Kansas District there were in May, 1927, 9 nuclei with 68 members and a total membership of about 150. The present membership is 275 with 11 nuclei and 100 members.

In these five districts there are 1300 members in shop nuclei, with a total of approximately 85 shop nuclei. That means that the bulk of our shop nuclei and shop nuclei membership is in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit Chicago and Kansas Districts. As we see in all of these districts with the exception of Chicago (report not received) comparing May, 1928, with May, 1927, there is an increase in number of nuclei, the number of members in nuclei and accordingly an increase in membership. Pittsburgh, 500 to 800; Cleveland 496 to 654, Detroit, 600 to 700, and Kansas 150 to 275 members.

The membership figures given here include only those in good standing or no more than three months in arrears. The actual membership is much larger. Our experience shows that from 65 to 70 per cent of our membership is less than three months in arrears at any given time. Figuring on this basis our membership is, no doubt, even greater, if we take into account the general unemployment.

District 1: Not a single shop nucleus at the present time.

District 2: We had in May, 1927, 50 nuclei with 400 members. January, 1928, there were 14 nuclei with 200 members. May report not received. Very few actually function-

ing, less than 14 at this time; about 6 to 8 or so.

District 3: May, 1927, 550 members in district, 4 nuclei with 33 members. January, 1928, 2 nuclei with 18 members. May 1, 1928, 6 nuclei with 50 members, among them 3 mining nuclei in the anthracite.

District 4: 1 shop nucleus with 9 members, in a shoe factory; 150 total members, May, 1928.

District 9: 700 members and no shop nuclei at present time.

District 10: 11 shop nuclei with about 100 members.

District 12: January, 1928, there were 3 nuclei with 32 members, total membership of 580. May, 1927, there were 3 nuclei with 15 members. May 1928, report not yet received.

District 13: May, 1927, 439 members, 2 shop nuclei with 11 members. In January, 1928, there were 514 members, 6 shop, lumber and farm nuclei with 56 members.

District 15: No shop nuclei. Agricultural District: In May, 1927, there were a total of 109 members, 27 in 3 farm nuclei. Present membership is 125.

We see, therefore, on the whole the following: We see in May, 1927, 158 nuclei with 1524 members, averaging about 10; out of these we have 400 members in New York district. In January, 1928, there were about 100 shop nuclei with 1112 members and out of these there were 200 in New York. In May, 1928, there were 1500 members in nuclei with about 100 nuclei, 85 of which totaling 1300 members, being in districts 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10. In January, 1928, the average was 11, in May, the average is 15 for every shop nucleus.

We see an increase in districts 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10, and a falling off in the other districts, as per reports for May 1928, thus far received. We see a greater average number of members

in each nucleus. This tendency is good for our Party. It shows that while the increase is not great, while as a matter of fact in real numbers a decrease since May, 1927, yet the nuclei in districts 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10 form the bulk of nuclei, the actual membership is increasing to 15 average instead of 10, even though the actual membership is not so great. The nuclei are becoming more stabilized and the great bulk of them are in heavy industry and in very large plants. Excluding the mining nuclei that are in mines averaging 500 to 1500 workers, 90 per cent of the nuclei are in plants of 1000 workers or more, the average in the plants where our nuclei are located being 4000 workers. The total number of workers in all plants where we have shop nuclei is about 350,000.

On the other hand, this situation is quite unsatisfactory. In fact we can say it is the most important organization problem with which the very life of our Party as a Communist Party is bound up.

I will take up certain problems, economic and political which modify certain statements which I will now make, but the fact remains that we have no basic reason for so few nuclei in comparison with street nuclei, in spite of objective difficulties. In fact, there is no energetic and systematic effort on the part of the D. O's, district committees and organization secretaries in this work. No amount of excuses, no amount of explanations will alter the fact that this is a basic reason. We can have many more nuclei with many more members if our districts would give the proper and necessary attention to this phase of activity. This criticism remains first and foremost: only 10 per cent of our Party members in factory nuclei.

Of course, while I think the com-

rades will agree with me that we have sent on the average at least one letter a month to the districts telling them to increase factory activity, colonization, concentrating on a definite number of factories, directing them how to work in the formation of shop committees, etc., yet in spite of all these instructions, I want to say that the center has not given sufficient attention to this work. Insufficient personal attention was given by the C. E. C. Organization Department, altho good beginnings have been made thru the touring of Politbureau members to the various districts, for the purpose of stimulating organization work in connection with our mass campaigns.

Now I want to analyze from a political and economic point of view why we have so few shop nuclei organized; why since we have built many new nuclei, we have not increased the total membership of our nuclei, and the number of our nuclei.

#### Needle Trades Struggle

This no doubt affected our nuclei. Where were our nuclei in New York in the needle trades? In the large factories, naturally. We ourselves liquidated them in the small factories where we had originally formed them in plants of 10-20 workers. Now the question of registration conducted by the right wing. The right wing had control in the large factories. Who were the leaders against registration in these factories? Communists, with the result that most of our comrades after a short period were expelled from these registered factories. We are not here to discuss the problem of the policy toward this registration, but must take into consideration the effects of it. Dozens of our nuclei in the garment industry were liquidated and our comrades driven to look for work in small plants.

### Shoe Industry

During the later part of 1926 and 1927, we succeeded in a period of a few months to build up 12 nuclei in Brooklyn with 150 members. Only 5 per cent of the members were not in shop nuclei, while 95 per cent were in shop nuclei. Our Comrades built the union, the Shoe Workers Protective Union. The union had nothing practically when we began to work. Our comrades built up that work, established contacts, went into factories and in a few months took 150 members in Brooklyn shoe factories into the Party. Many strikes, injunctions, fights took place. The union was attacked also by the International officials. Heavy defeats took place. Our comrades were leaders in all these struggles and were the first to be victimized.

### Food Industry

In the food industry we had 100 members in nuclei. We had one nucleus with 27 members in a large place employing a number of hundreds of workers. The union was under our leadership with thousands of members in its ranks. Today there are not more than 600 members. You can realize what that meant; a strike was lost, many shops lost. In this process many of our comrades, the leaders of the union, were driven out of the shops, blacklisted in the larger shops. The large shops are in a position where they can use the black list most effectively and, of course, only in these large plants could we build our nuclei. There must also be mentioned here that the industry in this period saw a feverish merger which, naturally, made it more difficult for the union to resist, and more easy for the employers to carry out their blackest policy.

The bulk of the nuclei in New York were in needle, shoe and food industries.

### Mining Industry

Between January, 1927 and 1928, two great factors in the mining industry were: unemployment and the strike in the bituminous fields. This drove many of our comrades into other regions; many comrades left the coal fields for other fields. This also affected our nuclei. Of course, had we paid greater attention, the loss would not have been so great.

Many of our nuclei at the beginning were established through colonization. Districts in selecting comrades to colonize factories, chose those comrades who were habitually unemployed. This was not the best thing to do. They took the line of least resistance, and this is not the element to depend upon. We sent some of them in. They stirred up things for a few weeks, they left, and things collapsed. We must increase our colonization work a hundred-fold but must choose reliable comrades.

We established many nuclei and these nuclei engaged in open struggle prematurely, and some were dissolved and destroyed because we did not have the necessary experience to carry on our work and reduce victimization to a minimum. The question is, are we going to learn from these mistakes or are we going to repeat them?

Then, we must not forget the first general unemployment since the reorganization. In most districts, our comrades were affected heavily.

Now, mistakes that are not excusable: Too much eagerness to dissolve nuclei which did not function, and a practice of combining them. We always warned against that.

We had many changes in the districts, and after a change, less nuclei were reported. Some new districts organizers are too eager to say that they do not have very many, and

to start with a clean slate. This question must be borne in mind for the future. When a nucleus does not function, do not dissolve it. Your job is to make it function.

#### Language Difficulties

In the anthracite, we have one mine nucleus of South Slavs, one of Lithuanians. The comrades limit their work to the fraternal organization, and do not work sufficiently in the mines. Many times the nucleus is dissolved because the comrades are of one language only and claim that they cannot conduct the mass work. We must overcome this through colonization and other means. Our DEC's do not pay any considerable attention to organization questions. Wherever there is an organization secretary, they feel that they should let him worry about it. In the future, this must be remedied. The proposals of the CI Org. Dept. on this question were very helpful but not carried out sufficiently.

Districts must pay more attention to organization problems, placing it on the agenda of the leading committee. (Polcom. Secretariat.)

#### Build Up the Organization Department as a Real Functioning Department.

You must now systematically, as you have been instructed in the past, choose a number of factories in large scale industry, consider the question of colonization, and then draw the comrades from light to heavy industries; follow up, give them instructions, see that units are formed, and give attention, guidance and direction. D. E. C. members must be given jobs to see that the nuclei function. The functioning of the units must be given the greatest attention. The C. I. org. dept. letter to our Party, printed in the first issue of the

Party Organizer, must again be studied by our functionaries and made plain to every Party member. The analysis as to the reasons for the large turnover contained in the Dec. 1927, issue of the Party Organizer must also be studied and the suggestions made carried out.

#### Shop Papers

Today we have 27 shop papers. From May to August, 1927, 25 shop papers with 58,000 circulation were recorded.

There were a number of mistakes. In one instance, instead of 200 to 300, the printer said 2,000 to 3,000. The Ford Worker had 20,000 copies at one time, according to the report. A report made to the Profintern only recently read 40,000 and this report was circulated thruout the country. This is not to the credit to our Party. A report is made that 40,000 copies of the Ford Worker was circulated, when not even 20,000 copies were circulated. Once only, two separate issues of 10,000 each came out in one month. Not all were distributed. A report I received immediately after the convention said: In October and November 1927, less than 5,000 were circulated, but of course, there was unemployment at that time. There never was a 20,000 circulation. We do not want such reports. These do not bring our Party any credit but demoralizes our Party. After the convention, we found that we had 15 papers with about 25,000 to 30,000 circulation. Since January 1928, we have again succeeded in bringing the number up to 27, established one additional bulletin in District 1, in textile plant, one in New York, in the Rolls Royce auto plant in Long Island, one in the Philadelphia district; Bethlehem Steel, one in Rochester; Kodak; one bulletin in Detroit: Buick plant, one additional in Cleveland, two additional in Chicago. One

paper has been revived in district 10, in a packing industry and one new paper in district 15 at the Winchester Arms, and one in California (railroad). Some new bulletins have been issued only two or three times, and we must give a great deal of attention to see that they continue. The 27 papers issued at the present time have a circulation of about 40,000, the Ford Worker circulation being only 6,000.

A few words on shop papers from the point of view of contents. Our shop papers did not have any political contents. At first they were very bad. It was always said that they were so that we could not distinguish them from trade-union papers. There was a marked tendency to make them trade-union papers. There was a tendency not even to print the name of Communist, but to state, "printed by workers in X factory". Every bulletin today says "Communist nucleus" of etc. Originally they said nothing about political problems; today they discuss politics. In this sense we have made progress. But there are two things to be overcome in this respect. One—our bulletins are still full of many theoretical errors, and very often fail to connect up the immediate demands with our final aims and (2)—the political problems are treated in such a manner that they appear completely divorced from the problems of the workers in the factories, where the shop bulletin is published. Both of these problems must be given the greatest attention. Also, the bulletins do not advertise the Party sufficiently; some do not advertise the Daily Worker, and the bulletins very seldom take up any international question of vital importance to American workers as well as workers over the entire world. They do not even talk sufficiently about the Soviet Union. They

could compare the life of the workers in the Soviet Union and that of the workers in the United States employed in the same industries. This is not being done but should be done at once. They should also bear upon the larger aspects of the Soviet Union.

To sum up, we have made progress away from the purely trade-union paper by devoting attention to political problems. We must now complete the process by attaining the higher form, namely the correct Communist treatment of political problems and their organic tying up with the factory problems.

Some of our papers are too good and some are too poor.

When the bulletins are too good, the workers wonder where we get the money to publish them; when they are too poor, the workers ask how they are expected to read them. While in many instances distribution must be mainly from the outside by comrades who do not work in the factory as they will not expose themselves, yet at every factory a certain amount can be distributed inside. This is not being done in many instances.

#### "THE ORGANIZATION OF A WORLD PARTY", by O. Piatnitsky.

This pamphlet written by the head of the Organization Department of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, reviews the status of the various Communist Parties in the field of organization work. Comrade Piatnitsky also mentions in many places the work of our Party.

This pamphlet contains an abundance of material giving the experiences of our brother-parties, that will be of great aid to us. An analysis of the defects in organization work in other parties—defects from which we suffer even to a larger extent—with valuable suggestions how to overcome them, will prove very beneficial to us and should be studied by every functionary.

The price of this pamphlet is 20 cents. Order from Workers Library Publishers or thru your District.

## Building the Party Apparatus

By M. JENKS

WE are a Party of revolutionary action. We aim to build a fighting, centralized political organization of the proletariat. In our continuous fight against capitalism, which is decaying, but madly resisting that decadence, it is absolutely necessary that the Party be flexible and show unanimity of action; that the Party apparatus work accurately, smoothly without itches.

"Let us take the army of today," wrote Lenin, "here is an excellent example of organization. And good is this organization only because it is flexible and at the time being able to unite millions of people and make them act according to one will. Today these millions may be sitting in their homes in the various parts of the country; tomorrow at a call for mobilization, they would immediately gather at a designated point." This is what we call organization. "When for sake of one aim, inspired by one will, millions of people change the form of their relations and actions, change place and forms of activity, change the means and instruments according to the changed conditions and needs of struggles."

Who of the conscious proletarian revolutionists will deny that exactly such an organization, centralized, disciplined and flexible, must serve as an example in the struggle of the working class against their class-enemies. But every one knows that in order to set into motion unorganized masses of workers and to inspire them (give) with one will, there must exist a corresponding, well functioning apparatus. In this respect, we must say that our Party attaches great importance to the necessity of

organizing a well functioning apparatus, in all Party organizations without exception, beginning with the nucleus to the C.E.C.

In this article we merely want to touch the question of the Party apparatus in the various districts since the material on hand in the C.E.C. shows that there is much confusion on the question.

The first question before us: "How many and which departments must the apparatus of each district consist of?" If we are not mistaken, the Central Committee has already given some instructive suggestions on this question. We are, however, repeating that there should be four functioning departments covering the basic fields of Party activity, organizational, agitprop, work among women and trade union department. (If territory of the district is an agricultural territory, then it is necessary to organize an agricultural department.)

What is the purpose of departmentalization? It is clear that they are organized for the purpose of better carrying out of party work. When the entire Party work is subdivided into various departments, each department has the possibility to better acquaint themselves with their specific problems and as a result of this, the general productivity is greatly increased.

What is the situation at the present time? In the various districts, we find many departments, such as, the I. L. D., Anti-Imperialist, Political, etc. In other districts, however, such important department as the organizational and agitprop do not exist. District, 12 for instance, reports that the org-department functions from

time to time, while District 15 not informing us of the functions of the org-department tells us about the assignments of the members of the District Committee to the above mentioned committees (I. L. D., etc.) and the regular attendance of the District Organizer of the meetings of the various units; generally there is much confusion.

We believe that the District Committees with a great number of organized "departments" as in these, where there are few "departments", the Party apparatus is built up very poorly and as a consequence, either functions poorly or exists only on paper. Such a situation was created because the comrades in the various districts did not understand sufficiently the basic principle of departmentalization, their tasks and methods of work and confuse departments with various temporary or more or less permanent commissions and committees.

The District Committee is elected at the conference with a definite number of members, for the practical carrying out of the work. The committee selects a limited number of members (Buro or Secretariat) and organizes its machinery in the form of important and permanent departments so that every member of the secretariat represents an important department, all make up the district apparatus thru which the entire work of the Party is carried out. The committee appoints one comrade from each department as the head of the department, but there are also exceptions. When appointing heads of departments, it is necessary to see to it that the comrade be capable, responsible, authoritative and will carry out the work entrusted him in a way most beneficial to the Party. The comrades are under the impression that a department is a group

of comrades who were selected for the purpose of studying and working out policies for their particular department. This is incorrect. Such a group of comrades do not represent a part of the Party apparatus, but are only an advisory board attached to the various departments without administrative functions. Usually such a committee is composed of representatives of other departments and proletarian mass organizations. This is correct. And this must be done so as to have a better understanding of the work before them, that there be unanimity not only in the formulation of policies but also in carrying them out. However, it must not be forgotten that the decisions of such committees (commissions) must be brought for final approval to the secretariat or even the plenum of the District Committee, depending on the importance of the question on which decisions were made.

We have already mentioned above that the apparatus of some districts consist of such departments as I. L. D., Anti-Imperialist, Propaganda, etc.

Is it necessary to organize such departments as part of the Party apparatus? Of course there is no necessity for it. What is the I. L. D.? This is mass, non-Party organization, having certain definite aims. Members of our Party compose a considerable part of the membership, therefore, in all I. L. D. organizations throughout the country the Communists, members of the I. L. D. must organize fractions. Thru these fractions the Party carries on its work. Communists are not only members of the I. L. D., but they are also elected into the leading committees. Therefore, if certain questions arise these questions are brought to the local Party Committee and it is sent

to the corresponding department according to the character of the question (organizational to the Organizational Department, agitational to the Agitprop, etc.) And if the question is of special importance, it is brought before the entire District Committee. The same is true about all other mass, non-Party organizations. Exceptions are made in the case of trade union work, but for this there are special reasons in the United States.

The stage, in which the Party work finds itself at present, necessitates the existence of four permanently functioning departments in the apparatus of the Districts. If, however, the organization is large, and has sufficient finances, if the budget permits paid department heads and technical workers, this should be done. But in this given case, under the phrase, "permanently functioning department" must be understood the systematic realization of all Party work.

If the comrades appointed as the heads of departments, and also their assistants cannot, because of circumstances, do Party work during the day, they must do it evenings, but it should be done systematically and consistently. Communists must never forget the words of Lenin about the necessity to prepare workers who are ready to give their lives for the revolution, to become professional, most devoted revolutionists in the ranks of the Comintern.

Referring to all above said, we are suggesting to the various District Committees that they begin to build their apparatus and machinery. That they see to it that the functions of the various departments are correctly and carefully subdivided according to the already given instructions, considering as one of the most important departments the org-department. However, about the org-department, its functions, methods of work, etc., we will endeavor to give more information in another article.

## Building the Party during Strikes

By A. JAKIRA  
District Organizer,  
Pittsburgh District

**NOTE:** This article was written early in April. During the balance of the month of April and the first two weeks in May over 400 additional miners joined the Party in the Pittsburgh District alone. Many new mine nuclei were formed, some of them with 40 and more members.

This same situation can be repeated in the Ohio, Illinois and the other mining sections. Beginnings have already been made

in these districts.

A big task before us is to draw the new members into activity, give them the necessary training, help the units in their work so that we can keep the new members in our Party.

It is evident that Comrade Jakira not only recognized the errors in our organization work but corrected them.

Editor.

**O**UR Party has for the last few years taken an active part in a number of strikes involving large masses of workers. Some of these strikes were led by the Communists. In these strikes the party gained many sympathizers. The organization benefits for the Party, however, were in most cases insignificant.

Passaic is one instance. The present great coal strike is another.

### The Muiers' Strike

Let us examine the present coal strike. Let us take the Pittsburgh District, where the strike situation is most acute and where our Party is playing not a secondary role. The miners have been out on strike for



over a year, a year of starvation and constant conflicts with the police. They have learned a lesson during this period. Our Party has firmly established its influence among the strikers and among the unorganized miners. We have gained many sympathizers. Yet we have failed to increase the membership of the Party in this district, and in the mining region we have even suffered a decline in membership.

#### Where Lies the Fault?

It is not the fault of the miners that the Party has not grown in size in the strike region during this favorable period. It is true that many of our members migrated during this period, and some of the nuclei disbanded because of the shut-down of the mines. But we have not utilized the situation to recruit new members and to build new Party units. It was the fault entirely of the leading Party committees. The fault lies with the wrong methods of work followed by the Party as a whole, not to mention the fact that some comrades still hold the opinion that the Party cannot be built during a strike.

#### Some Facts

An experiment carried on by the Party in the Pittsburgh District shows that we must correct our wrong methods of work. During the month of January we decided that steps must be taken to "build the Party". A field organizer was assigned to cover the strike region for the Party. The results were: several new mine nuclei, new members for the existing mine units. Fifty new members joined the Party during that month in the mine region.

During the months of February and March we have again forgotten that there is a Party to be built. The leading Party committees, the active members, the organizers were all busy

with a dozen and one things pertaining to the strike, to the State Labor Party, etc. The organization work was miserably neglected during this period. The results were disastrous for the Party. A halt in the campaign for new members, no new units organized, a drop in the dues collections, a general weakening of the units.

The March dues report sound the alarm. We again got busy in "Building the Party." Within a few days several new units were organized and many new members joined the Party. There is hardly a mining town where a nucleus of the Party can not be organized at present, if an effort was really made.

#### Pittsburgh Not an Exception

What is said about the Pittsburgh District, I am sure, applies equally to all other districts and to all other struggles of the workers in which our Party is taking an active part. It is necessary to examine the facts and to take the necessary steps to correct a mistake in the methods of work. It is but natural that there is always a tendency to neglect the organizational tasks of the Party when all the available forces are needed in the struggle. But this tendency must be resisted by the Party with all the means at its disposal, if the Party—the basis of the struggle—is not to be liquidated. It is not enough to agree in "principle" that the Party must be built during a strike. The leading Party committees and the organizers must provide the organizational machinery necessary for the strengthening and building the Party while the struggle is on, while the workers are in a position to see the Party in action. The watchword—"Build the Party while the struggle is on" must be borne in mind by all the leading Party committees, by all Party members.

# American Shop Papers

By EUGEN PAUL

**T**HE American shop papers make an excellent impression. (Many of them are already appearing in their second year of publication.) Their number and their content testify to the great initiative and to the healthy proletarian instinct of the American workers, who have been able to produce a series of good shop papers and to mould them into fighting organs of the workers in the shop.

The greatest merit of the American shop papers is that they are evidently deeply rooted of the life of the shop and are dedicated to the struggles in the shop. In addition to the other material contained in them, the numerous letters from workers (workers' correspondence) speak out clearly in this respect. We should mention here first of all *The Ford Worker*, which has been appearing twice weekly for a year and which is carrying on the fight against "Fordism" in an excellent manner—the fight against the legend that Ford exploits his workers less than the other capitalists. An article entitled "The golden-hearted Mr. Ford" in the issue of July 15, 1927, calls attention to a declaration by Ford that his wealth has not been obtained by "down-trodden, underpaid, bloodsweated labor", and goes on to explain:

"Oh, no, this is not bloodsweated, this is just ordinary business methods. Down with this brutal capitalist system! Up with a Communist System, that will give the worker all he produces."

With regard to shop condition the American shop papers devote in general a great deal of space to rationalization. Not only in *The Ford Worker*, in which the search for an ever newer and "better model" and the fact that this results in the conditions of the

Ford workers becoming continually worse is ably and fully treated, but also in many others shop papers in connection with the progressing rationalization there is contrasted in a most effective manner the lowering of the workers' wages and the growing profits of the bosses. A good example of this and of the way the social phase of the matter is brought out is the September 1927 number of *The Wright Propeller*, which points out that the Wright Company got \$100,000 more profits in the decrease than in the same period of the previous year. Among other things it states:

"It's our job to smash that system some day, and we might as well get ready to do it, and establish a system like in Russia, where it is written into the constitution that 'only those who work may eat.'"

Many of the shop papers well understand how, in the fight with their own particular bosses, to bring out the general class standpoint. Number 2 of *The Chrysler Worker* deals, for example, with the booklet issued by this firm which speaks about the "Chrysler family", to which the workers of this firm are also supposed to belong. In an article entitled "The Chrysler Family??" appears the following:

"We workers are a class separate and distinct from the bosses, and we can look after our interests as a class organizing ourselves into a union."

In the October number of "The Harvester Worker" there appeared an article in favor of the transformation of the general Industrial Council, composed of representatives of the bosses and of the workers, into a "genuine workers' Shop Committee of workers alone."

Likewise an article—The "Americanism" of the profiteers should be Restored—which appeared in The Ford Worker of July 15th, is an example of the fostering of class-consciousness in the American shop papers.

The idea of the proletarian United Front is in general correctly portrayed, although most certainly too little attention is devoted to the foreign-born and Negro workers. Even in this regard there are noteworthy exceptions. In the aforementioned Harvester Worker the same wages are demanded for the Negro workers in the plants as for the white workers. In November 4-5 of The Dodge Worker it is correctly pointed out, in comparing the wholesale deportation of foreign-born workers in America with the expulsion of the "foreigners" from China, that in China foreign capitalists are being driven out (during period of Red Canton.—Ed.), while in America it is a matter of foreign-born proletarians.

When a worker correspondent expresses a false conception—as, for example, in The Ford Worker of January 1, 1928, when a worker took a stand against the employment of foreign-born workers by Ford—the editor inserts a footnote in correction. It would be advisable, however, to fight systematically and in the sharpest manner against these manifestations of "patriotism" which emanate from the ideology of the labor aristocracy, and especially to do everything to encourage class solidarity between the white and Negro workers.

The agitation for a Labor Party is in general given much attention. Scarcely a single number fails to point out the necessity of the workers forming a Labor Party of their own. Also they do not fail to point out that factory committees should

be formed for the purpose of intensifying the struggle. Articles, urging solidarity with revolutionary workers in China and requesting collections for the Colorado strikers, are quite numerous.

The methods of agitation employed are often very effective. An item entitled "The Whistle" in The Chrysler Worker No. 1, states: "The whistle in the Chrysler plant is a shrill reminder to us that we are slaves." "\$9,016,245 and the Whistle" is the title of the subsequent item, which points out the connection between the whistle and the gigantic profits of the company.

Agitation in favor of the Soviet Union is met with fairly often in the American shop papers. In the feature column of The Ford Worker: "Get the Point," which consists of short, snappy remarks, mention is made of the Soviet Union in almost every number. The Steel Worker sets forth, for example, that whereas in America the unemployed are threatened with starvation, in Russia they are adequately cared for. The Hudson Worker—No. 9 states, in connection with the meager provisions for vacations in America, that "it couldn't happen in Russia."

The style and technical make-up of the American shop papers are on the whole good. For the most part short articles and items, workers' correspondence, etc. are published; long articles are rare exceptions. Clever cartoons, which always bear close relation to the life in the shop, are given particular prominence.

The greatest shortcoming of the American shop papers is that the political character of their struggle is for the most part only inadequately expressed. The demand for a Labor Party is almost the only internal political subject discussed, and this demand is generally stated too

abstractly without connection with current political events. The latter are given almost no consideration in the shop papers. The excellent article "Hammer and Sickle" in Number 1 of *The Chrysler Worker* is one of the few exceptions. It declares:

"The Workers Party is the political party of the workers in this country. On November 2nd, when you vote, you will have a choice between the Republican and Democratic parties on the one hand, representing the interests of the Chryslers and of the capitalists, and on the other hand you can and we urge you to vote for a worker for governor. . . ."

In general a great deal of attention is devoted to the trade-union movement, but even that is too little in view of the great number of unorganized workers. It is true that attention is drawn—and quite correctly—in every shop paper to the importance of the organization of the workers in trade unions, but the carrying on of the struggle against the reformist trade-union leaders is still often neglected. This struggle must henceforth be waged much more sharply than hitherto. This struggle for the revolutionizing of the trade-union movement should be carried on in connection with the struggle for a revolutionary, political class party of the proletariat, and it should always be pointed out how important it is that such a class party exert a real influence on the trade-union movement, on the "economic" struggles of the working class.

While there are examples of the correct exposition of the social character of the shop problems under discussion, it must still be said that in general the American shop papers still isolate these shop problems to a great extent from the problems of general politics and of the general class struggle and often still give a more personal note to their struggle. The struggle against the war

danger is in general neglected and also not always carried on correctly. In *The Wright Propeller*, it is true, a very good article sets forth facts from the firm's business itself proving that a new war is being prepared (gradual militarization of the methods of work, gigantic increase of orders, expansion of the business, etc.); the proposed measures of resistance were limited, however, to the slogan: Build strong trade unions and stage demonstrations against the war danger!

A fundamental error is the lack of a correct relation between the shop papers and party work. The American shop papers are based on the policies of the Workers (Communist) Party, active, driving, recruiting forces of the Party. They are not yet fully conscious of this organizational and propaganda role. They do not yet understand sufficiently how to make propaganda for the distinctly Communist methods of struggle and tasks of the Workers Party and how to win the workers in this manner for the Party and the Party press.

This enumeration of the most important merits and defects of the American shop papers at least makes clear in which direction improvement lies. In order to do away with the existent defects, it will be necessary first of all to establish a much closer connection between the shop papers and the Party. It will thereby be possible to rid the shop papers, which correctly place shop problems in the foreground, of their present too one-sided shop character and to place them consciously in the service of the great, general political class struggle of the whole working class of America. The present development of the American shop papers in any case holds out most promising prospects for the future.

# Youth Work in Factory

By NAT KAPLAN

**S**INCE the last convention the main errors which the Y.W.L. made in shop nucleus work have been completely liquidated. Instead of a mechanical national reorganization without any basis, we set ourselves the elementary tasks of shop nucleus work. It is undeniable, however, that our past errors in this work, plus the objective difficulties (spies, shifting of youth from one job to another, etc.), has resulted in a certain let-up in factory activity and the building of shop nuclei.

As a means of overcoming this hesitancy the N. E. C. plans to hold a series of district and city org-conferences on shop nucleus work throughout the country. These conferences will be the means of again orientating the entire league towards shop nucleus work, would supply us with material for an ideological campaign on the work and would serve as the means whereby the districts can draw up a detailed plan for shop nucleus work and start its systematic execution. A representative of the Party D.E.C. as well as a representative from every Party shop nucleus will participate in these conferences. The conferences will be held within the next two months. The exact dates to be published later.

Without the help of the Party the League could hardly go ahead rapidly in this work. This can be clearly seen from the fact that our main possibilities for the immediate organization of shop nuclei are:

- 1) In those shops where the Party has a nucleus.
- 2) In those larger shops where we have one or two members working.

## Youth Work By Party

What can the Party do concretely in preparation for the Y.W.L. org-conferences?

1) Every larger Party shop nucleus shall elect an initiative group (two or three comrades), every smaller nucleus shall appoint one comrade, who shall be entrusted with carrying on youth work in the factory with the aim of organizing a shop nucleus of the League.

2) Every Party shop nucleus shall set aside one meeting for a thoro discussion on the role of the League in connection with the concrete youth tasks in the factory. This shall be followed up by regular reports at later meetings.

3) The immediate steps of the youth initiative groups shall be: (a) detailed study of youth conditions in factory; (b) making individual contact with sympathetic youth in factory; (c) working out with League D.E.C. the concrete youth demands and youth organizational forms in factory (i. e. steps towards organizing Y.W.L. nucleus, youth bridge organizations in factory, etc.); (d) planning of actions for popularizing youth demands; (e) establishment of Youth Column in Party factory paper.

## Individual Contacts

Regarding the making of individual contacts, a number of suggestions are:

- a) Gain the personal friendship and confidence of young workers.
- b) Talk with him in an elementary fashion on his special conditions.
- c) Get him to read shop paper, es-

pecially youth column and other youth literature (Young Worker).

d) Get him to write for the papers.

e) Bring him to Party and League mass meetings and affairs.

f) Win his help for the organization of a Y.W.L. shop nucleus.

The Party comrades should remember that tho the League is a Communist organization, it accepts in its ranks all young workers willing to fight for the workers and to learn to become a fighter for the overthrow of the capitalist rule. In this sense the Y.W.L. is a training school for the development of Communists.

#### Party at Y.W.L. Conferences

These and other phases of the Party help will be discussed by the Y.W.L. org-conferences. The representatives of the Party shop nuclei to the conferences should prepare detailed reports on:

1) Youth conditions in the factory.

2) Methods of youth work of Party shop nucleus.

By the nergetic carrying out of these proposals the Party will be most effectively concretizing the slogans:

A YWL unit wherever there is a Party unit!

---



---

## The Organization of Propaganda Meetings

By JAMES P. CANNON

**C**OMMUNIST tactics and methods of work, the placing of emphasis on this or that form of activity, are naturally regulated to a very large extent by the given situation and the stage of development. Communist propaganda and agitation through the medium of mass meetings are always in order, even after seizure of political power, as we see in Russia, where great attention and skill is devoted to this work. If the Russian Party, which rules the country, has not found it advisable to dispense with such activities, it is fairly obvious that they have possibilities yet for us.

We in America are in that stage of development where the ideas of Communism have as yet penetrated only a very narrow fringe of the working class. The overwhelming masses have absolutely no conception of our aims beyond that false and distorted one furnished them by our enemies. The natural operation of the laws of capitalism will push the millions of American workers, now mental and

spiritual captives of the ruling class, on to the path of class struggle and in the direction of their historic goal, regardless of their present understanding and will.

It is our task as communists taking part in all the struggles of the workers, to accelerate this process by all means in our power and to impart to it the greatest possible degree of consciousness as it develops. For this an enormous amount of agitation and propaganda will be necessary. This work, of course, will take many and varied forms, but the spoken word, the public mass meeting, will play a great part. The day of the importance of propaganda meetings is by no means over; indeed, for our Party the period just ahead of us must and will see a much greater emphasis placed upon them. And in connection with this our party comrades will begin, for the first time, to devote serious attention to the technique of organizing propaganda meetings.

If we except the larger cities where

# Youth Work in Factory

By NAT KAPLAN

**S**INCE the last convention the main errors which the Y.W.L. made in shop nucleus work have been completely liquidated. Instead of a mechanical national reorganization without any basis, we set ourselves the elementary tasks of shop nucleus work. It is undeniable, however, that our past errors in this work, plus the objective difficulties (spies, shifting of youth from one job to another, etc.), has resulted in a certain let-up in factory activity and the building of shop nuclei.

As a means of overcoming this hesitancy the N. E. C. plans to hold a series of district and city org-conferences on shop nucleus work throughout the country. These conferences will be the means of again orientating the entire league towards shop nucleus work, would supply us with material for an ideological campaign on the work and would serve as the means whereby the districts can draw up a detailed plan for shop nucleus work and start its systematic execution. A representative of the Party D.E.C. as well as a representative from every Party shop nucleus will participate in these conferences. The conferences will be held within the next two months. The exact dates to be published later.

Without the help of the Party the League could hardly go ahead rapidly in this work. This can be clearly seen from the fact that our main possibilities for the immediate organization of shop nuclei are:

- 1) In those shops where the Party has a nucleus.
- 2) In those larger shops where we have one or two members working.

## Youth Work By Party

What can the Party do concretely in preparation for the Y.W.L. org-conferences?

1) Every larger Party shop nucleus shall elect an initiative group (two or three comrades), every smaller nucleus shall appoint one comrade, who shall be entrusted with carrying on youth work in the factory with the aim of organizing a shop nucleus of the League.

2) Every Party shop nucleus shall set aside one meeting for a thoro discussion on the role of the League in connection with the concrete youth tasks in the factory. This shall be followed up by regular reports at later meetings.

3) The immediate steps of the youth initiative groups shall be: (a) detailed study of youth conditions in factory; (b) making individual contact with sympathetic youth in factory; (c) working out with League D.E.C. the concrete youth demands and youth organizational forms in factory (i. e. steps towards organizing Y.W.L. nucleus, youth bridge organizations in factory, etc.); (d) planning of actions for popularizing youth demands; (e) establishment of Youth Column in Party factory paper.

## Individual Contacts

Regarding the making of individual contacts, a number of suggestions are:

- a) Gain the personal friendship and confidence of young workers.
- b) Talk with him in an elementary fashion on his special conditions.
- c) Get him to read shop paper, es-

pecially youth column and other youth literature (Young Worker).

d) Get him to write for the papers.

e) Bring him to Party and League mass meetings and affairs.

f) Win his help for the organization of a Y.W.L. shop nucleus.

The Party comrades should remember that tho the League is a Communist organization, it accepts in its ranks all young workers willing to fight for the workers and to learn to become a fighter for the overthrow of the capitalist rule. In this sense the Y.W.L. is a training school for the development of Communists.

#### Party at Y.W.L. Conferences

These and other phases of the Party help will be discussed by the Y.W.L. org-conferences. The representatives of the Party shop nuclei to the conferences should prepare detailed reports on:

1) Youth conditions in the factory.

2) Methods of youth work of Party shop nucleus.

By the nergetic carrying out of these proposals the Party will be most effectively concretizing the slogans:

A YWL unit wherever there is a Party unit!

## The Organization of Propaganda Meetings

By JAMES P. CANNON

**C**OMMUNIST tactics and methods of work, the placing of emphasis on this or that form of activity, are naturally regulated to a very large extent by the given situation and the stage of development. Communist propaganda and agitation through the medium of mass meetings are always in order, even after seizure of political power, as we see in Russia, where great attention and skill is devoted to this work. If the Russian Party, which rules the country, has not found it advisable to dispense with such activities, it is fairly obvious that they have possibilities yet for us.

We in America are in that stage of development where the ideas of Communism have as yet penetrated only a very narrow fringe of the working class. The overwhelming masses have absolutely no conception of our aims beyond that false and distorted one furnished them by our enemies. The natural operation of the laws of capitalism will push the millions of American workers, now mental and

spiritual captives of the ruling class, on to the path of class struggle and in the direction of their historic goal, regardless of their present understanding and will.

It is our task as communists taking part in all the struggles of the workers, to accelerate this process by all means in our power and to impart to it the greatest possible degree of consciousness as it develops. For this an enormous amount of agitation and propaganda will be necessary. This work, of course, will take many and varied forms, but the spoken word, the public mass meeting, will play a great part. The day of the importance of propaganda meetings is by no means over; indeed, for our Party the period just ahead of us must and will see a much greater emphasis placed upon them. And in connection with this our party comrades will begin, for the first time, to devote serious attention to the technique of organizing propaganda meetings.

If we except the larger cities where



we have staffs of professional Party workers (and not all of them) we must acknowledge that our party on the whole has not properly estimated the importance of this elementary revolutionary work and consequently has not derived the maximum benefits which skillful organization would bring. For the most part our comrades, who have become experts in a number of activities, remain hopeless amateurs in this field, although there is nothing involved except the assimilation and application of a few organizational rules and principles derived from the experience of the past.

The Socialist Party of pre-war days was far ahead of us on this score and knew how to organize propaganda meetings in such a way as to make them mighty instruments of agitation and inspiration. The speakers did not do all of this by any means. Organizational technique played the principal role in this work of the old Socialist Party, and would it be treason to Communism if we should borrow and learn from this experience? I think not. On the contrary, I would not be above "lifting" a few tricks of the art of propaganda anywhere they can be found and made serviceable for our revolutionary work. Aside from that, we are the rightful heirs of all that was sound and proletarian in the old Socialist Party and its accomplishments belong to us. We ought to study the old movement more attentively.

I have had some experience as a speaker and even more as local organizer of meetings for other speakers. Like all who have had this experience, I have learned a number of rules and principles for the successful organization of meetings, which I am going to enumerate here. These organizational rules and principles are bound up with a certain

conception of the function and purpose of agitation and propaganda meetings which I think is a correct one. They must be a recruiting ground for the organization. They must provide inspiration together with instruction. They must strengthen the morale of the comrades and leave them with a feeling of success and accomplishment, and they must provide revenue for the organization and not deficits. These things cannot be accomplished by the speaker alone. The organization of the meeting and the atmosphere in which it is held, have an equal importance. A mediocre speech will often serve the purpose with the proper organization and atmosphere of the meeting, while a good speech will often be a heart-breaking failure without them. As a rule the measure of success is determined by the attention and skill devoted to the preparation and organization of the meeting along the following lines:

1. A committee should be in charge of the arrangements of the meeting with responsibility for different phases of the work definitely assigned to individual members.

2. Advertise the meeting widely. People won't come unless they know about it. A pinch-penny policy of advertising is absolutely fatal to success.

3. Build up and use a mailing list. This is one of the most important instruments of every local organization. It should contain the name of every member, sympathizer and prospective sympathizer, properly classified. Every name on it should receive notice of the meeting, and as many hand-bills or pluggers advertising the meeting as a two-cent stamp will carry. A local organizer who doesn't keep an up-to-date mailing list, and use it constantly, is working with one arm in a sling.

4. As a rule admission should be charged for the meeting and tickets should be sold in advance. The most extensive experience shows that more people attend meetings for which tickets are sold in advance and the financial returns from the meeting are much greater. There are exceptional circumstances where it is advisable to hold a free mass meeting, but the comrades who never want to charge admission on the ground that the workers are too poor to pay are victims of a false theory and a harmful prejudice. All experience speaks against them. Sell tickets in advance and send a number on credit to every name on your mailing list, using discretion as to amount in each case. Don't be afraid someone will sell a few tickets and abscond with the money. This doesn't happen very often, and even then the organization is the gainer for everyone who comes to the meeting on an unpaid ticket.

5. Always try for publicity for the meeting in the local capitalist papers as well as in the party and labor press. The best way to do this is to establish personal acquaintance with a reporter or staff member on each paper who handles labor news. There are few cities where small notices cannot be secured if real systematic efforts are made. Of course good-sized write-ups are secured only in rare cases and with the most prominent speakers, but it should be remembered that a small notice in a local capitalist paper reaches thousands of workers who do not read our own press.

6. Hire a hall with a seating capacity approximately the same as the size of the crowd you expect. This detail is of the utmost importance. Atmosphere is a great part of the meeting. A crowd of two hundred lost in a hall with a seating

capacity of one thousand throws a chill over the meeting, takes the heart out of the speaker and leaves the crowd at the end with a feeling of failure and defeat. The same crowd of two hundred with the same speaker comfortably filling or packing a smaller hall will produce a meeting with entirely opposite effects. Remember this rule: get a hall to fit the size of crowd you expect.

7. Select a chairman able to attend strictly to the business of supervising the meeting, making the necessary announcements and introducing the speaker. That's all! Many a promising meeting has been spoiled by a loquacious chairman who undertook to make the speaker's address for him in advance. This happens all too frequently and local organizations which take their propaganda meetings seriously should put a stop to this harmful nonsense. It is better to offend the chairman by telling him bluntly that he talks too much than to offend a whole audience by forcing them to hear a long speech they didn't come to hear. And what about the speaker himself? Has he no rights at all? An old campaigner once expressed the sentiment of all speakers when he said that if he could get only one wish granted he would ask for a tongue-tied chairman.

8. Ushers should be selected in advance by the committee and they should be on hand early to escort the people to the front seats. Then latecomers will take the rear seats without disturbing the meeting. Without ushers the early arrivals will invariably take the rear seats, leaving the front ones vacant. Then it will happen just as invariably that others will straggle in all through the meeting and come gawking all over the

front of the hall looking for a seat just at the time the speaker is working hardest to get the attention of the audience for what he considers a particularly impressive point. An efficient set of ushers are indispensable to a well organized meeting.

9. In cool weather make certain beforehand that the hall is properly heated. This is necessary for the success of the meeting, the comfort of the audience and the health of the speaker. Such a detail would seem obvious, but I have never yet made a tour in winter time without having at least one or two meetings in cold halls due to the negligence and thoughtlessness of the local committee and I never yet saw a meeting held under such circumstances that could be called a success.

10. The selling of literature, taking collection and passing application cards for new members are de-

tails which work themselves out best in actual practice without a uniform plan. The best results in selling literature from the platform are gained if one piece is concentrated on leaving the rest for sale at the literature table near the door. If the speaker is worth his salt, a meeting conducted along these lines will be a success and will strengthen the local organization morally, organizationally and financially, provided one final detail is not overlooked. That is: quit on time and on the right note. Pace the meeting along and get it thru quickly after the speech is over. Do not let it drag along and fizzle out until the audience gets tired and begins to leave of its own accord.

Attention to these practical details until they become a matter of routine in the organization of public meetings, will bring rich returns to the Party in the field of propoganda work.

---

## Are there Language Fractions or Sections in Our Party?

By ELLIS PATERSON

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Comrade Peterson's article is a very timely one. The point of view he expresses is absolutely correct. This is the line of our Party. Certain exceptions are made from time to time in this transitory stage because of difficulties arising out of crisis in connection with our language press, etc. Comrade Peterson is correct in his warning that these "transition" periods are too prolonged. We welcome discussion articles in the Party Organizer on this question.

**W**HEN the Norwegian renegade Tranmael still belonged to the CI there was a decision by the ECCI that the name of the central organ of the C. P. of Norway, the paper "Social Demokraten", be changed. After a year Tranmael again reported to the CI, but the paper still was called "Social Demokrat"! The Communist International labeled this as a too slow procedure, and only after this criticism Tranmael saw fit to change the name of the paper.

The reorganization of our Party

took place in 1925. It is easy to change the name of a newspaper, but Language Federations in our old Party could not be wiped out as quickly as the name of a paper is changed. But in two years at least the federations ought to have disappeared from our Party. Now (almost three years after the reorganization) there still are Language Federations in our Party. They only carry other names, as e. g. "fractions" in the Party, language "sections" of the Party, etc. There must

not be any fractions in a Communist Party, not even language fractions. There are fractions of Party-members in non-party language organizations, but there must not be language fractions IN the Party. All Communist fractions in the respective language organizations are under the leadership of Party Language Bureaus appointed by respective Party committees, e. g. National Language Bureaus Dist. Language Bureaus, etc. There ought not to be democratic gatherings of all comrades of a Language group belonging to the Party in a certain locality. The Bureau in a certain locality is instructed by the Party Committee of said locality to lead the work of the communist fractions in all of the organizations in its respective language group. E. g. the Scandinavian Bureau at the District Committee of the Chicago district leads the activity of all communist fractions in all Scandinavian non-Party organizations in the Chicago district, and it never takes any orders from any gathering of Scandinavian communists in that locality, but only from the Chicago District Committee of the Party, from the Scandinavian Bureau of the CEC and, naturally, from the Central Executive Committee of the Party. It is not elected by any broad gathering of Scandinavian party-members, but it is appointed by the District Committee of the Chicago District.

This is the way all fractions ought to be organized. If we continue to go on with our Language Federations in the Party (called "fractions") we will soon have them established again as bona-fide Party institutions, which would hamper our work and continue to be the best breeding places for factional conflicts. The Party must be organized democratically — yes, but the principle of organization for

a communist party is "democratic centralism".

One of the reasons—outside of our traditions—for this survival of the Language federations in our Party is the unfortunate formulation of the constitution of our Party regarding language work. That part of our constitution should have been revised at our last convention, and must absolutely be changed at the next convention. Not only that our Bulgarian paper, "Znanie", still appears with the headline in Bulgarian language: "Organ of the Bulgarian Section of the Workers Party"! (when there is no Bulgarian Section or any other language section in our Party, which is a united American party), even in the Daily Worker we still find in 1928 such headlines as e. g. "The South Slav Section gets together", "Italian Section of Workers Party makes strides", etc. Special Language Conferences are held of these "Sections" in our Party, etc.! This confusion must be liquidated in our language work, otherwise the unity of the Party will not be such that we can go ahead with our work. The Italian "Section" elected at its "convention" a large Bureau with members from all over the country: i. e. we have an Italian CP in America!!

Three years after reorganization our Party ought to be ripe enough to do away with such remnants of the old language federation. Our leadership on the language field must as soon as possible be centralized in the hands of the Party committees, so that the Language Bureaus do not continue to live their independent life outside of the Party—almost as parties within the party. All sorts of general conventions, meetings, etc., of language party-members should be abolished as soon as possible. The fraction members in a communist fraction of a certain language non-

party organization come together by themselves; but the language work in a district, in a city, etc., is led, not by any "language fraction" in said district, city, etc., but by the respective Language Bureaus in those districts, cities, etc. And these language bureaus must not be elected by the "language fractions" but appointed by the Party committees. We do not elect the Agitprop directors of the Party at conventions, they are appointed by the District Committees, etc. And their functions are often more important than the function of the Language Secretaries, etc. Why are we afraid of the correct method of appointing all Language Secretaries and all members of the respective language bureaus!

In such places where only a few comrades of a certain language group belong to the Party, it may be advis-

able to call general "fraction" meetings, but only as exceptions. The Language Bureaus are responsible for organizing and leading the work in all non-party organizations in their respective language groups. The comrades work for the Party in their nuclei—independent of their language. They receive their instructions for their fractional work thru their language bureau, and they come together as fraction members only with the communists in that special language organization where they are working.

There are the difficulties that hinder a quick transformation of the language work into correct channels. But the longer we tolerate the wrong principles now prevalent in our Party, the harder it will be later to free ourselves from them. They can be explained, but they cannot be excused.

## THE COMMUNIST NUCLEUS

HOW IT MUST WORK

By M. JENKS

*An Organization Manual for Every Party Member*

This pamphlet deals with the work of our Party nuclei, taking up the most detail problems confronting our nuclei. It takes up the functions of the officers and various departments, the calling of the nucleus meeting, drawing up an order of business, the factory paper, work among women etc.

We have long felt the need of such a pamphlet, and there is no doubt that our organization work will considerably improve with a wide distribution of this organization manual.

It is not a pamphlet to be read and put away, but a guide to be kept in the pocket of every member for every-day use in the Party work in the factory, the trade union, the fraternal organization, etc.

Comrade Jenks has had extensive organizational experience on an international scale.

**PRICE FIFTEEN CENTS**

District and City organizations should write for rates and send their orders to:

**Workers Library Publishers**

33 East 125th Street,

New York City

# THE PARTY ORGANIZER



## CONTENTS:

	Page
Campaign for the Chinese Trade Unions.....	2
Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial—August 22.....	2-3
Support the Miners .....	3-4
Election Campaign Tasks .....	4-6
The Platform of the Class Struggle.....	9
Trade Union Fractions .....	10-11
Mine Nuclei in the Anthracite .....	12-13
Functioning of a Detroit Shop Nucleus....	14-15
Our Textile Campaign .....	16-17
How to Conduct Open-Air Meetings.....	17-19
The Art of Selling Literature .....	19-20
Reading and Study Circles .....	20-21
On Dues Payments .....	22
How the Communist Party Nucleus Works	23-24
Two Communist Campaigners.....	24

Price 10 Cents

---

Vol. II.

JULY - AUGUST, 1928

No. 7 - 8

---

Published by  
WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA  
43 East 125th Street, New York City

## Campaign for the Chinese Trade Unions

---

**T**HE Trade Union Educational League, as part of the Red International of Labor Unions, is organizing in this country a campaign for support of the Chinese labor movement.

The Trade Union Educational League is drawing in as many labor organizations as possible, to assist in this campaign, and for aid, into the Chinese Trade Union labor movement.

The Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. has issued the following slogans for the campaign in aid of the Chinese labor movement:

1. Demand the right of existence for the Chinese trade unions! Support the Chinese workers in their struggle for the right to strike!

2. Support the struggle of the Chinese workers against the ruthless exploitation of working women, youth, and children!

3. Help the Chinese peasants in their struggle for the freedom of their organizations!

4. Down with the Kuomintang generals, the murderers of Chinese workers and peasants, the traitors of the Chinese Revolution!

5. Workers of Great Britain, America, France, toilers of Japan, fight against intervention by your governments in China!

6. Demand the withdrawal of troops and warships! Defending

China, you are combating the war danger!

7. Soldiers and sailors, do not fire a single shot against your Chinese brothers who are struggling for liberty! Fraternize with the revolutionary toilers of China!

8. Workers of all countries, register your ardent protest against the intention of the Japanese government to inflict the penalty of death for propaganda against intervention!

9. Long live the close union of the toilers of China and the toilers throught the world!

The Party calls upon all its members everywhere, in labor fraternal organizations, in the factories, to rally in support of the Trade Union Educational League, to make the campaign of the Chinese labor movement a real campaign of solidarity of the American workers with the Chinese workers.

The Party calls upon its members everywhere to help raise funds to send to the Chinese labor movement so that they can go on with their struggle against reaction and imperialism, and for the continuation of the Chinese Revolution, for the abolition of all oppression, all imperialism and capitalism in China, for the organization of strong and powerful labor unions in China, that will lead the working class and the peasant masses to victory against all oppression, against all reaction.

---

## Sacco - Vanzetti Memorial—August 22nd

---

**T**HE International Labor Defense has announced that it will hold Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial Demonstration throught the country on or about August 22nd.

The International Labor Defense has invited many labor organizations to participate in these demonstrations.

The Workers (Communist) Party

will be represented, at these demonstrations and will have a speaker who will represent the Party position at these memorial meetings.

The Party calls upon its organizations in the various cities and districts, upon all Party units, to help the International Labor Defense in organizing these meetings. We call upon all Party members to give full support in the organization of meetings on as huge a scale as possible.

The Central Executive Committee will publish a manifesto on the Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial shortly, which will make clear to the workers of this country the Party position. We will also have special editions of the Daily Worker and all other Party papers.

We must utilize these demonstrations, not only to help build a powerful International Labor Defense to defend the class war prisoners, to defend the workers who fight against

capitalism, to defend the textile strikers, mine strikers, needle trades strikers and all other workers engaged in struggle, to fight for the release of Mooney, Billings, the Centralia prisoners and others in jail because of their loyalty to the working class, but also our Party by making clear to the masses the real meaning of American democracy, the real meaning of American class justice, will draw large numbers into its ranks and create a greater circle of sympathizers for the Party.

The Party speakers at the memorial meetings, and the Party in its propaganda, must connect up closely the exposure of American democracy, at the Sacco-Vanzetti Memorials, with the Election Campaign, thus drawing the workers closer to the Election Campaign around the Platform of our Party, and thereby closer to the Party and its struggles.

---

## Support the Miners! Help Build a New National Miners Union!

---

**S**OLD out and betrayed by the Lewis machine in a bitter struggle of fifteen months the miners are not laying down in the face of this defeat but have learned in greater numbers that they can expect nothing but betrayal from the agents of the coal operators in control of the now bankrupt and destroyed U. M. W. of A., and are rallying in greater numbers around the left wing, and will meet in convention in Pittsburgh, Sept. 9-16 and build a **New National Miners' Union**, which will become the inheritor of the best fighting traditions of the once powerful United Mine Workers of America, and the leader of the

future struggles of the miners of this country.

It is the duty of all militant workers organized and unorganized to help the miners in this struggle. To help the miners build a New Union that will organize the unorganized and answer the offensive of the coal operators, re-establish union conditions in the industry and engage in struggle for the demands put forward by the left wing in the Miners' Union.

See to it that your organization and the militant workers individually help raise funds to make possible a large representation at the Pittsburgh Convention.



The Miners' National Convention Arrangement Committee has sent an appeal for financial support to the entire labor movement and calls upon all workers to support them.

At the same time the miners must be supported with relief as there are hundreds of thousands of miners and their families actually starving. There are a great number who are completely thrown out of the mines

discriminated against because of their militant fight.

The National Miners Relief Committee appeals to all workers for support and our Party members must see to it that the splendid support given to the miners is continued at this time, particularly when the miners are engaged in building a New National Miners' Union.

## Election Campaign Tasks

### PARTY ON THE BALLOT

**T**HE campaign to place the Party on the ballot is proceeding successfully. Thus far, we are on in 11 states, (of these 11 we were on in only 2 states in 1924. In all we were on in only 14 states in 1924.) Our aim is to be on in a minimum of 30 states and in 35 states if possible. In a number of states we are certain to be on the ballot because we can go on through a convention of the Party or because the requirements on petitions are not so great. On the other hand, there are a large number of states in which the job is a very difficult one and we must proceed in full force to place the Party on the ballot.

At the same time, we can only be sure that we will go on in any of these states if in addition to getting the required number of signatures we will build a real Communist campaign in these states, so that the authorities will not dare through various maneuvers and technicalities to rule us off the ballot, so that in the event they do, there will be a mass resentment of the workers against them and they will be compelled to retreat.

It is, therefore, the duty of every Party member to do everything pos-

sible to carry out the instructions of the district organizer and the campaign committee and gather signatures and to place the Party on the ballot, gather plenty of signatures above the required number and then to organize as broad a campaign as possible as an assurance that we will be able to stay on the ballot.

#### How NOT to Collect Petitions

A document sent out by one of the campaign workers, dealing with collecting signatures, early in the campaign, gave an entirely wrong point of view to the question of gathering of signatures. The document proceeded from the idea that we had to get on the ballot by any method and gave an outline of methods to be used that are not permissible in a Communist organization. The National Office was successful in stopping most of these circulars, but some of them went to the units. We are, therefore, writing to the units on this question, informing the units that the Central Committee has condemned this document and has stated that some expressions as used in that document are foreign to Communism and have no place in our Party. The comrade who wrote the document recognized his mistake, and in all

activity we are carrying on today, we are doing everything possible to overcome any such notions that may still exist in other sections of the Party, as a residue of the old Socialist Party electioneering.

#### Carry Communist Propaganda

Our object in getting on the ballot is, of course, to give an opportunity to those workers whom we mobilize in support of our platform, the platform of the class struggle, to express their vote against capitalism and for the Communist Party and its candidates. In our efforts to get on the ballot, we must utilize this as a means of spreading the ideas of communism, of spreading our literature, of making contacts for our Party, to draw in new members, and the strengthening of our organization. This is the only way in which we can

not only get on the ballot, but guarantee that we will stay on the ballot. If we do not succeed in creating a broad sympathy for the Party around its slogans and its platform, we have no guarantee that the capitalist politicians will not maneuver in the last minute, even if they accept our petitions, to take us off the ballot.

We, therefore, urge upon all comrades:

1) To mobilize for securing of signatures to get on the ballot.

2) To utilize this means of gathering petitions for the purpose of spreading Party principles, platform, Party literature, our Daily Worker, making contacts for the Party, establishment of new units in cities where we have none, and generally for the strengthening and building up of Party organization.

## THE CAMPAIGN IN THE SHOPS

We are out to mobilize the great mass of the workers in the struggle against capitalism in this campaign. It stands to reason, therefore, that if we are to be successful in our work, we must penetrate the factories, workshops, mines and mills in this campaign. All Party units and all Party members generally must, therefore, bear in mind the center of our campaign must be in the workshop.

We must on the basis of our activities in the factories, on the basis of our activity in all other labor organizations, on the basis of the campaign that we are conducting today, among the miners, textile workers, needle trade workers, auto workers, metal workers, and all other sections of the industrial working class, appeal for the workers' support of the platform of the Workers (Communist) Party and support of its candidates. This can only be done successfully if we will do everything

possible to organize these workers right in the shops. We can do that by the following means: 1) By spreading literature in the workshops; 2) By spreading the Daily Worker in the workshops; 3) Through the organization of factory gate meetings everywhere afternoons and immediately after work; 4) Personal contact with the workers in the factories; 5) Raising the Communist campaign and the issues of our Party in the various shop committee meetings, shop meetings, union meetings; 6) Organization of campaign committees in the shops, unions and fraternal organizations.

The election campaign must be utilized as a means of unifying all the campaigns that our Party is conducting at the present time.

Unless we succeed in bringing the campaign into the factories from the very beginning and continue to make our drive in the factories among the great mass of workers,

unorganized as well as organized, our campaign will not be a success.

Our campaign must appeal concretely to the various sections of the working class on the basis of their immediate struggles and issues.

For this reason every district must conduct its election campaign not generally among the working class, although it will do that of course, but must also stress particularly the problems of the various sections and industries from the interests of the workers in these industries in their problems and issues, raise the slogans that will lead toward the preter politicalization of these masses and the gathering of them around the election campaign slogans and issues of our Party.

#### Concretize Campaign

For this reason, special campaign committees will have to be appointed and special literature will have to be issued in the various districts, depending upon the industrial groups that are prevalent. For example, District 1, Boston District cannot have a successful campaign unless it penetrates among the great mass of textile and shoe workers of New England. For this reason there must be a special Campaign Committee and special literature must be published. District 2, New York District, must, of, course, pay a great deal of attention to the needle trades, organize a special campaign committee there and issue special literature. Also, of course, the traction problem must be given great attention and special literature published there. District 3, Philadelphia district, must pay a great deal of attention to mining, textile, metals, etc. District 4, shoes, textile, metal, railroad. District 5, Pittsburgh district—mining steel. District 6, Cleveland—mining, steel, rubber, auto. District 7, Michigan

district, automobiles, furniture. District 8, Illinois district—mining, packing houses, mail order houses, metal, railroad. Distr. 9, Minnesota—metal mining, railroad, flour mills, etc., and, of course, among the working farmers. District 10, Kansas—among other industries, must pay attention to packing houses, mining, steel, etc. District 12—in addition to all other industries of a prevalent character, must not forget lumber workers. District 13 must not forget agricultural workers, etc.

We have not, perhaps, mentioned accurately all of the industries in the various districts, but we merely tried to indicate along what lines the districts must organize their campaign.

The Central Committee will probably publish such literature for the mining campaign, but the various districts that have large groups in the various industries, must publish their own literature on a district scale.

#### Foreign Language Literature

Likewise, must the district stimulate the publication of language literature, by the various language groups in their districts, through the District Executive Committee. From the center, we will see to it that general literature dealing with the campaign in the various languages, is issued by the National Bureaus. But the districts in organizing their meetings and working out publicity for the campaign must bear in mind the language problems.

The center is publishing special Negro literature. A leaflet is already on press now, and a pamphlet will be ready soon. There will also be special literature, dealing with women workers, young workers, etc., and the districts in their campaign, must not forget to pay special at-

tention to these various categories of our working class.

### **Build Shop Nuclei**

The election campaign must be utilized as a means for increasing the number of shop nuclei of our Party. Our Party organization at the present time has only from 10 to 15 per cent organized in factory nuclei. The bulk of our membership is in street nuclei. The bulk of our membership also is not yet organized for the purpose of creating contacts in factories, of getting in new members, of building up shop nuclei where none exist, and of strengthening the existing factory nuclei.

### **Make Your Unit a Real Live Unit**

In this campaign we will get in thousands of new members. The difficult job ahead of us is to make sure that we will organize our work in such a manner that we will retain the great bulk of these new members that will come to our ranks. In order to do this, the unit must become a real functioning unit, carrying on its work in an organized and systematic manner. For this purpose, a good executive committee should be formed in every unit to map out the program of work for every meeting, and that shall see to it that all details shall be handled by the executive and only those matters that have to come up for approval to the unit shall be brought

before the general meeting of the nucleus.

In general, we ask you to take the necessary steps to see to it that your unit becomes a fit one to take in new members and to retain them for the Party. Regular and punctual meetings are a step in this direction.

### **Work of Street Nuclei**

The above also holds good for the street nucleus.

Street nuclei can do a great deal of factory work. Street nuclei must map out for themselves a number of factories in the neighborhood where there are no Party nuclei and conduct Communist activity there, distribute our literature, the Daily Worker, and make contact with the workers, and be instrumental in forming new factory nuclei.

The street nuclei must pay particular attention to the organization and the proper conduct of street meetings. Open air meetings should be conducted on as large a scale as possible.

A mass of material on how to organize mass meetings and open air meetings has been printed lately in the Daily Worker and in the "Party Organizer", and we urge all comrades to save this material and acquaint themselves with it in a thorough manner so that they can improve themselves as organizers and agitators, propagandists for communism.

## **\$100,000 DRIVE**

### **Party Assessment Stamp**

1) The Central Executive Committee has levied a 50c assessment on all Party members to be known as the 1928 Election Campaign Assessment Stamp.

2) This assessment stamp fund is part of the \$100,000 Communist Campaign Fund for the 1928 elec-

tion campaign of our Party. While we expect to raise the \$100,000 in this campaign through subscription lists, selling of special campaign stamps, mass meetings, income from literature, affairs, and donations from trade unions and other organizations, we must have immediate funds for the conduct of the cam-

paign and we look forward to the sale of these assessment stamps to bring this money immediately.

3) We, therefore, expect that every Party unit will call a special meeting at which the election campaign will be taken up and each member asked to pay for his campaign assessment stamp, and the money forwarded immediately to the district office, so that the district can forward it immediately to the National Campaign Committee.

4) You will receive your stamps from your district organizer.

5) We urge all units to make good the assessment stamp for all those who are unemployed. The National Office has for a long time furnished all districts with any quantity they desired of exempt dues stamps and also exempt initiation stamps for new members who were unemployed or on strike. We ask, therefore, that the Party membership support those who are on strike or unemployed by collecting in the various units sufficient money to pay for the assessment stamps for any such comrades who are unable to pay themselves, because of unemployment or being on strike.

6) We also expect that all units will make a special effort to draw members who have become lax in their activities and in dues payments, back into Party life and Party activity.

7) For this purpose, we ask every unit to immediately elect or appoint a special visiting committee which shall visit all members who are on the books of the unit and who are not active, do not pay their dues and do not attend meetings, and urge them on the basis of the activity that our Party is conducting today, on the basis of the election campaign, to come back to the Party, their Party,

the Party of the class struggle in the United States and take their place as soldiers in this great struggle.

#### Campaign Stamps

A half a million "Vote Communist" stamps have been issued and are ready for distribution and will be distributed through your district organization. The stamp was designed by a noted proletarian artist Fred Ellis, and is a very attractive stamp which will be used throughout the campaign. The stamps are just about the size of a special delivery stamp. This will form a wonderful medium of propaganda for they are gotten out with the object that they are to be posted on envelopes, programs, shop papers, bulletins and all other printed matter and stationery gotten out throughout the campaign.

From now on to the end of the campaign, no letters should be sent through the mails without one of these stamps. Everything must carry our election campaign label. We must induce tens of thousands of workers to buy these stamps and use them whenever they send letters to their friends, to their fellow-workers, etc., and this will be a great means of propaganda for our Party and its candidates.

These stamps sell in quantity lots, 55 books for \$50.00, 90 books for \$75.00 and 125 books for \$100.00. They are otherwise, \$1 per book and each book contains 80 stamps; 10 pages, 8 stamps on a page. They can be sold, of course, in the factories in large quantities. No worker will refuse a dime for a page of 8 stamps which he can use on 8 different letters and thereby promote the communist campaign.

This number, half a million, is just to start with. We are hopeful that as the campaign progresses, we can distribute millions of such stamps and will form a medium of propa-

ganda heretofore never practiced by our Party, reaching millions of workers through this means.

#### Election Campaign Buttons

The "Vote Communist" button is now ready. It is in three colors, a very beautiful design, specially worked out also by Comrade Ellis.

The prices are as follows:

5¢ in lots of 100 or less, 4¢ in lots of 100 to 1000, 3¢ in lots of 1000 to 5000, and 2¢ in lots of 5000 or more.

Both the stamps and the buttons, are excellent devices for bringing the Party to the attention of the masses as a political party of the working class, and we ask you, therefore, to give these the greatest possible support.

#### Party Platform

The Party platform is already off the press. The platform this year certainly is a great achievement for

our Party. The platform was adopted at the National Nominating Convention, after it was approved by the Central Executive Committee. It is printed in pamphlet form, 64 pp., well designed and will retail at 10c. Large orders, of course, will be sold at a discount.

Every unit must send its order for buttons, the campaign stamps, and pamphlets immediately to the district organization.

In the event that any of the districts are lax and do not supply the units immediately with any of the above material, the units are asked to please write directly to the national office and order their material and it will be sent to them, but of course, our object is to work thru the district organizations, as we believe this will be the best means of distributing the largest quantity possible of all our campaign material and literature.

All literature, printed matter, shop bulletins, etc., must carry a special advertisement for the campaign:

For President

**WILLIAM Z. FOSTER**

For Vice-President

**BENJAMIN GITLOW**

**Vote Communist**



## THE PLATFORM OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

64 pages of smashing facts

NATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY

**Price 10 Cents Each**

30 Per Cent Discount in Lots of 100 or More

**NATIONAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE**

43 East 125th Street, New York, N. Y.

Make checks and money orders payable to ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, Treasurer.

# Trade Union Fractions

By O. PIATNITSKY

Head of the Organization Department of the Communist International

The article printed below is from the pamphlet "The Organization of a World Party," written by Comrade Piatnitsky. It is the concluding section of Chapter V, "Communist Work in the Trade Unions." Every active Party-member and every reader of the "Party Organizer" should secure a copy of this pamphlet. It contains 94 pages of valuable material that will help us to solve many organizational problems. It is a review of the organizational work of the most important Communist Parties since the 5th Congress of the C. I. in all its phases. It treats shop and street nuclei, shop papers, recruiting, trade union work, Party apparatus, etc. It contains much material taken from the work of our Party. Send orders to Workers Library Publishers.—EDITOR.

What is to be done in order to organize Communist work in the trade unions?

In my opinion, the following measures must be put into effect:

(a) All Communists must join the trade unions of their given trades and form fractions in them.

(b) The Communist fractions must be under the leadership of comrades who work in the trade union movement.

(c) The Communist fractions in the trade unions must deal chiefly with those questions which concern their trade unions.

The meetings of the Communist fractions should, as a rule, be held before the meetings, conferences and congresses of their trade unions.

The local committees, district committees and central committees of the Communist Parties (through their trade union departments) decide on the policy which must be adopted by the Communist fractions at the meetings, sessions, conferences and congresses of trade unions; they must call together the Communist fraction executives and functionaries of the respective trade unions before the trade union congresses and conferences in order to discuss the most important questions and elaborate the necessary material on

the basis of which the comrades should act at those sessions, conferences and congresses.

(d) Special meetings of the Communist trade union fractions called periodically and simultaneously (trade union days), with a uniform agenda to discuss questions of general interest to all trade unions and the entire Party, are inexpedient and injurious.

Such questions should be discussed at the Party organizations and committees (factory group meetings, local aggregate and district meetings etc.), and only after these questions have been discussed by the central or district committees.

(e) The local trade union organizations (trade union branches and Trades Councils) in which the Communists form the majority must become the basis for good trade union work in the given trade union throughout the district and the whole country. In order to be able to perform the functions here enumerated it is necessary to establish good contact between the Communist fractions within each union.

The respective Party committees must devote serious attention and render the greatest possible support to the Communist fractions which have majorities in the trade union organs.

(f) Firm contact must be established between the trade union department of the C. C. and the trade union departments of the district committees, and between the latter and the trade union departments of the town committees.

The trade union departments of the Party committees lead, control and direct the work of the fractions in the trade unions, without, however, themselves performing that work for them.

(g) The factory groups must take every measure to win the trade union delegates in the enterprises regardless as to the tendency of the trade union (Amsterdam, Catholic, Christian, National Socialist, etc.), to which they belong. The Communists must actively perform the everyday detailed work of the trade union delegates in order to satisfy the demands of the workers; they must not restrict their activities to criticizing the trade union bureaucracy.

Only through sincere, persistent and skilful daily work can the Communist trade union delegates win the confidence of the workers in the factories. If we carry out correct trade union work in the factories the reformists will not be able to expel active Communists from the trade unions for their trade union work as they have done hitherto.

The groups, the Party committees and local committees must render energetic support to trade union Communist delegates.

(h) The Communists must organize their fractions in the red trade unions not only in the managing boards and Presidiums, but in all branches of the organization, just as in the other trade unions. Paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) above apply to the red trade unions.

(i) In those countries where there are red trade unions (Czecho-Slovakia, France, Holland, etc.), and where Communist work in other trade union organizations (reformist, Christian, Catholic and National Socialist) is weak, it is necessary that the Party members should be shifted by the Party committees to the latter trade unions, even if they must withdraw them from the red trade unions.

(j) The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries must recruit members not only for the red, but also for the reformist trade unions. The more members they have in the unions, the greater their influence in the respective unions.

(k) The groups, locals, section and district committees must divide their work between the Party members in such a manner that some members should not be over-burdened while others are free altogether; the latter distribution of Party duties undoubtedly interferes with the proper organization of Communist work in the mass organizations, including also the trade unions.

In taking the measures enumerated above, with the purpose of improving Communist work in the unions, the sections of the C. I. will be able to prevent the reformist trade union leaders from betraying the workers, including joint agreements with the employers, or during strikes, and in this manner they will free the working masses from the influence of the Social-Democratic, Catholic, Christian, National-Socialist and Fascist parties.



# Mine Nuclei in the Anthracite

By **EMIL GARDOS**  
SUB-DISTRICT ORGANIZER

Altho the Party reorganization was carried thru in the fall of 1925 up to the time Comrade Gardos was elected as Sub-district organizer of the Anthracite, not a single mine nucleus had been formed. In a period of less than three months Comrade Gardos has been successful in forming six mine nuclei and there are good prospects for many more.

Altho there are a large number of mine nuclei in the Districts of Pittsburgh, Ohio, Illinois and Kansas, the first mine bulletin "MINERS' BLAST" was published in the anthracite.

This work shows how great are possibilities for the formation of factory nuclei, and it should inspire all comrades to greater efforts to complete the reorganization of the Party thru increasing the number of factory nuclei and changing the composition of our membership.

In the anthracite, where in the past we have suffered from too much work from the top and too little actual building of our forces from below, the formation of mine nuclei offers the best guarantee that the Party will overcome the mistakes made by the local comrades in the past and will win over the miners to the program of the left wing and to the leadership of our Party. It is a sure sign that we will begin to exert a mass influence in the anthracite.—EDITOR.

**T**HE hard-coal miners living in North-Eastern Pennsylvania, and numbering over 160,000, are losing more and more of their former privileges. Wage-cuts, speed-up, unemployment mark the onslaught of the operators, and the betrayal of the labor bureaucracy. The anthracite miners are facing big struggles for the preservation of their union; a struggle in which the leadership will come from the Communist Party and the left wing.

Not very long ago, our Party in the Anthracite Subdistrict showed a picture of small language units, hardly changed by reorganization. With some exceptions, the comrades did not participate in the struggle of the workers. They might have been working in the same mine, belonging to the same local union, without even noticing it. Party-work consisted mostly of language affairs for the party-paper, work in the society, isolated from the rest of the miners.

## Form Six Mine Nuclei

Since the stabilization of the Sub-district organization, coming as a consequence of the participation in

the mining campaign, the face of our membership was turned more and more towards the place of work. After carrying out the industrial registration and quite some ideological campaign, 4 or more comrades working in the same colliery were assigned into nuclei. During the last three months, six mine nuclei were organized.

The membership of these units varies from 4 to 11, working in mines employing 400-1800 miners. They meet once a week, with a representative of the Subdistrict Committee present at their meeting, who sees to it that besides the problems of the mine and the union, all other Party matters will be dealt with. At the present time much attention is being given to the Election Campaign. They have an Executive of three, secretary-organizer; industrial organizer, in charge of the left wing block and an Agitprop—literature agent who is also responsible for the spreading of the Coal Digger through the block.

## Nucleus Also Union Fraction

Because all the workers in the mine belong to the same local, the

nucleus functions at the same time as a fraction, where the problems of the union are discussed. Beside the national issues, the fight against the Lewis machinee and for election of delegates to the national convention, for the formation of a new Miners' Union to be held in Pittsburgh, Sept. 9th to 16th, 1928, the every day grievances of the miners, the slow but steady offensive of the coal-operators against union conditions are also taken up by the nucleus, in order to introduce them before the union.

### **Build Left Bloc**

The fight against the operators and their agents is carried on together with the sympathizers, organized into the left blocs. Experience has proven that the best local-blocs in the tri-district are the ones formed and led by the mine-nuclei. Thanks to these groups, the left wing candidates accomplished quite some success during the last local elections. In spite of the great difficulties, the lack of preparation, they received a great number of votes, the machine defeating them in some cases with a small and faked majority. With more work in the mine and union, with more experienced and stronger nuclei and left-wing blocs, the leadership of the hard-coal miners will be wrested from the hands of the reactionaries. The developments in the industry, the worsening of the conditions will help us in that direction.

### **Mine Nuclei Show Results**

The advantage of the mine-nuclei over the territorial units is also shown in the drive for new members. During the last few months, many good militants were taken into the Party thru the work in the mine. Mine-nucleus No. 1, Wilkes-Barre, organ-

ized in a mine employing 1800 workers, started with seven members, taken out from two international branches. Today, after one month of existence, they have 11 members, including one former comrade who rejoined thru the work of the nucleus. Thru systematic personal approach, thru the distribution of Party literature, especially Pepper's pamphlet: "Why Every Miner Should be a Communist," the best, most militant miners will join the Party, favorably changing its composition.

### **First Mine Bulletin in Country**

The first mine-bulletin, published by the nucleus in the Stanton colliery will appear in a few days. It is going to be the result of a long ideological campaign together with the gathering of the material. Today, all the comrades are convinced about the importance of the mine-paper. From the interest shown by the other units, it is very probable that the "Miners' Blast," our first experiment in publishing mine-bulletins, will be followed shortly by other papers.

### **Subdistrict Conference Shows Progress**

The Conference of the Anthracite Subdistrict, held July 29, devoted quite some time to the discussion of our experiences with the mine-nuclei. While pointing out certain shortcomings, due to inexperience, the transformation of the territorial branches into mine-nuclei was greeted by the comrades.

Thru rooting the Party into the mine, thru the formation of more nuclei, all remnants of language branch spirit will be wiped out, the influence of the Party will be increased and the leadership of the miners will be won by making the mine a Communist fortress thru the mine-nuclei, and make our Party a mass Party.

# Functioning of a Detroit Shop Nucleus

By VERA BUCH

**T**HE nucleus in question, one in a large and important automobile plant, has 25 members, of whom 19 are in good standing.

Within the past six months certain changes have been effected which have greatly improved the functioning of the nucleus. This nucleus was previously in rather poor shape, with few comrades attending the meetings which were dull and unproductive.

The first step in the revivifying of the group was the creation of the Executive—the nucleus bureau. The Executive had made an abortive attempt to exist about a year ago, but had collapsed. It took only a few weeks, however, to elect a new Executive representative of departments of work (Organizer, Industrial Organizer, Women's Work, Agitprop, Negro Work, and Shop Newspaper) and to make it function. The Executive now meets once a month and maps out the program for the two monthly meetings which the nucleus holds,—one business and one educational meeting. The business meeting takes up not merely routine business but discussion of party program as well. The educational meetings take up discussions of more general topics, such as "The Backwardness of the American Working Class," "Work Among Women," etc.

The functioning of the Executive at once brought about an improvement in the conduct of the nucleus meetings. The organizer now comes prepared with an order of business, worked out in digested form by the Bureau. The Executive goes thru all communications, disposing of

many without even bringing them before the nucleus. This eliminates the endless fumbling about with papers, wondering what to do with them, which is inevitable when communications come directly before the nucleus. The meetings arranged by the Executive have a snap and an orderliness which cannot be attained in any other way.

Departments have likewise been stimulated by the Bureau meetings. Heads of departments are called upon to report first to the Bureau and then to the nucleus meeting. They are obliged to function in order to be able to make their report. The industrial organizer, who formerly was an expert in presenting excuses for his non-functioning, for example, has been brought to life, and is now taking up the question of trade union membership. A registration showed that only three comrades of the nucleus were trade union members. Pressure was brought to bear and a few more have joined. Of course, department work in the nucleus is closely linked up with the departments in the District. If the latter are not functioning the nucleus heads find themselves at a loss. On the other hand, a live agitprop or women's work head in the nucleus can stimulate a district department into action.

Long CEC communications, programs or other long documents are assigned by the Bureau to one of its members who prepares a digest of it and is given five or ten minutes of the business meetings to present it for discussion to the nucleus. This is better than reading long letters

which is conducive to weariness and lack of attention.

While this nucleus has improved, much is yet to be done. Attendance is now about 12 (it was formerly 8). Non-attending member must be brought out or dropped. Promptness in starting meetings has not yet been achieved. Daily Worker and literature work are weak. Rarely does the nucleus meeting see literature, (not to speak of the workers in the factory seeing any!). "Daily Worker" work is confined to taking a collection among the comrades now and then, when there is a crisis. This is a serious deficiency. The non-functioning of the section in which this nucleus is located has been a handicap.

The most essential problem of the nucleus is just beginning to be tackled. This is its functioning among the workers of the factory. This is of course a problem for all shop nuclei and not merely for this one. The reorganization of the Party has been accomplished; factory nuclei are established; they have got over their first weakness. Yet the reorganization misses its purpose unless these nuclei actually work within the factory, carry out there the Party program, build there groups of sympathizers around the comrades from which new members can be recruited. (As a matter of fact our street nuclei in most cases are not functioning as street nuclei either.) While attempts have been made here and there in Detroit to reach the factory workers, taking the nuclei all in all, they do not function as factory nuclei. The Ford nuclei are to some extent exceptional to this. At any rate, the nucleus considered here leads an isolated life unknown to

the workers in the plant, without influence, without contact.

This matter has been taken up by the nucleus and the question has been raised: "How can we function as a factory nucleus?" Certain concrete elementary steps are being taken to reach the workers, among them, placing comrades in the club which the company maintains for the workers. The problem is not easy. The factory employs 15,000 workers. Our comrades are scattered through different departments. Half of them speak English with difficulty, some not at all. The company, like all auto firms, enforces a fierce espionage system. Yet we must reach the workers. It is necessary to know the factory better, to know the groups and types of workers, to follow every change of their conditions, of their mood.

This nucleus, in line with the new policy of the District, has taken over its own factory paper. Formerly one comrade in Detroit wrote all the factory papers (with the exception of the Ford Worker). He visited the nuclei meetings, got a few notes and wrote up the papers. The comrades of this nucleus often did not even see "their" shop paper, did not even know whether it came out or not; did not know how many copies were sold. This is being changed. There is now an editorial committee of three which writes the paper. Two or three additional comrades have been drawn into activity. Still, the paper is not yet vitally linked up with—the life of the workers in the plant. It sells 1000 copies at the most.

The fact that the nucleus has begun to turn its face toward the factory is a big step forward, and with proper guidance from the District Committee will be able to achieve good results in the plants.

# Our Textile Campaign

By ALEX BAIL  
DISTRICT ORGANIZER, NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT

THE sixteenth week of the New Bedford Textile Strike finds the development of great militancy among the workers and a growing sympathy for the Textile Mill Committee, which expresses itself in the organization of many thousands of workers into the New Bedford Textile Workers Union. At the same time, a strong fermentation is going on in the ranks of the UTW and the break in the ranks of the UTW can be expected if the reactionary leadership of the UTW succeeds in its effort to sell out the strike through its Government Arbitration schemes.

This militancy on the part of the workers and their determination to fight against the wage cuts, has brought the combined attacks on the textile workers from all agencies organized in support of the textile bosses.

The textile workers in New Bedford are making great sacrifices. More than 300 are now in jail. Only yesterday, 190 textile workers were sentenced to 60 days and the leaders of the strike to 6 months each in jail, in order to destroy this great up-sweep of militancy shown by these workers. We see a double attack aimed against these workers. On the one hand the maneuvers of the bosses with the aid of the reactionary leaders for arbitration and on the other hand the decision of Judge Milliken that mass picketing is illegal, mass arrests on the picket lines, bringing in of police from many other cities of Massachusetts and finally, the bringing in of the National Guard in an attempt to awe the textile strikers by a show of cold steel.

This attack also comes at a time when concerted action may be expected from the workers of Fall River, who are suffering from similar conditions of exploitation. This attack also comes at a time when under the leadership of the Textile Mill Committee, of which Albert Weisbord is national secretary, a National Convention is being called for Sept. 22nd, for the formation of a new National Union of Textile Workers. In this situation, our Party has great opportunity as well as great responsibility. We must concentrate our forces for the following immediate tasks:

1. Full support of the Workers International Relief, which has just now announced a national campaign for the relief of the New Bedford strikers. Our Party everywhere must mobilize its full resources in support of the campaign.

2. The announcement of the WIR that it will receive the co-operation of the ILD, so that there may be one joint campaign for defense as well as relief, makes it a double necessity to support the general drive. Over 300 are now in jail and it is the task of our Party members everywhere to stimulate in the organizations to which our Party members belong, activity for the support of the defense and relief drive.

3. The successful development of the strike in New Bedford must be utilized in order to bring large delegations of textile workers to the National Convention in New York City on September 22nd. The eyes of the textile workers are turned on

New Bedford, and the successful leadership shown by our Textile Mill Committee can be utilized for the bringing of delegations from many other textile centers to this Convention. Local unions, textile mill committees, mill groups must be immediately mobilized for this purpose.

4. Our Party, in the past, has been numerically weak in the textile industry. The increased activity now shown by our Party members in the industry, gives us splendid opportunities of recruiting many hundreds of workers into our Party in New Bedford and Fall River. We are

avoiding the mistake made many times in the past by failing to build the Party during a strike. Just at this time we have a real opportunity of building the Party. Our work has already brought large numbers of workers into the Party, and with the bringing of this National campaign among the textile workers to the attention of the most militant of these workers, large sections can be brought into the Party in every textile center. Only thru the strengthening of the Party in the textile industry, can we hope to carry through our program in the textile industry.

## How to Conduct Open-Air Meetings

By JULIUS CODKIND

**T**O be successful an evening open-air meeting should be opened at eight o'clock sharp, and in no case should it last above two and one-half hours. Usually two hours is sufficient to hold a meeting. Within this time the speaking, literature sale, and collection should be made and questions answered. Exceptions to the two-hour rule are advisable only when there is great interest or great excitement or enthusiasm.

It is always bad to have a crowd melt away while the meeting is still in progress. It is much better to discontinue a meeting at the two-hour limit with the announcement of when the next meeting will be held on the same spot. As a rule, the crowd will come back for the next meeting, if your meeting was successful in gaining their interest or attention.

### Advertising the Meeting

Open-air meetings can be built up very easily with a little organization. If the meeting is to open at 8 p.m., the platform should be on the corner with a sign at least an hour earlier,

announcing the time when the meeting will be opened. Try this a couple of times, and you will soon discover that the function of the chairman is to make a pleasant five-minute introduction of the meeting rather than to act as a loudspeaker extraordinary. Where there is a newspaper, the meeting should be announced in the press. In small towns the local bourgeois paper will often carry a notice of even Communist meetings. A little three- or four-line notice is often very helpful.

### Building the Meetings

In large cities open-air meetings can be built up by choosing a particular evening of the week for a given corner and having a meeting on the corner on the same evening every week. The crowd will soon learn to come to that corner every Monday or Wednesday or Friday, as the case may be.

### Maintaining Order

Maintain perfect order. An open-air meeting is a favorite spot for

certain types of comrades to gather for sociability. They will stand around the groups, generally below the platform, and carry on all sorts of discussions. They become very noisy, become highly offended when approached to maintain order, and quickly succeed in demoralizing the meeting. Many good speeches are interrupted and numerous splendid meetings are destroyed by this nuisance. A strong committee, trained to deal gently but firmly with this evil, will quickly rid a corner of it.

#### Disturbers

A worse evil even than the one described is the disturber who knows more than the speaker. With a few telling remarks, he quickly destroys the faith of an audience in any speaker. This type of crank can never be enticed to go up on the platform to show what he can do.

Very often he will not express his opinion openly. He simply decides that the speaker is not making a good enough job, so he finds a victim and sets out to convert him to Communism in his own way. Our crank is soon in the midst of a most enticing, know-nothing political discussion. The crowd, always attracted by a novelty, will quickly commence to gather around the debaters, a third will enter into the discussion, then a fourth. The debaters split off into two teams each with its circle of admirers. This process continues until the speaker finds himself talking to several circles of backs, and the meeting quickly comes to an end.

The best method of dealing with this disease is to have a member of the committee break up the discussion by calling the debaters quietly aside and appealing to the debater who is friendly to discontinue. If he refuses, he can be invited to go to another corner and hold his own

meeting. Sometimes a show of force is necessary. Sometimes a very popular speaker can appeal to the audience to expel the disturber. This nuisance is an ever-present danger, with which it is most difficult to deal.

The trouble lies in the fact that these disturbers secretly believe that they are superior to the speaker. As a general rule, this is not true. A speaker can be successful only through special study of his subject, and is, therefore, the one best qualified as a propagandist. Besides this the speaker always has the advantage of being on a platform, which helps him to carry a mass appeal and to gain results far beyond anything that can be hoped for from the best of cranks.

#### "Packing" the Audience

Interest is contagious. A crowd standing around with plenty of room to move around in will never have as good results as an audience that is closely packed. A well-organized committee can quickly pack a crowd by going to the outskirts and gently pushing forward. This is a very delicate maneuver. The crowding forward must be so carried out as to seem entirely unintentional and the result of great interest in what the speaker is saying. If clumsily done, trouble is very likely to result.

#### Patrolling the Meeting

The best and most experienced comrades should be posted on the outside of the crowd to safeguard the meeting from disturbances of all kinds, to be ready to deal with cranks and nuisances, and to attend to the process of packing the crowd.

#### Order of Business

A well-conducted meeting will open at 8 p. m. sharp with a five-minute speech by the chairman, not for the purpose of getting a crowd but to make a few important remarks and

announcements. Chairmanship of this sort is first-class training for beginners.

About 75 minutes should be given to speaking, to be followed by a collection, then the sale of literature, and then questions. Special announcements can be made after the sale of literature. Good speakers do

not lose the crowd by making a collection. If the crowd cannot be held thru a collection, it is best not to attempt the collection.

While the collection is being taken and literature sold, the speaker must frequently refer to the fact that the meeting is about to be opened for questions.

## The Art of Selling Literature

**L**ITERATURE-SELLING is an art easily acquired. It is a most effective means of spreading our message to those elements among the workers who often give unconscious leadership and expression to the workers with whom they have contact.

The best places to sell literature are at meetings or lectures of all kinds. The best possible agent to make the same is the most effective speaker, although this should not be made an iron-clad rule. Often a secondary speaker or even a beginner who knows what to do will gain the best results.

Only one book or pamphlet besides the Daily Worker should be introduced at any meeting. Only in exceptional circumstances may two pieces of literature be introduced. Never permit temptation to mislead you into attempting more. Large quantities of the pamphlet selected for sale must be on hand.

Sometimes, especially at open-air meetings, literature may be introduced twice. The moment comes just before the meeting is opened for questions. A second opportunity may arise as the result of a question which brings out the subject of the meeting sharply. The second sale should not be prolonged, as the risk of appearing commercialized must be avoided at any cost.

To be sold in quantity the literature must deal with the topic under discussion at the meeting. To discuss the presidential election and attempt to sell a pamphlet on unemployment would not bring results, although the unemployment issue is part of our campaign propaganda. Necessarily a large quantity of the book or pamphlet to be sold must be on hand. For the purposes of the present campaign the following pamphlets should be provided in quantities for the present. Later on other pamphlets will be added.

The Ruthenberg pamphlet.  
The 1928 Elections.  
The Coolidge Program.  
The Election Program.  
The Acceptance Speeches of  
Foster and Gitlow.

In fixing on a particular pamphlet to be sold, the literature agent must collaborate with the speaker.

The introduction of literature should usually begin with, "Before opening the meeting for questions, I wish to call your attention to a pamphlet which deals with the Presidential Elections of 1928. This booklet deals with the subject very ably and concisely. It explains many of the important political problems arising in this campaign most ably and in simple language. Take, for example, on page . . . . you will find a good analysis of the problem of . . .



....., with which I could not deal in detail in my speech." Here read the passage referred to (just a couple lines); then go on. "On page..... you read.....". So you read a couple of passages, and proceed: "This booklet is not too lengthy. It is printed on good paper, and covers .....well printed pages in a large clear type. Those who want it can secure a copy here for.....cents, which goes to cover the cost of producing it."

While the book is being introduced, the committee should stand near the platform displaying either the cover or a good picture or cartoon in the book. Every effort should be made to have the speaker sell the bulk of the books direct from the platform.

To hold his audience the speaker must make frequent reference to the fact that he is about to open for questions.

#### How Not to Sell Literature at Open-Air Meetings

1. Don't try to have a bookshop at each meeting.
2. Don't have five or ten varieties of literature with five or ten copies of each variety. Provide one or two pamphlets, dealing with the subject to be dwelt on by the speaker and have a large number of copies

on hand. Any speaker who has had some experience will sell a large quantity of literature, if he gets good cooperation.

3. Don't try to sell literature not introduced by the speaker. You will fail at this, but you may succeed in destroying the meeting by disturbing the crowd and the speaker.

The Daily Worker should be sold during the entire meeting, but no member of the committee shall venture into the crowd around the platform. All selling of Daily Worker and distribution of free literature must go on well outside the outskirts of the crowd, and the work should be so carried out that the attention of the audience shall not be drawn away from the speaker. This work well organized will help to draw passersby to the meeting.

4. Never allow ambitious literature sellers to invade the crowd during the progress of a meeting to sell literature. This method is guaranteed to destroy even the best-organized meetings. Literature sellers go into the crowd only when a speaker has introduced a piece of literature and the sale is in progress. As soon as the sale is discontinued, the literature committee must quietly withdraw from the crowd.

## Reading and Study Circles INSTRUMENTS FOR PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

By A. MARKOFF

Member, Agitprop Committee, New York District

**R**EPORTS coming in from Section, Subsection, and Unit meetings where the question of Reading and Study circles has been discussed, indicate that a number of comrades are confused on this subject, and, therefore, opposed to the forming of these circles. The arguments presented show a complete misunderstanding on the part of some com-

rades about the aim of the Reading and Study circles.

Perhaps it has not been made sufficiently clear. I shall, therefore, deal with three of the chief arguments in opposition:

1. The Reading and Study circles are a poor substitute for the Workers' School.
2. We are a mass party; these

circles do not tend to develop a mass movement, but rather to narrow down the activities of the Party.

3. This method of propoganda and education is good for an illegal Party but as we are a legal Party, we do not need these circles.

If the comrades who make these statements, would familiarize themselves with the bulletin of Reading and Study circles issued by the District Agitprop Department, they would read there the following:

"Supplementary to other forms of educational activity such as classes, correspondence courses, regular educational meetings in organizations, educational discussions in Party units, etc. There is no conflict between reading and study circles and other forms of educational work."

This shows definitely that we do not intend to substitute the Reading and Study circles for the School. Our Workers' School is a tremendous achievement of the Party, it is the biggest Labor School in the country. It had a registration of 1300 students last fall. But while we, together with the Jewish Workers University, whose registration is between 300 to 400, reach about 1700 workers, there are thousands of workers who are not reached by the School, because it is impossible for many workers to take up a systematic course in the Workers' School, and one of the main reasons for forming these circles is to reach these workers. Especially in small towns outside of New York, where it is very difficult to institute systematic courses of study, can the Reading and Study circles be made most effective.

The Communist International recently congratulated the Party on its success with the Workers' School, but nevertheless pointed out the necessity for organizing the Reading and Study Circles.

Even in Soviet Russia, where so many schools are at the disposal of the workers, the Communist Party

finds it necessary to organize these circles to reach those workers and farmers who cannot attend the schools. From the foregoing it is clear to see that the Reading and Study Circles are a necessary aid to the School and cannot under any circumstances become a substitute for the School.

Regarding the second argument, the comrades are wrong for the following reasons: If the Party were to limit its activities to the Reading and Study Circles only, the argument of sectarianism would be correct, but our Party is engaged in mass activity and all our functions tend to reach the wide masses. We are also interested in developing class consciousness and leadership within the ranks of the workers. The circles become here an aid in our mass work. Referring again to our sister-Party in Soviet Russia, certainly, the Russian Communist Party is a mass party and yet they consider the circles an aid in the work of spreading propoganda and education.

With reference to the third argument presented, the comrades have an erroneous conception. They are under the impression that because a method has been used by the underground movement, it must be discarded by a legal movement. They must realize, however, that while for an illegal Party, these small circles become the chief avenues of approach to the workers, in a legal Party, the Reading and Study circles are only subsidiary channels, the chief avenue of approach being the open mass activity.

Every member of the Party should obtain a bulletin dealing with the Reading and Study circles, which can be obtained at the Workers School office, 26-28 Union Square, on the 5th floor.

## On Dues Payments

1. The dues payments of the Party membership is no more than 60 to 70% of the actual membership. This is a very serious situation and must not be allowed to exist.

2. All Party organizations must take steps to make every member a good-standing member. Special membership activity and visiting committees must be formed in the nuclei, whose aim it shall be to draw in the inactive members to Party-work, increase the attendance at nuclei meetings and raise the dues payments.

3. There is no excuse for any member not to be in good standing as the policy of the Organization Dept. of the C.E.C. in the past year has been to furnish exempt stamps to all comrades unemployed or on strike.

4. The fault in most cases lies in the failure of the District Committees and City Committees to make a real effort to get all members to become in good standing.

5. It has also come to our attention that in many districts nuclei are unable to secure dues stamps from the District office when needed. The Districts also fail to provide the nuclei with exempt stamps.

6. The National Office invites all comrades who are unable to secure dues stamps from their nuclei, city committees, districts, to notify the Organization Department of the CEC and steps will be taken to remedy the situation even if it will require

the selling of stamps in a particular district directly to the units.

7. We have also learned of cases where the money collected for dues stamps is used for other purposes. This will be dealt with in a most drastic manner in the future. This money must be used to buy dues stamps for the next month.

8. Finally the Organization Dept. warns against the practice of accepting money for dues stamps and failing to paste the stamp in the book but instead the nucleus secretary writes his name in the book. This is in complete violation of the CEC policy and any functionary found guilty of this practice will be severely disciplined. The above also holds good for initiation stamp for new members.

No member who has such a secretaries' receipt instead of dues stamps will be recognized in good standing.

The Org. Dept. expects every Party member to notify it immediately of such practice in any of the Party nuclei.

9. The National Office calls upon all Party members to cooperate in the observation of the above rules and to help make every Party member an active member in good standing.

10. The Party calls upon every member to carry on recruiting work for new members. To consider the increase of the Party membership a daily activity in which everyone must actively participate.

# How the Communist Party Nucleus Works

Reviewed by J. S.

**"THE COMMUNIST NUCLEUS, WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT WORKS."** By M. Jenks. Price 15 cents.

(For wholesale prices write to: Workers Library Publishers, 39 East 126th St., N.Y.)

**A** LONG felt need by the Party has been filled with the publication of an excellent pamphlet dealing with the work of our Party nuclei, "The Communist Nucleus, What it Is and How it Works," by M. Jenks.

This 64-page pamphlet which is in pocket size so that it can be carried comfortably in the pockets of the comrades for everyday use, is written by a comrade who has had extensive experience in organizational work.

This pamphlet, which is published by the Workers Library Publishers for the Organization Department of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, deals in the most detailed manner with the various problems that confront our Party nuclei.

Since the reorganization of our Party and the formation of factory nuclei, we have felt the need of such a pamphlet that will be able to take up the various problems confronting a nucleus. There is no doubt that most of our nuclei at the present time still do not carry in their organization work in the proper manner and certainly do not yet actually function politically as basic units of the Party in many respects. This pamphlet is designed, therefore, to take up these detailed problems and we believe that it will be a tremendous help in mobilizing the membership of our Party for work in the nuclei, for the formation of new factory nuclei, for regulating the

work of the nuclei and assisting them in broadening their activities and politicalizing the Party units.

The following are the subjects treated in this pamphlet:

1. What is a Political Party? A definition of a Communist Party and a definition of a political party in general.
2. The nucleus as the basic organization of the Party.
3. How to organize a nucleus.
4. The leading organs of the nuclei and their function. This takes up the question of the executive committees of the nuclei and their offices; the function of the executive. This has been a very great deficiency in our work in the past, the failure to organize executive committees in all of the nuclei.
5. Systematizing the work of the nucleus.
6. How to call and conduct a meeting of the nucleus.
7. The order of business of the general meetings of the nucleus.
8. Planning the work of the nucleus.
9. Division of work among the members of the nucleus.
10. How to establish regular contact between the members of the nucleus and the executive.
11. Personal and written contact between the nuclei and the local Party Committee, such as section, city and district, etc.
12. Party discipline.
13. How a nucleus should organize its own newspaper.
14. How to carry on work among women.
15. How to carry on work among Negroes.

16. How to carry on work among the youth.

17. How to carry on work among the rank and file members of the Socialist Party.

18. What a Communist fraction is and how it must function.

All these subjects are treated briefly, but at the same time in a manner which gives the comrades the important phases that they must know about each of these subjects.

In the appendix to this pamphlet there is a section outlining how the nuclei must make their reports to the district, city and section, giving a list of questions which should be covered, as for example: 1. Political ripeness of the workers, farmers, their attitude towards the Workers Party. 2. Economic condition of the workers where there are any strikes or lockouts for a given period. 3. State of discipline for a given period. Give percentage of members attending Party meetings. Are dues being regularly paid, assessments. Point 12, for example, deals with what was done by the unit in a neighboring factory where there is not a union organized yet.

These questions are designed to bring out all the important subjects which the nucleus should have in its report. There are also forms which every nucleus must use to keep a register of its membership as to age, nationality, citizenship, work,

union activity, etc. Also a table for dues payments and a statistical report of the unit dealing with the composition of Party membership as it changes, every three months or from any given period the nucleus may decide to make its report, and also a statistical report of the unit activity, giving in figures of the sale of literature, shop papers, etc. This pamphlet must be placed in the hands of every Party member.

It would be worth while for the various district and local committees to have a comrade prepare a report of this pamphlet and for the district committee and local committees to discuss it. Particularly do we urge upon the city, section, and nucleus executive to discuss this pamphlet. The pamphlet should then be well advertised in the district and placed on sale in every nucleus, and we urge upon every member to get one and we will not stop in this work until we are certain that every member has a pamphlet.

Also every effort must be made to get every new member who joins the Party to buy this pamphlet and study it as we have no doubt that this will help a great deal to decrease the turnover in our present membership, by giving the new members an opportunity to acquaint themselves, immediately upon joining the Party, with its tasks and how to conduct the Party activities.

## TWO COMMUNIST CAMPAIGNERS

Designed by FRED ELLIS

### The Vote Communist Stamp

Printed over a background formed by the Hammer and Sickle with the photographs of Foster and Gitlow worked in.

PRICE: Book of 80 stamps, \$1.00. Can be resold at 10c per pair of 8 stamps.

Quantity lots: 55 books, \$59; 99- \$75; 125-\$100.

### The Vote Communist Button

A beautiful arrangement of photographs of Foster and Gitlow within a solid red shield. Vote Communist stands out.

Can be sold anywhere for a dime.

PRICE: 6c in lots up to 100; 4c in lots up to 1,000; 3c in lots up to 5,000; 2c in lots of 5,000 or more.

NATIONAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE  
Workers (Communist) Party

43 East 125th Street, New York

# THE PARTY ORGANIZER



## CONTENTS:

Strengthen our Party .....	2
How to organize agitprop work in the Party units .....	3
The Party fractions in the Trade Unions .....	5
Organizing shop committees .....	7
Issuing shop paper .....	9
The basic units of the Party .....	10
International Women's Day .....	11
Women's work in the shops .....	12
Control of how Party instruc- tions are carried out .....	14

Prepare for the International Day  
of struggle against unemployment  
February 24!

Price 10c.

Subscription price: \$1.00 a year.

Vol. 3.

FEBRUARY, 1930

No. 1.

Published by

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

43 East 125th Street, New York City

## 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 love-stoneites, 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 Love-stone 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 buro. 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

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-

campaign 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

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 emphasizes 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 bureos appointed, the District Buros. 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 Buro 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 Buros use the name Na-

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

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

---

## The Party Organizer

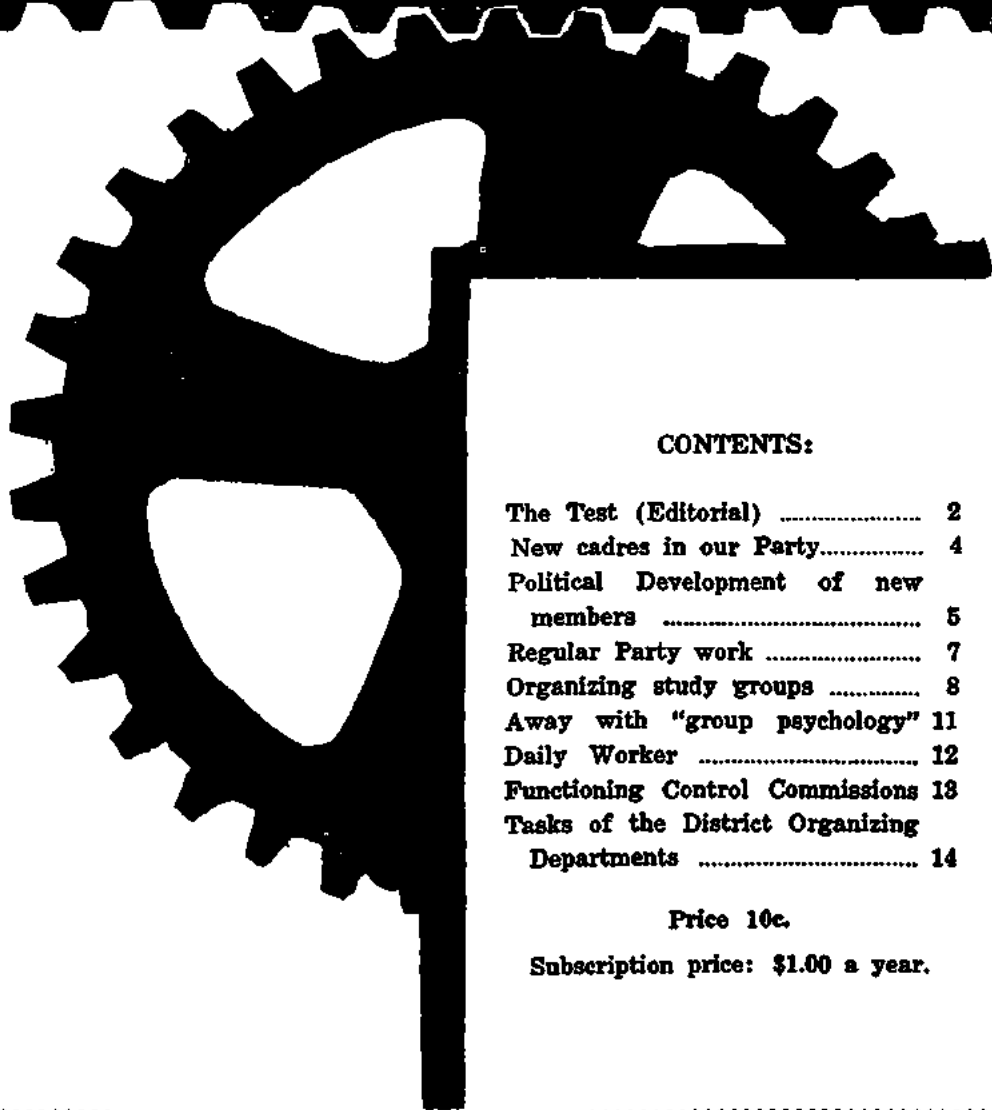
will from now on appear regularly every month. The Org Department of the Central Committee is responsible for its publication, and we request every active party member to become a regular co-worker in this monthly publication, dedicated to the building up of the Party organizationally. Cooperation in 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.

# THE PARTY ORGANIZER



## CONTENTS:

The Test (Editorial) .....	2
New cadres in our Party.....	4
Political Development of new members .....	5
Regular Party work .....	7
Organizing study groups .....	8
Away with "group psychology" ..	11
Daily Worker .....	12
Functioning Control Commissions	18
Tasks of the District Organizing Departments .....	14

Price 10c.

Subscription price: \$1.00 a year.

Vol. 3.

MARCH, 1930

No. 2.

Published by  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
43 East 125th Street, New York City

## The Test

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



## New Cadres in Our Party

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The best school is active participation in the class struggle.

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

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

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

---

## The Political Development of the New Members

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

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

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

#### Political Education Together with Political Activity.

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

#### Must Be First Acquainted with the Fundamentals of Our Party.

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

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

#### Tasks of the Old Members.

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

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

#### The Expected Results.

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

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

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

---

## Regular Party Work

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

incompetence wherever it is found in the Party.

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

## Organizing Study Groups

### KEEP THE NEW MEMBERS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. The subdivision of voluntary members into special groups (never accept other students in the study groups than such that volunteer for it) is important as well

as carrying on the study to more advanced subjects in relation to the Party, giving cause to the formation of new study groups of members eager for more involved and difficult problems.

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

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

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

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

#### DIFFERENT TYPES OF STUDY GROUPS

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

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

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

#### THE READING CIRCLE.

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

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

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

#### THE DISCUSSION STUDY GROUP.

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

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

#### THE REPORTING STUDY GROUP.

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

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

#### THE LECTURE STUDY GROUP.

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

#### THE COURSE GROUP.

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

### THE SCHOOL GROUP.

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

\* \* \*

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

Some advice:

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

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

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

## Away With Group "Psychology"!

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

## Work for the "Daily Worker"

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

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

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

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

3. The Party is not mobilized for the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Functioning Control Commissions

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Tasks of the District Organization Department

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

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

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

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

perfect them in line with the experience gained.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14. Building the Party press and literature.

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

16. Maintaining of strict Party discipline.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# THE PARTY ORGANIZER

The Monthly Organ of the Central Committee for its organizational activity, must receive the most active support by the Party Units not only thru

## Subscriptions

and buying of individual issues but also thru active participation in its editing.

## We Need Reports From The Units

especially from all SHOP NUCLEI in large factories. The practical experiences by comrades working in the shops are the most valuable help in strengthening our Party organizationally. The same holds true about practical experiences from all other fields of Party activity.

## THE PARTY ORGANIZER

must become an organ of every ACTIVE communist in the United States. Send us letters about your work, send us questions, ask for advice, write about your difficulties, about your progress, your victories and your losses! The Party Organizer must become a mirror reflecting the whole organizational activity of the Party, not only containing statements by leading comrades or leading departments.

Let the Party Organizer be read by every member of the Party!

Let every active member of the Party contribute in some way or another to the

## Party Organizer

**SEND IN YOUR SUBSCRIPTION!**

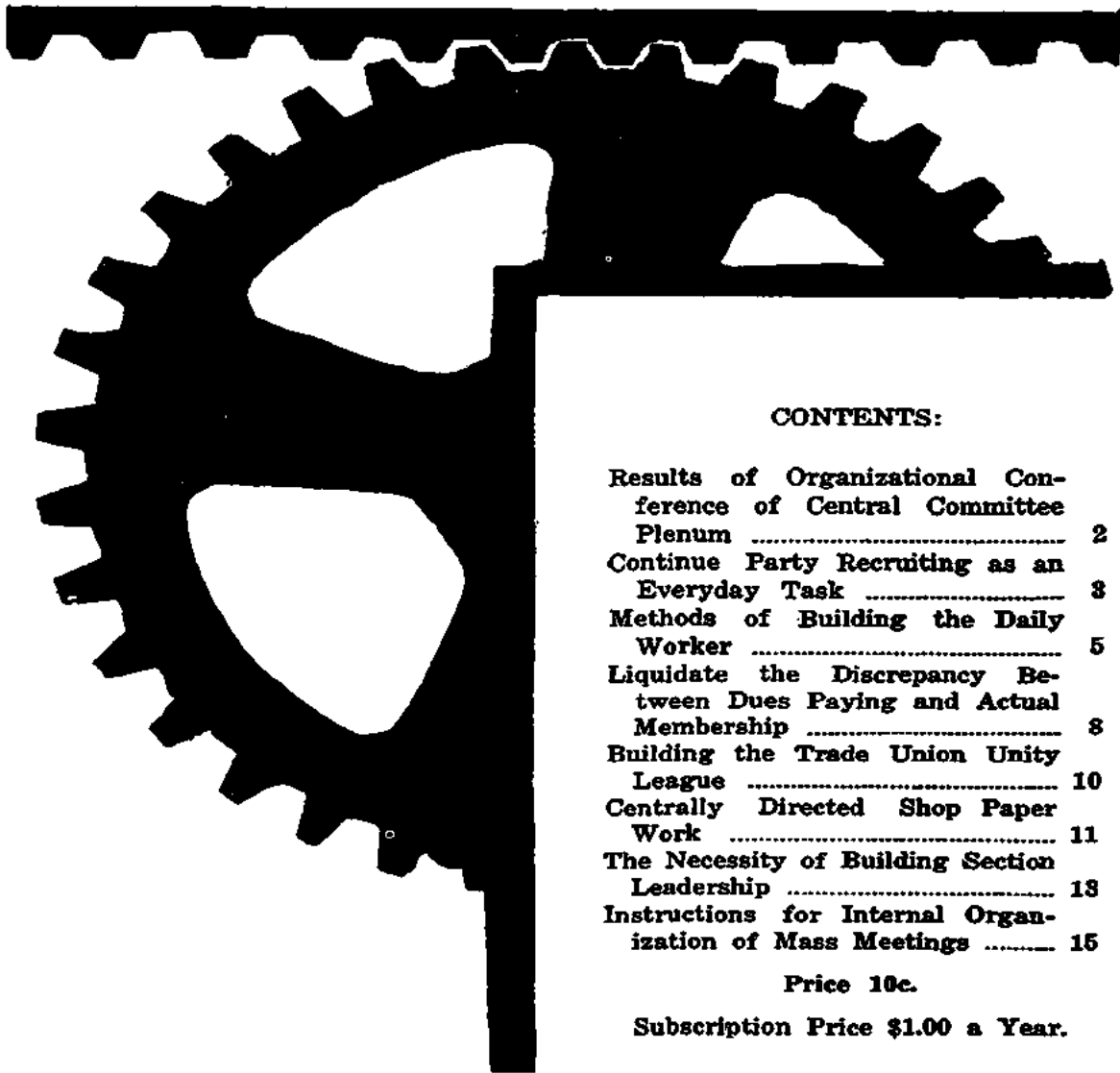
For a year.....\$1.00. (Individual number 10c.)

From February 1 the Party Organizer will be published every month in numbers of 16 pages or more.

**Org. Dept. of the C. C.**

43 E. 125 ST., N. Y. C.

# THE PARTY ORGANIZER



### CONTENTS:

Results of Organizational Conference of Central Committee Plenum .....	2
Continue Party Recruiting as an Everyday Task .....	3
Methods of Building the Daily Worker .....	5
Liquidate the Discrepancy Between Dues Paying and Actual Membership .....	8
Building the Trade Union Unity League .....	10
Centrally Directed Shop Paper Work .....	11
The Necessity of Building Section Leadership .....	13
Instructions for Internal Organization of Mass Meetings .....	15

Price 10c.

Subscription Price \$1.00 a Year.

Vol. 3.

MAY, 1930

No. 3.

Published by  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
43 East 125th Street, New York City

## Results of Organization Conference of Central Committee Plenum

Realizing as a burning need of the Party, the solving of the organizational weaknesses inherent in the entire Party, particularly in carrying through the increased tasks of the Party—not only of mobilization of the workingclass but their definite organization into revolutionary mass organizations and the rooting of the Party in an organized manner in the factories and mass organizations, there was held in connection with the recent Plenum of the Central Committee an organization Conference in which the entire Plenum, plus a series of invited comrades attended and participated.

This conference took up some of the most important organizational tasks of the Party, such as (1) preparation for May First; (2) Shop Nuclei; (3) Party fractions in mass organizations; (4) Party work on language field, and (5) the problem of keeping the new members.

The conference examined the structure, forms and methods of activity of the Party and disclosed serious organizational weaknesses. In some aspects of the situation, as for instance in the question of cadres, we face an actual crisis. But this crisis and these weaknesses confront the Party because of its growth and extension of activity and can only be solved by "getting out of our old clothes" of structure, methods and forms of activity and adopting new ones to fit the needs of the Party in the present situation.

The primary question is that of the great discrepancy—despite the success of the Recruiting Drive—between the political influence of the Party and the actual organizational strength of the Party. Closely allied with this problem is the necessity of absorbing these million workers that we are able to influence and mobilize around our demands, into the revolutionary trade unions of the Trade Union Unity League and also into such class organiza-

tions as the I.L.D., W.I.R., F.S.U., Workers Defense Corps, L.S.U., etc., on the basis of specific issues.

In reviewing the organizational situation of the Party, the following additional problems confront the Party:

- a) the lack of an organized Party base in the factories—still less than 10% of Party membership in shop nuclei and even not all of these functioning effectively;
- b) the necessity of emphasizing the need of class struggle mass organizations, such as trade unions, and also specific types of mass organizations and the needs of strengthening organizationally Party activity thru fractions, in all of these;
- c) the need of politicalizing the life of the nuclei and making them real basic units of Party, involving all members, where Party activity and life is conducted and developed, instead of at Section or general membership meetings.
- d) the activation of every individual member both in some phase of Party work and in mass organizations, and the elimination of all drones and sluggards. This to be carried thru not mechanically but with proper supervision;
- e) closer connection between the leadership and the nuclei. Instead of circular leadership, give close personal guidance based on participation in work of lower Party organizations. The establishment of Section leadership to give detailed directions to the work of the nuclei;
- f) specific attention to work of shop nuclei by Section and District leadership. The activation of nuclei in shops; the calling of regular meetings of functionaries of shop nuclei to exchange experiences and decide upon best methods to carry thru Party campaigns in shops;

g) conducting a policy of liquidating all remnants of "federationism", at the same time conducting systematic work amongst language masses and their organizations on the basis of class struggle policies and thru organized Communist fraction work.

h) recognition of speedy installation of new weekly dues system, while still conducting a vigorous campaign to increase the dues sales per month to equal the actual membership;

i) consciously and boldly drawing in new elements into active work and local leadership;

j) greater collective leadership and work thru systematic functioning of all departments and committees, at the same time coordinating and subordinating all of these to the political buros;

k) systematic development and keep-

ing of new members thru involving into activity and thru intensive training;

l) learning to consolidate organizationally the gains we make. Understanding that today we are essentially a Party of agitation which has not yet connected organization with agitation;

m) continuing recruiting of workers, not as a special drive but as a part of the Party campaigns and day to day activities, with the aim of recruiting 25,000 new members in the Party by January 1, 1931.

The conference dealt concretely with each point, laying down as a principle for all Party committees to follow, the idea of never giving instruction to do something without simultaneously telling how to do it. On each point resolutions were adopted which will serve as directives to the Party membership.

## Continue Party Recruiting as an Everyday Task

The Recruiting Drive is already ended. Does this mean that the door of the Party is now closed for the class conscious worker who desires to join the ranks of the vanguard of the proletariat? Not at all. The recruiting of new members must be continued, not as a drive, but as a regular daily task of the Party.

Today masses of workers look to our Party and recognize in it their real and only leader. The masses in the shops and mines ask the Party to lead their struggles. Thousands of workers outside of the Party consider themselves as Communists, express the desire to join our ranks. Through the struggles against the capitalist offensive, a big part of the masses become more radicalized, more class conscious and feel the necessity of increasing their struggles, which take on a more and more political character.

It is our duty also to bring the best elements of the workingclass to our Party, to build the Party into a mass Party. In spite of the good results of the recruiting

drive, there still remains a disproportion between the forces of the Party and its influence among the workingclass so that today, one of the most important tasks with which the Party is confronted, is not only the keeping of the new members, the bringing of them into activity and development of their Communist consciousness, but also to continue to increase the number of Party members, on the basis of the Party campaigns.

On the basis of our experience in the last Recruiting Drive and the weaknesses we witnessed, we must improve the method of recruiting. The basis of permanent recruiting of new members, must be the shop nuclei. It is in the shop, in the mines, mills, etc., that our nuclei in their propaganda and agitation work, in leading the struggles, must approach the most conscious workers, bring them nearer to the Party, until they feel the necessity, not only to be active in the struggles, but also to join our ranks—to accept the discipline of the Communist Party, to



strengthen the nuclei in the respective shops and increase their influence among the workers.

The campaign of the Party, and specifically the First of May, August 1st, November 7th, shall be the culmination points of the recruiting of new members. So also every struggle of the workers from the different shops, etc., against the bosses, which are lead by our Party and the revolutionary unions.

The nuclei must learn to connect their agitation and propaganda work with the everyday struggles and our final aim. It is in this way that the workers understand that the struggles of the working class are political struggles, become more and more classconscious, begin to recognize the correctness of the Communist program, to recognize the Communist Party as their real leader and to feel the necessity of being an active fighter of the workingclass within the ranks of the Party.

In this period, in which the masses are more and more radicalized, which also means that a part of them become conscious and active leaders in the working class struggles, the Party cannot close the door, but on the contrary, must intensify the effort to organize the best elements of the workingclass into its ranks and to strengthen the organizational and political influence of the Party.

The last Recruiting Drive saw many weaknesses in the methods of recruitment. In the first place, the fact that the nuclei as such, have been very weak in the campaign is due to the fact that they do not understand the tasks and duties of the basic organs of the Party.

In a few districts as for example, Pittsburgh, the results of the Recruiting Drive have been very weak despite the fact that hundreds of workers are ready to join the Party and wait for the Party. This situation must be overcome.

A clear example of the necessity of the Districts to place the daily task of recruiting in the center of their activities is

given by the fact that we have sections of the revolutionary unions (Pittsburgh, NMU) in which there are very good class-conscious workers in the leadership of the branches, but who are not Party members. Not only this, but in such territories as Western Pennsylvania, which represents one of the most important sections of American industry, the strengthening of the Party from an organizational point of view, is an immediate task.

The failure of such districts as Pittsburgh in the last Recruiting Drive—was based in great part on the existing pessimism among the old members who still do not understand the new situation in general and in their district in particular and therefore offer resistance to the Party instructions. This must absolutely be eradicated.

Especially the districts in which the drive has had poor results, in spite of the great possibility of increasing our ranks, and the immediate possibility to strengthen the nuclei, to build new nuclei, and to increase our influence among the workers, the districts must be on the job with a multiplied activity with the purpose of strengthening the Party organizationally, by continuing the recruiting of new members. In this way we will fight this pessimism which is a clear expression of Right Wing tendencies still existing in our ranks.

If the disproportion between our organizational strength and our influence among the masses is clear to the leading comrades of the districts and sections, if it is clear that the struggles of the working class are increasing from day to day on the basis of the accentuation of the economic crisis, then one of the biggest tasks before us is the building of the revolutionary unions (TUUL), because only with a strong revolutionary trade union movement closely connected with the Party, will the Party really lead the large masses on a correct revolutionary line. If this consciousness will really penetrate in the nuclei, we will witness the growth of the initiative of

the membership in building new nuclei, in increasing of activities in recruiting new members, in the greater utilization of the new members, in approaching and winning new strata of the working class. On this basis, it will be very easy to bring the Party to 25,000 members by January first.

All the Party campaigns must be utilized and closely connected with the recruiting. The campaign of March 6th was a valuable experience. It must be followed up and corrected on the basis of the experience of the past recruiting drive which has been only a step in our march on the way to strengthen the Party. By January 1st, 1931, we must have

recruited a total of 25,000 new members. This perspective must be tied up with all our activities, in all our campaigns, in all struggles of the workingclass. The recruitment of new members is a daily task. It is a special task at the moment in which the workingclass is involved in harder struggles.

Forward to build our Party into a Mass Party—to strengthen the vanguard of the working class which will lead the proletariat to its final aim, its total emancipation through the overthrow of the capitalist system, and the installation of its own dictatorship—a period of transition to the new society through the socialist society, to the Communist society!

---

## Methods of Building the Daily Worker

There was a time when we were debating when the Daily Worker will become a paper with a mass circulation. This stage has already passed. Even those comrades who would always bring forth the shortcomings of the Daily Worker that unquestionably exist, as a reason for the failure to build the circulation of the Party central organ, must now realize that they were wrong. Of course, the political improvement of the paper would help greatly in building the paper's circulation. But the question must now be approached from the viewpoint that the Daily can increase its circulation by many tens of thousands immediately, and thru the wider base for the paper there will at the same time be created the impetus and the basis for the improvement of the paper politically and editorially thru the Daily becoming more connected with the struggles of the masses in the shops and this tie with the masses strengthened thru a network of workers correspondents. The building of the paper's circulation as well as the improvement of the paper are indissolubly bound up.

The present campaign of the Daily Worker for 30,000 readers by June 1st

and 60,000 circulation within a period of six months is a modest one when compared not only with the needs and the growing activity of the masses and developing influence of the Party, but on the basis of the demonstration of the Detroit District where in a period of less than four months the circulation of the Daily has tripled—an increase of circulation by 2,000.

### Situation Requires New Methods.

The Detroit District plan was nothing more than the concretization, the carrying out in practice of the many decisions of the Central Committee on the building of the Daily. The District Committee recognized that the building of the Daily must be approached in a systematic manner and new forms created that will bring the paper to the masses of workers that were anxiously looking for just such a paper to aid them in their struggles.

The plan is predicated on three main features.

1. That the Party must build its own machinery of distribution. While we must utilize every avenue open to us, second class mail privileges, newsstands, the bourgeois press delivery, etc., the Party

must recognize that to depend only on these agencies without at the same time building its own machinery is to invite disaster in the present period of the sharpening class struggles.

2. That while there are many thousands of workers in all industrial sections who would like to have the Daily regularly they are not in a position at the present time in particular to spend at one time \$6 for a yearly subscription or even \$3.50 for a 6 month's subscription.

3. That the Daily Worker is the concern of the Party and not merely of the Daily Worker management. That the Daily Worker is one of the best instruments for the activation of the entire Party membership and the establishment of a wide basis of contact in the factories and residential workingclass neighborhoods.

#### The Plan of Work.

Starting with a bundle order of 200 copies in the middle of December instead of the miserable bundle of three copies, the bundle order gained rapidly until they have reached the steady number of 1,700 for the past few weeks. The fact that the plan has worked now for many months and the papers are all paid for and the papers distributed is from the outset ample proof of the effectiveness of the plan.

The distribution in the main is carried out thru two methods.

1. Factory sales by regular "newsboy". All of them are members of the Party or sympathetic workers.

2. House-to-house canvassing for readers on the basis of daily delivery of the paper and the payment of 18 cents per week by the readers.

The sales at the factory gates and important street intersections by the newsboys while varying has kept up to about 500 in some weeks and days averaging as high as 700 and 800. In all 8 comrades are selling the paper at the present time at the factories and streets. These comrades pay to the Daily Worker agent

1 cent per copy and receive 2 cents for every copy sold. These comrades consider this work their daily job and at the same time they look upon themselves as active workers for the Party just like any other Party official.

The house-to-house canvassing for readers is carried thru by the nuclei. Every nucleus receives a definite number of papers every day. Let us say a nucleus of 20 members would receive 30 papers. These papers are delivered from house-to-house. In the beginning a territory is selected and the workers in that territory receive these 30 papers free for the first week. The second week these workers are asked if they wish to become regular readers at the rate of 18 cents per week. Those that do not want the paper are dropped. Those who want it, are placed on the list as regular readers, and the additional copies are distributed to new territory, and the process repeated. If the nucleus works well, then the number of steady papers keeps on growing and the number of papers originally taken (30) are again distributed free to new territory. The nucleus is responsible for 1 cent for every copy of the papers that it receives. If the nucleus receives payment at 3 cents a copy for only one-third of the papers that it receives it operates without a loss. If it sells more it operates at a profit. If it sells less than one-third of the papers then the nucleus pays the difference out of a fund created by the nucleus by each member paying one cent per copy for the first week. Where the nucleus is on the job even this first cent is not exhausted. Where the nucleus operates regularly at a deficit then the members of the nucleus make up the small difference.

Every member of the nucleus must participate in the distribution. Every member distributes once a week. If a nucleus has 20 members then one comrade is distributing all the papers for one day. so that in the case of a unit of 20 members the members have to distribute only once

every three weeks or in the case of the larger units once a month. In smaller units, of course, the comrades have to distribute every two weeks or even every week. This certainly is not a very great burden even on those comrades who are actively engaged in all phases of Party and trade union work. The District does not allow the practice of one comrade distributing for the entire week and thus each comrade would only participate in the distribution once every four or five months. Such practice would not fulfill the drawing in of the members into activity.

The results achieved thru this method can be seen from one of the Street Nuclei A-4 that starting in with 16 copies per day now distributes every day 60 copies of which 48 are regular readers paying 18 cents per week. This nucleus has thru this activity also secured 21 subscribers to the Daily, 8 new members to the Party and 5 members for the TUUL.

The results of the nucleus mentioned which is duplicated by many of the nuclei shows that in following this method the getting of regular subscriptions is not only not neglected but on the contrary this plan furnishes the basis for the securing of subscriptions.

**Ten Thousand Readers by August First.**

The results of our activity in Detroit can be repeated in every District. All that is necessary is that the Party take really seriously the task of building the Daily Worker. The Daily Worker must be an integral part of every campaign. The drive for 30,000 readers nationally by June and 60,000 by August cannot only be reached but surpassed if the campaign is taken earnestly and the new methods adopted.

The District Committee of the Detroit District has decided that we set ourselves

the goal of 10,000 readers by August. This will be achieved thru the following means:

1. By increasing the number of "news-boys" and thus the factory sales.
2. By a more intensive drive inside the shops and in the neighborhoods thru the distribution of the paper on the weekly payment plan.
3. By converting all weekly payment readers to subs to be collected on the monthly basis at the rate of 50 cents per month. The machinery for the regular collection monthly to be organized thru the Party nuclei.
4. By getting more regular yearly subscribers.
5. Thru increasing the sales thru the newstands.

#### 100,000 Copies for May Day.

The District had ordered 100,000 copies for May Day. This was a special Detroit edition carrying local material. The burden for this financially will not be on the District, the Daily Worker management or the Party nuclei. The cost of this issue \$1,000 was raised thru greetings from workers' organizations and advertisements from those places frequented by our comrades and sympathizers. This issue, and there will be many more in the course of the campaign, is distributed free, reaching almost every worker's family thus giving the Daily Worker the widest publicity.

#### Local News and Workers Correspondents.

In order to make the building of the Daily successful it is necessary that the paper carry some news regularly dealing with the local problems of the workers. One of the best methods to assure the maintenance of the readers secured is thru the establishment of workers correspondents in the most important factories.



## Liquidate the Discrepancy

The conditions for membership in the Communist Party, which seem to be forgotten from time to time, state:

"1. A member of the Party can be every person from the age of eighteen up who accepts the program and statutes of the Communist International and the Communist Party of the U. S. A., who becomes a member of a basic organization of the Party, who is active in this organization, who subordinates himself to all decisions of the Comintern and the Party, and regularly pays his membership dues."

While each of these conditions and the extent to which they are fulfilled merit attention, here we will only deal with the last—regular payment of dues.

Altho we must record the successful introduction of the new weekly dues system, despite the shouts of the skeptics when it was proposed and the loud wails of the Lovestone renegades "that the Party leadership wanted to drive the prolefarrians out of the Party", we must also state that there is still too great a discrepancy between the dues paying membership and the actual membership—even when taking into account a minimum loss of new members. We cannot satisfy ourselves that the dues sales for the last month are higher than in the pre-convention months before the 6th Convention, when it is a known fact that dues were inflated for convention purposes. Today we have taken in thousands of new members and these must record in a steadily mounting dues sales at a quicker tempo than yet attained.

If we had a situation where the life of the nuclei were as it should be—pulsating the life of the Party and involving every member in activity, then the sale of dues stamps would become a routine altho basically important task of a capable financial secretary. Today, however, the unsatisfactory situation in dues sales is a

reflection of political and organizational weakness in the Party as a whole and must be approached by every member and committee from this viewpoint. The sharp correction of this situation is a task of every District Committee in which every Party member can and must cooperate.

What are some of the reasons for the unsatisfactory level of dues sales:

1. A tendency on the part of some Party members—even leading comrades—to consider payment of dues not important or as a burdensome detail. These neglectful comrades should think of some of the struggles which have gone on in the foundation days of the Bolshevik Party over this so-called detail, when it became a question of Bolshevik organizational principles.

2. The election of a comrade by the nucleus as financial secretary who is not fitted for this post. This unfitness expressed itself in a series of distinct ways, such as:

a) irregular attendance at unit meetings, therefore preventing members from buying stamps. A financial secretary must never be absent unless excused and then someone else must handle the sale of stamps.

b) coming to a nucleus meeting with no stamps or an inadequate supply. This is gross negligence and shows lack of interest and willingness on the part of comrades towards the responsibility the Party has given her or him. Prior to every nucleus meeting the financial secretary must estimate the number of stamps needed and see that these are purchased from the Section or District Committees. Lack of money is no excuse. The nucleus Buro and the Financial Secretaries know that they must have stamps—that it is also a source of revenue for the nucleus—and must keep dues stamp money separate and

not spend it for anything else. Where this does not suffice an initial reserve fund of several dollars should be created which will always carry the nucleus thru and with accruing surplus from sale of stamps, gradually liquidate itself. Party nuclei are absolutely prohibited from using dues stamps money for any other purpose.

c) Thinking the task of the financial secretary is to sit at a table and wait for comrades to come and pay their dues instead of undersanding the duty and responsibility of the financial secretary of the Party to be to go after and collect dues from every member. Not a week should go by without a check-up on the membership list to see who has failed to pay dues and then make it a Party duty to see this comrade personally—bring him to nuclei meetings and at the same time collect dues. The task of the financial secretary is not only to sell stamps to those who want them but to enforce the Party Constitution by checking up on each member of nucleus individually and personally.

d) The collection of dues money without issuing dues stamps, thus receiving money but not buying dues stamps from Central Office. This practice is prohibited and any financial secretary practicing it must be removed without further notice and such comrade severely censured and if the Nucleus Buro approved such practice the Nucleus Buro must be severely dealt with.

3. Irresponsibility on the part of either the dues stamp Secretary of the District or of the Section, in not having an adequate supply of stamps on hand and therefore not sending stamps immediately when a nucleus orders or failing to respond to the letters of the

nuclei ordering and paying for stamps. Another irresponsible action is the using of dues stamp money for other purposes by the Districts. As example Boston can be cited, where four out-of-town units sent money for stamps and had to wait over six weeks before getting either stamps or an acknowledgment. Or Pittsburgh, where the members are told they can't get stamps because the District has not got any on hand—this resulting from the irresponsibility of the District Office in using dues stamp money for other purposes.

On a District scale there must be a Dues Stamp Secretary—a very responsible comrade. This comrade must handle all stamps and money and the District Organizer is prohibited from touching this money. That part of money collected for stamps necessary to buy more stamps from the Central Office is not the property of the District Organizer and using of same means misuse of funds. Only the provided profit may be used by the District.

On a District scale the District must also keep a check-up on its dues sales and whenever the Dues Stamp Secretary sees a discrepancy—or a falling off on the part of any unit during the month—this must immediately be brought to the attention of the particular nucleus and in this way keep a normal flow of stamps to the nucleus so that the members can all be paid up in good standing.

The Organization Department has set before the Party the task of having the dues sales of every District equivalent to the actual membership by the time of the Party Convention. This can be done if every member will take the Party obligation and duty seriously and if every Section and District Committee will undertake seriously the carrying thru of this elementary task in an organized manner.



## Building the Trade Union Unity League

The building of the Trade Union Unity League and mass recruiting of membership into the revolutionary unions is the burning task of the hour before every Party nucleus. The recently concluded Plenum of the Central Committee placed the building of the TUUL in the forefront of all the immediate tasks facing our Party in this period. The directives of the Comintern regarding the TUUL recruiting drive for 50,000 new members demand the mobilization of the entire Party in the campaign to build the TUUL.

The recruiting of thousands of new members into the Party in the recent membership drive should have seen the influx of tens of thousands into the revolutionary unions. The deep gulf between the tremendous influence of our Party and our relative organizational weakness makes the problem of organization, of building the basic mass organization a vital problem. This gulf must be bridged if we are earnestly to struggle for the conquest of a majority of the workingclass in this period. The building of the TUUL, the development of the new unions into organizations of struggle for the daily demands of the workers, especially in the basic industries, is a prerequisite for turning our Party into a mass Party, capable of leading the workers in their struggles against capitalism.

The entire Party must be actively involved in the 50,000 membership recruiting drive. Every Party nucleus should take concrete steps to mobilize every member for the campaign.

1. Each nucleus should set a time limit for the enrollment of all nucleus members into the TUUL. Every member should be obliged to show his TUUL membership book with initiation and dues stamps in the TUUL.

The situation where a large section of the Party membership does not belong to the TUUL is absolutely impermissible. The most thorough check-up by the units and sec-

tion committees must be instituted on the activities of the Party members in the unions and in building the TUUL.

2. The Party nuclei cannot give active assistance in building the TUUL without finally and definitely orientating toward systematic work in the shops and factories. Each nucleus should concentrate its activity on some definite important shop or factory especially in the basic industries with the object of setting up shop committees and shop nuclei. Systematic and regular shop gate meetings, regular distribution of shop leaflets based on the conditions in the shops and the concrete demands of the workers, distribution of Daily Workers, Labor Unities, followed by personal contact, the development of struggles for concrete demands, the building of shop groups, department and group meetings are some of the methods for permeating the shops and factories, forging links with the workers, and recruiting them into the TUUL and drawing the best elements among them into the Party.

3. Every shop nucleus must immediately place on its agenda the building of a shop committee around itself. While the shop nucleus should guard against becoming an industrial unit one of the tasks of the shop nucleus must be the systematic building of TUUL shop committees. The shop committee should not be set up mechanically. All the workers in the shop or the department in the large shops should be involved in selecting the shop committee. The first approach to the organization of the shop committees should be some concrete issue in the shop. The nucleus must be alive to all developments in the shop. Every issue must be utilized and linked with the campaign to build the TUUL. Personal contacts, personal visiting, arranging of small meetings with the best workers and gradually broadening out, by each member working persistently on some definite worker or group of workers, are some of the ways of building shop committees.

The shop committee is then affiliated with the respective union or League or the TUUL center.

In conjunction with the TUUL membership recruiting drive, the Party should build up and activate the Party fractions in the trade unions. Every nucleus should check very carefully the activities of each member in his union or TUUL minority group in the AFL unions. Regular reports should be required of every member as to how many members he or she recruited into the TUUL, what organization work, agitation or strike activity the member carried on in the union or League. The Party members should become a driving force in involving the entire union membership in the drive for new members. It is especially necessary to carefully check the activities of each member in the shop. The nucleus should discuss with the individual comrades during the course of the membership drive the concrete problems, methods of approach and ways of winning workers into the TUUL and the Party.

4. There has been a tendency in the units and sections to relegate factory activity to the industrial organizer or the industrial committee. This tendency is fundamentally wrong and tends to paralyze our ability to permeate the shops and factories. Work in the factories, the taking of every party campaign into the shops, the linking up of the political slogans of the Party with the daily struggles and needs of the workers in the shops, the organization of the workers into shop committees and new unions is the task of the entire nucleus, of every Party

member. The entire section apparatus and all units of the Party must be directly involved in the campaign to build the TUUL.

Every Party member must join the TUUL as well as urge on the non-Party members to activity in the TUUL membership drive. We have a situation at the present, where numerous capable comrades are totally inactive in the unions. Many Party functionaries do not even belong to the TUUL. Many leading comrades who could be leaders in mass work, in building the revolutionary unions are totally lost in some technical work in the nucleus. This costly error must be corrected. **EVERY PARTY MEMBER MUST DEVOTE SOME TIME TO HIS UNION AND THE TUUL.** What is required is balanced activity, and the proper and methodical distribution of forces.

9. In developing the TUUL recruiting campaign the closest attention must be paid to the work among the unemployed. The organization of the unemployed offers tremendous possibilities for mass recruiting into our revolutionary unions. The units must register each unemployed comrade. Membership and active participation in the unemployed council must be required from each unemployed comrade. The activity of the unemployed comrades must be carefully checked.

The full mobilization of all Party forces in the campaign to build our revolutionary unions will be the best guarantee that our Party will become a mass Party of the basic sections of the proletariat capable of leading mass political struggles against American imperialism.

---

## Centrally Directed Shop Paper Work

A centralized apparatus for conducting shop paper work has long been advocated by various members of the Party active in this work. Such an apparatus will not only give an impetus to the work itself, but would serve as a means of evaluating

the work being done, watching for errors, making concrete suggestions for improvement, and providing the widely scattered papers with material in line with the national campaigns of the Party.

In proposing the plan outlined below.



the Org Dept most urgently invites suggestions and criticism of the plan from the comrades active in the work. It is understood, of course, that so comprehensive a plan can not be put into effect over night, but will have to be developed gradually, and all suggestions by active comrades will be invaluable in helping to establish the high type of organization which the importance of this work demands.

The concrete work itself is to be conducted by the National Shop Paper Committee in which the Agitpropand Organization Departments must both participate actively. The work to consist in broad lines of the following:

**1. A Centralized System of Regular News Items for Industries.**

The auto nuclei, for example, will get news items on the auto industry, etc., for each industry. These are to be sent in finished form to the editors in question, but linked up by them with the conditions in their particular shop in issuing their particular shop paper.

**2. Editorials on Some National Immediate Political Problem.**

This is to insure that the shop papers link up their work with the political campaigns of the Party (Lenin Memorial, Unemployment Campaign and Demonstration, Young Plan, etc.). These also to be in finished form, but also to be adapted to the shop conditions by the editors of the shop papers.

**3. Constant Watching for Trade Union Policy.**

One of the most important aspects of the shop paper work is that of the pushing trade union organization. In the present situation, where our comrades are members of our own Industrial Unions, of reactionary A. F. of L. unions and of independent unions, it is necessary that great care is taken that in pushing this work, the proper policy is carried out in the particular shop and the particular industry.

**4. Concrete Suggestions for Improving the Form, Method of Handling Material, etc.**  
This point is self-explanatory.

**5. Illustrated Material.**

Either for tracing for the mimeographed bulletins (such as the New York District has obtained from the German party where it is issued by the Central Committee), or cuts for the printed bulletins. In this work the Daily Worker could cooperate.

**6. A Monthly (Ultimately Weekly) Bulletin on Shop Papers.**

This to be issued to all Districts and to all shop paper editors on what is going on in shop paper work throughout the country, new methods for technical make-up, skilful schemes for efficient distribution under peculiarly difficult circumstances—in short an exchange of experiences of comrades active in this work. The largest part of the bulletin, therefore, to be set aside for suggestions, criticisms, etc., of comrades active in the practical shop paper work, growing out of their own experiences.

**7. Contact with Our Brother Parties.**

Exchange of correspondence and material with our Parties abroad. The German comrades, for instance, have expressed a desire to exchange experiences with our papers in the General Motors. The Sheffield District of the British Parties wishes contact with our mining papers.

**8. Reviews of Papers Issued.**

Monthly or weekly review of the papers issued, in our Party Press (in the Party Organizer, in the Daily Worker, and perhaps in the review column of "The Communist").

In putting the syndicate plan into practice, it is necessary to foresee certain dangers. There will be a tendency at first of too mechanical inserting this material into the papers, without making efforts to adapt the syndicated material to conditions in the shop. Usually just an introductory sentence or paragraph will be

sufficient to link the material to shop conditions, and the shop paper editors will quickly learn to do this.

The next article in the Party Organizer will deal with suggestions and criticisms

of the plan on the part of the comrades, who are again urged to write in immediately. We will also describe devices being used by the German Party to stimulate and improve shop paper work.

## The Necessity of Building Section Leadership

One of the most important problems before the Party is to overcome the disproportion between the Party's influence among the working masses and its organizational strength. This means that one of the most important tasks is to transform the "quality into quantity", namely, to transform the influence into organizational forms. In this problem is involved not only the strengthening of the Party but also the building up, in the first place of the revolutionary unions and the other workingclass mass organizations on the basis of class struggle. To accomplish this task, it is not enough that the Party should have a correct line in the approaching of the struggle but what is also of great importance is the carrying out of the practical tasks on the basis of this line.

Here we enter into the substance of the problem that we treat here. Where does the cause lie—that in the practical task of the strengthening of the Party from an organizational and ideological point of view, we are weak? One of the most important causes is the fact that the connections between the leading committees and the nuclei are too weak. Our Party is weak in the District leading committees and especially in the section leadership. On the basis of this weakness, the nuclei, do not function as the real basic unit of the Party.

Often we find a too much mechanical routine in the activities of the nuclei which devote most of their time to petty questions which are a function of the nuclei executives. There is too much generalization of the problems, too mechanical approach to Party instructions, a too weak

approach to the real and the most important task of the nuclei, which consists in the concretization of the Party instructions in the practical activities, in the respective shops or mines, etc., in which the nuclei are existing.

In many cases, the nuclei do not discuss at all the problems of the shops in which they are based.

In a series of cases, the comrades are afraid to be fired if discovered as Communists, so that our nuclei crawl directly into a shell, resulting in isolation from the masses of the respective mine or shop. We find cases in which the workers of the shop in which the nucleus exists, show more fighting spirit than the Party members. This is because our comrades are not flexible enough to adopt new forms of activity, corresponding to a different situation.

With a few exceptions the nuclei have not the capacity to issue independently of the District office, the shop paper, not only from a technical point of view but also as to contents. There is no initiative of the nuclei in this respect, and their confidence in their own forces is too weak.

In most cases, no discussion takes place, to raise the ideological level of the nuclei, but only a mechanical lecture on the district instructions, which in most cases are a repetition of the instructions of the Party Center. No elaboration of the practical task of the units in their sphere of action; little understanding of how to carry out the line of the general instructions in their practical tasks in the immediate surroundings.

These few examples of weaknesses of non-understanding of the essence of the

tasks of the nuclei and units show clearly the necessity of a prompt correctness.

Why does such a situation exist? Where are the causes? Not only because our membership is weak in general, but especially because the section leadership in some cases is non-existing, as for example, Pittsburgh and Ohio District, or if existing, have not the capacity to lead and supervise the activity of the units. In most cases they become simply a bureaucratic apparatus for the simple transmission of materials, instead of adopting this material to the situation in the shop for the practical daily tasks of the nuclei and to lead in general the activities of the nuclei in their respective section.

What shall constitute a section leadership? What are its tasks? A section leadership must be conscious of its tasks, must be the leading committee in one section of the Party, and as such, shall translate and apply the directives of the Party district to the activity of the Party nuclei. The section leadership must have a clear picture of the situation in its territory, of the tasks of the individual nucleus in each respective sphere of action, supervise and also help with technical assistance the preparation of the shop paper, spur on the initiative of the nuclei in all matters so as to develop their initiative, not only because it is not possible that everything shall be done from the District office, but also because we must develop the independent initiative of the basic units in their activities, especially in view of the perspective of a still more intense capitalist offensive, at which time the basic units shall work more independently on the line of the Party and not wait for every detailed directive to come from above.

It is the section leadership that must lead directly the political education of the nuclei in the line of raising the ideological level, strengthen the Communist consciousness. It is this way that the nuclei will become more conscious of the carrying thru of their activities.

Many times our nuclei and the section leadership forget the most important task of the nuclei and misunderstand the real role of the basic units of the Party. They forget that the nuclei in the shops, mills, mines, must be the dynamic forces of the Party in drawing the masses into struggle, must constitute the general staff of the masses of the respective shop or mine which shall lead everyday struggles and prepare itself for tomorrow in leading these masses in the struggle for the overthrow of the bosses, to take over the power in the respective shop, mine and factory. This means that the basic unit of the Party must win the masses of the shops, mines and mills to our program—to the Party, shall draw them into action, through a continuous work of agitation and propaganda, through their example to be the first and foremost in the struggle of the workingclass and the leader of the struggles in the respective shops.

If we put the question in this light it becomes immediately clear that this weakness reflects to a great extent the weakness of the section leadership and that the Party is faced with the problem of building the section leadership.

How can we solve this problem? Not only through the training courses in the Center and in the District but at the same time thru the development of the best comrades, the drawing of them into active work on committees, in the division of work among these comrades, in the assignment of these comrades, to the supervision of a number of nuclei, through the selection of the best comrades of the nuclei to build the section leadership, through continuous instruction to the comrades of the section leadership about their practical tasks, through instruction tours by the district organization secretaries in the section for the purpose of giving to the section leadership the directives in their work on the basis of the analysis of the situation in the different shops or mines, etc.

With the growth of the Party, the building of section leadership, covering large territories, in most cases greater than a district in a European country, is an immediate task of all districts.

Only in this way will the section leadership be in a position to give real directives to the nuclei, to help them in the daily work and struggles; only in this way, will we establish a real connection between the top and the basis, and concretize the line of the Party in the practical work among the masses in the shops.

To have the possibility of carrying out this work it is necessary, that in the first place, the District Committee shall divide the work among its members; see that the different departments function, and "free" the district organizer from the mass of technical work, until now centralized only in his hands, so that the organizer shall become the real supervisor and co-ordinator of the different branches of activity and become a real organizer of the Party in the District.

---

## Instructions For Internal Organization of Mass Meetings

Many Party mass meetings are not a maximum success because of the poor organization arrangements, both prior to and even at the meeting itself. These defects, some of which appear of a small or inconsequential character, are in reality of vital importance for the success of the meeting. We therefore outline some of the most important matters, which every Party organization must provide for and carry out.

1) A committee should be in charge of the arrangements for the meeting—after the DEC or Section Committee has adopted the basic decisions—with responsibility for different phases of the work (hall, publicity, tickets, finances ushers, program, etc.) definitely assigned to individual members.

2) The plan of the meeting should be worked out in advance. Start your meetings on time and don't drag it out, but wind it up with everyone still present, and in this way the audience will leave, feeling enthusiastic and of a good opinion of our Party's organization ability. Speakers should be arranged for in advance.

3) The program should be of a varied character. There should not be too many speakers. There should be one main speaker. All others should not receive more

than 10 minutes each. Short speeches are a prerequisite for a successful meeting. Wherever possible arrangements should be made for an orchestra, band or singing society. A short tableau or play is also permissible. These lighter features, however, must be linked up with the political purpose of the meeting, and they must not be the dominant feature of the meeting.

4) At all meetings there must be a Negro or YCL speaker. If possible a woman speaker should also be provided.

5) Advertise widely the meeting. In addition to leaflets, shop papers, stickers, etc., every member of the Party and every member of friendly mass organizations must be circularized with a special letter and leaflet urging them to attend the meeting. (Proper write-ups should be sent to all Party press as well as the local capitalist press.

6) Of great importance is the conduct and order at the meeting. A bad practice has arisen in our mass meetings, of the Party members and particularly YCL members, gathering in groups at the rear of the hall to talk amongst themselves. This practice disturbs the meeting and leaves a very bad effect on non-Party members who are present. This must be eliminated.

The only method to conduct the mass meeting orderly and with preciseness, and also with many organizational advantages for the Party, is to arrange for a selected group of comrades to act as ushers. One member of the arrangements committee should be charged with the organizing of these ushers. These comrades should be stationed at various strategic points in the hall, in order to maintain quiet and order thruout the meeting. These ushers should have a red band around their arm or some similar mark of distinction to give them the necessary authority. It is of major importance that the ushers prevent anyone from standing in the aisles or at the rear of the hall. Seats must be provided for everyone and no walking about tolerated. The results of such an efficient group of ushers will astound the local Party organization. It will result in better meetings, shorter meetings, larger collections, larger literature sales, larger number of applicants to the Party.

7) Similarly, the collection must be well organized and a corps of collectors stationed in the minimum number of strategic places within the hall. It is of utmost importance, to the success of the collection, that the ushers maintain complete quiet while the collection is being taken,

and that the collectors work efficiently—each with their territory and not duplicating territory.

8) In order to give the necessary color to the meeting the hall should be decorated and our slogans should be displayed in all parts of the hall. It is also advisable to have the Pioneers and the YCL members in their respective uniforms, sit together in one section of the hall. A march thru the hall by the Pioneers and YCL members in uniform is many times very effective. When the Internationale is sung by a singing society or played by an orchestra, the entire audience should join in the singing, in order to develop a lively demonstrative spirit in the meeting.

9) The selling of literature must be organized systematically. While all literature should be displayed and sold at a literature table, at the rear of the hall, you should concentrate on selling one or two particular pamphlets, which deal with the issue of the day. It is advisable to have the chairman or one of the speakers spend a few minutes describing the piece of literature you wish to concentrate upon and then sell it thru the audience. Under no circumstances should you allow every organization to sell its own literature.

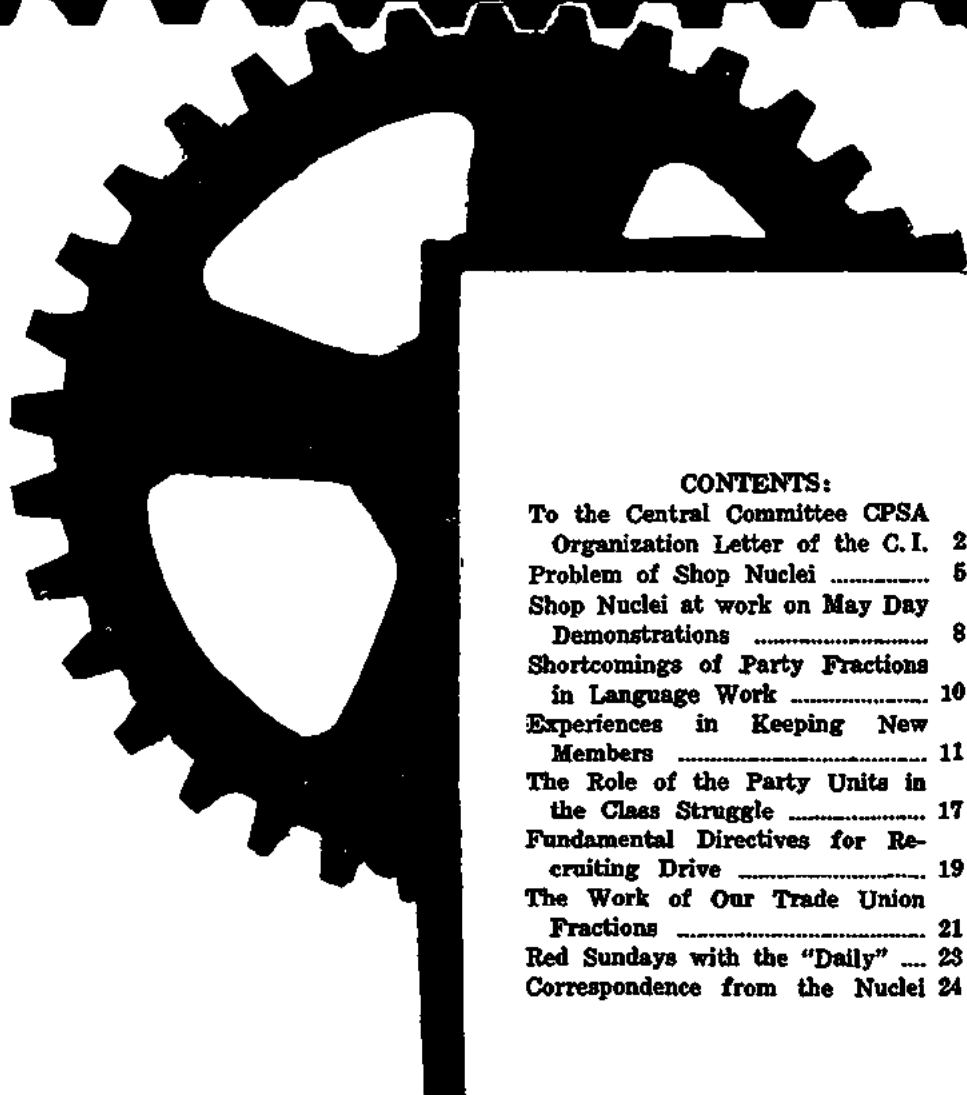
---

The present methods of leading and instructing by means of circular letters must undergo a radical change. As few circulars as possible, as much personal leadership as possible on the part of Party committees and instructors. As far as conditions permit, conferences of secretaries and nucleus representatives should be call-

ed regularly, to sum up past work and discuss the plan of immediate tasks. It is very important to call together nucleus representatives in the form of instruction-conferences before the organization of political campaigns. Finally, the CC must take measures for the establishment of an institute of permanent instructors.

ORG. DEPARTMENT OF THE CL

# THE ► PARTY ORGANIZER



## CONTENTS:

To the Central Committee CPSA	
Organization Letter of the C. I.	2
Problem of Shop Nuclei .....	5
Shop Nuclei at work on May Day	
Demonstrations .....	8
Shortcomings of Party Fractions	
in Language Work .....	10
Experiences in Keeping New	
Members .....	11
The Role of the Party Units in	
the Class Struggle .....	17
Fundamental Directives for Re-	
cruiting Drive .....	19
The Work of Our Trade Union	
Fractions .....	21
Red Sundays with the "Daily" ....	23
Correspondence from the Nuclei	24

Volu. 3.

June-July, 1930

No. 4

Published by

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
43 East 125th Street, New York City

## To the Central Committee CPUSA.

### ORGANIZATION LETTER FROM COMINTERN

At the forthcoming Party Convention considerable attention must be paid to the question of strengthening the Party organizationally. The leftward swing of the broad proletarian masses, and, in connection with this, the rapidly growing influence of the Party among the masses, raises the question very sharply of the organizational strengthening of the Party as the most important prerequisite for the further development of the Party.

The resolution of the CC, printed on March 29th, on the Results of the Recruiting Campaign, points out, in connection with the March 6th campaign, the tremendous disproportion between the ideological influence of the Party and the organizational consolidation of this influence. As far as can be judged by the incomplete information which we have about the organizational condition of the Party, there is not yet a complete understanding as to the danger of this situation for the further development of the Party, and this also made itself felt in this resolution (March 29th). The CC states in the resolution that the results of the recruiting campaign show both the increase of the influence of the Party among the masses, and the organizational strengthening of the Party. However, the data of this resolution as to the recruiting campaign do not show any considerable organizational consolidation of the Party, and especially do not show any great increase in the ability of the Party to consolidate its political influence in the most important points of Party work, — among the workers of big factories in the most important industrial centers of the country. But this is the most decisive matter at the present time when estimating the successes of the Party in solving the central problem of the moment — the winning over the majority of the working class.

The CC chose a good moment for its

recruiting campaign (the growth of the revolutionary mood of the masses of the working class in connection with the growth of unemployment). Under the leadership of the CC the Party carried on a successful agitation for joining the Party, and properly linked it up with the March 6th campaign. But at the same time the CC puts on record that: 1) most of the new members who joined the Party during the recruiting campaign were industrial workers who were unemployed at the moment of entering the Party (the CC points out that in some districts 75% of the new members were unemployed), and thus the recruiting campaign did very little to strengthen the Party organization in the factories, i.e., in the places where this is most of all necessary; 2) the CC resolution states that 90% of the new members were accepted at meetings, i.e., that most of the new members spontaneously joined the Party and that the factory nuclei did not take an active part in the recruiting campaign. This is also true of the Negroes who joined the Party; 3) the resolution states that the District committees, including those Districts where the District committees reported the greatest success, have not ordered membership cards and dues stamps equivalent to the reported new members, which makes the CC doubt whether these claims of great recruiting successes are not bluff on the part of the district committees. (We fail to understand how it could happen that the CC could sum up the campaign without investigating the correctness of the information as to the results of the recruiting campaign, since it was in doubt on the matter); 4) in view of the general passivity of the Party organizations with regard to the organizational side of the recruiting campaign, we cannot under-estimate the statement of the CC's resolution of March 29th that in Pittsburgh a portion of the

members of the Party were opposed to the recruiting campaign, and that in all the Districts only a part of the members took an active part in the campaign.

All these facts which were established by the CC after the March 6th campaign had livened up the Party, show, however, that up to the present time the organizational work in the Party is absolutely unsatisfactory, and is the most important problem for the further development of the Party. At the forthcoming Party Convention there must be a complete change in the organizational work of the Party. The CPUSA has already received many directives on organizational questions. In particular, the last Party Convention made detailed decisions which were as a whole correct on the organizational consolidation of the Party. These decisions as a rule have not been carried out. Thus, at the present time, there is no questions of giving any special new organizational directives. The convention must raise the organizational problem before the whole Party very urgently, must show very concretely how to carry out the previous directives and in particular the decisions of the previous Convention on the reorganization of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei.

The chief cause of the delay, and the unsatisfactory work on the reconstruction of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei at the present moment when the Party has a correct political line, is the numerical weakness and the unsatisfactory composition of the leading cadres. After the last Party Convention the basic composition of the District Party leadership was practically not changed by introducing new forces which had grown up during the course of the big class struggles which have recently taken place. The changes in composition which took place were brought about by: 1) reductions owing to the expulsion of factionalists from the Party; 2) by exchanging workers between towns. In particular, in New York and in Chicago no new workers at all were promoted to leadership.

According to the data given by the CC during the recruiting campaign, the factory nuclei did not recruit a single new member. Therefore, the forthcoming Party Convention must most emphatically raise the question of the necessity of rapidly and boldly filling the leading cadres by bringing in new forces which have grown up during the course of the recent big proletarian struggles, and removing from leadership such members of the present Party committees and bureaus of factory nuclei as have shown themselves incapable of organizing mass work on a factory basis during the August 1st, March 6th and May 1st campaigns.

In extending and refreshing the leadership, the Party must not proceed mechanically, but it must work on the basis of a most energetic self-criticism from below by putting into force the right of every Party organization to re-elect its committee before its time has expired, if the committee has shown during the course of current Party work that it is incapable of carrying out the general Party line. The highest Party committees still have the right to remove any member of a lower Party committee and to dissolve a Party committee, and this rule must be more rigidly applied in all cases where it is necessary, especially during severe mass struggles, when a delay of a day or even an hour may have most serious effects on the results of the struggle and on the whole further development of the Party. But in the near future the CC and the Party as a whole must concentrate on developing the most determined self-criticism from below, keeping in mind the fact mentioned in "The Resolution on the Results of the Recruiting Campaign", that this campaign was carried on without self-criticism. The new CC must organize systematic help for the local organizations in the development of self-criticism in them, especially after big political campaigns have been carried on, and in general after all mass proletarian activity, such as strikes, etc. Thus, they will be



able, on the basis of self-criticism from below, to discover new Party activists from the large factories who must be brought into leadership in the Party, and at the same time, leaders who have shown in practice that they are unsuitable for carrying out the Party line must be removed. Another method of promoting new workers to the leadership of Party work is the creation of properly functioning departments in the committees (according to the decisions of the first and second organizational meetings) in which case the best activists from the factory nuclei must unfailingly be attracted to the work in the departments. In this way the new ranks who come to fill the leading cadres of the Party will be educated in the course of practical work. The departments in the District committees in the CPUSA work very badly and in many cases are completely absent. The Convention must put an end to this state of affairs.

Another important task which the forthcoming Convention must deal with in a most serious manner is the struggle against the passivity of the mass of Party members. This passivity has many times been recorded in numerous Party documents, and is an integral part of the Right opportunist tendency of the Party which is at present the chief hindrance to the full development of the Party. We have no information that the Party has carried on any serious struggle against the passivity of the members. This is a great fault which must have the most serious effect on the political success of the Party.

The local Party committees which are carried on along the lines of forming strong factory nuclei with plenty of initiative, and which are well linked up with the mass of workers of their factory. As a method for attaining this we may recommend the formation of special shock brigades of Party members for carrying out concrete tasks. These brigades must first of all be formed from Party mem-

bers working in a single factory, from members of a single factory nucleus, so as to accustom them first of all to the initiative and intensive independence of Party work, but all other members of the Party must also be attracted into such brigades.

The local Party committees which are directly responsible for the activity of Party nuclei must observe very attentively that the work of the brigades should be concentrated around the most important sections of the Party work. As the most important sections of Party work change during the course of the class struggle, the Party committees must reform the shock brigades and at any moment must be able to guarantee the concentration of their forces on the most important sections of the leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the proletarian masses. Along the same lines the Party must seek an answer to the question of what to do with the factory district nuclei. These nuclei must be constructed as shock brigades for carrying out special tasks. They must work under the direct leadership of the corresponding Party committee, and, having carried out their tasks, they must be dissolved and their members sent to other shock brigades, according to the concrete demands of the moment.

The CC must in the near future control and direct the whole of the work for converting the factory nuclei into the genuine fundamental organizations of the Party, and also the work for strengthening and freshening the leading cadres. First of all the CC must obviously concentrate its attention on New York, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and Pittsburgh where there is a great growth of sympathy for the Party among the broad proletarian masses, and at the same time where the extraordinary weakness of the Party work in the factories was displayed. In these districts the CC must set itself the task in the course of the next three months after the Convention of converting the District committees into genuine political leading Party centers, well linked up with the big fac-

tories and based on strong factory nuclei in these factories. The CC must keep 10 to 15 factory nuclei in these Districts under its own direct observation, and attach to each of them a member of the CC or an instructor. The task must be to set them on their feet in the next 3 months after the Convention.

The Convention must carefully consider the results of the recruiting campaign, and must decide on concrete measures for removing shortcomings such as were noted in the resolution of the CC on April 29th. The local Party leaders must be made strictly responsible for carrying out these measures. At all costs work must be started as soon as possible and with the maximum intensiveness to recruit new members into the Party, concentrating special attention on the attraction of active workers from the big factories. In particular, directives must be given to the local organizations to increase their recruiting work among women workers, in view of the fact that women workers showed very great activity during the March 6th campaign, (as is shown in the resolution of the CC on the recruiting campaign). The local Party organizations have shown an absolute lack of attention to the questions of recruiting working women into the Party.

The Convention must also give clear directives on the questions of work among

the newly accepted members, of carrying out educational work among them by means of schools and classes, and of attracting them immediately into the practical everyday work of the Party. As far as can be judged from the material we have received, including the Daily Worker, until very recently the work with the new members has been absolutely incompetent. This threatens that the majority of the newly accepted members will soon leave the Party again after the manner of previous recruiting campaigns, when the new members were also left without any attention.

In conclusion, we propose that you strengthen the organizational role of the Party press, and organize in the Daily Worker a live section for Party life, in which all the most important Party problems will be dealt with seriously and in a business-like way. The same must be done with regard to the provincial Party organs and the press organs of various national groups. The Convention and the new CC must pay special attention to the question of extending the network of factory newspapers, because factory newspapers play a tremendous role in the activation and consolidation of factory nuclei, and in general in the matter of assisting the penetration of Party influence among the mass of the workers in big factories.

---

## Problem of Shop Nuclei

The whole future of our Party, the growth, composition of the membership, ability to mobilize masses and ability to fight, depends upon how strongly we are able to build our roots in the enterprises. This brings us face to face with the problem of building shop nuclei. In the recent recruiting drive a good beginning was made. Still the CC Plenum resolution is

compelled to state that "Less than 10% of the Party membership is organized into factory nuclei". The same resolution states further that in such an important District as New York the "membership organized into the factory nuclei is less than 2%".

This means that we must start organizing factory nuclei at a much faster tempo than hitherto. The building of shop

nuclei must become the central organizational task of our Party. The Central Committee has already placed this as the central organizational task for the whole Party, stating in its Plenum resolution, that "Every District is therefore obligated to transform the Party base systematically into one of shop nuclei. Within the year following the convention, over 40 percent of the Party membership must be organized into shop nuclei".

Organizing over 40% Party members into shop nuclei, places concrete task for every District Committee, to every Section Committee, to every functioning and every responsible Party member, and the task cannot be accomplished without the fullest realization of the importance of this task. Therefore we must at once begin the most energetic propaganda towards this end. A systematic campaign must be carried throughout the whole Party in order to educate the whole membership for the importance of the change in the organizational structure of our Party, away from street nuclei into shop nuclei.

But propaganda is not enough. Our propaganda on the shop nuclei must be coupled with immediate organizational steps. Every District Committee is held responsible at once to begin a realization of the Plenum decision, which states: "Every District Committee must work out plans for systematic work in a number of selected shops and industries and must concentrate the Party forces in this work."

There are unlimited possibilities in every District for building shop nuclei. Especially during this time, when the economic crisis is ever deepening and as a consequence is worsening the conditions of the workers. Wage cuts, lengthening of working hours, speed-up, etc., are making the workers ripe at a very fast tempo. They become more and more responsive to our propaganda. We must therefore approach them, by distributing leaflets, literature and holding shop gate meetings. This propaganda must be linked up with organizational steps. That is, wherever

there are one or two Party members working in the shop, their duty is, with the help of the Section committee, to lay a basis and organize a shop nucleus. And where there are no Party members working in a particular factory, we must make every effort to get Party members into it. In other cases, if we fail to get Party members in, we must begin organizational steps following our propaganda, by establishing shop committees, organizing TUUL groups and through these means lay the basis for organization of shop nuclei. In these cases, when shop nuclei are organized from fresh elements, one or two experienced comrades from other nuclei must be attached to the newly formed unit, in order to give it needed leadership.

There are multitudes of big important factories where we can and we must establish shop nuclei. Every District is obliged to take concrete steps in order to bring results and to fulfill the tasks that the Plenum resolution has set as our task. There can be no excuses. The Central Committee is watching every District Committee, and every District Organizer is held personally responsible for starting this task and bringing concrete results towards this end immediately. But it is not the question of organizing "shop nuclei" on the paper. The question: what kind of shop nuclei, is just as important. And the main efforts must be made organizing factory nuclei in basic industries. Why? Because it is just there where the strength of our Party lies. It is particularly in heavy and basic industries where the power of the working class is most efficient and where it can be most strikingly used for the benefit of the class struggle. In the basic industries the influence of our shop nuclei can reach the largest number of workers.

Of course, medium and light industries must not be neglected. We must go there too. But in order to improve the present composition of our membership and really establish the roots of our Party into the foundation of the economic structure of cap-

italism, we must concentrate our main efforts on building factory nuclei in heavy industries.

The question of making shop nuclei really active units of our Party, is just as important as organizing them. Paper "Nuclei" do not amount to anything and we should not deceive our Party by establishing these paper "nuclei". Every nucleus must be made a living organ, which by its every day activities would stimulate the body of our Party, to give it strength in its struggles and activities. Therefore, it is necessary that shop nuclei be given the closest attention. They must be taught how to work, in order that they may fulfill their functions. Section organizers and Section committees must keep in closest touch with every shop nucleus in their Section and assist them in their work in every way possible. But this caretaking should not, however, be such which would kill the self-activity of the shop unit. On the contrary, every shop nucleus must be taught to develop self-activity and self-initiative. In this respect we must remember that shop nuclei must not be overloaded with all kinds of routine work and collections, but must be educated to carry on work inside factories, by establishing and leading in shop committee and TUUL work, by distributing leaflets, by issuing shop paper, but also raising every day questions about shop conditions, which affect most intimately every worker in the shop and whereby the nucleus will surely gain influence over the workers in the particular shop.

Issuing shop papers, of course, is one of the most important and elementary work of every shop nucleus. While Section committees must assist and guide the issuance of these shop papers, the nuclei themselves must be trained to edit these papers. There are yet a number of shop nuclei which do not issue a paper. This shortcoming must be immediately looked into and remedied, because no shop nucleus can exist and spread its influence without having a shop paper.

While the shop nuclei must base itself on the shops and constantly extend their influence in the shop through their activities in connection with the every day conditions of the particular shop, every shop nucleus must be educated towards the general political struggles and revolutionary political aims of the Party and making them full participants in all the Party campaigns and in the political life of the Party. This can be best achieved by conducting political education in the shop units and by drawing more and more members of shop nuclei into responsible functions of the Party.

The relation of the unemployed with the shop nuclei must also be on a correct basis. The resolution of the CC Plenum has given directives in this respect, instructing that, "The unemployed members of the Party must be organized into factory nuclei in the place of their last employment." This means that the unemployed member does not cease to be a member of this shop nucleus. Where he has been separated from his unit, he must be taken back there, and must continue to be active in his unit. This is the only way to maintain close relations with employed and unemployed in and around the factories and guarantees the possibility of forming committees of action of the employed and unemployed workers.

Division of work is necessary in every shop nucleus. Every member of the unit must be made active and responsible for particular work. There should be no dead wood in factory units. Of course, this activity of the members must be achieved, not by mechanical discipline, but by educating them to understand the responsibility and duty of every member of the Communist Party, so that each one willingly will undertake and carry on his or her work. Disciplinary measures must be resorted to only when ideological means have failed.

Of course, there are persecutions and dangers in the way of the work of our members in the shop units. Both employer and government are using their spy system,

and when one is found engaging in Communist activities there is a possibility of losing a job, becoming blacklisted, even in some cases persecuted or deported, when non-citizen, etc. Threats of these dangers, however, shall not make any Party member inactive. The Communist work in the enterprises must be carried on under all conditions. It is, however, necessary to be cautious in order not to expose comrades to the spies of the employers or government. Comrades must learn how to conduct their work secretly and illegally, but at the same time be ready to mobilize all workers in the shop to defend the workers' right to belong to the Communist Party, if any one of the Party members are fired for Communist activity.

Comrades, every important task of our Party is involved in our ability to build more shop nuclei and make every shop nuclei really active political units in our Party. The question of raising our membership to 25,000 at the end of this year, cannot be achieved properly without coupling up the task of building shop nuclei

with our recruiting of new members. The task of building up the TUUL and making it a real mass fighting organization which is the main task of our Party in developing its influence and organizing the American working class into class struggle, cannot be accomplished, without simultaneously building the revolutionary unions, and organize Party shop nuclei to all important industries throughout the country. The struggle against the Right danger, the struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union, cannot be carried out, without bettering the composition of our membership and establishing the roots and influence of our Party in the enterprises in the heavy industries. The ability of our Party to mobilize masses cannot be effectively carried out without a shop nuclei basis. The whole revolutionary fighting ability of our Party is bound up with the transformation of our main strength from the street nuclei into the shop units.

Therefore, comrades, let us take really earnestly the Central Committee's Plenum slogan "Into the Shops".

## Shop Nuclei at Work on May Day Demonstration

### CHICAGO.

The slogan of a Mass Political Strike on May 1st can be transferred into reality only if our shop nuclei are mobilized to carry out political and organizational preparations for the strike. Unfortunately not a single shop nucleus in District 8 set up a May Day Committee, making a united front below—uniting workers for a definite struggle. It was necessary to set up such a committee—to put forward local demands of the workers in the shops link-

ing these up with the general slogans of the Party. Because of lack of May Day Committees this was not done. The nuclei themselves were not active inside of the shops to mobilize the workers for the strike. Shop nuclei on May Day in the past remained in a privileged position not doing this elementary work of the shop nuclei.

The question arises here—why is it that the shop nuclei remained inactive altho

the objective conditions in the shops were favorable for the strike?

First of all, our nuclei were very weak and they were actually not shop nuclei as they did not carry on day to day shop activity. Nuclei functioned rather as an information buro on the conditions in the shops to supply news for the shop paper which is usually edited with the help of the Section committee, distributed by the comrades from other nuclei in front of the shops. Comrades in the shop nuclei are satisfied with this. There is no sincere effort made on the part of the leadership to activate shop nuclei, to give them practical suggestions and help in carrying on the work.

Yes, there was a shop nuclei conference at which the question of the strike was discussed. It must be stated, however, that practically without exception the Party comrades reporting at the shop nuclei conference expressed that it is impossible to win the workers for the strike, the workers will not strike and from Western Electric the argument was advanced that "every worker there is a share holder and therefore how was it possible to get them for the strike?"

This conference was not followed up. No personal attention was given to the shop units. All activity was confined to a few noon-day meetings in front of the shops and a demonstration on May Day itself in front of the Western Electric.

This is a very sad picture of the situation in our shop nuclei. Is it possible to improve these conditions? We must emphatically answer YES! Here is a concrete example:

During the May Day preparations in checking up on the comrades working in the larger shops, a new shop nucleus was organized in the Deering Plant of only three workers. At the first meeting of the nucleus we established that wage cuts are taking place in the plant as much as 50%;

that a murderous speed-up was in process to such an extent that the workers simply cannot stand it any longer and that there is considerable talk of strike in the shop. This clearly established the fact that the objective conditions in the shop were for a strike—the workers were ready for struggle. What was missing was the crystallization of this growing readiness for struggle into actual struggle and giving the workers leadership. To do this it is necessary to entrench ourselves among the workers—to stretch out our organization among them.

Toward this end we gathered the names of 15 workers who were sympathetic to the movement, who could be organized into a shop group of the TUUL and divided these names among the three members of the nucleus to visit them and call them to a meeting. This was all done at the first meeting of the nucleus.

It is through this elementary work that we find the main way of building the units and building organization in the shops. We must show our members how to utilize a concrete situation and how to give leadership to the workers. And this is something that was missed in our May Day preparations. We gave too much general political talks and did not concretize, and what is more important, we did not trouble to examine specific conditions in the factories where we had shop nuclei or in shops where we had even one comrade.

Although we were not able to have a single strike in any shop in Chicago or in the District, workers in many shops did not go to work on May Day. Others quit at noon and came to the demonstration. At the Goss plant where we have no unit and issue no shop paper, through the efforts of one comrade working in the shop and the distribution of leaflets 87 workers failed to report to work on May 1st but although these workers did come to the

demonstration they did not come in an organized manner.

This brings to us two main lessons.

1) The Party members in the shops are often too timid to carry on the work in

the shops or do not understand how to apply the Party line in their work, and

2) (which is more serious) The leadership was not able to help our comrades in the shops to organize workers for strike on May Day.

## Shortcomings of Party Fractions in Language Work

Reports given by 16 Language Bureaus of the Central Committee uncover many weaknesses in our language fractions. The analysis of the reports show:

1. Looseness. Most of the Bureaus cannot give precise, or any report of how many Party members are in the different mass organizations. Certainly then, these

comrades are not organized into fractions!

2. Concentration of Party forces on small organizations.

3. Little participation in general Party campaigns.

Facts on the division of Party membership into language mass organizations are given as follows:

Bureau	Org. controlled by the Party		Org. influenced by the Party		Org. under enemy lead- ership members
	Members	Pty. members	Members	Pty. members	
Lettish	515	100	NO	NO	1,500
Italian	1,600	350	NO	NO	300,000
Hungarian	10,000	600	3,000	40	160,000
Finnish	12,000	1,800	20,000		?
Chinese	285	72	105	2	700
Ukranian	2,500	400	16,000	100	20,000
Czechoslovak	4,100	?	NO	NO	210,000
Albanian	NO	15	NO	NO	400
Polish	Local clubs	?	8 clubs	?	307,000
Jewish	7,500	750	6,100	460	60,000
Esthonian	200	25	20	4	70
Lithuanian	10,000	280	30,000	130	
Russian	1,800	200	2,500	15	1,000
Spanish	75	22	100	20	20,000
Armenian	1,000	150	1,500	10	
Japanese	100	44			8,500

As it can be seen, the Italian comrades are working in comparatively small organizations, having about 1,600 members altogether. At the same time, there are hundreds of thousands of Italian workers organized under fascist leadership. The Hungarian, Czechoslovakian, Polish and Spanish fractions are organized the same way, some of them among large masses. The fractions, directed by 16 Bureaus and numbering almost 5,000 Party members, control organizations having about 50,000 members. About 800 Party members work among 140,000 workers in organizations in which we have influence. Organizations consisting of over million members, mostly workers, have no Party members and no influence. These organizations are led by our class enemies.

Such a division of our forces brings about the following results:

1. A comparatively narrow influence.
2. Since the majority of these fractions are working in unnecessary large numbers in sympathetic organizations, where without any struggle these proposals are carried, they don't develop in the struggles, which are carried on only in those organi-

zations which are lead or influenced by the class enemies.

3. Work in small, Party controlled organizations, in which in some cases the Party members are the majority of those present at the meetings, develop a tendency of giving to these organizations almost the role of the Party, at least similar political functions. In these small organizations the Party members do not think it necessary to have fraction meetings. The meetings of these organizations are nearly Party meetings.

A redistribution of forces so that most of the Party members shall be organized in real mass organizations for struggle against reaction, for Party policies and leadership, is necessary. But not going to the extreme, so as to loose already existing bases for work.

More participation in the general campaigns of the Party, T. U. U. L. and other auxilliary organizations is necessary. But the members of the language fractions shall never be overburdened with language work, since their main decisive work is in the Party units.

## Experiences In Keeping New Members

### GENERAL.

The most glaring deficiencies in the organizational and agitprop work of the Party is brought out in an analysis of the capacity of our Party to retain the new

members taken in during the recent Recruiting Drive. An examination of 10 of the 15 districts who participated in the Drive shows:



	Claimed Recruited	Init. Stamps Sold During Same Period	No. of New Recruits in Party Today	Percent Kept
Boston .....	302	215	80	27%
New York .....	1450	800	788	54%
Philadelphia .....	447	120	200	45%
Buffalo .....	267	26	260	97%
Cleveland .....	688	276	340	51%
Detroit .....	1079	450	500	46%
Minneapolis .....	423	110	254	60%
Kansas City .....	50	35	20	40%
California .....	307	95	151	49%
Connecticut .....	132	82	100	76%
	5125	2209	2693	52%

If we contrast this table with the figures given at the conclusion of the Recruiting Drive, based on the official reports of the DO's, we see that there was much boasting which only harms the Party in the long run and particularly do we evidence absolute failure of the nuclei to absorb these new members into their life and activity. The inadequacies of the Agit Prop work showed itself in the few classes established and where functioning, the small number of new members involved.

All of this brings out more sharply than ever the weaknesses already pointed out (lack of recruiting in shops; primarily recruitment at demonstrations and meetings; large number among unemployed; few shop nuclei organized; absence of self-criticism in connection with the Drive on the part of the Districts, etc.) in the CC Resolution on Results of the Drive.

Today there still faces the Party as Task Number One, that which was pointed out on March 12th in the CC Resolution which says:

"1. Work Amongst the New members. This can only be done by firstly, a sharp change and improvement of the organizational and political life of our shop and street nuclei. This means that every unit must discuss in full the political campaigns and issues before the Party and how to carry these through

in every day activity of the nucleus. Every nucleus must outline for itself, under the leadership of the District and Section Committees, concrete activity to carry through in the factories the political and organizational tasks of the Party. Linked up with this is the improvement of the functioning of the nucleus, which must meet regularly, on time, and with the nucleus executive giving leadership at all times. In activating the nucleus, every member and particularly the new members must be involved in activity. The Districts and Section Committees must eliminate "circular" leadership as far as possible and give detailed personal attention to every lower organization, and

Secondly, the immediate establishment of classes, discussion meetings, study groups of all types (see March Party Organizer), development of Workers' Correspondence, etc., in which all new members must participate. In these study groups and courses, Party problems and major political issues, particularly in connection with Party program amongst the Negroes, must be studied, discussed and explained."

The loss of new members up to now must sound the alarm for the entire Party as to the weak organizational status and capacity of the Party, and the above tasks

of the Party must be applied immediately and energetically with full supervision of the District and Section Committees.

In an effort to popularize this problem,

we will print in each issue of the Party Organizer, experiences of specific districts. In this issue we give experiences of Chicago and New York.

### CHICAGO.

At a recent meeting in the Calumet Section Committee held in order to discuss the Convention Thesis, a number of old leading members were still disputing whether there is radicalization amongst the workers and they were particularly doubtful as to whether unemployment is developing on a large mass scale. At this very same meeting, there were present six workers, both employed and unemployed, and one Negro worker who had recently joined the Party in Indianapolis. These workers, both in relating their experiences and in their spirit, refuted all the arguments of the old members who still doubted whether there is unemployment and radicalization.

All of the Indianapolis new members spoke at the Section committee meeting and without exception, expressed one desire and hope, namely, that they expect to remain in the Party in order to be able to FIGHT and gain KNOWLEDGE. These were the exact slogans put forward by these new members themselves.

If we want to summarize what the new members expect from the Party when they join it is precisely given by the Indianapolis new members. And the main reason in failing to keep the new members lies precisely in the fact that our units and the old members, to a large degree, are removed from direct participation in the class struggles, as concretely expressed in the failure to carry on shop activities and TUUL activities, and furthermore linked up with this, the failure of political discussion and lack of political life in the new units to give knowledge to the new members who expect to get it when they join the Party.

Various discussions in the units in Chicago District have shown, that the new members, joining the Party as a result of the Party's campaigns and their desire to fight against the effects of the present crisis, are participating proportionally more frequently in discussions than some of the old members who have no class struggle experiences to relate and to link up their experiences with the general political line of the Party.

Organizational looseness and lack of responsibility are one of the main factors responsible for the failure to keep new members and lead them to more activities. Numerous examples can be given from our recent experiences, but we will only relate one which brings out that fact forcefully. A new member, who is a machinist and who came to our Party as a result of the TUUL activities, was placed in charge of the Metal Trades fraction. He called a meeting of our Metal Trades fraction, sent out 90 letters and only five showed up. This discouraged him a great deal and he actually told the comrades in charge of the TUUL that there is a great gap between what he heard of our Party before he joined, and what he finds now when there is so little discipline, responsibility, and desire for actual participation in the class struggle. Other cases, for instance, when new members filled out application cards to the Party three times and they were not attached to any unit. This surely is an indication of the organizational looseness which is responsible for the failure to keep many of the new members.

While we must not start a campaign of eliminating old members, it should be remembered that in many instances the old

members who cannot digest the new line—and especially to carry it out in practice, are a drag on the new members. For instance in Whiting, Indiana, it was absolutely necessary to eliminate the old members in order to be able to retain the new members. We have now instances in the city of Chicago where old members sent in their resignation, some without excuses, others frankly stating that the greater demands of the Party, because of the sharpened struggles, makes it impossible for them to remain in the Party.

We had recently a discussion in all of the Party nuclei on the TUUL. At one of the nucleus meetings one of two petty bourgeois elements have resigned from the Party and some of the new members have joined the TUUL.

While the main weapon in keeping the new members is drawing them into activities and raising the political level of the units, at the same time we must give special personal organizational attention to them and particularly arrange special educational activities. In every section of the city we have classes for new members. Our recent experience shows that, gener-

ally speaking, the new members are ready to attend these classes and to participate in them. The failure of some, and the great shortcomings in others, are mainly due to organizational looseness in the arrangement of the classes. In connection with this it is interesting to note that in many cases the Negro workers are more prompt and more interested in the class than the new white members. Generally we try to follow the following outline for the new members' classes.

1) Discussion on what brought them into the Party; 2) the present crisis in the light of the fundamental laws of Marxism; 3) the main campaigns of the Party as the TUUL, Election campaign, Daily Worker, etc.; 4) Organizational structure and activities of the Party.

Of course, these classes do not exhaust our educational activities for new members or for the Party as a whole. They are only a step in initiating the new members into the Party's political life and to enable them to feel their way through the Party. We are also making special attempts to stimulate reading amongst the new members.

### NEW YORK.

The membership drive was still in full swing when the Comintern letter warned our Party that our most important task during and after the drive is to keep the new members. The last plenum of our Party has as a special point on the agenda—how to keep the new members. This point in the resolution placed clearly before the Party what needs to be done in order that the workers who join our ranks shall be retained in our ranks and how to do it. In spite of the warning of the Comintern, in spite of the very thorough, concrete resolution of the Party plenum, almost no effort was made to correct the well known shortcomings and mistakes in this respect.

We will not enumerate the very serious mistakes and shortcomings which kept out of the Party, 500 workers who showed their willingness to join the Communist Party during the membership drive. Our task in this article is to deal with the experience of New York District in the effort to keep the new members, who after long waiting were assigned to units.

1. After a long wait the worker becomes a Party member. He or she has a membership book, attends the first meeting, and receives the first delusion. What did the worker expect when attending the meeting. Discussion on the struggle against capitalism, on the methods by which the toiling masses can be organized,

political education to clarify the significance of the day to day struggle, and the duties of a member of the Communist Party. Instead of this the new member comes to a meeting where everything is discussed but the problems that he expected. In one of the units a new Party member made a statement that after being in the unit eight weeks he did not see any difference between his unit meeting and the meeting of his Society. He never heard anything about the activities the Party is engaged in at the unit meeting. It is a miracle that this comrade is still a member of the Party. Do not permit the unit meeting to degenerate into a continuous business meeting.

2. Reading of long communications at unit meetings is another obstacle which disrupts the work of the unit. The unit bureau should prepare the agenda and report to the members. The Districts and Sections should not send long communications to the units but should send representatives to take part in the life of the units.

3. It is difficult for a new member to understand the Party language in the unit. Even an old member finds it difficult to understand the meaning of some of the symbols. Our Party members are in the habit of using abbreviations for names of organizations and even for certain actions of the Party. In one unit where four new members listened with interest to a speech about the new turn of the Party they heard the following: "The Party made very good progress on the I. R. D.". The eyes of the new members sparkled. One of them said: "We made progress there too, we will lead the next big strike. Did you hear it? The subway workers are with us." The speaker became very angry and said, "How can any one be so dumb. I said, I. R. D., not I. R. T., and what I said said means International Red Day and not Interborough

Rapid Transit." The new members were very much astonished and at the next meeting two of them did not show up due to the retort of the clever speaker. These members were lost to the Party. The comrades must be patient and must not expect the new members to understand everything. The full names should always be used instead of abbreviations. It is just as easy to say International Red Day instead of I. R. D., also District Literature Department instead of D. L. D. Even some of the old Party members would not understand the meaning of these letters.

4. Draw the new members into activity. Don't let them sit in at the meeting without giving them responsible work. They will think that the unit does not trust them. The new members joined the Party because they saw in the Party a fighting army and by joining expressed a desire to enter into the fight. They want work, revolutionary work, otherwise they will be disillusioned and drop out.

5. It is very important that the comrades give personal attention to the new members. Don't run away after the meeting. Speak to the new members, discuss Party problems with them, make them feel that the Party is interested in developing them. Don't treat them with a superior air. Help them in a comradely way to understand Party problems.

6. One of the most important factors for keeping new members is to have a meeting place that is not a bedlam. In five of the section headquarters four or five units met in the same evening. Many of the new members were lost because of this arrangement.

7. The classes for the new members are basically important. Every section in the New York district, with a few exceptions, had a new members' class. Here too, we face the same shortcoming as in the meeting place of the units. The classes were held in the section headquarters at the same time as many other meetings. The old Party members after their meetings

were over, would form a fringe around the classes, pass remarks and smile benevolently at the answers of the new members. This also served as a factor in losing new members for the Party.

The Party cannot afford to permit a continuation of the shortcomings here

enumerated. Drastic steps must be taken to correct these and to carry out the directives of the Central Committee resolution on keeping new members. Every Section and District leading committee must regard this as a task of major importance which must be persistently carried out.

## Do You Read The Inprecorr?

### (International Press Correspondence)

A Weekly mine of information about the International Communist Movement. Articles by the leading Communists of the world. Reports from every land, reports on International Congress and conferences. Indispensable as a source of information of the world revolutionary movement.

Subscription Price

**\$6.00 a Year**

In order to enable a greater number of comrades to subscribe to this weekly we are making the following offer:

THE COMMUNIST—official theoretic monthly organ of

the COMMUNIST PARTY OF U. S. A. ....	\$2.00 a year
THE INPRECORR .....	6.00 " "

**\$8.00 a year**

Both for Six Dollars a Year.

RUSH YOUR SUB WITH PAYMENT TO

## Workers Library Publishers

39 East 125th Street,

New York City.

## The Role of the Party Units in the Class Struggle

The rapidly multiplying tasks and responsibilities of the Party cannot be carried out without a full utilization of all the available forces of the Party and without greatly supplementing these with new additional forces. The forces of the Party are in the basic units. Unless these function properly, these forces will not be organized for the tasks and struggles and will not be developed for more capable leading work. If the nuclei of the Party do not function properly we cannot improve our organized contact with the masses of workers in the shops of the basic industries and will fail to draw in and keep the new forces that are necessary in order to strengthen the Party. Under these circumstances, the greatest attention must be given to the task of effecting a thorough improvement of the work of the nuclei.

When one observes the manner in which our unit work is organized and conducted at present, it becomes clear why we suffer from such a disproportion between the political influence and organized contact with the masses; why we lag behind; why we cannot keep new members; why the political level of the Party is so low; why we fail to draw new forces into our functionaries cadre more rapidly.

First, our units float in the air, so to speak. They are not anchored to any particular group of workers of a shop or street. They have no responsibility therefore to any workers and no means of determining the extent of their progress in winning workers for support of our revolutionary struggles. This results in an inward orientation. The test becomes simply whether they have satisfied the higher organs of the Party. Whether they have carried out certain instructions as improving dues sales, etc. The units lose all initiative and all possibility for developing independent leadership and direct political responsibility to the workers. The

work of the unit becomes mechanical. The political significance of the various tasks to be performed are lost sight of.

Members attend unit meetings only because it is required and not because they feel that by attending they will be able to secure encouragement and directions that will make possible more effective revolutionary activity. In the course of time, they become accustomed to this situation (if they remain in the Party) and conclude that all that is required of a Party member is to appear at a unit meeting occasionally and pay up dues. Thus the forces and energies of the Party are frittered away.

In order that this criminal waste of Party forces shall be stopped and a maximum utilization of these forces effected, we must vigorously carry through a reorganization of the methods of work of our units.

First: Every unit must be organized on the basis of definite responsibility for work in a given shop or territory. Every unit must be a political unit of the Party in the sense that it is politically responsible for winning a majority of the workers in the place where it operates. All its activities must be directed to this end and judged on that basis.

Secondly: No unit can be allowed to function without a responsible leading committee, a unit bureau which meets in advance and carefully plans the work of the unit as a whole and of every member. The unit bureau must read and discuss all the instructions that come from the higher organs of the Party and prepare an agenda for each unit meeting on this basis of these as well as on the basis of the special problems of the workers of the shop or street where it is operating. Comrades must be instructed to prepare reports on each point on the agenda of the unit meeting. These reports must include definite recommendations of the manner

in which the work is to be done. What shall be done, where shall it be done, when shall it be done and who shall do it. This must be followed by a careful check-up by the buro or whomever it may delegate in each particular case. Those who fail to perform the work assigned them, or perform the work improperly must be called to responsibility, criticized openly and if necessary disciplined.

The unit meetings must be held regularly and on time. The meeting place must be located in the territory or near the shop where the unit operates.

Discussions in the units must never be detached from the work which must be done. Aimless, abstract, accidental discussions serve no purpose and only result in disgusting those present or in distorted conceptions of the role of the Party.

The "order of business" as established in bourgeois and social-democratic organizations must be avoided in our meetings. Instead of "new-business, old-business", etc., we have for example: Report on Membership Drive; content of our shop paper; preparation for demonstration; Plan of work for the Election Campaign, etc., etc. Routine matters such as dues payments, ticket settlements, etc., must

not be allowed to occupy much time and should be made a special order of business only in the event of special need (if unit appears to fail to realize the political significance of these), otherwise this is done quietly before or during meeting by the functionary in charge. Under no circumstances shall any long communications be read in the unit meetings except where a political letter or resolution is involved.

Units of 40, 50 and more members must not be permitted. A maximum of 25 members in a unit will assure proper individual attention to each member, necessary supervision and check-up on the activities of every member and as a result make possible the full use of all available forces.

Only if our units properly organize their work, only if they direct themselves to systematic contact with workers in the shops, only if the relation of our practical day to day tasks is clearly linked up with our general political aims, only if each unit become responsible not only to a higher Party organ but also to a group of workers whose struggles it undertakes to lead, will the Party as a whole be able to realize our duties to the working class in the present period of deepening crisis and sharpening class struggle.

#### ATTENTION OF ALL DISTRICT ORGANIZERS

## And Literature Agents

All shipments of the Party Organizers will be made directly from the office of THE WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS instead of the printer's office.

Districts that failed to pay for the previous issue will not receive the current copies. RUSH YOUR PAYMENTS and do not deprive the membership of this indispensable monthly.

## Fundamental Directives for Recruiting Drive

The Central Committee in its resolution evaluating the Recruiting Drive, decided that the Party Recruiting must continue more energetically, not as a separate drive, but as a part of every campaign, and all phases of Party activity, with the aim of recruiting a total of 25,000 new members before 1931. Further, in the Party Thesis, every District is set the task of having at least 40% of its membership organized in shop nuclei, and the slogan "Into the Shop" is raised as the guiding slogan in our Party Building Campaign.

These directives are not being taken seriously enough by the District Committees. Already half of 1930 has gone by and we have not yet undertaken seriously enough this task. The opportunities for building the Party side by side with the various Party campaigns (TUUL, Unemployment, Daily Worker, Election, etc.), were never better, providing the leading committees understand this task and organize their work accordingly.

The following have been set as guiding quotas:

- District 2—1500 new members by 1931
- District 3— 700 new members by 1931  
500 of this by August 1st, 1930.
- District 6— 700 new members by 1931
- District 7—1600 new members by 1931
- District 8— 800 new members by Aug. 1930.
- District 10— 125 new members by Aug. 1930.
- District 13— 250 new members by Aug. 1930.
- District 17— 60 new members by June 15th, 1930.

No other district has even gone this far. To set quotas is only a mechanical first step. The real work is to organize

our forces in the factories on the basis of concrete work, to recruit new members and build shop nuclei.

### Activity Planned in Chicago.

We print herewith extracts from the Chicago Plan of Action:

"Requirements of the class struggle at the present stage of development, due to the economic crisis and the ever-growing radicalization of the working class on the one hand, and the organizational weaknesses of the Party on the other hand, particularly in view of the broad political influence exercised by the Party over the working masses, necessitate the strengthening of the Party politically and organizationally. In order to accomplish this, the District has set itself a quota of 800 new members, to be recruited by August 1st: 440 white workers, 160 Negro workers, 100 women workers, and 100 young workers. At the same time 16 new shop nuclei are to be organized during this period. The quota is to be divided among the sections as follows:

Section	Wo-			Youth	New shop nuclei.
	White	Negro	men		
No. 2	25	25	10	10	2
No. 3	75	20	10	10	2
No. 4	25	15	10	10	2
No. 5	60	15	10	10	2
Milwaukee	75	20	10	10	2
Coal Fields	50	20	10	10	2
Gary	50	20	10	10	2
St. Louis	30	15	10	10	2
Rockford	10	5	5	5	
Rock Island	10	5	5	5	
Indianapolis	10	5	5	5	
Bicknell	10	5	5	5	

To accomplish this aim, the Party must be prepared organizationally and ideologically. In order to prepare the



Party in this respect, each Section Committee should hold special meetings to work out, on the basis of this plan, a detailed plan for recruitment in its respective territory, dividing shops and territories among the nuclei. Each section should have a general membership meeting Tuesday, June 3rd, at which the plan should be discussed. Nuclei Buros shall work out plans of action and mobilize their membership for the Drive. Discussion shall also be held in the nuclei after the Section Membership meetings."

#### Basis of the Drive.

The basis of the recruiting drive must be large shops and factories. Section committees are to assign shops on which the street nuclei will concentrate by issuing leaflets, selling the Daily Worker and other Party literature, holding noon day factory gate meetings, issuing shop papers, establishing connections, and by calling indoor meetings of the workers in the shops. All of these methods shall be utilized to organize shop nuclei and at the same time shop committees.

Every Party member working in a shop shall be made responsible to establish connections with the workers, get their names and addresses, and make efforts to organize shop nuclei. Such members must also get facts as to the conditions in the shop for the issuance of leaflets and shop papers. Street nuclei must concentrate particularly on such shops and help the comrades working inside to organize shop nuclei and shop committees.

Existing shop nuclei must be instrumental in the Drive. Each shop nucleus must at least double its present membership. Regular dates must be set for factory noon-day meetings at least twice a week. The meetings are to be called thru personal approach to the workers, by leaflets and speakers inside the shops. Indoor mass meetings and meetings with established

connections in the given shops shall be held for the recruiting drive. Connections from the shops must be visited in their houses whenever necessary.

Special attention must be paid to the recruiting of Negro workers from the factories.

Application cards for Party membership must be distributed at every factory gate meeting and at every mass meeting. All shop papers, leaflets, etc., shall have an application blank. At all factory gate meetings and at all other meetings organized by the Party, appeal must be made for Party membership.

#### Mobilization of Fractions.

Trade Union fractions, language fractions, ILD and WIR fractions must be thoroughly mobilized in the drive. They shall invite Party speakers to speak at the meetings of their organizations. They shall pick out the best elements as candidates for the Party, have meetings and discussions with them, and prepare them to join the Party. Particularly must trade union fractions do this. Each department, in cooperation with the Organization Department of the District, is responsible for the mobilization of its fraction for the drive. The Daily Worker and other Party literature shall be regularly sold at the meetings of these organizations.

#### Checking Up.

Each nucleus shall report to its section regularly every week on the results of the Drive. Each section is to report weekly to the District Office.

#### General Remarks.

Each new member shall pay his initiation fee when joining the Party. No one who is working will be accepted as a new member unless he or she pays for his stamp. Membership cards will be issued after new members attend one meeting of

the unit. This applies particularly to those who will be exempted from paying the initiation fee.

The drive is not to be considered as a

separate campaign of the Party. It must be an everyday task of every Party member. At the same time, it must be linked up with all the activities of the Party.

## The Work of Our Trade Union Fractions

The building of the revolutionary trade unions into real mass organs of struggle is the major task of our Party on its road to a mass political proletarian Party of the American working class. The increased favorable objective conditions for building a revolutionary trade union center, the TUUL, offers to our Party now, more than at any other time in its history, this opportunity to fulfill this great task. The application of the Party's trade union policy depends largely upon the proper functions and activity of our Party fractions within the trade unions, because only if our Party fractions act as the revolutionary driving force within the union will the Party policy not only be adopted, but also actively put into life among the masses of unorganized workers as well as among the rank and file within the reformist unions. The Party fractions within the trade unions are the sole political and organizations agencies responsible to the Party organization for the application of the Party's policy in the trade union movement.

The experiences of our work within the trades unions show:

1. That our Party fractions lack this sense of responsibility of correctly and earnestly placing the policy before the membership in the respective unions.

2. In most cases they do not act as the revolutionary driving force within the unions and do not give leadership to all issues and problems before the unions along the lines of the program of the Red Unions.

3. In most cases the bulk of our Party members within the unions are not organized into Party fractions and therefore instead of being the leaders and the active organizers of the Unions they are merely a part of the inactive membership of the organizations.

For instance let us take the TUUL membership drive as an example. If this drive is to really materialize in accordance with our program for the unions, then it is the Communist duty of every Party member in the unions to see to it that our Party fractions are to work out a clear and simple program of action based upon the immediate perspectives of the unions in their everyday task which must be the building up of shop committees in the industries, the organization of broad rank and file organizing committees, the activation of every member within the union, etc. All this must be carried out with the aim in view to organize, to mobilize and to activate the entire union membership and therefore make it possible that the unions will develop, thru this membership drive, a real leadership capable of leading the economic battles of the workers against the bosses and all their agencies.

But instead of that, the present membership drive for the TUUL shows very clearly the lack of organization and preparation by our Party fractions. In fact in

some cases the Party fractions, like in the shoe and building in New York, failed completely, up to the present time, to even seriously consider this drive at all, not to speak of using it as the central task to establish the TUUL movement in the shops.

Then again we find where the Party fractions do function somewhat, as in the needle trades, food, marine, etc. that they do not function as the responsible political bodies which must take up the very life of the unions in order to develop the proper orientation of the union membership.

The best example was the needle trades convention which we have just experienced. The preparation on the part of our Party comrades for this national convention was absolutely inadequate and was the best example of how not to apply our Party trade union policy in the unions. Instead of organizing the Party fractions in order to really build up the convention politically and to present the TUUL program in a conscious militant fashion, giving to the workers in the needle trades industry and to the delegates at the convention a real militant program for struggle, instead of that, hardly any preparations were made, the program presented to the convention lacked the most fundamental issues of the class struggle.

This lack of Party fractions within the trade unions is to a large extent responsible for many of the Right wing mistakes as well as to the lagging behind of the TUUL organizations. Such a fundamental shortcoming of our Party must be sharply called to the attention of our membership and without any hesitation we must immediately do the following:

1. Proceed to organize our Party members in the unions into functioning fractions.

2. The fraction meetings must be held regularly and must take up and check up on the tasks and activities of the union.

3. The fractions must have a leading committee which must come into the gen-

eral fraction meeting with definite proposals and a definite outline on the work of the unions.

4. The Party fractions must take up very sharply the question of self criticism, not for the purpose of confessing but for the purpose of better organizing the activities and learn from the mistakes made.

5. The Party fractions must be responsible for the development of the proper leadership and draw into leadership new forces who will develop in the actual struggle in which the union is engaged.

6. The Party fraction must be conscious of its tasks and must give political and organizational leadership in order to activize and mobilize the entire union membership for the class-struggle program of the union.

7. The Party fraction within the revolutionary opposition in the reformist union must be responsible for the proper orientation of our revolutionary opposition in order to hasten the building up of the TUUL movement and to give the correct line and policy in our open struggle against the fascist and social-fascist leaders.

8. Our Party fractions must be held responsible for the building up of the Labor Unity and must place before the TUUL movement the Labor Unity as the official organ of the revolutionary trade union center.

Only by organized and well functioning Party fractions will we build up the TUUL membership drive, will we popularize the Fifth World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions as well as the building up of mass sections of unemployed councils which all must serve for the building up of independent leadership leading economic battles of the working class in the industries. The responsibility for the successful accomplishment of these tasks rests with our Party members and a check up must be made on the prompt carrying out of these tasks.

## Red Sundays with the "Daily"

This religious holiday, Sunday, must at once become a revolutionary work day for all Party members and class-conscious workers. The Party's influence among the masses of workers has broadened immensely. Our contact with the masses of workers is weak, our Party membership too narrow, the TUUL not building fast enough. Our broad influence among the workers must immediately be translated into organizational gains. Every Party member must become a Party organizer.

Factory gate meetings, the issuance of shop papers, the selling of the "Daily Worker" in front of shops, mines and mills, must increase tremendously. In no case must the importance of this method of rooting the Party in the industries, of building of shop nuclei, be underestimated. But our effort to connect the Daily Worker and the Party with the radicalized masses of workers must not stop here. Every method must be exploited to the fullest extent to build mass circulation for the Daily Worker, and we hold that Red Sundays for revolutionary work is the next best method.

Revolutionary work on a Red Sunday to establish carrier routes for the Daily Worker (and Red Evenings during week days now that summer is here and evenings are longer) must be concentrated work. A whole Party Section, or several sections should concentrate upon one large, closely populated working class neighborhood. Every Party member should appear for work at a stated hour at a headquarters in the working class section to be invaded. Here a short preliminary meeting should be held and addressed by a leading comrade. A roll call should be taken to note which comrades failed to respond. The comrades must be advised as to how to approach and speak to the workers in their homes. The goal must be clearly explained to the comrades;

namely, that the joint task is to secure a minimum of 100 new readers who are to pay 18 cents a week to have one paper delivered to their homes.

The workers in their homes must be approached upon the basis of their own problems—shop conditions, low wages, unemployment, housing—and having established this as the basis for the conversation, the Party and the T. U. U. L. must be introduced and explained. Comrades that go out must remember, however, not to say "TUUL" or "CP" but must distinctly enunciate the full name of all organizations. After the discussion with the worker in his home has proceeded to a point where his reaction is favorable, then the Daily Worker must be spread before him, and proletarian news stories and articles pointed out to him which refer to the points in the discussion. The workers must be convinced that reading the Daily Worker every day will be a beginning in solidarizing himself with the movement of all workers for better living conditions, etc.

Comrades must go out in committees of two. They must be assigned certain streets or blocks. Revolutionary competition must be established between each committee or groups of committees in divided territory. This revolutionary work must be dramatized; comrades must understand it to be a political undertaking of great importance to our Party. A certain hour must be set for the return of all comrades to the headquarters. A short meeting must be held so that the comrades can discuss their experiences and achievements and make these available for future guidance to all comrades.

By such concentrated efforts to establish carrier routes for the Daily Worker, and making every Sunday a Red Sunday for revolutionary work, we would soon establish very valuable contacts with masses of steel workers in steel territory,

miners in mining territory, rubber, auto, textile etc., in cities and working class neighborhoods where these workers live. We would find workers who are employed in shops which never have been touched by our Party, have never seen a piece of Communist literature, much less a shop paper. And, as has been proven in hundreds of instances during Red Sundays already held here and there—we would find workers so receptive that, as one comrade said: "It seems as if many of the workers I spoke to in their homes had been sitting on their doorsteps for weeks waiting for me, as a representative of the Party, to call."

The name and address of every worker visited must be taken upon a blank card furnished the visiting committees. The shop he works in must be carefully noted, as well as the degree of sympathy he showed for the T. U. U. L. and the Party.

Once he begins taking the Daily Worker, then the contact has been established, he can be drawn into our movement and its tasks.

This is how to build the Daily Worker and our Party. Securing at once, by this method of concentration upon a densely populated working class neighborhood, one hundred readers of the Daily Worker, establishing a carrier route and placing it into the hands of a comrade who will carry it and develop it as the source of his wages, this will increase our shop nuclei and build the T. U. U. L. More than this, it will throw our Party into mass work, by practical application convince our members that our Party has broad influence, that the workers are radicalized, do respond and eliminate thereby very much of the opportunism and Right wing tendencies in our Party.

## Correspondence from the Nuclei

(Shop Nucleus 1, Section 1, N. Y. C.)

For the first time since the nucleus is in existence we had candidates nominated for officials in the shop and our candidates campaigned not for personal votes but on the basis of our principles. We were instrumental in calling attention to the T. U. U. L. of the conditions of the porters and elevator men and they were successful in organizing and calling them out on a strike, which is still going on. We also had a reactionary chairman permit a collection list for the strikers on which more than \$200 were collected and already turned over to the men. We have had other considerable collections in this shop for the W. I. R. Considerable literature was sold and Daily Workers distributed.

As yet no shop paper has been issued though material has been set up and all ready for printing for some time. The

shop paper was not printed due to the fact that there was a lack of articles on shop problems.

Our main weakness is the lack of contacts with other departments and with the issuing of our shop paper we hope to make these contacts and in doing so make the shop paper less general.

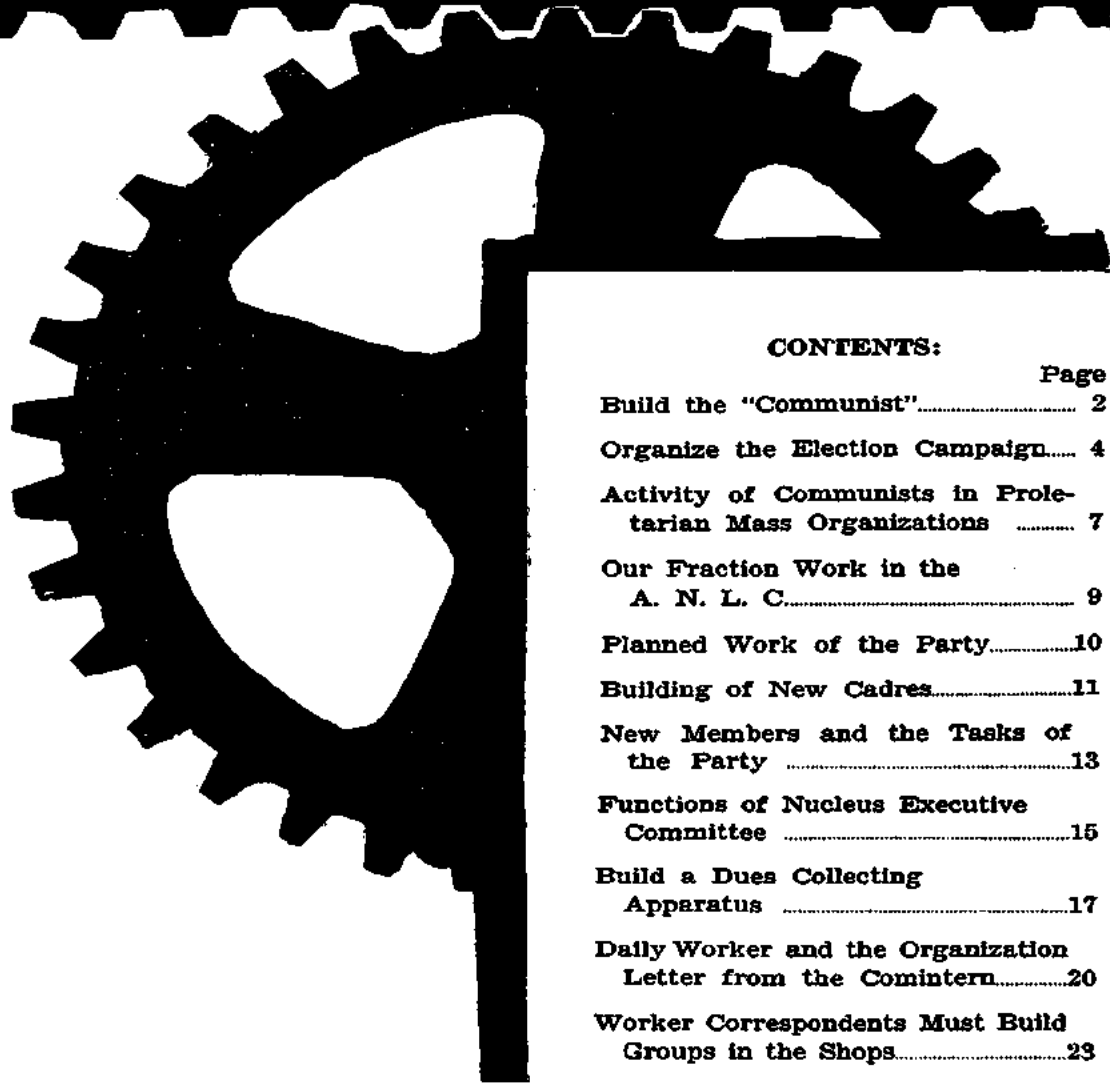
Another weakness was that we got no new members in the recruiting drive.

The inner life of our nucleus has improved because of a check up on all members of work assigned.

With more intensive work in the shop on sympathizers, by getting their addresses and sending the Daily Worker to their homes and later get them into the T. U. U. L. we will be able to get better concrete results.

By the NUCLEUS ORGANIZER.

# THE ► PARTY ORGANIZER



## CONTENTS:

	Page
Build the "Communist".....	2
Organize the Election Campaign.....	4
Activity of Communists in Prole- tarian Mass Organizations .....	7
Our Fraction Work in the A. N. L. C.....	9
Planned Work of the Party.....	10
Building of New Cadres.....	11
New Members and the Tasks of the Party .....	13
Functions of Nucleus Executive Committee .....	15
Build a Dues Collecting Apparatus .....	17
Daily Worker and the Organization Letter from the Comintern.....	20
Worker Correspondents Must Build Groups in the Shops.....	23

Vol. 3.

August-September

No. 5.

Published by

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
43 East 125th Street, New York City

## Build the "Communist"

At the same time that Communists are ready to make the most severe sacrifices, having thrown their lives into the struggle to smash capitalism exploitation and for emancipation of the working class, we must also remember that this means for each of us, the most thorough study and understanding of the forces with which we must deal and the weapons which we must use. This is no easy task. To be the leaders, the advance guard of the proletariat, we must see clearly the path ahead and the obstacles and methods of overcoming them. Understanding and clarity are essential; the confused Party member leads only to greater confusion.

The theoretical voice of our Party in the United States is the **COMMUNIST**. The only Marxist-Leninist theoretical organ published in the country, its purpose is to clarify the issues of the class struggle. It is no longer a stamping ground for factional "theoreticians," who raise dust by racing around false issues. It is a serious organ for the analysis of our important questions, which includes contributions concerning the international, as well as the American proletariat. We have, since the first of the year, increased the size to 96 pages, in order to give more adequate attention to these important problems.

In spite of the essential character of the contents of the **COMMUNIST** and its favorable comparison with similar journals in Europe, we are comparatively far below them in circulation. It is safe to say that not more than 1% of our membership at the outside, reads the **Communist**.

In New York City, it is estimated that two-thirds of our readers are non-Party members. This lack of support and appreciation of the **COMMUNIST** by our Party and especially our Party functionaries, is absolutely impermissible. Materials in our magazine are published because they are important for the development of our movement. The **COMMUNIST**

is an instrument for sharpening the steel will of the proletarian vanguard, it is to help bring our work to a cutting edge.

This situation cannot continue. It has come to the place where the membership must decide whether we will support the **COMMUNIST** or whether it shall be reduced or cease publication altogether. We have set the goal of 2,000 new readers by the first of January. In a few days, you will receive your quota in this drive. If we can increase the circulation by this amount, it will be possible to reduce the price, for as you know, the big cost is that of first setting the type. Extra copies cost comparatively little in addition to the original cost.

This drive must first of all take place in the Party. This is not a mere subscription-getting affair. It is a proposition of distributing this Communist weapon in our fight—of passing around more ammunition. It is a method of drawing our membership and leading functionaries into a clearer understanding of the revolutionary movement. Mistakes will occur, but mistakes due to simple ignorance is a crime against the working class. We must regard this drive as a means of raising the theoretical level of our Party.

The Agitprop directors of the nuclei, sections and districts are mainly responsible for the success or failure of this new reader campaign. Often they neglect to even mention the **Communist** at meetings. Just the fact that the Agitprop director has merely mentioned that the **Communist** is available, has resulted in the sale of many copies. Calling the attention of the comrades to certain articles which are particularly important, or briefly summarizing one or two of the articles at a meeting, has a big influence in increasing the number of readers. We must systematically push the sale and circle of readers of the **COMMUNIST**, especially among our fellow-comrades. Of course, we must not neglect to push it outside

the Party, to increase the number of non-Party readers.

Finally, we want your suggestions and Bolshevik self-criticism of the COMMUNIST, how does it best serve you and how can it best be made to do so. Also we want your contributions. Comrades who have made special studies of various phases of the labor movement, of economic conditions, of revolutionary theory, should give their fellow comrades and workers the benefit of this work. We want all those who are prepared to write

such theoretical articles, to do so. Remember this is the voice of our movement and to express this movement it must be a collective product. It is essential that our developed comrades participate in the analysis of our revolutionary experiences, pointing out the correct principles and strategy which we must follow in our work.

We know the will of the working class and are sure of your answer.

Recruit the army of COMMUNIST readers.

**New Readers by January 1, 1931, for the**

# COMMUNIST

Every Party functionary and active member a subscriber

## SPECIAL COMBINATION OFFERS:

The Communist for one year (\$2.00)  
and the  
Party Organizer one year (\$1.00)

**BOTH ..... \$2.00**

The Communist for one year (\$2.00)  
and the  
Southern Worker one year (\$1.00)

**BOTH ..... \$2.00**

The Communist for one year (\$2.00)  
and  
Labor & Silk, by Grace  
Hutchins ..... (\$1.00)

**BOTH ..... \$2.00**

The Communist for one year (\$2.00)  
and the  
Pan-Pacific Monthly one year (2.00)

**BOTH ..... \$2.50**

RUSH YOUR SUB TO THE

## Workers Library Publishers

39 E. 125th Street,

New York City



## Organize the Election Campaign!

The elections will take place in a year of a serious economic crisis. Neither the election campaign nor the role of the next congress can be separated from the economic crisis of capitalism. As part of its plans for the capitalist solution of the crisis, the congress will have to carry through extensive tax reductions for big business and place a heavier burden upon the working masses. It will have to carry through a crop of anti-labor legislation to defeat the inevitable fierce class battles of the American proletariat and improve still further its imperialist war machine.

The Communist Party is entering the political campaign not separated from the economic struggle of the workers. It presents not only a general revolutionary program and demands, but also mobilizes for action on specific demands as they arise from a concrete situation. The Party is making the struggle for social insurance and unemployment relief the central points in the election campaign. It aims to lay simultaneously, the preparatory basis for the organization of strikes against wage cuts and assume the leadership over the economic battles of the working class. These aims can be achieved. The situation is very favorable for us. The workers are responding to our Party and awaiting our leadership.

The favorable situation is not the only assurance for our possible success. Our success is being also guaranteed because of the correct political line our Party is following today. However, to have a correct political line is one thing and to carry through this correct line in our mass work is another. A correct political line becomes obsolete, when it is not carried through into practice. The election campaign means carrying through the political line of our Party in the form of mass activity and building up all the branches of our movement. Failure in the election campaign, means failure to carry through the political line of our Party.

It means agreeing with the Central Committee in words and disagreeing with it in deeds.

The key to a successful Communist election campaign lies in the following two factors:

1) On the basis of the every day struggles of the workers in the factories; of the struggles of the unemployed workers; on the basis of the day to day activity of every Party member we develop the election campaign.

"The economic demands of the workers must be related and linked up with the political campaigns of the Party in such a manner that the workers recognize in these political campaigns a struggle for the same aims for which they battle in their strikes." (Thesis of the 7th Convention.)

2) A sincere effort to apply the tactics of the United Front from below. This means formulate the political problems of every economic struggle. Organize shop groups and shop committees in the factories. Build the "Vote Communist" clubs to involve in the election campaign our sympathizers. Our United Front must not be limited to the narrow circles of our fraternal organizations. Get the workers from the factories. Get the workers of the mass organizations, although they might still be under conservative and reactionary leadership.

"The Party must in every strike formulate the political slogans and demands. On the basis of these demands it must lead the workers into municipal, state and national elections, making the Communist Party the leader and organizer of a broad united front from below for mass political struggles." (Thesis of the 7th National Convention.)

### HOW SHALL THE CAMPAIGN BE ORGANIZED?

1) The leading district committees and the membership must first of all under-

stand our political perspective in the campaign. It must be made clear to everyone that the election campaign is not an aim in itself, but is a means of organizing the masses for struggle and building up the revolutionary organizations. Consequently we must combat all mechanical approach to the campaign and recognize that signature collections, means recruiting new members for our organizations and organizing the struggle for social insurance and strikes against wage cuts, means making the workers vote and elect Communists.

2) The campaign must be conducted on the basis of concrete tasks and accomplishments day by day and week by week. There must be a weekly plan of action worked out for every State and promptly checked up by the leading committees. This weekly plan of action is to be worked out for the Sections and Units. All nuclei members must be assigned weekly to carry through a certain definite task.

3) To concretize its election campaign the Party must be on the ballot. This means that we must comply with certain state rules and laws, such as a certain amount of signatures to be collected and filed at a certain specified date. Every District must immediately check up on the amount of signatures collected to date, and take the necessary steps to collect the balance. All signatures to be filed a week or two prior to the filing date. Every unit to be assigned a quota of signatures to be in turn distributed to every member.

4) The collection of signatures and the carrying on of the election campaign generally is the daily task of every Party members. However, to stimulate the campaign, to correct our outstanding shortcomings, we must carry through special mobilizations of the membership through the units. Signature collection days, tag days, red nights, house to house canvassing, etc.

5) To get masses of workers to support our platform and candidates will re-

quire the most intensive agitation and popularization of our platform. This is first of all accomplished through increased and more intensive activity of every Party member in the shops. The factory must be made the center of our election campaign. Secondly through open air meetings, factory gate meetings, visits to mass organizations, election rallies, etc.

6) Our forces must be distributed according to the demands of concrete situations. The small industrial towns must receive the utmost attention. Special squads must be organized to visit small industrial towns. Campaign autos to be sent out on tours with speakers and equipped with literature.

7) To be effective in the campaign, we must avoid abstractions and generalities. Our agitation must be concrete. And to be concrete, it must react to every political and economic event and tie it up with the election campaign. The specific local problems of the workers must be brought out, the demagogy and the schemes of the capitalist parties exposed. It is not sufficient to have a program of general struggle against capitalism. We must raise concrete issues on the bases of which we can get mass support and thereby broaden our revolutionary front.

8) From the above we must conclude that it is not sufficient for the agitator to be equipped with a few high-sounding phrases. He must know the specific problems of the workers. He must be familiar with the general and special political situation in the country as a whole and in the specific territory of his operation. Our agitators must therefore be equipped with facts, with arguments and not impose the opinion of the Party among the masses, but to convince them that the Party program is correct and they will follow it. To accomplish this we must have conferences of speakers, in order to train our agitators and supply them with information and work out the method of approach to the masses.

9) Every mass organization must function in the election campaign as a political and organizational auxiliary in its own fields of the class struggle. It does not mean mechanical endorsement of the election campaign. It does mean active political and organizational support to the campaign. Our Party fractions as the driving force in these mass organizations have now the opportunity to involve these organizations into political mass activity, to connect up their educational, sport and economic activities with political struggles.

10) The revolutionary trade unions, minority groups, shop committees, must participate in the election campaign. They are to conduct the campaign in their field. Utilize their own apparatus, connections and press. They are to set up their own committees. The campaign

must be entrusted to their rank and file membership and the initiative developed from below.

The Bolshevik meaning of the election campaign is to build the Party, the revolutionary trade unions and our Party press. If the election campaign does not result in a step further in the direction of a mass Party, then it is not a Communist election campaign. If through this election campaign the Party fails to reach a broader strata of workers and on the basis of struggle for special demands does not establish a genuine united front with these masses, then we have failed in the election campaign. However, no Party member can fail to see the great possibilities that exist in the present situation to achieve our aims. It will be up to us to make the best use of the favorable opportunities and the growing radicalization of the American working class.

ATTENTION OF ALL DISTRICT ORGANIZERS

## And Literature Agents

All shipments of the Party Organizers will be made directly from the office of THE WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS instead of the printer's office.

Districts do not pay their bills promptly and therefore make it impossible for the magazine to appear regularly. DO NOT WITHOLD the money which you realize from the sale of THE PARTY ORGANIZER. PAY BILLS DUE TO THE WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS IMMEDIATELY.

## Activity of Communists in Proletarian Mass Organizations

When we speak in usual conversation among Communists of the interests of the Party and demands of Party interests, one could, without better acquainting himself with the subject, get an impression that the Party members and masses who are sympathetic to the Party must exert themselves and make sacrifices for some special Party interest. Altho the matter is just the opposite. The Communist Party has really no other interests to pursue than the interests of the proletarian revolution, which again is the interest of the entire working class and working farmers. The one and only question in which the Party leadership and membership must always be on the alert is that the tactics of struggle are changed in accordance with the period and situation, to serve the interests of the proletarian revolution. Often, however, the great masses outside of the Party do not see this fact, that the Communist Party thru all its activity strives to mobilize the proletarian masses for the class struggle against the common enemy, capitalism, on a national as well as international scale. And when the Party strives to broaden its influence among the proletarian mass organizations, this means that the Party wishes to draw these organizations into a united front in the proletarian class struggle, to fight for the interests of the revolution.

The interests of the Party and of the proletarian masses (organized or unorganized) can never be in conflict. This is an absolute rule. Just as absolute as the fact that the interests of the proletariat and the capitalists can never and under no circumstances be the same. The Party is the most active part of the proletariat itself, it is the vanguard of the working class.

But as the Party is nevertheless only a small part of the working class, and the

working masses do not very easily recognize this blood tie between the working class and the Party, then it is because of this that this leadership of the Party is difficult. In order to overcome these difficulties, the Communist International has, on the basis of broad experiences, planned and presented for putting in practice in all the Communist Parties compact and uniform methods (i. e. modes of action). One most important method with which the Communist Party aims to broaden its influence among the mass organizations and to lead these organizations in the path of revolutionary class struggle is fraction work.

The members of the Communist Party in the mass organizations and in their leading organs constitute among themselves a fraction and elect a fraction committee (usually of three members).

Many comrades have heretofore not understood thoroly that the formation of fractions and their functioning in the mass organizations is very essential. Without fraction work the influence of the Party in mass organizations remains ineffective, or else it becomes a mechanical control within them. Both form a dangerous situation, which must be overcome if we wish to develop the Communist Party into a real bolshevik Party, which is needed all the more by the working class the more the class struggle intensifies in the light of the third period. A few comrades have attempted to defend the lack of fraction work with such a naive self-consolation that some mass organization are working on a revolutionary basis without fraction work. Such a contention proves a lack of understanding of the matter and is based on the opportunistic traditions of the second period. Just as naive is such a contention that fraction work cannot be put into practice for the reason that even certain good soldiers of the class struggle

who remain outside of the Party feel offended and regard it as some kind of "machination" behind the backs of the masses. If the fractions themselves know how to carry out the correct Party tactics in their activity, the fraction work will not become any kind of underhanded "machination" and offensive to the democratic customs of members in organizations outside of the Party; but on the contrary, the members will recognize before long how beneficial to the activity of the organization the work of the fraction has been.

By way of offsetting the lack of fraction work, a few comrades have acted incorrectly in trying to strengthen the influence of the Party in the organizations by giving direct Party instructions.

Such a procedure is contrary to Communist principles. The Communist Party never gives instructions to mass organizations. That iron discipline that exists in the Communist Parties, involves only the Party membership. The Party members active in each organization receive the Party instructions and directives in their fractions, and then in the meeting of the organization they represent the Party stand. Not in such a manner that the members of the Party demand the meeting's acceptance of the Party stand, but:

"All that is requisite is that the Party members who belong to these organizations should use their influence and all their arts of persuasion to bring

these non-Party organizations into the closest proximity to the Party, and to lead them to place themselves of their own free will under the political guidance of the Party." (Stalin: Leninism.)

Even tho the Party has for its aim to get the masses to recognize it as their leader, it nevertheless does not even wish to submit the mass organizations formally under its leadership.

Those workers who support the proletarian class struggle will, however, easily recognize that the stand of the Communist Party, which the members of the fraction represent in the meeting, is the only correct stand in light of the class struggle as a whole.

The necessity of fraction work and its various aspects cannot be clarified in a short article. Suffice it to say in conclusion, that the fractions in the mass organizations, wherever we have them, must be speedily wakened to life. Where we have none, they must be immediately formed. For without fraction work the Communist Party is unable to accomplish that task which—especially in this period of crisis of capitalism and the resulting intensification of the class struggle—it is confronted with; that is the broadening of its influence among the workers and working farmers; the consolidation of this influence organizationally; the rallying of the masses in a united front leading them in a decisive struggle for power.



## Our Fraction Work in the ANLC.

The future of the American Negro Labor Congress depends greatly upon how able we are to plant our roots among the agrarian workers and the fast growing proletariat in the south and the proletariat in the north. The growth of the ANLC and the composition of its membership, and the ability of its membership to mobilize the workers for struggle, depends upon the ability of the fraction to apply the newly corrected line. This presents us with a problem, a new method.

First we must recognize that the ANLC can be built into a mass organization only thru struggle. In the past the organization has existed nominally. What few were recruited, joined at mass meetings, inter-racial dances and the like. Few concrete tasks were given the membership. As a result of these methods, the organization did not become a leader of the Negro toilers and was disconnected with the struggles of the workers and failed miserably to bring any great number under its influence.

New methods of work mean that the ANLC must be built as an independent mass organization and not as a "bridge." It must become the exponent of the Negro liberation movement, rallying the Negro toilers for immediate struggles around the slogans of equal rights (social equality) and self determination. The roots of the membership must be based in the shops, mills, mines and mainly among the agricultural laborers and poor farmers. To win this broad mass of toilers for struggle, individual contacts must be built up in the most efficient manner in the South. In the North at those industries which employ a great number of Negro workers,

factory gate meetings must be held and those places which discriminate against Negro workers must be picketed and connections must be established on the inside of the shops. Street meetings, open forums, literature distribution and general agitation, exposing the rottenness of the entire capitalist system and linking up this elementary work with the general campaigns (such as anti-lynching) and local demands and grievances of the workers, must become a part of the work.

The organization must not be tangibly linked to the Party. Its meetings must not be turned into Communist meetings. Although we must let the workers know that we endorse the program of the CP for the Negro workers we must not confuse them with the idea that the ANLC is a black CP. When announcing that we endorse the CP program for the Negro workers, it is well to state that the CP is the only political organization that is leading the workers in struggle for freedom and is the best political fighter for the Negro liberation movement.

There are unlimited possibilities in all sections for building active locals of the ANLC. With lynchings on the increase, race riots on the verge of breaking and the general economic conditions of the Negro workers worsening, these objective conditions ripen these workers for a class program of struggle. With this orientation we can seriously begin to make preparations for the coming national convention to be held in St. Louis on November 15 and 16, a convention that will form a mobilizing center and provide a fighting base for the masses of oppressed Negro toilers.

---

## Planned Work of the Party

Resolution Adopted by the N. Y. District Regarding Planned Work

The activities of our Party have been directed entirely too much towards demonstrations and campaigns at the expense of establishing systematic, routine, daily activities of the Party, in which activities the campaigns and demonstrations should become the expressions of the intensification of all our normal daily activities.

Without planned systematic and organized day to day work the Party diffuses and squanders the energies of its members and the masses of sympathizers.

Each campaign or a drive of the Party such as August 1st or Party Recruiting Drive must be the intensification of our shop activities and general day to day work with special emphasis on the issues raised in the principal campaign.

With the development of planned and systematic day to day activities in which every member must be activated, the possibility of coordinating two or more major campaigns can be accomplished with relative ease.

With the deepening of the crisis in the U. S. A. and throughout the world, the numbers of major political events, campaigns, and demonstrations will increase.

The task of our Party must be to draw ever greater masses into our movement to coordinate and combine the major activities and above all to firmly establish methods of work and activity that will guarantee the maximum results.

This can only be accomplished by thorough organization of our day to day activities principally in and around the shops in basic industries.

The planned work of the Party must be concrete and based on the tasks confronting the Party in the given Section or area.

If our task in a Section consists in winning the workers in several important factories, the plan of work for the Section must be based on concrete work in and around these factories. Such as shop gaud meetings, shop bulletins, shop leaflets, Daily Worker sales, canvassing, cultivating and developing of individual workers, etc. Thus, when the Unemployment Campaign is launched the Party units will be obliged to intensify their activities in the shops as their basic task in the particular campaign. Other activities of the units in such a Section shall not be neglected but will be supplementary to the basic work

The District Committee shall work out a general plan for six months which will be used as a basis by the Section Committees and units for their tasks and activities during that period.

In addition to and supplementing the six months plan of work, each committee, bureau and department shall work out a calendar plan of work for a month as the basis of activities of the month.

The control and supervision of the full-calendar system of activities while being used as the basis of our activities must be drawn up and conceived as tentative and flexible with the understanding that emergency tasks and problems will arise and must be acted upon.

The planned system of work further gives the Party better possibilities of reviewing and examining work at the end of each period.

The control and supervision of the full-fulfillment of plans and decisions regularly must become an organic feature of our planned work.

DISTRICT COMMITTEE, DISTRICT 2,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF UNITED  
STATES OF AMERICA.

## Building of New Cadres

Just when the Seventh National Convention of our Party has made decisive decisions to effect a definite turn towards a mass Party, our efforts are being hampered very seriously by the crisis that has developed regarding Party cadres. This crisis has developed mainly for the following reasons:

1) We have lost many old forces since the beginning of the Third Period. We lost some with Cannon, some with Lovestone and a number of old functionaries have deserted their post or have been found unfit as functionaries for the present period of sharpening class battles.

2) Because of the sharpening of the attack of the capitalist state power, many of our functionaries have been arrested and kept in jail for snorter or longer periods. In this way the capitalist class has deprived many valuable and experienced comrades. Arrests have been made in every District, but especially in the South, California and the Anthracite, where every week some of our functionaries and active comrades have been arrested.

Now that the Party has turned towards mass activities, we need many more forces than hitherto.

Our Districts, Sections and units do not yet realize the necessity of new methods in developing new forces and therefore the development of forces is far too slow.

The crisis regarding the Party forces is so serious that every responsible comrade must now do his utmost to help the Party to overcome this crisis. While the Central Committee must find ways and means to develop new forces in a much more rapid tempo than before, the Districts can do very much in helping the Party to overcome the present crisis, but then, the Districts must take an entirely different attitude than they are taking now. As the case is now, every District sends in continually demands for new forces, they are sending these requests as orders from a Mail Order Business, be-

lieving that the Party center has in stock ready made goods of every quality and quantity.

In order to illustrate the situation regarding how Districts are taking this important question of forces, let's take a few examples. One day a District Organizer writes to the Party Center, "you must send us a Section Organizer and you must send a good one". Another District Organizer writes: "Few days ago I wrote to you about a T.U.U.L. organizer and you have not yet sent one." The Party Center is bombarded by District Organizers every day, by demands of Org. Secretaries, Agitprop heads, Section Organizers, T.U.U.L. and I.L.D. secretaries and many other functionaries.

It is impossible for the Central Committee to fulfill these demands as rapidly as they are coming in, and even tho the Central Committee is trying to find the most necessary functionaries for the Districts, this would not solve the problem. The question of developing new cadres is such an important fact, that the Central Committee alone cannot solve the problem. It is not a question of just filling the most necessary posts. It is a question of building and developing a whole army of professional revolutionists, so that when one is lost by jailing or by desertion or by any other reason, that we have at least ten comrades to take his or her place.

In discussing and trying to solve this question of cadres, we think it is very well to quote what Comrade Lenin said, regarding this question in 1905. He is quoted as saying the following:

"From all sides one hears with equal frequency and passionate appeals for new forces and complaints of the absence of people in the organizations, and at the same time a gigantic offer of services, a growth of young forces, especially among the working class . . . The practical organizer who complains of shortage of



people in such conditions cannot see the wood from trees, admits that he is blinded by events, that it is not he, the revolutionary, who dominates them, . . . but that they are dominating him or have overwhelmed him. Such an organizer would be well advised to keep quiet, to leave his place free for young forces, which have energy . . . There are people, there is a mass of people. We have only to throw overboard our "tailist" ideas and teachings to give space for action and initiative, and then we shall prove ourselves worthy representatives of the great revolutionary class."

Comrades, when we examine the situation of our Party forces, now, we are compelled to admit that Comrade Lenin's criticism just strikes to roots of this question. Our District Committees are using an old method by constantly demanding new forces from the Party Center, instead of developing new forces and pushing forth new comrades in connection with everyday Party work and the mass struggles that the Party is leading.

It is high time for us to radically depart from the old methods. Every District Committee must work out plans for systematic training and development of new forces. District Committees must adopt the policy whereby proletarian rank and file comrades are to be systematically pushed ahead and given more and more responsible Party work.

At the present time with the deepening crisis of capitalism, growing unemployment and sharpening attacks of state power is having tremendous radicalizing effect upon the hundreds of thousands of workers, when there are clear signs that a growing number of non Party workers are ready to offer their services to the revolutionary class struggle, these workers must be thrown into the Party mem-

bership and into Party activities. And, in the sources of everyday Party work many of these new proletarian members can be soon developed to be able to take position as regular functionaries of our Party.

Especially a good field to develop new forces is in connection with shop nuclei work, in building the TUUL and its revolutionary industrial unions and also in the struggle of unemployed. But new forces can also be developed in connection with ILD, WIR, FSU in the language mass organizations, etc. New cadres must be and can be built in every field of our activity. But it is specially important that by being active among the young workers, among women industrial workers and by drawing into the class struggle Negro workers, we throw open the new resources for building and developing the new cadres, who are ready and capable to lead the workers to the revolutionary battles against capitalism.

In the development of new cadres, it is very important that Party work everywhere is to be organized on the collective basis, so that in the committee work new comrades are continually brought into the possibility of familiarizing themselves with the Party policies and problems.

When we organize the Party work in this manner, then there is always a possibility for new comrades to develop themselves and at the same time, we are able to observe their abilities. Then, also, whatever attack our enemies may make by arresting our comrades, we have already developed other comrades to take their posts.

There are many ways and methods that can be used in building of new cadres. We have herein enumerated on a few. Districts, Sections and Party Units must discuss, study and develop these methods of building new forces. This is the only way out of the present crisis.

## New Members and the Tasks of the Party

Much has been written since the recruiting drive of the Party on the keeping of new members. In all of these articles emphasis has been correctly placed on the necessity of drawing new members into Party work; on the development of the political life in the units; the overcoming of looseness and irregularity in the functioning of the Party, and the establishment of study groups and classes for new members.

Despite the many articles that have been written, and despite the innumerable directives that have been sent out by the Org. Department to the various districts, we find that only a very small percentage of the new members have actually been retained in the Party. For example, in Philadelphia District, according to figures recently submitted by the District Organizer, between 450 and 500 applicants were taken into the Party. To these, 360 new membership books were issued, indicating in the very first stage a drop of 150 workers who signified a desire to join the Party. Of the 360 workers to whom membership books were issued, only a small portion were held in the Party. The membership figures prior to the drive showed 650 members in the Philadelphia District. After 360 new ones had been taken into the Party the membership figures are now only 700, and the average dues payments are very much less than this. The same thing is true in the Pittsburgh District. Prior to the drive their membership was approximately 350. 300 new members were secured, which should make the present membership approximately 650. But the average dues payments in the Pittsburgh District range from 250 to 260 members per month.

Figures are given for these two districts only because they happen to be most accessible at the moment, but the figures for every other district in the Party would show a similar situation. This

indicates that all of the efforts of the Comintern and of the Central Committee to alarm the Party as to the seriousness of the problem of holding these new members have been of no avail.

What is the reason for this situation? The reason is that the directives given by the Central Committee have in no case been carried out.

In checking up in the principal Eastern districts of the Party we find that only a few of the new members have been drawn into Party work. Where attempts have been made to draw them into the work, no consideration has been given to their qualifications and their previous training, and no effort has been made to give them the personal guidance in their work that would encourage them and make it possible for them to succeed. The mechanical way in which work has been assigned has in itself in many cases discouraged the new members and tended to drive them away from the Party.

The effort to overcome the weaknesses in the functioning of the Party itself and to improve the political life in the nuclei is still confined primarily to resolutions. Meetings are still being held, which start hours after the scheduled time. Decision after decision is made by units, but no check-up is ever made to see whether these decisions have been carried out. New members, who a few months ago were enthusiastic, and who were held up to the Party as examples of how work should be done, are today being influenced by the apathy and passivity of the old members and by the irresponsible manner in which Party work is carried on.

The directives of the Agitprop Department on the holding of study groups and classes for the new members have been carried out to an entirely insufficient extent. Classes have been started in most districts. They stagger along for a couple of weeks and are then permitted to break

up. New classes are started only to have the same happen to them. No continuous attention has been given to the systematic training of these new workers who have been brought into the Party.

These are the principle reasons why the new members have not been kept. Obviously, therefore the first step that must be taken to keep the new members is to overcome all of these shortcomings that have been again and again called to the attention of leading district committees.

However, there is another phase of the question of keeping new members which has been overlooked. This has its influence not only on the keeping of new members, but also on the general work of the Party as a whole. **THE PARTY HAS NOT CONCERNED ITSELF SUFFICIENTLY WITH THE SIMPLE, CONCRETE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE WORKERS IN THEIR DAILY LIFE.** Our unit meetings, the speeches of our comrades, the agitational material put out by the Party, are all filled with generalities. We suffer altogether too much from the mere repetition of phrases. These phrases themselves lose all content, and are merely repeated in a parrot-like manner every time our members get together. Our comrades talk freely about the "contradictions of the third period," "the deepening of the economic crisis," the sharpening effect that this economic crisis has on the crisis of the third period, the inevitability of war, sharpening class struggles, the necessity of sinking our roots in the factories, etc., etc. The speeches of our comrades, and the leaflets which we write string all of these things together in such a manner that they are meaningless to the average worker.

The things which effect the day to day life of the workers—unemployment, wage cuts, speed-up, evictions, increasing cost of living, etc., etc.—play but little part in the life of our Party. Therefore, the new worker coming into the movement is entirely unable to grasp the significance of the Party and its role in the struggles

with which he is immediately concerned.

In addition the Party suffers from a total lack of planned work. Even when we do develop realistic demands in which the workers are interested, we develop no planned activity for these demands. This is very well illustrated by our unemployed activity. Prior to March 6th all of the energies of the Party were devoted to the preparations for the March 6th demonstrations. After the demonstrations, this work was completely forgotten until July 4th. Then for a few weeks prior to July 4th it was again taken up and afterwards was again forgotten. Unemployed workers, who were brought into the Party during one of these periods of intense activity in preparation for a struggle for unemployment insurance, are interested while this struggle is going on. When the relapse comes, or when the attention of the Party is directed to some other campaign their interest naturally lags. It is therefore necessary to utilize the most simple and concrete issues as the basis for organizing the struggle. In each case, when we undertake a campaign, it must be carried through continuously as a phase of every campaign which the Party at the moment is conducting. The campaign must be organized in a series of stages so that each concentration point in the campaign becomes simultaneously a preparatory stage for another higher stage in the development of the movement.

Only in this way can we interest these workers in the work of the Party and convince them that only our Party organizes and leads a struggle in the interest of the workers.

In placing the emphasis on the necessity of utilizing the most simple, everyday problems confronting the worker as the basis for developing struggle, it is of course necessary to guard against economism. These issues should not be utilized by themselves. They should be connected with the broader political issues of the class struggle—with the struggle against war, for the defense of the Soviet Union,

the struggle for social insurance, the election campaign of the Party, etc., etc. These simple issues should merely be made the starting point in the development of the broad political struggles that are required in the present period.

To summarize, therefore, the task of keeping the new members—a task which every day becomes more serious for our Party—must be solved by immediately correcting all of the weaknesses that have

manifested themselves until now, by carrying through the previous directives given and by bringing the Party much closer to the daily lives of the workers by developing struggles around the simple, concrete issues which effect them, and by developing planned activity in the work of the Party.

These are the steps that must immediately be taken.

## Functions of Nucleus Executive Committee

The Nucleus Executive (Buro) is the leader of the nucleus and is responsible not only for the collective activities of the nucleus as a whole but also for the activity of each individual member.

The general political functions of the nucleus buro are like the functions of any other leading political body of the Communist Party, like the functions of the section committee, of the district committee, or of the Central Committee. Only the scope of the functions of the Nucleus Executive (Buro) is limited to the sphere of work of the nucleus. If it is a shop nucleus the task of the nucleus buro is to study carefully the conditions under which the policies of the Party are to be applied and the campaigns are to be organized among the workers in that shop. If it is a street nucleus, then the tasks of the nucleus extend to the careful study of the conditions under which the policies of the Party are to be applied and the campaigns of the Party are to be organized and carried out in the territory assigned to the nucleus. This requires a complete knowledge on the part of the Nucleus Buro of the composition of the section of the working class where the nucleus functions. It must have full knowledge of the composition as to industry, race, nationality, religion, sex, age, etc., etc. This knowledge is necessary because the Party work among all these different sections of

the working class requires special adaptation. The duty of the diverse departments, the directors of Negro work, work among working women, etc. is to prepare this adaptation for the Party. The Party as a whole must carry it out. Thus, the Negro Department is not the instrument of the Party to carry out Negro work but is merely the instrument to work out the special methods for work among Negro workers. These methods must be carried out by the Party as a whole. The same applies to all the other departments, such as women, youth, etc.

It is the duty of the nucleus executive to make regular and periodic surveys of the composition of the working class within its jurisdiction. It must continuously study the specific problems confronting the working class within its jurisdiction. The former study will enable it to prepare a correct approach to the different sections of workers, the latter will enable it to make its approach on concrete issues.

The nucleus executive has the primary duty to make every meeting of the nucleus a mobilization meeting for the work of the members of the nucleus among the workers in their factory or territory. This requires the politicalization of the work of the unit. The politicalization must be achieved by the following measures:

1. The executive committee carefully

prepares the political work of the unit meeting.

2. To eliminate from the work of the unit meeting all deadly routine the executive of the unit settles all routine matters in the meeting of the executive. The executive, for instance, passes on the minutes of the previous meeting. This is done in the form of a definite checkup as to whether the decisions of the previous meeting have been carried out.

3. Communications coming from section, district or Central Committee are read only in the nucleus executive, except in such cases where the communications are definitely addressed to the membership. Communications from sections, districts or center are in most instances guides of action to the nucleus leaders. If the communication asks for certain action in the unit, then this request must come before the unit not in the form of a long communication but in the form of a concise political report and political motions on the part of the nucleus executive.

4. The nucleus executive committee distributes all Party work among the members. It is incorrect, for instance, to bring before the unit a request to elect a committee to distribute the Daily Worker or leaflets. When a distribution of any literature is required, it is the task of the unit to assign individual members of the unit to this work. The executive committee must be in possession of detailed knowledge concerning every member of the nucleus, whether employed or unemployed, whether working during the day or night, whether industrial worker, clerical worker or professional, whether housewife or houseworker, etc., etc. On the basis of this knowledge the executive assigns work to every individual member, without exception. This assignment of work does not depend upon voluntary acceptance or rejection of the assignment by the member. This, of course, does not mean that completely arbitrary assignments should be made and enforced, or that wishes of individual members cannot

be taken into consideration. On the contrary, these should be taken into consideration as much as possible. This will contribute to the greater willingness and greater ability of the members to carry out their work; but their desires cannot be taken into consideration to the degree that it allows them to escape all responsible work. If the Executive of the unit carries through this work correctly, it will be able to divide the total work of the unit among all the members; thus the burden falling upon the shoulders of every individual will be very light in comparison while the collective accomplishment of the nucleus will be incomparably greater than it was in the past.

In this connection it must be understood that no member has a right to choose for himself the field of activity without the knowledge and consent of the unit executive. In this way the past practice of members excusing their inactivity or non-attendance at the unit on the ground of activities in language fraction, union, etc. will be eliminated. Every comrade who is active in a fraction is active there by instruction of the executive and not by his own choice. Only if the unit executive insists upon its right and duty to distribute all the Party forces at its disposal can it really organize the Party work in its factory or territory.

Only a very small number of Party members shall be assigned to work in non Party mass organizations. These comrades take leading and functionary posts in such non Party mass organizations. Their activities in those non Party organizations is the specific Party work assigned to them. All other Party members in such non Party organizations are part of the Party fraction. But their duty to function as part of the Party fractions does not absolve them from the duty of accepting another specific assignment of work by the unit executive.

If the unit executive committee by the above methods fulfils its duty of leadership, it will make possible the transforma-

tion of the unit meetings into generators of political activity. Instead of routine work, the unit will then consider the campaigns of the Party. It will consider either the political direction or special methods of work and mobilization in connection with the Party campaigns.

The nucleus executive is responsible for the punctual opening of the meeting. The usual tardiness is criminal. The comrades who arrive in time to the meeting are punished for the crimes of those that come late. Opening the meeting late is a premium for late coming to a meeting and a punishment for early arrival.

No unit meeting should be allowed to extend past ten thirty in the evening.

Every member of the Executive and every Party member shall be instructed to watch over the carrying through of these provisos. Late beginnings of meetings are methods to drive away new members. Resistance to a fundamental change in that direction is resistance to the line of the Party. Meetings called for eight o'clock shall be opened not later than 8.15.

The Nucleus Executive co-ordinates the functionings of the departments. The Executive takes steps and responsibility after it adopts these plans for the execution by the whole nucleus of the plans worked out by the directors of Negro work, womens work, etc.

---

## Build a Dues Collecting Apparatus

The deplorable dues situation is a vivid illustration of some radical organizational defects existing in the Party. This situation is undoubtedly a reflection of political as well as organizational weaknesses of our Party.

In the May issue of "The Party Organizer" in an article entitled "Liquidate the Discrepancy" it was stated:

"The Organization Department has set before the Party the task of having the dues sales of every District equivalent to the actual membership by the time of the Party Convention. This can be done if every member will take the Party obligation and duty seriously and if every Section and District Committee will undertake seriously the carrying thru of this elementary task in an organized manner."

This task set before the Party could have been accomplished, but it was not. On the contrary, the situation has become much more serious in the period immediately preceding the Party Convention and after the convention. The gap between the actual membership of the Party and its

dues-paying membership has become even wider than at the time when the Organization Department has set the task of equalizing the dues sales with the actual membership. The dues sales for June were decidedly unsatisfactory. July showed slight improvement over June and judging from the dues-stamps orders so far we may anticipate very little or no improvement at all in August. The months of June and July instead of showing an upward trend in the sales of dues-stamps show a considerable recession from the month of May. This is the greatest short-coming that must be overcome immediately. Every District and Section Committee as well as every unit of the Party must assist in this task.

The present bad dues situation is surely not due to lack of instructions and directives from the Center. Quite the contrary is the truth. The Organization Department of the Central Committee has sent to the Districts repeated detailed instructions how to organize an efficient and well functioning dues-collecting machinery. But in spite of that a very bad sys-

tem of dues-collecting prevails. A proper machinery has not been set up and the systematization of the work to keep the Party members in good standing is not being considered with sufficient seriousness by the leading comrades in the various districts. The disgraceful laxity in the collection of dues IS allowed to continue. Every responsible Party member must remember that at this time the strengthening of the Party organization is one of the central tasks of the entire membership. And in connection with this let us also keep in mind the warning: "Party members whose dues are not paid up to date are Party members on the way out of the Party." The present deplorable situation must be sharply remedied. Some very drastic organizational steps should be taken to radically overcome the great shortcomings in our dues-collecting system and to assure a rapid and steady increase in the sale of dues stamps. The greatest stress must be laid upon the organizational consolidation of the Party.

There are a number of causes responsible for the low level of dues-sales. Some of them were dealt with in many of the organization letters that are sent weekly to the Districts and also in previous issues of the "Party Organizer." The chief causes are a gross underestimation of the importance of the regularity of dues-payments on the part of a number of leading comrades in the Districts and the refusal or neglect of the District Buros to execute the repeated detailed instructions of the Central Organization Department how to perfect an organized machinery for the proper collection of dues. Amongst the chief causes of the unsatisfactory dues-situation is also the insufficient political life of our units, the inability to draw in every member in Party activity, to distribute the Party work among all of the members of the unit and the failure to prepare very carefully the political work of each unit meeting. The life of our units is filled too much with routine work, which does not contribute to the good at-

tendance of the members.

There are other causes, such as the election by the unit of a comrade who is incompetent to fill the position of financial secretary; the secretary not attending every unit meeting; not having an adequate supply of stamps at the meetings; taking money for dues and not giving stamps to the members, not keeping a close check up on how the membership is kept in good standing, etc.

All of the enumerated causes and many others contribute to the bad state of affairs as far as the dues-situation is concerned. This situation can be cured only when the causes are eliminated. With this aim in view the Organizational Department of the Central Committee has just recently sent out a series of instructions and directives in reference to the building up of an apparatus for the collection of dues. This apparatus should be built up on a unit, section and district scale. To accomplish the main aim of equalizing the dues sales with the actual membership it is imperative that the directives of the Center be without any further delay put into effect.

In this direction it is absolutely necessary that the District Committees immediately do the following:

1. Set up a dues secretary of the District who shall be financially responsible directly to the Central Committee of the Party. The District Dues Secretary must keep by all means the share of the proceeds of dues collections which is needed to replace the sold stamps from the Central office with new stamps and turn over to the District Organizer only that part of the proceeds that is due to the District Office.
2. The dues secretary of the district shall have assigned to him at least two other Party members who will be at his disposal and who will together with him visit the sections and do such other work as is necessary to organize and keep in smooth working order the dues collection system in the sections.

3. The section dues secretaries shall be directly responsible to the district dues secretaries. The same instructions concerning finances that apply to the district dues secretaries apply to the section secretaries also.

The section dues secretary must also have assigned to him one or two other comrades to enable him to supervise personally the collection of dues in the units.

4. The unit financial secretary shall be directly responsible to the section dues secretary in all matters concerning the collection of dues and the handling of finances accruing from dues stamps sales. The unit financial secretary commits a breach of Party discipline for which he may be brought before the Control Commission, if he uses up any dues money needed for the replacement of stamps for any other purpose, or if he allows the unit executive to use up such money.

5. District and Section Buros must see that the nuclei have capable and competent financial secretaries who attend every meeting regularly and always keep a supply of stamps on hand.

6. The units and the members must be informed that no one is permitted to pay to the financial secretary any dues money unless he receives a dues stamp in return.

7. The District, Section and units must always have a supply of dues stamps on hand.

8. The financial secretary of the section is in duty bound not only to sell dues stamps to the nuclei when demanded, but to check up on the organization of dues collections in the units.

9. Unit secretaries must at all times

keep a list of the members and go after the members and collect dues from them every week instead of just waiting for the members to come and pay dues.

10. Keeping the members in good standing goes hand in hand with activating the members and involving them in Party work. Members that do not carry on any activities must be visited by a member of the membership committee and an attempt must be made to activate them. The representative of the membership committee must also collect dues from the member he visits.

11. The membership committee shall consist of three comrades, including the financial secretary. The financial secretary of the unit is the most important and leading member of the membership committee. The membership committee is under the direct supervision of the financial secretary.

12. It is the duty of the financial secretary to collect dues wherever he can. The financial secretary must take the initiative in collecting dues from Party members everywhere and at all times.

The task of liquidating the discrepancy between the actual and the dues paying membership is still before the Party. This task is of tremendous importance. It must be taken up seriously and energetically by every member. The District Committees must at once carry out wholeheartedly the instructions and directives of the Center. They must immediately get busy and begin building up a dues collection apparatus. The machinery must be set into motion at full speed.

---



# DAILY WORKER

## and the Organization Letter from the Comintern

The Communist International in its organization letter to the Seventh Convention of our Party pointed out that "considerable attention must be paid to the question of strengthening the Party organizationally. The leftward swing of the broad proletarian masses, and, in connection with this, the rapidly growing influence of the Party among the masses, raises the question very sharply of the organizational strengthening of the Party as the most important prerequisite for the further development of the Party." The manner in which we carry out the instructions in the Comintern letter will be a clear indication of the extent to which we really understand and grasp the correct political line laid down in the thesis of the Seventh Convention.

The Daily Worker as the official organ of the Party must play an ever increasing role in strengthening of the Party organizationally. The following article is for the purpose of concretizing the tasks of the Daily Worker particularly in that phase of its work which deals directly with the question of Party organization.

### CIRCULATION OF THE DAILY WORKER.

The "leftward swing of the broad proletarian masses, and, in connection with this, the rapidly growing influence of the Party among the masses," is clearly shown in the steady increase in the circulation of the Daily. In January it was about 17,000 while today it is over 28,000. The subscriptions increased from about 4,500 to a little over 6,500 to 7,000. (The actual mailing is about 9,000—the deduction is made to make up for lapsed subscriptions and others that were retained on the list). Money received from sub-

scriptions for the first seven months in 1930 averaged \$2,561.79 per month, while in 1929 it was \$2,423.46. The income from subscriptions, sales, etc. (including donations, affairs, etc.) in 1929 averaged per month \$8,582.18; in the first seven months of 1930 it averaged \$10,326.80, an increase of \$1,744.62. In addition to these figures the subscription list of April 1st shows that there are 241 cities with over three subscribers, 877 cities with less than three subscribers.

These are very significant figures. The statistics on circulation show a marked increase in the contacts made by the Party, contacts gained in a period of depression coming from struggles of the workers. Paid-up subscriptions and increased general sales are a good indicator of the steady support of the Daily by the masses. The number of cities in which our Party has made contacts through the Daily Worker is far beyond the number of cities in which the Party has units. The financial figures show that the workers, even though facing unemployment, wage cuts, etc., are supporting the Daily more than before.

We must ask ourselves, however, "How are these contacts being made?" "What is the relationship of the Party to these new contacts and the method through which these contacts are made?"

### DAILY WORKER AND PARTY APPARATUS.

The campaign organizationally was based largely on the mobilization of the Party behind the Daily Worker. The preparation for March 6th and May 1st showed an increase in the organizational support of the Party through the units and leading committees to connect up

directly the work of the Daily with that of the general life and activities of the Party. In some cases as in New York City, the apparatus of the Daily Worker agents as a collective group and as an integral part of the Party is beginning to show signs of real development.

All of these conditions show a distinct improvement organizationally not only for the Daily Worker, but for the Party. These are only the first signs of the strengthening of the Party apparatus as it reflects itself in the Daily Worker.

#### SHORTCOMINGS.

Although progress has been noted and although the nature of the progress indicates that it is based upon the fact that the Party organizationally has been to some extent directing this progress, however, there are very serious shortcomings. Politically the leading comrades show a tendency of still considering the Daily Worker as a sort of a separate business—that it prints the news workers should read. The Daily very often is given last consideration in being used to mobilize the masses. As yet there does not exist a functioning apparatus of Daily Worker representatives. District Daily Worker representatives are not yet considered sufficiently as important political functionaries.

This attitude must be changed. The Daily must be the chief instrument used as the mobilizer of the masses and at the same time be the daily expression of the inner party life. Daily Worker representatives must be the base for developing Daily Worker Builders Clubs of non-Party workers who are readers of the Daily—as well as building an inner Party apparatus for the correct functioning of the Daily Worker.

The leading comrades must orientate their Party activities towards this direction and use the Daily as the instrument for strengthening the Party.

#### FINANCIAL PROBLEMS.

While analyzing the favorable reflection seen in the statistics of circulation and finance of the Daily Worker, we must also analyze the very unfavorable tendencies revealed by some of the figures as well. With the increased circulation in the bundles, we find that the money due from the districts (accounts receivable) has increased from \$12,406.15 January 1, 1930, to \$29,883.06 August 1, 1930. This means that Dailies are ordered but no attempts are made to pay. Some districts will order bundles, even increase their orders, but make no attempt to make even a slight payment, and—what is even worse—do not even report what is being done with the Dailies received. Some districts just appropriate the funds for other Party purposes. The District Committees pay very little attention to the financial responsibilities of the Daily Worker representatives. The problem of finance and the question of the number of Dailies received are the immediate concern of the District Committees not alone that of the Daily Worker representatives. However, no regular supervision is being made and no attention is even being paid to the instructions from the Secretariat regarding the Daily Worker. One incident points this out clearly.

How many Districts really took seriously the instructions of the Central Committee that every comrade will be held responsible for collecting five dollars for the Daily Worker in subs, bundle orders or donations? How many have checked up on the carrying out of this instruction? We dare say very few.

#### DEFECTS IN CIRCULATION.

Our circulation figures, although in general quite sound, however, we know that many sections order beyond their capacity to sell and even to distribute. Furthermore, the comrades rely too much on paying for a few Dailies and not going out to distribute them. There is too often the opinion that the workers will not buy the Daily Worker. The new subscribers and

the results of those who sell the Daily show concretely that the workers will buy the Daily. Seldom are Daily Workers sold at the same shops and factories regularly and until direct contacts are made with individual workers.

On the other hand the apparatus of the Daily Worker in the National Office itself has many shortcomings. Although improvements can be noted in the development of the Daily Worker administration, however, there is still a very weak link between the office of the Daily Worker and the workers in the field. Too many errors creep into the work. Subscriptions are delayed. Bundle orders are not properly filled; communications not answered promptly, etc. A great deal of effort is being made to correct these shortcomings. The office is being organized so that many of the operations will be mechanized. These improvements will remove that gap that exists between the office and the apparatus in the field. While these defects are being corrected the comrades in the units must eliminate errors that occur in the field, such as long delay

in sending in of subs and orders after they are turned over to the comrades, and the piling up of subs in offices of the Daily Worker representatives. \* Although all of these might appear to be small details, however, just such details very often discourage comrades in their work and makes it harder to build up a functioning apparatus in the field.

The above article should be only one of a series. The relation of the editorial department with the machinery of circulation and with the workers in shops, factories and with worker correspondence should be analyzed so that a complete coordination can be built up between these various departments. Through self-criticism in a series of such articles we will develop the collective machinery both for building up of the Daily Worker and contributing to the strengthening of the Party organization.

\* The columns of the Daily Worker should be used for self-criticism of the apparatus of the Daily Worker.

## WHILE IT LASTS

During the Drive

The Communist—for one year.....	\$2.00
The Party Organizer—for one year.....	1.00
	<hr/>
	\$3.00

**BOTH FOR ONLY TWO DOLLARS**

**Subscribe Now!**

## Worker Correspondents Must Build Groups in the Shops

Our small army of worker correspondents are the eyes of our Communist press. In all sections of the country, in all industries, our worker correspondents make our press and especially the Daily Worker, reflect (not completely and entirely as yet) the class struggle day by day.

But there are great shortcomings in our worker correspondence work, which we must correct to better build the Daily.

At a series of conferences held to organize the Central Bureau for Worker Correspondence, initiated by the Daily Worker and attended by representatives of our language press, the shortcomings were analyzed and definite proposals made to correct them.

The conference characterized our workers correspondence as follows: a) Our worker correspondents are not organized into definite groups, but that our letters are spontaneous, and as such do not reflect accurately and entirely the issues and problems facing the workers. b) That we in the center do not give any conscious guidance to the work of developing, guiding and instructing the worker correspondents.

One outstanding example of the weakness of this state of affairs is the fact they, altho the Party is in the midst of an important election campaign and altho many hundreds of thousands of workers are in a state of political flux, we received few worker correspondent letters that would reflect this situation in the country.

The Conference established the extent and scope of worker correspondence. The worker correspondence of our press should present a more diversified reflection of the economic crisis, especially in the heavier

industries. Thus, for example, while we have Party units and a critical economic situation in the anthracite we have not one correspondent there and the Daily Worker does not reflect the crisis in that important industrial section. The worker correspondence must give a better reflection of the flux of political sentiment among the masses. New thousands of workers bring with them remnants of distorted ideologies which must not only be reflected in their letters but must be corrected collectively. Self-criticism of the work of our revolutionary unions and the Party must figure more prominently as direct mobilization for struggle.

Conscious, organized direction to organized groups of worker correspondents was established as the precondition for the attainment of the full scope of worker correspondence and in making it a big force in the daily mobilization of workers in the class struggle.

The Conference voted to constitute itself as the Central Bureau for organizing and developing Worker Correspondents, including foreign language worker correspondents.

After some discussion the Conference agreed that our present worker correspondents should constitute the basis for building shop and city groups of worker correspondents.

Shop groups of worker correspondents was declared to be the basic form of organization, with city or section groups and conferences uniting the shop groups.

Writing from and about the shops they work in, worker correspondents groups, under the guidance of the Central Bureau, will not only be able to tie up the day to

have at one time or another written to the Daily Worker and wish to develop this work, and organize shop groups and set up a committee that would guide the work locally.

The worker correspondents of the Daily Worker are asked to be in the forefront of this movement and to help make the city conferences a success.

day work of organization for economic struggle, but to link up more effectively the general political campaigns of the revolutionary movement with the shop and its peculiar problems.

Within several weeks all important industrial centers and cities will have received a call to hold city or section conferences of all worker correspondents who



