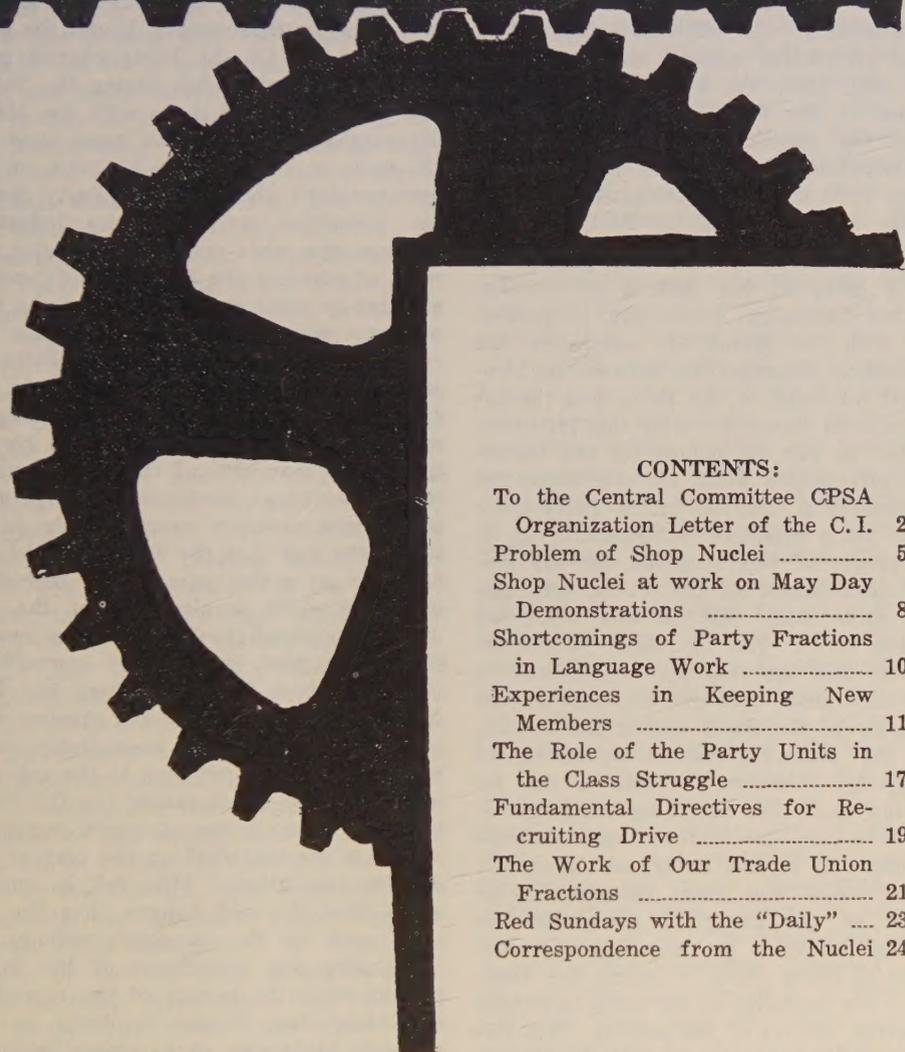


# THE PARTY ORGANIZER



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# 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 unflinchingly 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.

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## 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 activize 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 crystalization 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	Pty. members	Members	Pty. members	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 auxiliary 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 out 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.

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## 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

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# 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	shop nucl.
	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.

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## 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 activate 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 solidizing 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.