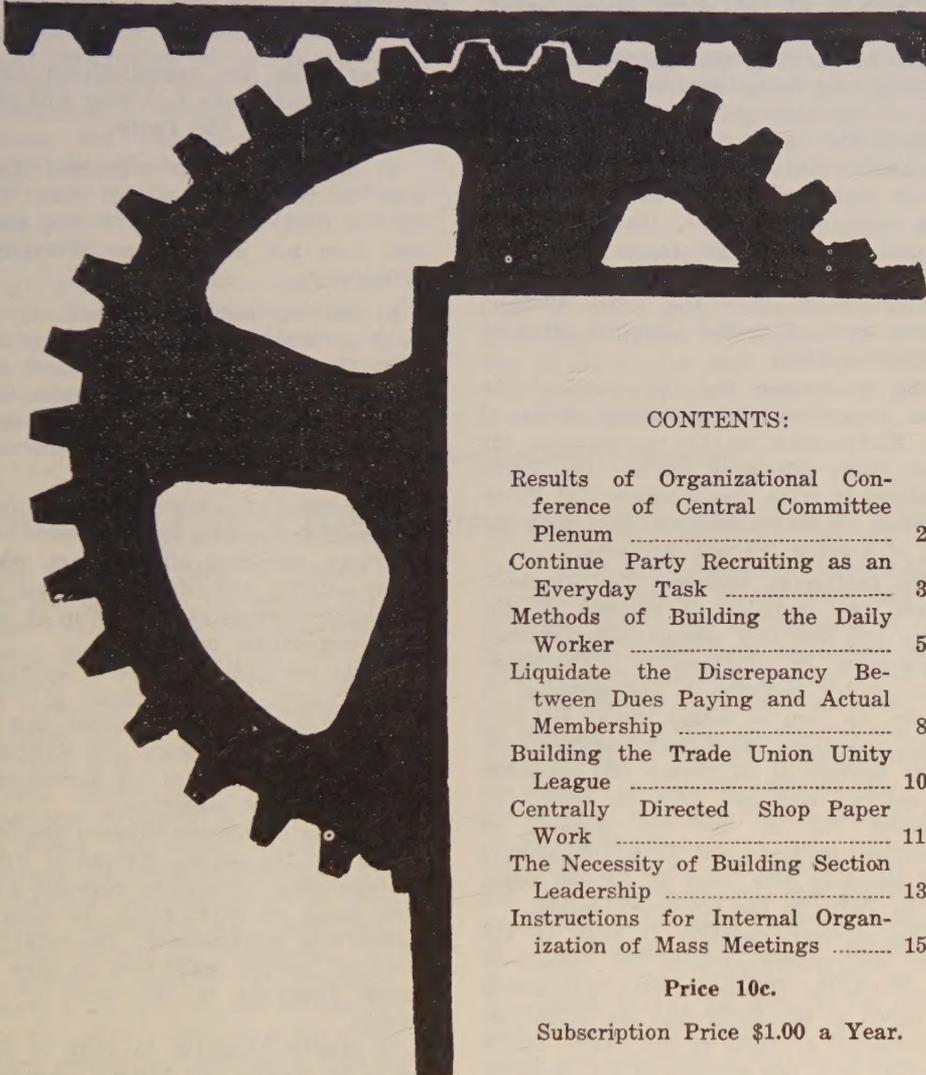


THE PARTY ORGANIZER



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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 activization 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, 3 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 prolétarians 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 undertsanding 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 nuclei 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 if 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 thoro 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 Agitprop and 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 in 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 throuth 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.

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