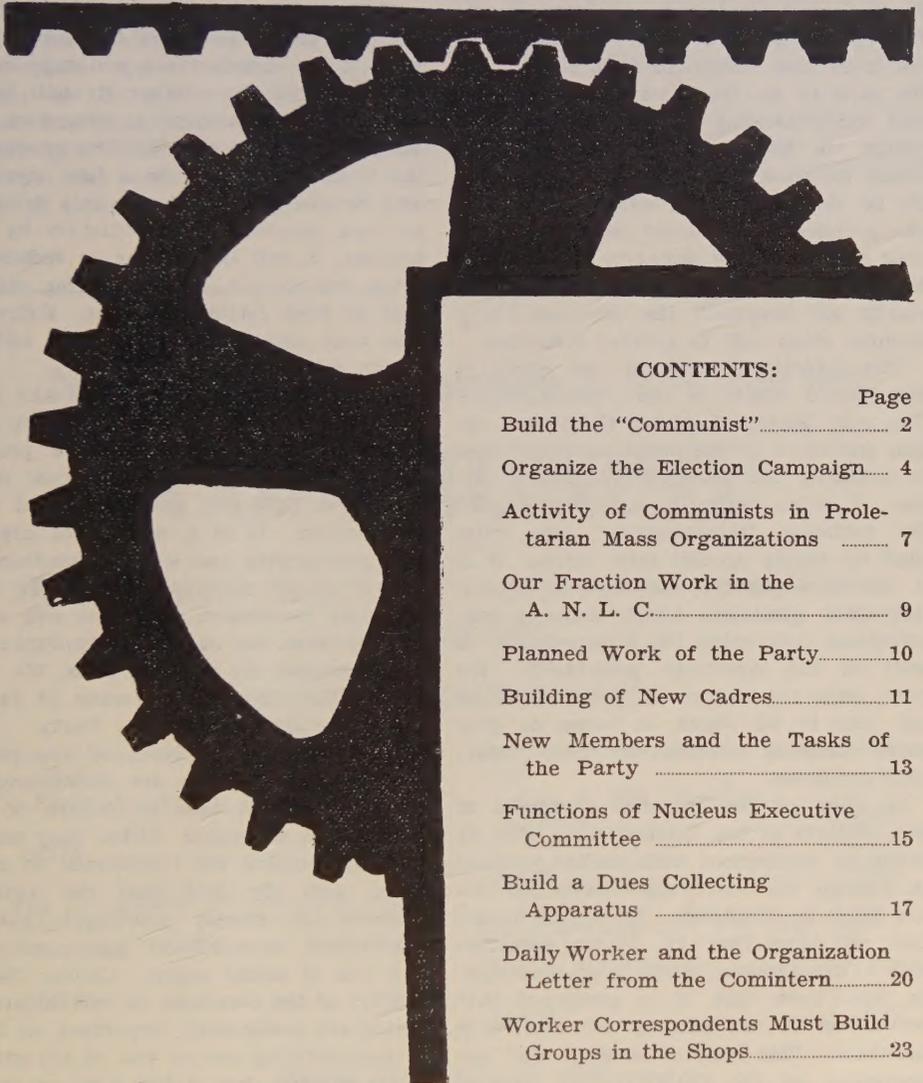


THE PARTY ORGANIZER



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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
43 East 125th Street, New York City

Build the "Communist"

At the same time that Communists are ready to make the most severe sacrifices, having thrown their lives into the struggle to smash capitalism exploitation and for emancipation of the working class, we must also remember that this means for each of us, the most thorough study and understanding of the forces with which we must deal and the weapons which we must use. This is no easy task. To be the leaders, the advance guard of the proletariat, we must see clearly the path ahead and the obstacles and methods of overcoming them. Understanding and clarity are essential; the confused Party member leads only to greater confusion.

The theoretical voice of our Party in the United States is the COMMUNIST. The only Marxist-Leninist theoretical organ published in the country, its purpose is to clarify the issues of the class struggle. It is no longer a stamping ground for factional "theoreticians," who raise dust by racing around false issues. It is a serious organ for the analysis of our important questions, which includes contributions concerning the international, as well as the American proletariat. We have, since the first of the year, increased the size to 96 pages, in order to give more adequate attention to these important problems.

In spite of the essential character of the contents of the COMMUNIST and its favorable comparison with similar journals in Europe, we are comparatively far below them in circulation. It is safe to say that not more than 1% of our membership at the outside, reads the Communist. In New York City, it is estimated that two-thirds of our readers are non-Party members. This lack of support and appreciation of the COMMUNIST by our Party and especially our Party functionaries, is absolutely impermissible. Materials in our magazine are published because they are important for the development of our movement. The COMMUNIST

is an instrument for sharpening the steel will of the proletarian vanguard, it is to help bring our work to a cutting edge.

This situation cannot continue. It has come to the place where the membership must decide whether we will support the COMMUNIST or whether it shall be reduced or cease publication altogether. We have set the goal of 2,000 new readers by the first of January. In a few days, you will receive your quota in this drive. If we can increase the circulation by this amount, it will be possible to reduce the price, for as you know, the big cost is that of first setting the type. Extra copies cost comparatively little in addition to the original cost.

This drive must first of all take place in the Party. This is not a mere subscription-getting affair. It is a proposition of distributing this Communist weapon in our fight—of passing around more ammunition. It is a method of drawing our membership and leading functionaries into a clearer understanding of the revolutionary movement. Mistakes will occur, but mistakes due to simple ignorance is a crime against the working class. We must regard this drive as a means of raising the theoretical level of our Party.

The Agitprop directors of the nuclei, sections and districts are mainly responsible for the success or failure of this new reader campaign. Often they neglect to even mention the Communist at meetings. Just the fact that the Agitprop director has merely mentioned that the Communist is available, has resulted in the sale of many copies. Calling the attention of the comrades to certain articles which are particularly important, or briefly summarizing one or two of the articles at a meeting, has a big influence in increasing the number of readers. We must systematically push the sale and circle of readers of the COMMUNIST, especially among our fellow-comrades. Of course, we must not neglect to push it outside

the Party, to increase the number of non-Party readers.

Finally, we want your suggestions and Bolshevik self-criticism of the COMMUNIST, how does it best serve you and how can it best be made to do so. Also we want your contributions. Comrades who have made special studies of various phases of the labor movement, of economic conditions, of revolutionary theory, should give their fellow comrades and workers the benefit of this work. We want all those who are prepared to write

such theoretical articles, to do so. Remember this is the voice of our movement and to express this movement it must be a collective product. It is essential that our developed comrades partipate in the analysis of our revolutionary experiences, pointing out the correct principles and strategy which we must follow in our work.

We know the will of the working class and are sure of your answer.

Recruit the army of COMMUNIST readers.

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Every Party functionary and active member a
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BOTH \$2.00	BOTH \$2.00
The Communist for one year (\$2.00) and the Southern Worker one year (\$1.00)	The Communist for one year (\$2.00) and the Pan-Pacific Monthly one year (2.00)
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Organize the Election Campaign!

The elections will take place in a year of a serious economic crisis. Neither the election campaign nor the role of the next congress can be separated from the economic crisis of capitalism. As part of its plans for the capitalist solution of the crisis, the congress will have to carry through extensive tax reductions for big business and place a heavier burden upon the working masses. It will have to carry through a crop of anti-labor legislation to defeat the inevitable fierce class battles of the American proletariat and improve still further its imperialist war machine.

The Communist Party is entering the political campaign not separated from the economic struggle of the workers. It presents not only a general revolutionary program and demands, but also mobilizes for action on specific demands as they arise from a concrete situation. The Party is making the struggle for social insurance and unemployment relief the central points in the election campaign. It aims to lay simultaneously, the preparatory basis for the organization of strikes against wage cuts and assume the leadership over the economic battles of the working class. These aims can be achieved. The situation is very favorable for us. The workers are responding to our Party and awaiting our leadership.

The favorable situation is not the only assurance for our possible success. Our success is being also guaranteed because of the correct political line our Party is following today. However, to have a correct political line is one thing and to carry through this correct line in our mass work is another. A correct political line becomes obsolete, when it is not carried through into practice. The election campaign means carrying through the political line of our Party in the form of mass activity and building up all the branches of our movement. **Failure in the election campaign, means failure to carry through the political line of our Party.**

It means agreeing with the Central Committee in words and disagreeing with it in deeds.

The key to a successful Communist election campaign lies in the following two factors:

1) On the basis of the every day struggles of the workers in the factories; of the struggles of the unempolyed workers; on the basis of the day to day activity of every Party member we develop the election campaign.

"The economic demands of the workers must be related and linked up with the political campaigns of the Party in such a manner that the workers recognize in these political campaigns a struggle for the same aims for which they battle in their strikes." (Thesis of the 7th Convention.)

2) A sincere effort to apply the tactics of the United Front from below. This means formulate the political problems of every economic struggle. Organize shop groups and shop committees in the factories. Build the "Vote Communist" clubs to involve in the election campaign our sympathizers. Our United Front must not be limited to the narrow circles of our fraternal organizations. Get the workers from the factories. Get the workers of the mass organizations, although they might still be under conservative and reactionary leadership.

"The Party must in every strike formulate the political slogans and demands. On the basis of these demands it must lead the workers into municipal, state and national elections, making the Communist Party the leader and organizer of a broad united front from below for mass political struggles." (Thesis of the 7th National Convention.)

HOW SHALL THE CAMPAIGN BE ORGANIZED?

1) The leading district committees and the membership must first of all under-

stand our political perspective in the campaign. It must be made clear to everyone that the election campaign is not an aim in itself, but is a means of organizing the masses for struggle and building up the revolutionary organizations. Consequently we must combat all mechanical approach to the campaign and recognize that signature collections, means recruiting new members for our organizations and organizing the struggle for social insurance and strikes against wage cuts, means making the workers vote and elect Communists.

2) The campaign must be conducted on the basis of concrete tasks and accomplishments day by day and week by week. There must be a weekly plan of action worked out for every State and promptly checked up by the leading committees. This weekly plan of action is to be worked out for the Sections and Units. All nuclei members must be assigned weekly to carry through a certain definite task.

3) To concretize its election campaign the Party must be on the ballot. This means that we must comply with certain state rules and laws, such as a certain amount of signatures to be collected and filed at a certain specified date. Every District must immediately check up on the amount of signatures collected to date, and take the necessary steps to collect the balance. All signatures to be filed a week or two prior to the filing date. Every unit to be assigned a quota of signatures to be in turn distributed to every member.

4) The collection of signatures and the carrying on of the election campaign generally is the daily task of every Party members. However, to stimulate the campaign, to correct our outstanding shortcomings, we must carry through special mobilizations of the membership through the units. Signature collection days, tag days, red nights, house to house canvassing, etc.

5) To get masses of workers to support our platform and candidates will re-

quire the most intensive agitation and popularization of our platform. This is first of all accomplished through increased and more intensive activity of every Party member in the shops. The factory must be made the center of our election campaign. Secondly through open air meetings, factory gate meetings, visits to mass organizations, election rallies, etc.

6) Our forces must be distributed according to the demands of concrete situations. The small industrial towns must receive the utmost attention. Special squads must be organized to visit small industrial towns. Campaign autos to be sent out on tours with speakers and equipped with literature.

7) To be effective in the campaign, we must avoid abstractions and generalities. Our agitation must be concrete. And to be concrete, it must react to every political and economic event and tie it up with the election campaign. The specific local problems of the workers must be brought out, the demagogy and the schemes of the capitalist parties exposed. It is not sufficient to have a program of general struggle against capitalism. We must raise concrete issues on the bases of which we can get mass support and thereby broaden our revolutionary front.

8) From the above we must conclude that it is not sufficient for the agitator to be equipped with a few high-sounding phrases. He must know the specific problems of the workers. He must be familiar with the general and special political situation in the country as a whole and in the specific territory of his operation. Our agitators must therefore be equipped with facts, with arguments and not impose the opinion of the Party among the masses, but to convince them that the Party program is correct and they will follow it. To accomplish this we must have conferences of speakers, in order to train our agitators and supply them with information and work out the method of approach to the masses.

9) Every mass organization must function in the election campaign as a political and organizational auxiliary in its own fields of the class struggle. It does not mean mechanical endorsement of the election campaign. It does mean active political and organizational support to the campaign. Our Party fractions as the driving force in these mass organizations have now the opportunity to involve these organizations into political mass activity, to connect up their educational, sport and economic activities with political struggles.

10) The revolutionary trade unions, minority groups, shop committees, must participate in the election campaign. They are to conduct the campaign in their field. Utilize their own apparatus, connections and press. They are to set up their own committees. The campaign

must be entrusted to their rank and file membership and the initiative developed from below.

The Bolshevik meaning of the election campaign is to build the Party, the revolutionary trade unions and our Party press. If the election campaign does not result in a step further in the direction of a mass Party, then it is not a Communist election campaign. If through this election campaign the Party fails to reach a broader strata of workers and on the basis of struggle for special demands does not establish a genuine united front with these masses, then we have failed in the election campaign. However, no Party member can fail to see the great possibilities that exist in the present situation to achieve our aims. It will be up to us to make the best use of the favorable opportunities and the growing radicalization of the American working class.

ATTENTION OF ALL DISTRICT ORGANIZERS

And Literature Agents

All shipments of the Party Organizers will be made directly from the office of THE WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS instead of the printer's office.

Districts do not pay their bills promptly and therefore make it impossible for the magazine to appear regularly. DO NOT WITHOLD the money which you realize from the sale of THE PARTY ORGANIZER. PAY BILLS DUE TO THE WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS IMMEDIATELY.

Activity of Communists in Proletarian Mass Organizations

When we speak in usual conversation among Communists of the interests of the Party and demands of Party interests, one could, without better acquainting himself with the subject, get an impression that the Party members and masses who are sympathetic to the Party must exert themselves and make sacrifices for some **special Party interest**. Altho the matter is just the opposite. The Communist Party has really no other interests to pursue than the interests of the proletarian revolution, which again is the interest of the entire working class and working farmers. The one and only question in which the Party leadership and membership must always be on the alert is that the tactics of struggle are changed in accordance with the period and situation, to serve the interests of the proletarian revolution. Often, however, the great masses outside of the Party do not see this fact, that the Communist Party thru all its activity strives to mobilize the proletarian masses for the **class struggle** against the common enemy, capitalism, on a national as well as international scale. And when the Party strives to broaden its influence among the proletarian mass organizations, this means that the Party wishes to draw these organizations into a **united front in the proletarian class struggle**, to fight for the interests of the revolution.

The interests of the Party and of the proletarian masses (organized or unorganized) can never be in conflict. This is an absolute rule. Just as absolute as the fact that the interests of the proletariat and the capitalists can never and under no circumstances be the same. The Party is the most active part of the proletariat itself, it is the vanguard of the working class.

But as the Party is nevertheless only a small part of the working class, and the

working masses do not very easily recognize this blood tie between the working class and the Party, then it is because of this that this leadership of the Party is difficult. In order to overcome these difficulties, the Communist International has, on the basis of broad experiences, planned and presented for putting in practice in all the Communist Parties compact and uniform methods (i. e. modes of action). One most important method with which the Communist Party aims to broaden its influence among the mass organizations and to lead these organizations in the path of revolutionary class struggle is **fraction work**.

The members of the Communist Party in the mass organizations and in their leading organs constitute among themselves a fraction and elect a fraction committee (usually of three members).

Many comrades have heretofore not understood thoroly that the formation of fractions and their functioning in the mass organizations is very essential. Without fraction work the influence of the Party in mass organizations remains ineffective, or else it becomes a mechanical control within them. Both form a dangerous situation, which must be overcome if we wish to develop the Communist Party into a real bolshevik Party, which is needed all the more by the working class the more the class struggle intensifies in the light of the third period. A few comrades have attempted to defend the lack of fraction work with such a naive self-consolation that some mass organization are working on a revolutionary basis without fraction work. Such a contention proves a lack of understanding of the matter and is based on the opportunistic traditions of the second period. Just as naive is such a contention that fraction work cannot be put into practice for the reason that even certain good soldiers of the class struggle

who remain outside of the Party feel offended and regard it as some kind of "machination" behind the backs of the masses. If the fractions themselves know how to carry out the correct Party tactics in their activity, the fraction work will not become any kind of underhanded "machination" and offensive to the democratic customs of members in organizations outside of the Party; but on the contrary, the members will recognize before long how beneficial to the activity of the organization the work of the fraction has been.

By way of offsetting the lack of fraction work, a few comrades have acted incorrectly in trying to strengthen the influence of the Party in the organizations by giving direct Party instructions.

Such a procedure is contrary to Communist principles. The Communist Party never gives instructions to mass organizations. That iron discipline that exists in the Communist Parties, involves **only the Party membership**. The Party members active in each organization receive the Party instructions and directives in their fractions, and then in the meeting of the organization they represent the Party stand. Not in such a manner that the members of the Party demand the meeting's acceptance of the Party stand, but:

"All that is requisite is that the Party members who belong to these organizations should use their influence and all their arts of persuasion to bring

these non-Party organizations into the closest proximity to the Party, and to lead them to place themselves of **their own free will** under the political guidance of the Party." (Stalin: Leninism.)

Even tho the Party has for its aim to get the masses to recognize it as their leader, it nevertheless does not even wish to submit the mass organizations **formally** under its leadership.

Those workers who support the proletarian class struggle will, however, easily recognize that the stand of the Communist Party, which the members of the fraction represent in the meeting, is the only correct stand in light of the class struggle as a whole.

The necessity of fraction work and its various aspects cannot be clarified in a short article. Suffice it to say in conclusion, that the fractions in the mass organizations, wherever we have them, must be speedily wakened to life. Where we have none, they must be immediately formed. For without fraction work the Communist Party is unable to accomplish that task which—especially in this period of crisis of capitalism and the resulting intensification of the class struggle—it is confronted with; that is the **broadening of its influence among the workers and working farmers; the consolidation of this influence organizationally; the rallying of the masses in a united front leading them in a decisive struggle for power.**



Our Fraction Work in the ANLC.

The future of the American Negro Labor Congress depends greatly upon how able we are to plant our roots among the agrarian workers and the fast growing proletariat in the south and the proletariat in the north. The growth of the ANLC the composition of its membership, and the ability of its membership to mobilize the workers for struggle, depends upon the ability of the fraction to apply the newly corrected line. This presents us with a problem, a new method.

First we must recognize that the ANLC can be built into a mass organization only thru struggle. In the past the organization has existed nominally. What few were recruited, joined at mass meetings, inter-racial dances and the like. Few concrete tasks were given the membership. As a result of these methods, the organization did not become a leader of the Negro toilers and was disconnected with the struggles of the workers and failed miserably to bring any great number under its influence.

New methods of work mean that the ANLC must be built as an independent mass organization and not as a "bridge." It must become the exponent of the Negro liberation movement, rallying the Negro toilers for immediate struggles around the slogans of equal rights (social equality) and self determination. The roots of the membership must be based in the shops, mills, mines and mainly among the agricultural laborers and poor farmers. To win this broad mass of toilers for struggle, individual contacts must be built up in the most efficient manner in the South. In the North at those industries which employ a great number of Negro workers,

factory gate meetings must be held and those places which discriminate against Negro workers must be picketed and connections must be established on the inside of the shops. Street meetings, open forums, literature distribution and general agitation, exposing the rottenness of the entire capitalist system and linking up this elementary work with the general campaigns (such as anti-lynching) and local demands and grievances of the workers, must become a part of the work.

The organization must not be tangibly linked to the Party. Its meetings must not be turned into Communist meetings. Although we must let the workers know that we endorse the program of the CP for the Negro workers we must not confuse them with the idea that the ANLC is a black CP. When announcing that we endorse the CP program for the Negro workers, it is well to state that the CP is the only political organization that is leading the workers in struggle for freedom and is the best political fighter for the Negro liberation movement.

There are unlimited possibilities in all sections for building active locals of the ANLC. With lynchings on the increase, race riots on the verge of breaking and the general economic conditions of the Negro workers worsening, these objective conditions ripen these workers for a class program of struggle. With this orientation we can seriously begin to make preparations for the coming national convention to be held in St. Louis on November 15 and 16, a convention that will form a mobilizing center and provide a fighting base for the masses of oppressed Negro toilers.

Planned Work of the Party

Resolution Adopted by the N. Y. District Regarding Planned Work.

The activities of our Party have been directed entirely too much towards demonstrations and campaigns at the expense of establishing systematic, routine, daily activities of the Party, in which activities the campaigns and demonstrations should become the expressions of the intensification of all our normal daily activities.

Without planned systematic and organized day to day work the Party diffuses and squanders the energies of its members and the masses of sympathizers.

Each campaign or a drive of the Party such as August 1st or Party Recruiting Drive must be the intensification of our shop activities and general day to day work with special emphasis on the issues raised in the principal campaign.

With the development of planned and systematic day to day activities in which every member must be activated, the possibility of coordinating two or more major campaigns can be accomplished with relative ease.

With the deepening of the crisis in the U. S. A. and throughout the world, the numbers of major political events, campaigns, and demonstrations will increase.

The task of our Party must be to draw ever greater masses into our movement to coordinate and combine the major activities and above all to firmly establish methods of work and activity that will guarantee the maximum results.

This can only be accomplished by thorough organization of our day to day activities principally in and around the shops in basic industries.

The planned work of the Party must be concrete and based on the tasks confronting the Party in the given Section or area.

If our task in a Section consists in winning the workers in several important factories, the plan of work for the Section must be based on concrete work in and around these factories. Such as shop gate meetings, shop bulletins, shop leaflets, Daily Worker sales, canvassing, cultivating and developing of individual workers, etc. Thus, when the Unemployment Campaign is launched the Party units will be obliged to intensify their activities in the shops as their basic task in the particular campaign. Other activities of the units in such a Section shall not be neglected but will be supplementary to the basic work.

The District Committee shall work out a general plan for six months which will be used as a basis by the Section Committees and units for their tasks and activities during that period.

In addition to and supplementing the six months plan of work, each committee, buro and department shall work out a calendar plan of work for a month as the basis of activities of the month.

The control and supervision of the full-calendar system of activities while being used as the basis of our activities must be drawn up and conceived as tentative and flexible with the understanding that emergency tasks and problems will arise and must be acted upon.

The planned system of work further gives the Party better possibilities of reviewing and examining work at the end of each period.

The control and supervision of the fulfillment of plans and decisions regularly must become an organic feature of our planned work.

DISTRICT COMMITTEE, DISTRICT 2,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA.

Building of New Cadres

Just when the Seventh National Convention of our Party has made decisive decisions to effect a definite turn towards a mass Party, our efforts are being hampered very seriously by the crisis that has developed regarding Party cadres. This crisis has developed mainly for the following reasons:

1) We have lost many old forces since the beginning of the Third Period. We lost some with Cannon, some with Lovestone and a number of old functionaries have deserted their post or have been found unfit as functionaries for the present period of sharpening class battles.

2) Because of the sharpening of the attack of the capitalist state power, many of our functionaries have been arrested and kept in jail for shorter or longer periods. In this way the capitalist class has deprived many valuable and experienced comrades. Arrests have been made in every District, but especially in the South, California and the Anthracite, where every week some of our functionaries and active comrades have been arrested.

Now that the Party has turned towards mass activities, we need many more forces than hitherto.

Our Districts, Sections and units do not yet realize the necessity of new methods in developing new forces and therefore the development of forces is far too slow.

The crisis regarding the Party forces is so serious that every responsible comrade must now do his utmost to help the Party to overcome this crisis. While the Central Committee must find ways and means to develop new forces in a much more rapid tempo than before, the Districts can do very much in helping the Party to overcome the present crisis, but then, the Districts must take an entirely different attitude than they are taking now. As the case is now, every District sends in continually demands for new forces, they are sending these requests as orders from a Mail Order Business, be-

lieving that the Party center has in stock ready made goods of every quality and quantity.

In order to illustrate the situation regarding how Districts are taking this important question of forces, let's take a few examples. One day a District Organizer writes to the Party Center, "you must send us a Section Organizer and you must send a good one". Another District Organizer writes: "Few days ago I wrote to you about a T.U.U.L. organizer and you have not yet sent one." The Party Center is bombarded by District Organizers every day, by demands of Org. Secretaries, Agitprop heads, Section Organizers, T.U.U.L. and I.L.D. secretaries and many other functionaries.

It is impossible for the Central Committee to fulfill these demands as rapidly as they are coming in, and even tho the Central Committee is trying to find the most necessary functionaries for the Districts, this would not solve the problem. The question of developing new cadres is such an important fact, that the Central Committee alone cannot solve the problem. It is not a question of just filling the most necessary posts. It is a question of building and developing a whole army of professional revolutionists, so that when one is lost by jailing or by desertion or by any other reason, that we have at least ten comrades to take his or her place.

In discussing and trying to solve this question of cadres, we think it is very well to quote what Comrade Lenin said, regarding this question in 1905. He is quoted as saying the following:

"From all sides one hears with equal frequency and passionate appeals for new forces and complaints of the absence of people in the organizations, and at the same time a gigantic offer of services, a growth of young forces, especially among the working class The practical organizer who complains of shortage of

people in such conditions cannot see the wood from trees, admits that he is blinded by events, that it is not he, the revolutionary, who dominates them, . . . but that they are dominating him or have overwhelmed him. Such an organizer would be well advised to keep quiet, to leave his place free for young forces, which have energy . . . There are people, there is a mass of people. We have only to throw overboard our 'tailist' ideas and teachings to give space for action and initiative, and then we shall prove ourselves worthy representatives of the great revolutionary class."

Comrades, when we examine the situation of our Party forces, now, we are compelled to admit that Comrade Lenin's criticism just strikes to roots of this question. Our District Committees are using an old method by constantly demanding new forces from the Party Center, instead of developing new forces and pushing forth new comrades in connection with everyday Party work and the mass struggles that the Party is leading.

It is high time for us to radically depart from the old methods. Every District Committee must work out plans for systematic training and development of new forces. District Committees must adopt the policy whereby proletarian rank and file comrades are to be systematically pushed ahead and given more and more responsible Party work.

At the present time with the deepening crisis of capitalism, growing unemployment and sharpening attacks of state power is having tremendous radicalizing effect upon the hundreds of thousands of workers, when there are clear signs that a growing number of non Party workers are ready to offer their services to the revolutionary class struggle, these workers must be thrown into the Party mem-

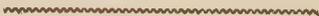
bership and into Party activities. And, in the sources of everyday Party work many of these new proletarian members can be soon developed to be able to take positions as regular functionaries of our Party.

Especially a good field to develop new forces is in connection with shop nuclei work, in building the TUUL and its revolutionary industrial unions and also in the struggle of unemployed. But new forces can also be developed in connection with ILD, WIR, FSU in the language mass organizations, etc. New cadres must be and can be built in every field of our activity. But it is specially important that by being active among the young workers, among women industrial workers and by drawing into the class struggle Negro workers, we throw open the new resources for building and developing the new cadres, who are ready and capable to lead the workers to the revolutionary battles against capitalism.

In the development of new cadres, it is very important that Party work everywhere is to be organized on the collective basis, so that in the committee work new comrades are continually brought into the possibility of familiarizing themselves with the Party policies and problems.

When we organize the Party work in this manner, then there is always a possibility for new comrades to develop themselves and at the same time, we are able to observe their abilities. Then, also, whatever attack our enemies may make by arresting our comrades, we have already developed other comrades to take their posts.

There are many ways and methods that can be used in building of new cadres. We have herein enumerated on a few. Districts, Sections and Party Units must discuss, study and develop these methods of building new forces. This is the only way out of the present crisis.



New Members and the Tasks of the Party

Much has been written since the recruiting drive of the Party on the keeping of new members. In all of these articles emphasis has been correctly placed on the necessity of drawing new members into Party work; on the development of the political life in the units; the overcoming of looseness and irregularity in the functioning of the Party, and the establishment of study groups and classes for new members.

Despite the many articles that have been written, and despite the innumerable directives that have been sent out by the Org. Department to the various districts, we find that only a very small percentage of the new members have actually been retained in the Party. For example, in Philadelphia District, according to figures recently submitted by the District Organizer, between 450 and 500 applicants were taken into the Party. To these, 360 new membership books were issued, indicating in the very first stage a drop of 150 workers who signified a desire to join the Party. Of the 360 workers to whom membership books were issued, only a small portion were held in the Party. The membership figures prior to the drive showed 650 members in the Philadelphia District. After 360 new ones had been taken into the Party the membership figures are now only 700, and the average dues payments are very much less than this. The same thing is true in the Pittsburgh District. Prior to the drive their membership was approximately 350. 300 new members were secured, which should make the present membership approximately 650. But the average dues payments in the Pittsburgh District range from 250 to 260 members per month.

Figures are given for these two districts only because they happen to be most accessible at the moment, but the figures for every other district in the Party would show a similar situation. This

indicates that all of the efforts of the Comintern and of the Central Committee to alarm the Party as to the seriousness of the problem of holding these new members have been of no avail.

What is the reason for this situation? The reason is that the directives given by the Central Committee have in no case been carried out.

In checking up in the principal Eastern districts of the Party we find that only a few of the new members have been drawn into Party work. Where attempts have been made to draw them into the work, no consideration has been given to their qualifications and their previous training, and no effort has been made to give them the personal guidance in their work that would encourage them and make it possible for them to succeed. The mechanical way in which work has been assigned has in itself in many cases discouraged the new members and tended to drive them away from the Party.

The effort to overcome the weaknesses in the functioning of the Party itself and to improve the political life in the nuclei is still confined primarily to resolutions. Meetings are still being held, which start hours after the scheduled time. Decision after decision is made by units, but no check-up is ever made to see whether these decisions have been carried out. New members, who a few months ago were enthusiastic, and who were held up to the Party as examples of how work should be done, are today being influenced by the apathy and passivity of the old members and by the irresponsible manner in which Party work is carried on.

The directives of the Agitprop Department on the holding of study groups and classes for the new members have been carried out to an entirely insufficient extent. Classes have been started in most districts. They stagger along for a couple of weeks and are then permitted to break

up. New classes are started only to have the same happen to them. No continuous attention has been given to the systematic training of these new workers who have been brought into the Party.

These are the principle reasons why the new members have not been kept. Obviously, therefore the first step that must be taken to keep the new members is to overcome all of these shortcomings that have been again and again called to the attention of leading district committees.

However, there is another phase of the question of keeping new members which has been overlooked. This is its influence not only on the keeping of new members, but also on the general work of the Party as a whole. **THE PARTY HAS NOT CONCERNED ITSELF SUFFICIENTLY WITH THE SIMPLE, CONCRETE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE WORKERS IN THEIR DAILY LIFE.** Our unit meetings, the speeches of our comrades, the agitational material put out by the Party, are all filled with generalities. We suffer altogether too much from the mere repetition of phrases. These phrases themselves lose all content, and are merely repeated in a parrot-like manner every time our members get together. Our comrades talk freely about the "contradictions of the third period," "the deepening of the economic crisis," the sharpening effect that this economic crisis has on the crisis of the third period, the inevitability of war, sharpening class struggles, the necessity of sinking our roots in the factories, etc., etc. The speeches of our comrades, and the leaflets which we write string all of these things together in such a manner that they are meaningless to the average worker.

The things which effect the day to day life of the workers—unemployment, wage cuts, speed-up, evictions, increasing cost of living, etc., etc.—play but little part in the life of our Party. Therefore, the new worker coming into the movement is entirely unable to grasp the significance of the Party and its role in the struggles

with which he is immediately concerned.

In addition the Party suffers from a total lack of planned work. Even when we do develop realistic demands in which the workers are interested, we develop no planned activity for these demands. This is very well illustrated by our unemployed activity. Prior to March 6th all of the energies of the Party were devoted to the preparations for the March 6th demonstrations. After the demonstrations, this work was completely forgotten until July 4th. Then for a few weeks prior to July 4th it was again taken up and afterwards was again forgotten. Unemployed workers, who were brought into the Party during one of these periods of intense activity in preparation for a struggle for unemployment insurance, are interested while this struggle is going on. When the relapse comes, or when the attention of the Party is directed to some other campaign their interest naturally lags. It is therefore necessary to utilize the most simple and concrete issues as the basis for organizing the struggle. In each case, when we undertake a campaign, it must be carried through continuously as a phase of every campaign which the Party at the moment is conducting. The campaign must be organized in a series of stages so that each concentration point in the campaign becomes simultaneously a preparatory stage for another higher stage in the development of the movement.

Only in this way can we interest these workers in the work of the Party and convince them that only our Party organizes and leads a struggle in the interest of the workers.

In placing the emphasis on the necessity of utilizing the most simple, everyday problems confronting the worker as the basis for developing struggle, it is of course necessary to guard against economism. These issues should not be utilized by themselves. They should be connected with the broader political issues of the class struggle—with the struggle against war, for the defense of the Soviet Union,

the struggle for social insurance, the election campaign of the Party, etc., etc. These simple issues should merely be made the starting point in the development of the broad political struggles that are required in the present period.

To summarize, therefore, the task of keeping the new members—a task which every day becomes more serious for our Party—must be solved by immediately correcting all of the weaknesses that have

manifested themselves until now, by carrying through the previous directives given and by bringing the Party much closer to the daily lives of the workers by developing struggles around the simple, concrete issues which effect them, and by developing planned activity in the work of the Party.

These are the steps that must immediately be taken.

Functions of Nucleus Executive Committee

The Nucleus Executive (Buro) is the leader of the nucleus and is responsible not only for the collective activities of the nucleus as a whole but also for the activity of each individual member.

The general political functions of the nucleus buro are like the functions of any other leading political body of the Communist Party, like the functions of the section committee, of the district committee, or of the Central Committee. Only the scope of the functions of the Nucleus Executive (Buro) is limited to the sphere of work of the nucleus. If it is a shop nucleus the task of the nucleus buro is to study carefully the conditions under which the policies of the Party are to be applied and the campaigns are to be organized among the workers in that shop. If it is a street nucleus, then the tasks of the nucleus extend to the careful study of the conditions under which the policies of the Party are to be applied and the campaigns of the Party are to be organized and carried out in the territory assigned to the nucleus. This requires a complete knowledge on the part of the Nucleus Buro of the composition of the section of the working class where the nucleus functions. It must have full knowledge of the composition as to industry, race, nationality, religion, sex, age, etc., etc. This knowledge is necessary because the Party work among all these different sections of

the working class requires special adaptation. The duty of the diverse departments, the directors of Negro work, work among working women, etc. is to prepare this adaptation for the Party. The Party as a whole must carry it out. Thus, the Negro Department is not the instrument of the Party to carry out Negro work but is merely the instrument to work out the special methods for work among Negro workers. These methods must be carried out by the Party as a whole. The same applies to all the other departments, such as women, youth, etc.

It is the duty of the nucleus executive to make regular and periodic surveys of the composition of the working class within its jurisdiction. It must continuously study the specific problems confronting the working class within its jurisdiction. The former study will enable it to prepare a correct approach to the different sections of workers, the latter will enable it to make its approach on concrete issues.

The nucleus executive has the primary duty to make every meeting of the nucleus a mobilization meeting for the work of the members of the nucleus among the workers in their factory or territory. This requires the politicalization of the work of the unit. The politicalization must be achieved by the following measures:

1. The executive committee carefully

prepares the political work of the unit meeting.

2. To eliminate from the work of the unit meeting all deadly routine the executive of the unit settles all routine matters in the meeting of the executive. The executive, for instance, passes on the minutes of the previous meeting. This is done in the form of a definite checkup as to whether the decisions of the previous meeting have been carried out.

3. Communications coming from section, district or Central Committee are read only in the nucleus executive, except in such cases where the communications are definitely addressed to the membership. Communications from sections, districts or center are in most instances guides of action to the nucleus leaders. If the communication asks for certain action in the unit, then this request must come before the unit not in the form of a long communication but in the form of a **concise political report and political motions** on the part of the nucleus executive.

4. The nucleus executive committee distributes all Party work among the members. It is incorrect, for instance, to bring before the unit a request to elect a committee to distribute the Daily Worker or leaflets. When a distribution of any literature is required, it is the task of the unit to assign individual members of the unit to this work. The executive committee must be in possession of detailed knowledge concerning every member of the nucleus, whether employed or unemployed, whether working during the day or night, whether industrial worker, clerical worker or professional, whether housewife or houseworker, etc., etc. On the basis of this knowledge the executive assigns work to every individual member, without exception. This assignment of work does not depend upon voluntary acceptance or rejection of the assignment by the member. This, of course, does not mean that completely arbitrary assignments should be made and enforced, or that wishes of individual members cannot

be taken into consideration. On the contrary, these should be taken into consideration as much as possible. This will contribute to the greater willingness and greater ability of the members to carry out their work; but their desires cannot be taken into consideration to the degree that it allows them to escape all responsible work. If the Executive of the unit carries through this work correctly, it will be able to divide the total work of the unit among all the members; thus the burden falling upon the shoulders of every individual will be very light in comparison while the collective accomplishment of the nucleus will be incomparably greater than it was in the past.

In this connection it must be understood that no member has a right to choose for himself the field of activity **without the knowledge and consent** of the unit executive. In this way the past practice of members excusing their inactivity or non-attendance at the unit on the ground of activities in language fraction, union, etc. will be eliminated. Every comrade who is active in a fraction is active there by instruction of the executive and not by his own choice. Only if the unit executive insists upon its right and duty to distribute all the Party forces at its disposal can it really organize the Party work in its factory or territory.

Only a very small number of Party members shall be assigned to work in non Party mass organizations. These comrades take leading and functionary posts in such non Party mass organizations. **Their activities in those non Party organizations is the specific Party work assigned to them.** All other Party members in such non Party organizations are part of the Party fraction. But their duty to function as part of the Party fractions does not absolve them from the duty of accepting another specific assignment of work by the unit executive.

If the unit executive committee by the above methods fulfils its duty of leadership, it will make possible the transforma-

tion of the unit meetings into generators of political activity. Instead of routine work, the unit will then consider the campaigns of the Party. It will consider either the political direction or special methods of work and mobilization in connection with the Party campaigns.

The nucleus executive is responsible for the punctual opening of the meeting. The usual tardiness is criminal. The comrades who arrive in time to the meeting are punished for the crimes of those that come late. Opening the meeting late is a premium for late coming to a meeting and a punishment for early arrival.

No unit meeting should be allowed to extend past ten thirty in the evening.

Every member of the Executive and every Party member shall be instructed to watch over the carrying through of these provisos. Late beginnings of meetings are methods to drive away new members. Resistance to a fundamental change in that direction is resistance to the line of the Party. Meetings called for eight o'clock shall be opened not later than 8.15.

The Nucleus Executive co-ordinates the functionings of the departments. The Executive takes steps and responsibility after it adopts these plans for the execution by the whole nucleus of the plans worked out by the directors of Negro work, womens work, etc.

Build a Dues Collecting Apparatus

The deplorable dues situation is a vivid illustration of some radical organizational defects existing in the Party. This situation is undoubtedly a reflection of political as well as organizational weaknesses of our Party.

In the May issue of "The Party Organizer" in an article entitled "Liquidate the Discrepancy" it was stated:

"The Organization Department has set before the Party the task of having the dues sales of every District equivalent to the actual membership by the time of the Party Convention. This can be done if every member will take the Party obligation and duty seriously and if every Section and District Committee will undertake seriously the carrying thru of this elementary task in an organized manner."

This task set before the Party could have been accomplished, but it was not. On the contrary, the situation has become much more serious in the period immediately preceding the Party Convention and after the convention. The gap between the actual membership of the Party and its

dues-paying membership has become even wider than at the time when the Organization Department has set the task of equalizing the dues sales with the actual membership. The dues sales for June were decidedly unsatisfactory. July showed slight improvement over June and judging from the dues-stamps orders so far we may anticipate very little or no improvement at all in August. The months of June and July instead of showing an upward trend in the sales of dues-stamps show a considerable recession from the month of May. This is the greatest shortcoming that must be overcome immediately. Every District and Section Committee as well as every unit of the Party must assist in this task.

The present bad dues situation is surely not due to lack of instructions and directives from the Center. Quite the contrary is the truth. The Organization Department of the Central Committee has sent to the Districts repeated detailed instructions how to organize an efficient and well functioning dues-collecting machinery. But in spite of that a very bad sys-

tem of dues-collecting prevails. A proper machinery has not been set up and the systematization of the work to keep the Party members in good standing is not being considered with sufficient seriousness by the leading comrades in the various districts. The disgraceful laxity in the collection of dues IS allowed to continue. Every responsible Party member must remember that at this time the strengthening of the Party organization is one of the central tasks of the entire membership. And in connection with this let us also keep in mind the warning: "Party members whose dues are not paid up to date are Party members on the way out of the Party." The present deplorable situation must be sharply remedied. Some very drastic organizational steps should be taken to radically overcome the great shortcomings in our dues-collecting system and to assure a rapid and steady increase in the sale of dues stamps. The greatest stress must be laid upon the organizational consolidation of the Party.

There are a number of causes responsible for the low level of dues-sales. Some of them were dealt with in many of the organization letters that are sent weekly to the Districts and also in previous issues of the "Party Organizer." The chief causes are a gross underestimation of the importance of the regularity of dues-payments on the part of a number of leading comrades in the Districts and the refusal or neglect of the District Burosto execute the repeated detailed instructions of the Central Organization Department how to perfect an organized machinery for the proper collection of dues. Amongst the chief causes of the unsatisfactory dues-situation is also the insufficient political life of our units, the inability to draw in every member in Party activity, to distribute the Party work among all of the members of the unit and the failure to prepare very carefully the political work of each unit meeting. The life of our units is filled too much with routine work, which does not contribute to the good at-

tendance of the members.

There are other causes, such as the election by the unit of a comrade who is incompetent to fill the position of financial secretary; the secretary not attending every unit meeting; not having an adequate supply of stamps at the meetings; taking money for dues and not giving stamps to the members, not keeping a close check up on how the membership is kept in good standing, etc.

All of the enumerated causes and many others contribute to the bad state of affairs as far as the dues-situation is concerned. This situation can be cured only when the causes are eliminated. With this aim in view the Organizational Department of the Central Committee has just recently sent out a series of instructions and directives in reference to the building up of an apparatus for the collection of dues. This apparatus should be built up on a unit, section and district scale. To accomplish the main aim of equalizing the dues sales with the actual membership it is imperative that the directives of the Center be without any further delay put into effect.

In this direction it is absolutely necessary that the District Committees immediately do the following:

1. Set up a dues secretary of the District who shall be financially responsible directly to the Central Committee of the Party. The District Dues Secretary must keep by all means the share of the proceeds of dues collections which is needed to replace the sold stamps from the Central office with new stamps and turn over to the District Organizer only that part of the proceeds that is due to the District Office.

2. The dues secretary of the district shall have assigned to him at least two other Party members who will be at his disposal and who will together with him visit the sections and do such other work as is necessary to organize and keep in smooth working order the dues collection system in the sections.

3. The section dues secretaries shall be directly responsible to the district dues secretaries. The same instructions concerning finances that apply to the district dues secretaries apply to the section secretaries also.

The section dues secretary must also have assigned to him one or two other comrades to enable him to supervise personally the collection of dues in the units.

4. The unit financial secretary shall be directly responsible to the section dues secretary in all matters concerning the collection of dues and the handling of finances accruing from dues stamps sales. The unit financial secretary commits a breach of Party discipline for which he may be brought before the Control Commission, if he uses up any dues money needed for the replacement of stamps for any other purpose, or if he allows the unit executive to use up such money.

5. District and Section Buros must see that the nuclei have capable and competent financial secretaries who attend every meeting regularly and always keep a supply of stamps on hand.

6. The units and the members must be informed that no one is permitted to pay to the financial secretary any dues money unless he receives a dues stamp in return.

7. The District, Section and units must always have a supply of dues stamps on hand.

8. The financial secretary of the section is in duty bound not only to sell dues stamps to the nuclei when demanded, but to check up on the organization of dues collections in the units.

9. Unit secretaries must at all times

keep a list of the members and go after the members and collect dues from them every week instead of just waiting for the members to come and pay dues.

10. Keeping the members in good standing goes hand in hand with activating the members and involving them in Party work. Members that do not carry on any activities must be visited by a member of the membership committee and an attempt must be made to activate them. The representative of the membership committee must also collect dues from the member he visits.

11. The membership committee shall consist of three comrades, including the financial secretary. The financial secretary of the unit is the most important and leading member of the membership committee. The membership committee is under the direct supervision of the financial secretary.

12. It is the duty of the financial secretary to collect dues wherever he can. The financial secretary must take the initiative in collecting dues from Party members everywhere and at all times.

The task of liquidating the discrepancy between the actual and the dues paying membership is still before the Party. This task is of tremendous importance. It must be taken up seriously and energetically by every member. The District Committees must at once carry out wholeheartedly the instructions and directives of the Center. They must immediately get busy and begin building up a dues collection apparatus. The machinery must be set into motion at full speed.

DAILY WORKER

and the

Organization Letter from the Comintern

The Communist International in its organization letter to the Seventh Convention of our Party pointed out that "considerable attention must be paid to the question of strengthening the Party organizationally. The leftward swing of the broad proletarian masses, and, in connection with this, the rapidly growing influence of the Party among the masses, raises the question very sharply of the organizational strengthening of the Party as the most important prerequisite for the further development of the Party." The manner in which we carry out the instructions in the Comintern letter will be a clear indication of the extent to which we really understand and grasp the correct political line laid down in the thesis of the Seventh Convention.

The Daily Worker as the official organ of the Party must play an ever increasing role in strengthening of the Party organizationally. The following article is for the purpose of concretizing the tasks of the Daily Worker particularly in that phase of its work which deals directly with the question of Party organization.

CIRCULATION OF THE DAILY WORKER.

The "leftward swing of the broad proletarian masses, and, in connection with this, the rapidly growing influence of the Party among the masses," is clearly shown in the steady increase in the circulation of the Daily. In January it was about 17,000 while today it is over 28,000. The subscriptions increased from about 4,500 to a little over 6,500 to 7,000. (The actual mailing is about 9,000—the deduction is made to make up for lapsed subscriptions and others that were retained on the list). Money received from sub-

scriptions for the first seven months in 1930 averaged \$2,561.79 per month, while in 1929 it was \$2,423.46. The income from subscriptions, sales, etc. (including donations, affairs, etc.) in 1929 averaged per month \$8,582.18; in the first seven months of 1930 it averaged \$10,326.80, an increase of \$1,744.62. In addition to these figures the subscription list of April 1st shows that there are 241 cities with over three subscribers, 877 cities with less than three subscribers.

These are very significant figures. The statistics on circulation show a marked increase in the contacts made by the Party, contacts gained in a period of depression coming from struggles of the workers. Paid-up subscriptions and increased general sales are a good indicator of the steady support of the Daily by the masses. The number of cities in which our Party has made contacts through the Daily Worker is far beyond the number of cities in which the Party has units. The financial figures show that the workers, even though facing unemployment, wage cuts, etc., are supporting the Daily more than before.

We must ask ourselves, however, "How are these contacts being made?" "What is the relationship of the Party to these new contacts and the method through which these contacts are made?"

DAILY WORKER AND PARTY APPARATUS.

The campaign organizationally was based largely on the mobilization of the Party behind the Daily Worker. The preparation for March 6th and May 1st showed an increase in the organizational support of the Party through the units and leading committees to connect up

directly the work of the Daily with that of the general life and activities of the Party. In some cases as in New York City, the apparatus of the Daily Worker agents as a collective group and as an integral part of the Party is beginning to show signs of real development.

All of these conditions show a distinct improvement organizationally not only for the Daily Worker, but for the Party. These are only the first signs of the strengthening of the Party apparatus as it reflects itself in the Daily Worker.

SHORTCOMINGS.

Although progress has been noted and although the nature of the progress indicates that it is based upon the fact that the Party organizationally has been to some extent directing this progress, however, there are very serious shortcomings. Politically the leading comrades show a tendency of still considering the Daily Worker as a sort of a separate business—that it prints the news workers should read. The Daily very often is given last consideration in being used to mobilize the masses. As yet there does not exist a functioning apparatus of Daily Worker representatives. District Daily Worker representatives are not yet considered sufficiently as important political functionaries.

This attitude must be changed. The Daily must be the chief instrument used as the mobilizer of the masses and at the same time be the daily expression of the inner party life. Daily Worker representatives must be the base for developing Daily Worker Builders Clubs of non-Party workers who are readers of the Daily—as well as building an inner Party apparatus for the correct functioning of the Daily Worker.

The leading comrades must orientate their Party activities towards this direction and use the Daily as the instrument for strengthening the Party.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS.

While analyzing the favorable reflection seen in the statistics of circulation and finance of the Daily Worker, we must also analyze the very unfavorable tendencies revealed by some of the figures as well. With the increased circulation in the bundles, we find that the money due from the districts (accounts receivable) has increased from \$12,406.15 January 1, 1930, to \$29,883.06 August 1, 1930. This means that Dailies are ordered but no attempts are made to pay. Some districts will order bundles, even increase their orders, but make no attempt to make even a slight payment, and—what is even worse—do not even report what is being done with the Dailies received. Some districts just appropriate the funds for other Party purposes. The District Committees pay very little attention to the financial responsibilities of the Daily Worker representatives. The problem of finance and the question of the number of Dailies received are the immediate concern of the District Committees not alone that of the Daily Worker representatives. However, no regular supervision is being made and no attention is even being paid to the instructions from the Secretariat regarding the Daily Worker. One incident points this out clearly.

How many Districts really took seriously the instructions of the Central Committee that every comrade will be held responsible for collecting five dollars for the Daily Worker in subs, bundle orders or donations? How many have checked up on the carrying out of this instruction? We dare say very few.

DEFECTS IN CIRCULATION.

Our circulation figures, although in general quite sound, however, we know that many sections order beyond their capacity to sell and even to distribute. Furthermore, the comrades rely too much on paying for a few Dailies and not going out to distribute them. There is too often the opinion that the workers will not buy the Daily Worker. The new subscribers and

the results of those who sell the Daily show concretely that the workers will buy the Daily. Seldom are Daily Workers sold at the same shops and factories regularly and until direct contacts are made with individual workers.

On the other hand the apparatus of the Daily Worker in the National Office itself has many shortcomings. Although improvements can be noted in the development of the Daily Worker administration, however, there is still a very weak link between the office of the Daily Worker and the workers in the field. Too many errors creep into the work. Subscriptions are delayed. Bundle orders are not properly filled; communications not answered promptly, etc. A great deal of effort is being made to correct these shortcomings. The office is being organized so that many of the operations will be mechanized. These improvements will remove that gap that exists between the office and the apparatus in the field. While these defects are being corrected the comrades in the units must eliminate errors that occur in the field, such as long delay

in sending in of subs and orders after they are turned over to the comrades, and the piling up of subs in offices of the Daily Worker representatives. * Although all of these might appear to be small details, however, just such details very often discourage comrades in their work and makes it harder to build up a functioning apparatus in the field.

The above article should be only one of a series. The relation of the editorial department with the machinery of circulation and with the workers in shops, factories and with worker correspondents should be analyzed so that a complete coordination can be built up between these various departments. Through self-criticism in a series of such articles we will develop the collective machinery both for building up of the Daily Worker and contributing to the strengthening of the Party organization.

* The columns of the Daily Workers should be used for self-criticism of the apparatus of the Daily Worker.

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Worker Correspondents Must Build Groups in the Shops

Our small army of worker correspondents are the eyes of our Communist press. In all sections of the country, in all industries, our worker correspondents make our press and especially the Daily Worker, reflect (not completely and entirely as yet) the class struggle day by day.

But there are great shortcomings in our worker correspondence work, which we must correct to better build the Daily.

At a series of conferences held to organize the Central Bureau for Worker Correspondence, initiated by the Daily Worker and attended by representatives of our language press, the shortcomings were analyzed and definite proposals made to correct them.

The conference characterized our workers correspondence as follows: a) Our worker correspondents are not organized into definite groups, but that our letters are spontaneous, and as such do not reflect accurately and entirely the issues and problems facing the workers. b) That we in the center do not give any conscious guidance to the work of developing, guiding and instructing the worker correspondents.

One outstanding example of the weakness of this state of affairs is the fact they, altho the Party is in the midst of an important election campaign and altho many hundreds of thousands of workers are in a state of political flux, we received few worker correspondent letters that would reflect this situation in the country.

The Conference established the extent and scope of worker correspondence. The worker correspondence of our press should present a more diversified reflection of the economic crisis, especially in the heavier

industries. Thus, for example, while we have Party units and a critical economic situation in the anthracite we have not one correspondent there and the Daily Worker does not reflect the crisis in that important industrial section. The worker correspondence must give a better reflection of the flux of political sentiment among the masses. New thousands of workers bring with them remnants of distorted ideologies which must not only be reflected in their letters but must be corrected collectively. Self-criticism of the work of our revolutionary unions and the Party must figure more prominently as direct mobilization for struggle.

Conscious, organized direction to organized groups of worker correspondents was established as the precondition for the attainment of the full scope of worker correspondence and in making it a big force in the daily mobilization of workers in the class struggle.

The Conference voted to constitute itself as the Central Bureau for organizing and developing Worker Correspondents, including foreign language worker correspondents.

After some discussion the Conference agreed that our present worker correspondents should constitute the basis for building shop and city groups of worker correspondents.

Shop groups of worker correspondents was declared to be the basic form of organization, with city or section groups and conferences uniting the shop groups.

Writing from and about the shops they work in, worker correspondents groups, under the guidance of the Central Bureau, will not only be able to tie up the day to

have at one time or another written to the Daily Worker and wish to develop this work, and organize shop groups and set up a committee that would guide the work locally.

The worker correspondents of the Daily Worker are asked to be in the forefront of this movement and to help make the city conferences a success.

day work of organization for economic struggle, but to link up more effectively the general political campaigns of the revolutionary movement with the shop and its peculiar problems.

Within several weeks all important industrial centers and cities will have received a call to hold city or section conferences of all worker correspondents who



