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# The COMMUNIST NUCLEUS

What It Is - - - How It Works

BY

M. JENKS



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NEW YORK

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"In order to best serve the interest of the masses (the proletariat) and to express its correctly conceived aspirations, the advance guard, the organization, must carry on all of its activities within the masses drawing into itself without exception all the best forces it can find in those masses. Regularly at every step, a careful and objective check-up is necessary to see whether a really vital connection with the masses is being maintained."

#### LENIN

"The fundamental principle of all organization work of a Communist Party and of individual Communists must be the creation of Communist nuclei wherever proletarians or semi-proletarians can be found in even the smallest numbers."

(From Resolution adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International).

#### For President

#### WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

For Vice-President

BENJAMIN GITLOW

& X

Workers (Communist) Party

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#### THE COMMUNIST NUCLEUS

What it is; How it works By M. JENKS

The Communist movement is now being discussed everywhere. The capitalist press is industriously fabricating fables regarding the Communists, painting perverted pictures of their activities, while priests of all denominations pronounce their anathemas and the judges at the services of all "civilized" governments are prescribing extreme penalties for them. Trailing close behind capitalism are its lackeys, the reformists and socialists, shamelessly proclaiming themselves to be the representatives of the working class. All this sinister work is part of the vicious plan to uphold the domination of the imperialist vampires, to distract the attention of the proletariat from the Communist movement and to hinder it from joining its ranks.

However, who can command the storm to stop short? The revolutionary movement all over the world continues its development regardless of all obstacles. In the United States, the Communist Party is becoming genuinely a mass proletarian party persistently extending its influence also into the layers of all the other elements of the downtrodden population. This raises the problem of organizing and educating the broad

proletarian masses for a revolutionary struggle. Under the direction of the Party all the way down from above, the *burden* of this work falls, first of all, upon the party nuclei which in reality maintain the organizations' contact with the mass of workers in all industrial enterprises, mines, stores, etc.

The aim of publishing this pamphlet is to concentrate the attention of the Party's entire membership upon the high spots of the work confronting the basic units of our organization—the Communist nuclei.

#### WHAT IS A POLITICAL PARTY?

A party is an association of people based upon a common program designated to express the interests of a definite class of society—the advance guard of a certain class. Usually the membership of a party consists chiefly of the most conscious elements of that or the other class. This is a brief definition of all existing political parties, including our own.

It follows, therefore, that a Communist Party is an association of the most class-conscious militants dedicating themselves to the liberation of the working class.

The greatest leader and organizer of the working class—Lenin—ceaselessly taught us that "organization is the working class' power"; that "without the organ-

ization of its masses the proletariat is of no consequence; organized it is all"; that "the proletariat has no other weapon at its command in its struggle for power besides organization".

"A party", Lenin wrote, "is the sum total of knittogether organizations. A party is a conscious advanced layer of a class, its advance guard. The strength of this advance guard is ten, a hundred-fold, and more, greater than its actual numbers. Is it possible? Can the power of a hundred exceed the power of a thousand? It can, and it does, when that hundred is organized.

#### THE NUCLEUS AS THE BASIC ORGANIZA-TION OF THE PARTY

The main task of a Communist Party consists of actual organization and unification of the laboring masses for a revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist order. We are a party of revolutionary action. We aim to create a strong organization capable, whatever the conditions may be, whether of advancing or retreating, to defend and achieve the revolutionary aims of the proletariat.

The former organizational structure of our Party has become useless and can no longer serve our purposes. It is now essential for us to build the base of our organization so as to insure a close and stable connection with the working masses. The work of organizing and educating them must be done with the view of bringing about the overthrow of capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat as quickly as possible, and to attain this our base can and must be founded through our nuclei in shops, factories, big mercantile establishments, schools, and so on.

The question of building our Party on a foundation of nuclei evoked certain objections, and perhaps even now there are comrades who do not fully appreciate the role of the nuclei in connection with the necessity of expanding our ranks and developing our activities generally. Be that as it may the Communist workers have realized that building the Party on the basis of nuclei offers a real opportunity to create an organization capable of developing our work, extending our influence within the working masses, enabling us to lead the proletariat in their struggle against its apparent and hidden enemies, facilitating our task of drawing into our ranks new members from among the workers. etc. Yet, although the necessity for such a structure based on nuclei is largely accepted by our membership, it must be acknowledged that a great deal remains to

be done in reference to the construction of the nuclei and vitalizing their functions. To a certain degree this can be explained frequently by a lack of experience on the part of our members as to the implications of our form of organization. The object of this pamphlet is, therefore, to simply and clearly set forth the fundamental principles which must guide the activities of the base of our Party's organization, the nucleus, beginning with its very formation.

#### HOW TO ORGANIZE A NUCLEUS

There are more than twenty millions of industrial workers in the United States. Among these many millions of proletarians there are as yet comparatively few Communists and sympathizers. Let us imagine that in a given enterprise several hundreds or thousands of workers are employed among whom there are also some individual members of the Communist Party and where a nucleus has as yet not been established.

What must be done in such a case? First of all, of course, the comrades must find one another because it often happens that comrades working in the same establishment don't know each other. There are various ways of doing that, but the best way is to inquire at your local Party office. (Section, City, or District).

Having found each other, a preliminary conference must be arranged to take up the question of organizing a Communist nucleus, and to set the date for an organization meeting at which it is desirable to have a representative of the Local Party Committee present. This is an instance where a nucleus is organized at the initiative of the comrades working at the given enterprise.

A nucleus can also be organized at the initiative of the Local Party Committee, but every Communist must remember, when entering the employ of any establishment, where there is no nucleus, that it is the task of each and everyone of us to found nuclei where there are none, and where a definite minimum of workers are employed.

The order of business of the first organization meeting should consist of only two points. First, the organization of the nucleus and the problems confronting it. Second, election of an Executive Committee of the nucleus.

The comrade reporting on the first point of the agenda should prior to this meeting collect all available data regarding such questions as, for example, conditions of work; number of workers belonging to trade unions; their political leanings, and so forth. It is im-

portant to be clear on these questions in order that the nucleus should, as soon as it is organized, have the information in reference to the circumstances within which it will have to function.

After an exchange of opinions, a resolution should be adopted to the effect that the nucleus is to be considered established. An Executive Committee should then be elected unless the nucleus consists of no more than, say, 5-7 comrades in which case only a Secretary (Organizer) should be elected.

The minutes of the organization meeting should be sent to the Local Party Committee for approval, or they may be then and there approved by the representative of the Local Party Committee, after which the nucleus, having been designated by number or name, can be formally considered as existing.

Of course, some may maintain that it may be comparatively easy to organize a nucleus at an enterprise where Party comrades are employed in considerable numbers, but how is this to be done where there are only one or two comrades, or none at all?

Indeed, in such circumstances the task is much more difficult. The Constitution of the Party specifies that a minimum of three Party members is required to work in one place before a nucleus can be organized there. If less than this number is found at such a place, it becomes necessary to add to the actual number, especially if it be some great establishment having an importance for our activities. The number can be added to in two ways. First, by trying to have additional comrades find employment at the place, and as soon as there is a sufficient number, to organize a nucleus. Secondly, to induce some carefully selected sympathizing workers one by one to join the Party and as soon as there is the required number belonging to the Party, to organize the nucleus.

As regards establishments employing great numbers of workers among whom there are no Party members at all, the following is the usual method. Some outside nucleus functioning in the neighborhood, being authorized by the Local Party Committee to do so, instructs some of its members to establish contacts with a picked few workers employed at such an enterprise, induces them to come into the Party and then organize a nucleus in their own place. It goes without saying that considerably more time, energy and initiative is required to found a nucleus in an establishment where no Communists are employed. But it is not for nothing that we are fighters for the liberation of the working class, and we cannot be deterred by whatever dif-

ficulties may confront us. Regardless of the efforts required we must stubbornly strive to organize nuclei in all industrial enterprises, state and municipal institutions-in short wherever the working masses are concentrated.

#### THE LEADING ORGANS OF THE NUCLEI AND THEIR FUNCTION

Responsibility for the conduct of the work of a nucleus rests first of all with the general meetings of its members and, secondly, with its Executive Committee and, if the nucleus be a small one, with its Secretary-Organizer. The general meetings of the nucleus must be held at regular intervals at a firmly established hour and place. The meetings should be given over to a discussion of Party, as well as of general political and local problems, to considering reports on work accomplished and future plans, etc. Resolutions must be adopted concerning all questions coming up for discussion.

When calling general meetings all possible conditions in connection with such meetings must be carefully considered. Although we are supposed to be living in a "free" country we realize the unwillingness of the bosses and their hirelings to deal in the least with Communist workers. It is therefore essential that everything possible be done that those whom we do not wish to know it, should not learn who of their workers belong to the Communist Party.

We will later have occasion to again refer to the question of general membership meetings, but before proceeding to that let us consider the functions of the Secretary-Organizer and of the members of the Executive Committee of a nucleus.

Should a nucleus have its own Executive Committee, its own, so to say, apparatus? Hardly anyone would reply to such a question in the negative. Yes, a nucleus should have its Executive Committee, which must decide the problems affecting the current tasks of a nucleus; whose duty it is to see to it that the members of the nucleus carry out whatever work is assigned to them; who have the responsibility for the conduct of the general meetings for which they must prepare the agenda, assign reporters on current problems; and who, finally, correspond or otherwise keep in touch with the Local Party Committee.

If a nucleus consists of 10-15 members its Executive Committee should not consist of more than 3 comrades. If the number of members is larger the Execu-

tive Committee can be correspondingly larger, say 5 or 7 may be elected.

Now as to the question who should be elected to serve on the Executive Committee or as Secretary-Organizer wherever there is no Executive Committee, i. e. wherever there are no more than, say 10 members?

In each one of the Party's sub-divisions, and that, of course, includes the nuclei, there are doubtless comrades who are known to be most devoted and possessing a certain definite degree of authority which is a result of being politically developed; who are most familiar with the intricacies of organizational work; who are capable of developing initiative; who can be depended upon not to lose themselves when sliding is none too smooth; who possess the ability of getting the rest of their comrades also to carry on the work of the nucleus—in short who are most fit as leaders of the nucleus.

This, of course does not mean that, once elected, comrades remain elected forever to their posts. It is necessary that all the other members of the nucleus possessing the required qualifications should take turns in carrying out the executive responsibilities. One of the differences between the Communists and the other organized political parties is that we do not merely rely

upon our own leaders, but that our policy is to make our entire membership fit to do creative work and to become genuine organizers and leaders of the broad proletarian masses.

The Secretary-Organizer, as well as the Executive Committee should be elected for a definitely stated length of time at the end of which they must render a report to the general membership meeting regarding the progress of the nucleus for the period of their administration. A healthy discussion should follow such a report. The failures as well as the successes of the functionaries and of the entire membership can then be gone over to advantage. Demagogical attacks should be absolutely barred since they can only harm our work, but constructive criticism and practical proposals should be welcomed. It must be borne in mind that the work of the nucleus functionaries, as it is through the entire Party apparatus, can bear fruit only with the cooperation of the members of the organization upon whom, in the last analysis, depends the successful solution of the problems facing a Communist Party.

#### SYSTEMATIZING THE WORK OF A NU-CLEUS

It frequently happens that certain nuclei after

functioning for some length of time lack definite method in their work. It is therefore advisable to establish definite days and hours for the meetings of the Executive Committee as well as of the general membership meetings of the nucleus. We believe that the Executive Committee ought to meet at least once every week, after work, at some definitely designated place for the purpose of taking up the current problems and working out the order of business for the general meeting of the nucleus.

The nucleus must also meet at least once every week, two or three days following the meetings of the Executive Committee.

The designation of definite dates for the meetings would enable the members to keep such dates open for the purpose of attending to the affairs of the nucleus, providing such meetings do not conflict with meetings the members may have to attend in other labor organizations. Otherwise the members will have difficulty to decide which of the conflicting meetings they ought to attend in preference to the others.

The likely objection that it is asking too much to expect a nucleus to meet as often as once a week, is not a valid one.

The fast tempo of social and political move-

ment affecting the interest of all the workers demands that the members of the Party give ample time to the discussion and to the clarification of all arising problems. It is essential that questions of importance to the workers be placed on the agenda of the nuclei meetings at the right time.

#### HOW TO CALL AND CONDUCT A MEET-ING OF A NUCLEUS

It may seem to many comrades that it is strange and unnecessary to raise this point, yet such a detail has a great bearing upon the correct solution of the problems to be discussed, and, in addition, helps to conserve time. Who will deny that it has become the rule to come late to meetings, that anarchy often prevails during discussions—everyone saying whatever he wants without regard to time—that often no concrete motions are adopted, etc.? The result is that meetings are poorly attended, uninteresting, and unproductive.

So that in the future such abnormal conditions may be done away with, the members of the nucleus, and especially the Secretary-Organizer and those on the Executive Committee, must strictly adhere to the following: The Secretary-Organizer and the Executive Committee work out an order of business for the general meeting informing all the members of the nucleus in due time what the order of business consists of so that they may beforehand read up on the subject and collect all necessary data. Coming late to meeting must not be permitted and all members must arrive on time at the appointed place. One, and if necessary, two comrades must be designated to open discussions on each point of the agenda, it being stated in advance how much time they are to consume in making their reports. The time permitted for discussions must also be previously defined. The main speaker should be given, we think, from 15 to 25 minutes, the additional speaker 10 to 15 minutes, and general discussion should be limited to 7 to 10 minutes each.

The Recording Secretary must be conscientious in keeping the minutes of each meeting indicating the number of members present, what the order of business consisted of, stating briefly the main points brought out in the discussions, recording the motions made and accepted. The Local Party Committee having received a copy of such comprehensive minutes of the meetings will have a correct idea concerning the work of each nucleus and will be in a position to draw the necessary conclusions as well as to give instructions for further work, etc .

A capable chairman can, of course, be very instrumental in efficiently carrying out the purposes of a meeting. He must limit the discussions in conformity with the time allotted to the speakers, see to it that everyone confines himself to the subject under discussion, be able to draw comrades into the debate, and finally, that a suitable resolution is presented and voted upon.

#### THE ORDER OF BUSINESS OF THE GEN-ERAL MEETINGS OF THE NUCLEUS

A nucleus must carry on its work along the following two basic lines: 1.) Educate its own members, raise their political level, cause them to become active in deciding all problems confronting the Party, forge them into determined, devoted and conscious proletarian revolutionists; 2.) Use all available means to spread the influence of the Party among the non-Party masses drawing the best of them into the Party; define their moods and problems, develop within their ranks a tendency towards a revolutionary struggle for their liberation while constantly calling their attention to the traitorous role played by the reactionary tradeunion leaders, the bourgeois as well as the socialist parties with their "programs of reform".

This leads to the conclusion that the points for the

agenda of a general nucleus membership meeting must be carefully selected. It can never be advisable to have too many points on the order of business. It is sufficient to bring forward only 2 or 3 questions of vital importance to the proletarian masses.

We have already suggested that nuclei meetings should be held once every week. It therefore follows that the order of business should consist of the following points: a current question of political significance. a problem of practical importance related to the conditions of work, etc. in the plant or institution within which the nucleus is functioning, and finally, the routine work of the nucleus, communications, dues payments and the like which should be reduced to a minimum, the bulk of this work being gone over by the Executive first.

The question now arises—what should be the method pursued in preparing the agenda for the meetings of the nuclei? How is one to choose the most vital problems agitating the broad working masses? How is one to select those questions which it is essential to first discuss and clarify amongst ourselves so that we may form a single opinion and lay the basis for a common policy in solving these questions when they are brought before the masses?

To be sure, questions of international political and local character affecting the laboring masses are plentiful. For instance, many countries including the United States, are scheduled to have elections in connection with which the socialist as well as the bourgeois press is carrying on an intensive campaign. It becomes incumbent upon our Party, especially upon our basic units, the nuclei, to analyze the problems the workers are facing and to become clear regarding the ramifications of capitalist elections.

Or let us take the question of unemployment in this country where the number of those out of work has already reached millions and continues to increase. No worker has the assurance that he will not be discharged tomorrow. The workers must be reminded that nowhere is the question of labor legislation as backward as it is in this land of multi-millionaires and "prosperity." In fact we practically have no real labor legislation at all. The nucleus must take up these issues with the workers, compare the insecurity of the worker in capitalist America with the security enjoyed by the workers in the Soviet Union, and mobilize the masses for struggle around the issues on social legislation put forward by the Party.

Then there is the high cost of living which is closely

related to the conditions of work in the shop, factory or office. Or the imperialist adventures of the government in Nicaragua and China. Indeed, there are thousands of such questions in the solution of which workers are greatly interested, and regarding which the leadership of the Party has worked out definite programs which nuclei should first of all acquaint themselves with and then develop the Party's line in their work among the masses, calling upon them to actively resist capitalism's offensive and defend their interests.

In this connection a word of warning is in place, that is that the discussions must not be in the nature of abstract, theoretical debates. Otherwise the workers will not understand and we will not accomplish anything. The school, and reading circles, are the places for theoretical studies, but amongst the workers we must carry on our work using the popular language of the masses, and proposing our solutions in such a practical manner that the workers should become convinced that the Communists are men of deeds not of words.

At every meeting means must be provided for every member to pay dues, receive literature, etc.

PLANNING THE WORK OF A NUCLEUS There can be but one opinion regarding the necessity of deliberate planning of the nucleus work. The comrades who will attempt to invent an artificial plan will not only commit an error, but are bound to fail in carrying out their work. Such a plan is doomed to remain a scrap of paper.

Time is an element of paramount importance. We recommend to the nuclei that the time limit set for the carrying out of a given task should never be excessively long, never longer than three months. We believe that setting the time limit will enable the nuclei to carry on their work in accordance with the general tactics adopted by the leadership of the Party giving heed to all local problems and to the questions arising in their places of work.

The practical work of a nucleus must be based on the decisions of the leadership of the Party insofar as they can be applied to the concrete situations and conditions prevailing locally where the nucleus is functioning.

The tasks undertaken should not be unreasonably big, that is, impossible of fulfillment. Let us remember Lenin's advice: "Better less, but better." It is, therefore, necessary that the plan should be founded, first, on actually indispensable questions of Party activity, secondly, upon a time limit set for the carrying out of

the task, and within which it must be carried out.

Let us try to outline a plan of nucleus activity within a three month period. To avoid overlapping or duplicating of activity the plan should be divided into composite parts. Now what are the fundamentals of the functions of a nucleus? It is organization work, agitation and propaganda, trade union work, work among women, the youth, etc. It should therefore be determined what the nucleus can and should accomplish within a three month period in these certain phases of its work.

First of all the dates, hours and places of all the meetings of the Executive Committees and general membership meetings must be fixed for the ensuing period. Then the basic problems to be decided must be recorded. An exact census of the members of the nucleus must be taken—that is not only of their names, but of the abilities of each one in order to know who is best fitted to deliver a talk at an outside gathering, what questions he is most familiar with, who can write a good article for the press or for the local shop or wall paper, and so on. This is very useful when it becomes necessary to have our comrades elected as committee members in non-Party mass organizations, so that we may be instrumental in causing such of our comrades to become elected alongside of the non-Party workers who have our approval, and who sympathize with our aims.

The nucleus must also set for itself as a definite goal a certain number of sympathizers whom they must try to persuade to join our Party within the given period of time. The nucleus must decide beforehand how many comrades and when they shall report within the time limit on the tasks assigned to them in women's work, trade unions, youth, mass organizations, labor defense, literature distribution, etc.

The plan should include a record as to what it is proposed to do to supply the non-Party workers with copies of our newspapers, books, pamphlets and so on. A check-up must be made to find out to what extent our own members subscribe to the Party press and read our literature, whether all our members possess a copy of the constitution and program of our Party.

It should be decided when working out the plan how often it will be possible to arrange special affairs for the purpose of getting the non-Party workers closer to our comrades.

In a word, with the decisions and instructions of our leading Party committees as a point of departure, and with constant regard to existing local conditions a three-month plan covering all phases of our work must be laid down.

Of course, it is the duty of the Secretary to work out the substance of the plan, but in order that the plan may not be a fantastic conception of one man, but should have its basis in practical reality, it is necessary to discuss the plan first in the Executive Committee, then at a general membership meeting where everyone may participate in adding or detracting from the plan as submitted.

#### DIVISION OF WORK AMONG THE MEM-BERS OF A NUCLEUS

The constitution of our Party specifies that only they can be members of the Party who accept the Party program, are members of a Party nucleus, carry out all decisions, pay dues regularly and perform active Party work. No one can be a party member without carrying out definite Party tasks.

However, we find that while some comrades are overburdened with work others do almost nothing. As a result a great deal of the work remains undone and our success is hampered.

Let us bear in mind that we are striving to have all workers perform their own tasks, to get all the Party members to participate in deciding all the Party's problems, and actively carry out its decisions.

It is therefore essential to divide all the work among all the comrades and the division must begin in the nucleus. How should this be done? We spoke above regarding the census of members the nucleus must take periodically. When the nucleus knows the fitness of each of its members this question is easily solved. While one is assigned, say to youth work, the other is made responsible for work among women, another looks after trade union work, still another edits the shop paper. In this way we get some comrade to do the agitprop work, while someone else's job is to speak at meetings of non-Party workers. It should be a special task of a comrade to collect subscribers for the press, while another fit comrade distributes our leaflets, appeals, literature, etc.

It does not mean that one and the same comrade will have to do the very same kind of work indefinitely. A list of the various phases of work is given only as a guide for the apportioning of the work among all the comrades so no one will bear all the burden.

Whose duty is it to divide the work? First of all, the Secretary-Organizer, of course, and to refuse to carry out the work assigned by him must be considered as a breach of Party discipline. As regards those comrades who are charged with such tasks as editing the paper, work among women, etc., they may be proposed by the Secretary, but must be approved by the Executive Committee or the general membership meeting.

To assign the work, however, is not enough. The secretary must always see to it that the assignments are carried out. He must demand reports from them and have them give an account of their activities at the general membership meetings within a reasonable time after the assignment has been made. The members will in this way be posted regarding the results accomplished and possibilities of carrying out the plan.

The work among the members of the Executive Committee of the nucleus should be divided in a similar manner. If an Executive Committee consists of five members, the Secretary-Organizer assumes general charge of the entire work, while the carrying out of specific tasks in line with our Party program is assigned to all the other members of the Executive Committee. Naturally, action on more important questions must first be decided upon at the Executive Committee meetings. The Executive as a whole must exercise strict supervision over the work of every member of the Executive.

#### HOW TO ESTABLISH REGULAR CONTACT BETWEEN THE MEMBERS OF A NU-CLEUS AND ITS EXECUTIVE

Definite contact between the members of a nucleus and its leaders—that is the Secretary and the Executive Committee—is an important prerequisite for successful and fruitful work. We will not here dwell upon the membership meetings which are to occur weekly or bi-weekly. Daily contact is necessary in order that the Executive Committee and the Secretary may be well informed as to the developments at the plant and that the nucleus may at any given moment be in a position to take a stand regarding this or the other situation.

What must be done to attain this end? At least one Party member must be gotten to work in each and every department, division or sub-division of each shop.

These Party members must regularly inform the Secretary or the Executive Committee concerning the moods of the workers in reference to political as well as shop questions; what is their attitude as to this or the other activity of the nucleus; do the I.W.W. or socialists carry on any work among the affected masses; etc., etc.

All this information is concentrated in the hands of the Secretary-Organizer and he is to draw the necessary conclusions. If, for example some departments register disapproval on account of, say, a cut in wages, if such disapproval becomes likely to assume the proportions of a strike—the Secretary-Organizer must call a special meeting of the Executive Committee or a membership meeting and offer to discuss the subject. When it becomes clear that the time is ripe for a strike, considering the political as well as the economic angles of the conflict, after the proposition has first been taken up with the District Party officials, the Party members get instructions to agitate for a strike based on the demands approved by the Local Party office.

All questions and developments of shop life demand close contact of the Party members with the mass of workers in the factory and the leading functionaries of the nucleus. Otherwise the nucleus will find itself at the tail instead of at the head of events, and such a nucleus will merit only contempt which is bound to reflect upon the influence of the Communist Party as a whole.

#### PERSONAL AND WRITTEN CONTACT BE-TWEEN THE NUCLEI AND LOCAL PARTY COMMITTEE

The above, dealing with contact within the nucleus applies likewise to contact with the Local Party Committee. We can all understand the importance of systematic oral and documentary contact of the nucleus with the leading Party organs.

How to establish oral contact? The Secretary-Organizer must attend regularly all the meetings of the Nuclei Secretaries that are called by the District Committee, City or Section Committee, and report the proceedings of such meetings back to his nucleus. Aside from this, the Secretary must often by word of mouth, keep the District Committee, etc. posted as to outstanding phases of the nucleus' activities in their respective shops. Such orally given information will be entirely wasted unless the Secretary-Organizer while relating his experiences to the District Secretary, elicits from him advice and instructions which will be helpful in furthering the work. He must also insist that the nucleus meetings are visited periodically by some leading District functionary.

In addition to oral contact, documentary contact must be developed between the nucleus and the District Office. Say, once a month the nucleus must send in a written report to the District giving statistical and other data bearing upon its activity. Some comrades not realizing sufficiently the true nature of a Communist Party will object on the ground that such reports are only a burocratic manifestation, but these are profoundly wrong and they must be persuaded to free themselves of such notions.

Our Party is a militant organization of the working class, and it is our aim that in each shop, factory, large store, etc. a Communist nucleus should be established that will consist of the most conscious vanguard devoted to the proletarian revolution. The leading Party Committees must indeed be advised as to the situations prevailing in this or the other sector of the battlefield, what are the reactions of our own members, what are the feelings of the toiling masses, what are the results of the acivity of the nucleus, what is being discussed at our meetings, how often meetings are called, how many members were drawn into the Party through the nucleus, how many left the Party and why-etc. It would seem that it is not asking much of the Secretary-Organizer to send in such monthly reports, since all these numerous reports received by the Party office would afford a panorama of activity from which lessons beneficial to all can be drawn, inasmuch as on the basis of such reports the District can work out its instructions for general Party work, also compiling all these reports and incorporating them into a report on District activity which the District office could then send on to the higher Party unit, or to the Central Executive Committee.

#### PARTY DISCIPLINE

It is a peculiar characteristic of a petty-bourgeois, of a socialist or an anarchist to fail to see that without strictest discipline in a Communist Party the working class will never be able to overthrow capitalism. Why does our Party attach so much significance to discipline? Because a proletarian party can carry on its work successfully only if all its members act as one. And therein lies the difference between us and the petty-bourgeoisie (not forgetting the "socialists") in that we have a conscious, inner discipline. In the class-struggle between labor and capital, especially at the critical moments of the struggle, discipline is an important condition of the victory of the working class.

This is what Lenin said in 1920 regarding the discipline governing the actions of the Russian Bolsheviks:

"Certainly, now it is apparent to all that without their truly iron-clad and strictest discipline in their Party. the Bolsheviks would not retain power for even two and one half months, let alone two and one half years." In another place he said: "He who in the least weakens the iron-clad discipline of the Party of the proletariat. (especially during the period of its dictatorship) is in fact aiding the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."

It is not in vain that the bourgeoisie looks disapprovingly upon our self-imposed discipline, and tries to shake it-it is because they realize its might. Much poisonous ink has been consumed in the description of the lack of freedom on the part of our members to maintain individual opinions, and that no one is at liberty to follow his will, etc. Class-conscious workers, however, know what a powerful weapon discipline of the Communist Party is. They understand that it is an indispensable weapon in their struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system and they understand full well that precisely because of this the enemies of the workers howl so much about the discipline of the Communists. The fact that the enemies do it in the name of liberty and freedom does not fool the class-conscious worker; just the opposite; it teaches him to know his enemy better and organize the struggle more efficiently.

What should be the reaction of the nucleus in cases of breaches of discipline by its own members? Let us say, the necessity of a strike has been decided upon by a majority of comrades present at a nucleus meeting. Do those comrades who are in the minority and who for whatever reasons voted against a strike, still have the right to do anything to prevent a strike by agitating against it or in any other way? Of course not—because when they take a stand in opposition, they directly oppose our Party members and not outsiders.

Does it mean that we are not to have discussions in a Communist Party, that we are not to analyze and criticize practical propositions? Quite the reverse. The Party must have the fullest discussion on all important questions, and it is the duty of every Party member to participate and help in the formulation of the policies of the Party. But when a majority adopts a policy, the minority within our ranks must not only adopt the proposition, but faithfully carry it out.

Another example: Let us say that out of 30 members of a nucleus, 10 stayed away from an important meeting in order to attend horse races—that is they were more interested in bourgeois sports than in Party affairs. This is definitely a breach of discipline and

must be vigorously dealt with according to the gravity of each case-reprimanding will suffice, in some cases, while expulsion may be best in others. Alongside of disciplinary measures an educational campaign must be carried on to enlighten our Party membership that lack of discipline is bound to affect the work of the Party as a whole.

It is a fact that we are decidedly lenient towards breaches of discipline by our members. It is therefore up to the Secretary and to the Executive Committee as well as the entire membership of each nucleus to carry on a struggle against such an abnormal situation in our Party. Persuasion should first be attempted in the cases of such comrades who absent themselves from meetings, who fail to pay their dues, who oppose Party decisions, etc. If no satisfactory results are obtained by persuasion the meeting of the nucleus membership must adopt a resolution to report such cases to the District Office.

#### HOW A NUCLEUS SHOULD ORGANIZE ITS OWN NEWSPAPER

The capitalist press of all kinds and shades through the medium of millions of copies, daily and systematically poisons the minds of the working masses. Communist newspapers and magazines are few in number and those that we have, have not as yet penetrated into the body of the toiling masses. One of the ways to overcome this situation is to establish periodical organs on the job in big factories, stores, villages, etc. Through the columns of such papers with the material contributed by the workers and farmers themselves, the nuclei can carry on their Communist agitation and propaganda and unite the toiling masses around actual revolutionary slogans.

What are the technical, material and literary requirements of a shop or village newspaper which would get the ear of the proletariat?

Firstly the question must be taken up at a meeting of the nucleus. An editorial board of, say three, can be elected. The Editorial Committee must see that all questions are given adequate attention, as for example trade union work, work among women, youth, Negroes etc. They must see to it that all these questions are treated from the correct Party viewpoint. They must be in steady contact with the Executive of the nucleus that is responsible for and supervises the pubblication of the shop paper.

Non-Party members should be drawn into this work. Special attention must be paid to articles submitted and the policy should be to keep out "high politics" as far as possible. Of course, a short article of a political nature having a practical value, should be included but stress must be laid on the life of the shop, on conditions of work, on the slave driving methods of the foremen, on the activity of shop organization, etc., including the work of the nucleus, providing the nature of the work can be disclosed. In short, the paper must deal primarily with questions of vital interest to the workers of this or the other shop, store or village. The practical problems treated must be connected up with the policies of the Party.

Such a paper should contain illustrations, photographs, cartoons, and titles attractively distributed. For example, an article dealing with a nasty foreman persecuting his slaves should be accompanied by a drawing of this foreman calculated to arouse the workers against him.

The technique of distributing the paper must be carefully gone into, in order to ward off the bosses' natural attempts to discharge the comrades writing for or distributing the paper. A few copies of the paper should be pasted in the restaurant close by the shop where the workers from the establishment are accustomed to go for their meals. Where selling the papers at the entrance gates is liable to cause our comrades to be discharged for doing it, it should not be difficult to get other comrades, outsiders as far as the shop is concerned, to do it. Generally speaking the methods of distribution are worked out by the comrades on the job who are best familiar with the specific nature of the establishment and its workers.

Women, the young workers whether Party members or not, must be drawn into writing for the paper. An outside address should be used for the mailing of articles and contributors should be protected by substituting fictitious names instead of their real ones.

# HOW TO CARRY ON THE WORK AMONG WOMEN

In the barbarian conditions of capitalist society the woman worker remains a conservative and backward force. She suffers more from the exploitation and oppression of shop, store or village than man. Her political rights are curtailed. She is more subject to prejudices of all sorts, especially to religious prejudices. Still the success of a proletarian revolution greatly depends upon the active participation of the working women in bringing this revolution about. Attention must therefore be paid to work among women by all shop, street and village nuclei.

A set of concrete slogans understood by the masses must be worked out and the activity based on these slogans. The work among women must be in charge of one or more competent comrades, members of the nucleus, preferably women, who aim to enroll sympathizers among women into a group that would discuss their problems and assist in carrying out a campaign of agitation and propaganda.

The work in this group must be divided so that one. say, will be responsible for distributing Communist literature on women's problems, another's task is to write articles for the press, still another does tradeunion work, while another looks after work on cooperatives etc. When such women become interested sufficiently in social and political work no time should be lost in drawing them into the Party.

It would be an error if the work of such a group should be confined to itself. Its influence must be made to be felt among the other women-folk of the establishment or locality.

The entire responsibility for women's work rests upon the comrade selected for the work. But this also means that the nucleus as a whole directs this comrade's work, controls it and helps her in every way possible. Periodically, reports should be received from this comrade as to the progress made. This comrade should be helped in providing speakers from the District on women's work in the group where she functions.

Only systematic work in this field will bring results.

#### WORK AMONG NEGROES

A phase of our work which is most important and to which special attention must be paid by every nucleus, is the work among the Negro masses. The number, 12 million, is 1/10 of the population and 1/7 of the workers of America. They are the most exploited section of the proletarian masses of this country, being doubly oppressed both as a class and as a race. Capitalist imperialism subjects them to a vicious system of caste prejudice and repression. This system operates to divide these workers from the mass of white workers-a division which is a powerful support of capitalist exploitation and a most vicious menace to the unity of the working class and to the proletarian revolution. The work among these masses to win them for the revolutionary struggle must be realized by every Party nucleus as a major task and every effort must be put forth to be active in this important work. While this imperialist race prejudice creates some difficulties in

TO THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY O reaching these masses because of hostilities and suspicion which it engenders among them, it also makes them potentially the most revolutionary element of the working class and renders them particularly susceptible to Communist propaganda and organization.

One comrade of the nucleus should be assigned defintely to this work and should be held responsible to the nucleus for actively carrying it on. Negro comrades should be utilized as much as possible but under no circumstances must this work be considered as a special task of such comrades exclusively. In our approach to these masses, we should guard against anything like paternalism and a patronizing attitude which is sure to be resented. We should take such concrete issues which agitate these masses, whether special racial oppressions which they suffer or the conditions of shop, mill, mine or farm which oppress them and exploit them.

Special literature should be secured from the Party office for distribution among them, especially should the nucleus remember that as these masses see the Party leading actively in their struggles, will they realize the Party as their champion.

Shop nuclei: In shops where the Negro workers are employed, the nucleus should be on the lookout for any cases of special oppression of the Negro workers, such as lower wages for the same work, separate and worse eating quarters, and the like. These should be seized upon as opportunities which show the Party as the defender of the Negro workers.

Street nuclei should fight on such issues as residential segregation and should conduct street meetings and active propaganda. A survey should be made to discover the important organizations and meeting places of the Negro masses.

#### WORK AMONG THE YOUTH

It is the Young Workers Communist League upon whom rests the duty of carrying on the work among the proletarian and generally, the toiling youth. The Party looks upon the YWL as a "link directly connecting the Party with the young generation of the working masses spreading the spirit of Communism among them."

The YWL should concern itself with the educational and political work among the youthful masses, organize them, prepare them to enter the Party and forge them to become actual fighters for a proletarian revolution. It therefore becomes a task of major importance for the Party to closely supervise and pay attention to the youth work.

It is no exaggeration to claim that in view of the specific circumstances and conditions prevailing in the U. S. systematic work among the toiling youth, winning them over to Communism, has greater bearing upon the ultimate development of the Party itself than is the case in any other country.

In the face of this, what is the task of a Party nucleus? Everything should be done to establish correct correlation with the youth, sensibly and clearly direct their work, assist them in every possible way. The leadership and direction must not however, take on the aspect of paternal supervision, but the general aim must be to permit a development of initiative on the part of the comrades carrying on the youth work.

It is necessary to strengthen the contact between the Party and the youth nuclei at each shop or village and, as one of the means, the Party nuclei must delegate one of its most dependable, fit and well developed comrades to ideologically lead and represent it in the Youth nucleus. The order of business of the Party nucleus must include reports on youth activity.

Special care must be taken in the case of those young comrades who have effectively and devotedly performed their tasks in the revolutionary movement, to transfer them into the Party in due time. The Communist youth must be encouraged to attend the general membership, business and educational meetings of the nuclei and they must be drawn into participating in all campaigns of the Party.

In short—to improve and to cement the contacts with and leadership of the Party nucleus and the Youth nucleus is one of the Party's basic problems.

It often happens that in spite of the presence of sufficient numbers of young workers at a shop or in a given locality, we have a Party nucleus functioning among the adult workers, but no youth nucleus. In such cases, it devolves upon the Party nucleus to assist the YWL to organize such a nucleus for youth work.

We repeat that to win over the toiling youth and not to permit the bourgeoisie and its lackeys (from priests to "socialists") to poison their understanding with chauvinistic, religious or reformist nonsense, to organize them as a squad in the proletarian revolutionary army is the joint task of the YWL and the Party.

#### WORK AMONG THE NON-PARTY MASSES

It is basically important for our Party to achieve the sympathy of the majority of the working class and

the toiling masses and to draw the best among them into the Party. What should be our approach to attain this end? It is apparent that this can be accomplished only by the closest relationship of the Party nuclei with the proletarian masses at the shops, mines, stores, villages etc., by direct participation in and leadership of their struggles. A nucleus which shuts itself in and functions in a way that the workers don't even know of its existence is absolutely useless and worthless. As far as the revolutionary movement is concerned, such a nucleus is a lifeless quantity stewing in its own juice.

Neither do we mean to imply that, especially in the shop nuclei, the work must be carried out in the open to such an extent that without exception all decisions of the nucleus must become common property and that the bosses and foremen should be informed as to who are the Party members and who belongs to the fraction. Inasmuch as in this "free and democratic" country the boss can at any moment throw his undesirable workers overboard (and what Communist is desirable from the boss' point of view?) unless it becomes necessary to come out into the open, the work of the nucleus must be kept secret, while at the same time, thru its individual members it carries on agitation and propaganda among the non-Party workers, distributing literature to them, familiarizing them with the viewpoints of the nucleus and the Party as a whole regarding the economic and political problems of the day, of interest and concern to the working class.

Aside from this it must be remembered that among the non-Party proletarians and workers in general there are such who stand very close to our Party, sometimes at its very threshold, but for one or another reason do not see fit to come in as vet. On these workers and farmers we must constantly keep our eves and avail ourselves of every opportunity of individual approach for purposes of agitation and propaganda. It means, in practice, that having selected the most capable and dependable comrades, the Secretary of the nucleus instructs them to personally and regularly maintain contacts with this or the other worker, discuss politics with them, enlighten them regarding the Communist conceptions of this or the other social phenomena, convince them that their place is in the Party of the toilers who look with seriousness upon the struggle to liberate the workers from the tyranny of capitalism. If these sympathizers should have no others to recommend them into the Party, the comrades assigned to them by the Secretary should do it.

In such a way the nucleus will be in a position to enlarge its membership on the one hand, and on the other it will extend the Party's influence upon the masses of the workers.

#### WORK AMONG RANK AND FILE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

With no exception in all the countries of the world the leaders of "socialist" and reformist parties have betrayed the interests of the working masses.

There is no end to the convincing proofs that illustrate their rascality and far from having the sole monopoly upon the title of the blackguards of the workers cause, the claim of our own U. S. "socialists" to notoriety is based upon the peculiar conditions incidental to the exercise of their function in this land of the mighty dollar where, confined to the channels laid out for them by the rulers of this country, the dirty and treacherous work of a renegade often takes on the appearance of a neat artistic performance. No snake in the grass can ever be more venomous than the reptile that goes by the name of "socialist" in the U. S., and in this particular craft his sneaky brother in Western Europe takes a back seat.

The utmost care and clarity is needed to fight these

traitors who crawl before the throne of capitalism. We must point out their true role. The "socialists" and reformers of all shades, those who formulate their policies, as the Judahs of the working class who objectively (and many of them subjectively), being in the pay of the bourgeoisie, poison the minds of those who follow. It is not hard to indicate the discrepancy between their "Socialist" phraseology and traitorous tactics and that in fact they are the lackeys of the exploiting class. One only needs to examine the activities of gentlemen like Hilguit, Thomas, Maurer, Berger and other notables among the "socialists" and reformers. They go far out of their way to becloud the minds of the workers by distracting their attention from the important things and keeping in the foreground the non-essential. They are always at work trying to stifle the rebellious ardor of the working masses, by narrowing the breadth and lowering the level of their class-consciousness. They do a thriving business selling the workers to the capitalists wholesale as well as retail.

What is undeniably true of the leaders does not necessarily apply to their rank and file following consisting of workers. Now and then we see individuals as well as groups among them leaving these reformist organizations in disgust, while others continue to follow their rotten leadership believing naively, tho sincerely, that despite their scandalous leadership their party will some day somehow adopt a correct line. Some of these workers have been in their party for many years and have become so attached to it that they find it hard to leave it, regardless of its present position, and its general direction.

It falls upon the members of the nucleus to clarify this entire problem in the minds of those of their coworkers who still cling to the "socialist" party or other reformist organizations. Primarily by their actual work our comrades must prove that the Communist Party not merely in words, but in deeds is the revolutionary Party of the working class, and is the only militant organization fighting to establish socialism. In those shops and in such localities where there are rank and file members or sympathizers of the "socialist" party, also definitely sympathizing with our Party, but who are not yet ready to break their previous alignments, it is necessary to call them together in order to explain to them their false position in this situation as workers. It is also necessary to draw them into the various practical campaigns conducted by our Party. It is necessary to get the best of them to join our Party and one of the best ways to do it is to give them definite work to do.

# WHAT IS A COMMUNIST FRACTION AND HOW MUST IT FUNCTION?

The main task of a nucleus is to deepen and widen the Party's influence among the non-Party workers. We have discussed in the preceding sections how this work should be carried on, but there are still other ways. One of them is thru large gruops of workers in shops, at the docks, in offices, etc. i. e., thru tradeunions, co-operatives, cultural-educational societies, clubs, national mutual aid organizations, etc. It is extremely important for our Party to extend our influence into such mass organizations, take a leading part in their activities and maintain within them our Communist policies.

The Party's leadership in such organizations expresses itself through seperate fractions for each such organization.

What is a Communist fraction? We offer the following as a clear and definite answer to the foregoing question. A Communist fraction is an association of all the Party members belonging to this or the other non-Party organization in a given shop, city or country.

Dealing with the question of the structure of fractions and their corelationship, the Second Organization Conference of the Communist International adopted a resolution giving the basis for this work in all capitalist countries.

It goes without saying that it is in the trade unions that we in the U. S. must show our greatest activity. This must be done through organized and well disciplined fractions. Every member of the Party must become a member of a Trade Union and consider his activity there as the most important activity. Where no union exists in an industry the nucleus must be the basis for the organization of a union.

Several questions arise in regard to the activity of comrades on fractions within non-Party organizations: Are such Communist fractions to be considered independent Party units? Can they, for example, carry out Party work, (within a given organization)—which does not come within the sphere of their particular activities? Are their rights, for instance, similar to the rights of some Party Committee?

We in the U. S. are not clear on this point. This can be traced to the fact that it is not so very long ago that the Party consisted of nearly a score of language, national sub-divisions, each of them being practically an idependent Party by itself.

It is therefore important to formulate the answer to the question in the following way: Without any exceptions whatever all Communist fractions must work under the immediate leadership and control of the Party Committees (all the way from the nucleus up to the CEC) doing all possible to carry out the Party policy in all the organizations wherein they function. The party's instructions and decisions are obligatory in fraction work, and no member of the fraction, once a decision is made and a policy laid down can in any way take a stand against such a decision or policy, no matter what his opinion may be regarding the correctness of the policy.

In establishments where there may be some organization such as shop committee, etc., the comrades belonging to such an organization must maintain the closest contact with the Secretary and Executive Committee of the Shop nucleus, advising them about every development, demanding instructions regarding the action to be taken and reporting about their activity within such organizations to the membership meetings of their nucleus.

Strict attention must be paid to the work of the

fractions because they offer a medium for increased wide influence of our Party upon non-Party organizations and their membership.

#### CONCLUSION

In this pamphlet we briefly touched the basic principles of the organizational activity of the nuclei. It all applies, with certain exceptions, to all sorts of Party nuclei—mill, shop, residential, school, etc. There are many other important phases of nucleus activity which we have not discussed here, as for instance—the organization of reading circles, organizing the unorganized, finance and budget, and so forth. We are certain that having read this pamphlet attentively, the comrades will be guided by it in systematizing and co-ordinating the various details of their work.

It is now many decades that the American working class has been at war with its oppressors. A capitalist class, armed to the teeth, has arrayed itself against its slaves, and, assisted by the traitors within the trade unions, the "socialist" party and numerous reformist organizations, relentlessly advances against and ruthlessly tramples upon the exploited masses.

The workers of America have not as yet built the Communist Party into a powerful mass Party, and it should be clear that the proletariat will not succeed in breaking its chains of enslavement without first establishing its own well organized and thoroughly disciplined revolutionary Party.

The present age of imperialist domination is everywhere characterized by fierce clashes of the slaves resisting their masters and the creation of a powerful political proletarian Party becomes a vital question of

major importance to the entire working class.

So let us earnestly devote ourselves to the building of our Communist Party on a Bolshevist base. Let us do all possible to establish first of all in every shop, mill, factory or mercantile establishment a Communist nucleus. Let us work hard in order that we may develop a maximum of activity to bring about a greater degree of organization and class-consciousness of the broad proletarian mass.

THE END.

#### FORM N. O. R.

The questions below are suggestions to the nucleus as to what should be covered in a quarterly written report which every unit must make to the Local Organization, Section, City or District.

- 1. Political ripeness of the workers, farmers; their attitude toward the C.P.
- 2. Economic conditions of the workers-where there are any strikes or lockouts for the given periodwho was leading, what are the results?
- 3. What did the work of the unit consist of for this period in relation to trade union activity? Is there a TUEL group and how well is it functioning?
- 4. Give the growth of the unit for said period (or decline). State reasons, methods of getting the new members—are there any sympathizers?
- 5. What does the work of the unit consist of? Give character of the various activities-participation of the members in the solution of problems and questions. How soon are the approved decisions carried through in practice?
- 6. Give state of discipline for the given period. Were there any conflicts, refusal to carry out decisions, fights, deviations? Give percentage of members attend-

ing Party meetings. Are dues being paid regularly—also other assessments?

- 7. Is there a shop-paper? Output effect upon the workers. Methods of distribution, etc.? Is there a functioning group of workers correspondents? How well are they functioning?
- 8. What work was done among non-Party elements? Were they drawn into the various campaigns of the Party? Were any open meetings of the nucleus arranged?
- 9. What has the unit done for the working youth? Is there a YWL unit? How is the leadership, and relations—to what extent is the youth drawn into the carrying out of the Party campaigns?
- 10. What work was done among women? Is there a specially appointed organizer for work among women? Are there special women's groups? What does the work consist of?
- Relation and leadership from the highest Party Organization.
- 12. What was done by the unit, in the neighboring factory where there is not a unit yet? Give the perspectives of work for the unit for the given period.

#### FORMS FOR TABULATED RECORDS

The following tables are samples of forms to be used by the Nucleus in making reports to its Section, Local and District Committees. Any note book can be ruled with the necessary columns, and the size of the columns should be adjusted to the information desired.

Form 1 is to be used by the Nucleus as a register of its membership. Great care must be taken to safe-guard the information contained in the membership register. The comrade entrusted with this register, whether the Secretary-organizer or someone else, must be the most reliable comrade of the Nucleus. He must not allow anyone else to handle the register except when instructed by the Nucleus Executive or a higher Party Committee. He should keep a copy of the Membership Register in a safe place.

Form 2 is for recording the dues payments, and assessments and donations for each month. When payment is made the amount is recorded for the month paid, in the corresponding column.

Form 3 is for making reports of the status of the work of the Nucleus to the Section, Local and District Committees. All the information is given by numbers. It is a very simple method and can be followed by any secretary. Such reports are to be made every 3 months or more often if required.

The National office may print these blanks later on and sell them to the nuclei.

#### LIST OF NAMES OF THE MEMBERS OF UNIT No...... (FORM 1)

Name, 1st and 2nd. (or party name)	Address	Single or Married	Sex Male or Female	Age	Social Com- position (worker, farmer, etc.)	Nation- ality
J. Brown H. Rose		Single Single	Male Female	28 23	Worker Worker	Irish American

U. S. A. or	When joined Party Month & year	Union	What office is he best fit for: Org. agitrop, etc.	Remarks
U. S.	Jan. 1926	Yes	Trade Union	Available every evening
U. S.	Apr. 1927	Yes	Women's	Available Mon. Fri.

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N. 1st a U. 2nd ( Part	or dues	uary p  Donations  or Assess- ments	Feb. ditto	Mar. ditto	Apr. ditto	May ditto	June ditto
2 J. D. B. R	oel .75 ay .50	.50					

July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Remarks	
ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	Notes	
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## STATISTICAL REPORT OF UNIT No............ (FORM 3) 1. The composition of the members of the Unit

No. of new	No. of members coming from other Party Organizations		ing nucleus for er other Party gan- Organizations		for from the Unit		No. re- maining	Their Compo		position
members							in Unit	Men		Women 15
11 3							36	21		
	Socia	1 compo	sition			- 1	Citize	nship	Ė	
Workers	Cler	ks   I	rofessional	3	Others	Citi	izens of U.	S.A. Ci		of other
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	•		2Prac	tical	work of	the	Unit			
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