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VACATION SCHOOL REPORT

The following is a report on the Mid-West Vacation School, held from August 21 to September 4 in Central Michigan. Although other school-camps have been run in the past by the party, they were held in other areas, for a much younger age group, and under totally different economic circumstances. Therefore the Mid-West School was for us a new experience, an experiment in which we had to guess, improvise, and adapt ourselves as we went along. We learned many lessons from the experience, and have accumulated considerable data which may be of value to those running similar schools in the future, either in the same location or in other parts of the country.

That we should run future vacation schools is the unanimous opinion of all who attended Mid-West, for in spite of the late start, the hasty preparations, and the experimental nature of the camp, it was a success from nearly every point of view. Aside from the pleasure of vacationing in the company of other Trotskyists from various parts of the country, there was the educational value of classes three times a day, with informal political discussions between classes; the very noticeable change which occurred in sympathizers and new party members after spending a few days in an 100% Trotskyist environment; and not least important, three new recruits to the party, one from Toledo, one from Chicago, and one from Detroit.

ATTENDANCE

At the suggestion of the National Office, we first began considering a vacation school late in June. Many comrades had had their vacations, or were committed to other vacation plans, so we had a very modest perspective. We decided to look for accommodations where we could sleep 12-to-15 comfortably, 25 in a pinch; where we could do our own cooking; and which would be some place in the country, preferably within walking distance of a lake.

The limited number of resorts where there are no Jim Crow restrictions narrowed our choice, but thanks to the resourcefulness of one of the Detroit comrades, we soon had arrangements with the Mid West Club which not only met our requirements, but fortunately far exceeded them in every respect. Shortly after the National Office had circularized all midwestern branches with our plans, reservations began pouring in, demonstrating the very great need and desire of our comrades for a vacation-school. Reservations exceeded not only our expectations but our limits, and during the week before the camp opened we were forced to turn down about twenty reservations for the conference weekend, and notified branch organizers to discourage others.

During the two week period, a total of 132 comrades, sympathizers, and children attended the camp, as follows:

	<u>Half-day*** conference attendance</u>	<u>Attended 1 to 14 days</u>	<u>Total attend- ance</u>	<u>Total man- days</u>
Comrades	21	76	97	478
Sympathizers	4*	12**	16	67
Children	<u>4</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>105</u>
Total Attendance	29	103	132	650
	*Detroit - 2 Toledo - 2	**Chicago - 5 Toledo - 3	Detroit - 3 Dayton - 1	

***Half a day of attendance was counted for all those who attended the conference and had two meals at the camp but did not sleep overnight.

GEOGRAPHICAL BREAKDOWN OF ATTENDANCE

There were seventeen cities represented at the vacation-school, and fifteen branches. Detroit sent the largest number of persons, 28 comrades, 5 sympathizers, and 8 children. However, half of Detroit representation was present for the half-day of the auto conference only.

Chicago had the greatest number who stayed at the camp for a day or more and participated in its classes and activities. Calculating attendance on the basis of man-days, we find that Chicago accounted for approximately one-third of all man-days, Detroit, Toledo, Flint, and Ann Arbor (the four closest cities) another third, and the twelve remaining cities the last third. From this breakdown, we can assume that accessibility was not the decisive factor in determining attendance.

On the following page is a table showing the number attending from each city.

<u>City</u>	<u>Half-day conference attendance</u>	<u>Attended 1 to 14 days</u>	<u>Total attend- ance</u>	<u>Total man- days</u>
Detroit	19	22	41	96
Chicago	5	29	34	211
Toledo	5	8	13	52
Buffalo	-	9	9	35
Flint	-	6	6	84
Cleveland	-	6	6	24
St. Paul	-	4	4	14
New York	-	4	4	30
Newark	-	3	3	36
Youngstown	-	3	3	18
Dayton	-	2	2	5
Akron	-	2	2	16
Minneapolis	-	1	1	12
Milwaukee	-	1	1	6
Philadelphia	-	1	1	4
Allentown	-	1	1	4
Ann Arbor	-	1	1	3
Total Attendance	<u>29</u>	<u>103</u>	<u>132</u>	<u>650</u>

OCCUPATIONAL BREAKDOWN OF ATTENDANCE

Considerable political weight was given the camp by the presence of 5 NC members and 7 branch organizers. Party functionaries and industrial workers comprised 66% of the individual adult attendance and 61% of the total adult man days.

To what extent these figures reflect the composition of the party, either nationally or in the midwest, we don't know. We did notice, however, that of the 66 industrial workers, 17 were present for the half day of the auto conference only, and the remaining 49 averaged an attendance of 5 days. All other adults, including party functionaries, averaged a 7-day attendance. From this it would seem that occupation was an important factor in determining attendance. Industrial workers could not leave their jobs as easily, or could not make their reservations as early, or suffered a greater financial loss by staying away from their jobs, than did the other adults.

While children have not been considered in computing attendance percentages, they too were a factor. On the one hand, some parents might not have been able to come to the camp unless they brought their children. On the other, the number of children present almost equalled the number of adult reservations which had to be refused for lack of room. This would be eliminated by taking the camp for a longer period of time, and foregoing large conferences.

The following figures show the total attendance broken down by occupation. That the largest group came from auto aircraft and farm implement plants is due partly to the industrial area in which the camp was situated, and partly to the attraction of the auto conference.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Half-day conference attendance</u>	<u>Stayed 1 to 14 days</u>	<u>Total attend- ance</u>	<u>Total man- days</u>
Auto, aircraft, etc.	16	35	51	160
Office, professional	5	15	20	99
Children	4	15	19	105
Housewives	2	14	16	108
Party functionaries	-	9	9	79
Steel workers	-	7	7	51
ILGWU	-	3	3	15
Rubber workers	-	2	2	16
Seamen	1	1	2	8
Students	1	1	2	4
Railroad worker	-	1	1	5
Total Attendance	29	103	132	650

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

With only a few weeks to prepare for the school, it appeared for a time that we would depend for instructors primarily on comrades from midwestern branches who were planning to attend camp for a week or more and who had lecture notes from previous classes given in their respective branches. At this point, the National Office came through with valuable assistance in the form of some lecturers from the East, one of them the national educational director of the party. Our curriculum then became the following:

First Week

History of American Trotskyism - four lectures by Charles Carsten
Imperialism - four lectures by Mark Braden
Wage, Labor, and Capital - two lectures by Ken Hayes
The Italian Events - one lecture by E. R. Frank
Perspectives for the American Labor Movement - one lecture by
E. R. Frank

Second Week

History of American Trotskyism (cont.) - six lectures by C. Carster
Democratic Centralism - four lectures by Mark Braden
History of the American Labor Movement - four lectures by
Lydia Bennett
Colonial Struggles - two lectures by John McClure

In addition, two other comrades were ready, if needed, to lecture on the Negro Struggle and on the Nature of the State.

Three classes a day were held, morning, afternoon, and evening, with a question and discussion period after each lecture. Attendance was optional, and averaged about 35 persons except for the last two days when many comrades had already left for home.

In response to many requests from the camp owners and their friends vacationing in the vicinity, it was decided to open the classes to these outsiders. A few of them came to one lecture on the History of the American Labor Movement. They also participated in some of the informal political discussions held between classes.

AUTO CONFERENCE

The August 27th auto conference, called for more or less practical reasons after the vacation school had already been planned, proved a valuable supplement to the educational program. Sandwiched in between two weeks of classes in Marxist theory and history, it pointed up the application of our Marxist program, at least in one important field of party activity. Therefore to the practical political results of planning and clarifying the work of our auto fraction, should be added the educational and inspirational value of the conference to all who attended.

The conference, which met on the large screened porch of the recreational hall overlooking the lake, was attended by 92 comrades and 13 sympathizers, of whom 51 were auto, aircraft, and farm implement workers. Also present, but at the other end of the camp, and under constant supervision during conference sessions, were 16 children. The original plan for excluding sympathizers from part of the conference was found to be unnecessary, and was not carried out.

The conference agenda was the following:

Opening of the conference and brief report on vacation school by chairman, A. Wood.

General report on work and perspectives of UAW fraction, by E. R. Frank.

Questions and discussion, followed by Comrade Frank's summary.

Report on MCF, by I. North, and on the new Rank and File Caucus, by E. Henry.

Questions and discussion, followed by summaries by Comrades North and Henry.

Fraction reports; Detroit, A. Cummings; Chicago, K. Hayes; Toledo, R. Kinswood; Buffalo, W. Grey; Cleveland, D. Lands; Flint, J. Thorne.

Questions and discussion, followed by general summary by E. R. Frank.

As with the classes, so too the auto conference was supplemented by numerous informal discussions held during the two weeks of the vacation school, particularly during the five days when Comrade Frank was present. In addition to the 51 auto workers present, there were also 7 steel workers and one comrade working in the office of a steel plant. A short steel conference was held the night before the auto conference.

The auto conference and the arrangements connected with it were very successful. However, it should be pointed out that while the conference supplemented and was a great attraction to the vacation-school, it also dominated the school to too great an extent. All demands for reservations centered around that weekend, instead of being distributed evenly. We were badly overcrowded, not only in our sleeping accommodations, but even more with respect to the bathroom and kitchen facilities. For several days before the conference, most of our attention was diverted to preparing for and handling the big weekend crowd which began to assemble, even to the extent of starting to cook the Sunday meals late Friday night, when our cook should have been off duty. We got through the weekend well because all our attention and facilities were centered on doing so. But the pace could not be maintained for the three overcrowded days which inevitably followed the conference. We suffered a series of minor organizational breakdowns and had some accidents in the kitchen during those

three days which might have been even more serious than they were.

We can sum up the conference by saying that it was a great success but too big an attraction.

CAMP ADMINISTRATION

An article in THE MILITANT commented on the smooth functioning of the camp. This was due to the high sense of organization, self-discipline, and common purpose which the party has over many years instilled in the comrades. Trotskyist conduct was taken for granted by all, and this spirit was transmitted to the new comrades and sympathizers who perhaps had not had the chance to learn it before. The exemplary behavior of the comrades created a very favorable impression on the camp owners, who decided (correctly) that we were the best people in the world, and who therefore went out of their way to make us comfortable and happy.

The camp organization was highly centralized, functioning through (a) a camp director, appointed by the executive board of the Detroit Branch, (b) an administrative staff coopted from among the comrades present from the various branches, and selected on the basis of their ability and interest, (c) full and part-time kitchen help, living on the premises, who were paid for their work, and (d) "KP" assignments given on a rotation basis to all adults attending the camp with the exception of the instructors and the administrators.

Although there was considerable consultation among the staff, the director was regarded as having the final decision in any matter affecting camp administration. If this decision was disputed by anyone in the camp, it could be but never was, appealed to the NC members present.

Comrades coopted to the administrative staff carried out the following functions: assistant director and general pinch hitter; educational director; treasurer; purchasing agent; and "KP" director, who made the assignments and coordinated the paid and the unpaid kitchen help. These titles give a more formal aspect to the administration than actually existed, as there was some interchange and pooling of responsibility among the staff members. It should be added that the treasurer also acted as camp photographer and, with one other comrade, did most of the taxi work. These administrators, coming from various branches and paying the full rate to attend camp, worked hard and seriously. Most of them needed a vacation by the time they went home.

Two other posts were established although they did not provide exemption from KP. One comrade was assigned to sell cigarettes and handle the mail; a second took charge of timetables and coordinated the taxi service which was free and available to everyone who gave advance notice, but which had to be limited to as few trips per day as possible to conserve gas and leave car owners free to participate in camp activities.

We also set up a social committee which ran a very successful party the night before the auto conference. At all other times, recreation was left to the comrades' own initiative, and there seemed to be plenty of both initiative and recreation.

Our paid kitchen help consisted of an extremely competent and hardworking cook; an incompetent part-time caretaker who seldom did any work for us but whom we had been asked by the owners to employ; a young assistant cook, who started out as a dishwasher; and two twelve year old boys whom we were also asked to put to work in return for feeding them, but who were paid a small amount to encourage reliability when it came time to wash dishes.

Supplementing the work of the "staff" and the kitchen help were the KP assignments. Comrades (usually two) were sent to the kitchen a half hour before each meal to assist the cook and set out dishes and food. They also remained for fifteen minutes after the meal to clean off the tables and prepare the dishes for washing. Sweeping the dining and recreation hall and porch (usually two comrades a day), and cleaning dormitory halls and bathrooms as needed, also came under the heading of KP, as did special assignments such as gathering wood for weinie roasts, peeling potatoes when there was an extra large crowd to feed, distributing bedding, moving furniture, etc. Men and women, sympathizers and NC members were assigned alike as their turn came up, and had to work about three-quarters of an hour every third day until the last two days when our numbers dwindled and assignments came around a little more frequently. There were probably a few who, in spite of the rotation system, were put to work a little more often than the rest, but they were outnumbered by the comrades who voluntarily seized a broom or performed some other chore without notifying the KP director.

During the two weeks, we served over 2000 meals, service being cafeteria style. Menus were planned a week in advance and posted in the kitchen. Two or three times a week, the cook, purchasing agent, KP director, and camp director went over the menus, made the necessary revisions, planned what needed to be bought and in what amounts. We tried to do as much buying as possible in two trips a week to wholesale markets in the nearest city, hiring a truck for this purpose. This was supplemented by last minute purchases coordinated with the taxi service.

For the benefit of anyone who might be planning meals for a large number of people, with a very small stove, limited refrigeration and the minimum of work in cooking and serving, we are attaching a week of our menus to the end of this report.

CAMP RULES

We had very few rules at the camp, but once a rule was adopted for the safety or smooth functioning of the camp, it was well observed. Following is the list of rules:

1. Absolutely no smoking or lighting matches in the dormitory.

2. Comrades wishing to swim across the lake must be accompanied by a boat.
3. A comrade should not go swimming alone unless there is someone on shore within calling distance.
4. Meals will be served at 8:30 AM, 1:00 PM, and 7:00 PM. Please come on time to meals. No one should ask to be served after a meal is over.
5. Please do not go into the kitchen to help yourselves either at mealtimes or between meals. This disturbs the cooks and interferes with the process of feeding others.
6. The camp cook and caretaker will need help. This help will be given on an organized basis, with assignments made. Everyone is expected to do his share on a rotation basis.
7. Each comrade is asked to remove his own dishes, scrape and stack them at the table by the kitchen door.
8. Children must be kept away from the recreation hall during classes.
9. Comrades are asked not to play ping pong, nor play the radio or victrola during classes.

CHILDREN

We listened attentively for complaints, criticisms, and suggestions which would lead to improvements in the camp both this year and in the future. The serious complaints for which we could think of no solution came entirely from the parents who brought children under school age to the camp, and since this problem will be with us again next year, it deserves considerable discussion.

There were 11 such children in all, ranging from two months to five years old. They were a little too young to fit into the highly organized adult regime of the camp, and we had neither the facilities nor the man power to set up a separate camp or regime suitable to these very young children and satisfactory to their parents. Likewise the suggestion that all children be put on a schedule a half hour ahead of the adults with regard to their meals and the use of the bathroom in the morning, and that there be a day long schedule of supervised play, was ruled out as requiring too great regimentation not only of the children but also of their parents, and too much extra work for the kitchen and KP help.

What we did was establish a regime suited to the needs of the adult camp, and then fit the small minority of young children in as best we could. All families with children were put in one wing of the dormitory, near the women's bathroom, and where one

comrade could listen for all of them after they had been put to bed; there was a special table in the dining room for the young children and their parents; the late meal schedule, adopted after the first day at the request of many adults, was supplemented by crackers and milk available twice a day between meals for the children; there was a special children's swimming class; a large play yard, built and equipped by the owners for their grandchildren was made available; and the time when the parents were organized to take turns watching the children was limited to three hours a day while classes were in session. The rest of the time, children were allowed the run of the camp, with all adults giving a hand in keeping an eye on them.

Most adults (except for the parents) felt that the children were very little bother and gave a family atmosphere to the camp. The children also seemed (at least to a non-parent) to get along all right. The parents were not wholly satisfied and made a number of suggestions and criticisms, of which we are listing as many as we can remember:

The children's table was too noisy and confusing.

Meal schedules were too late for children.

Menus were not always suited to two-year olds.

Some parents were incapable of or did not do their share in supervising during classes.

A group of comrades (presumably well trained) should be assigned to take charge of the children and thus leave the parents free for a vacation.

Each parent should watch and be responsible for his (or her) own offspring.

We should have small beds or cots for the children.

Parents should be allowed to go into the kitchen and prepare special dishes for their children.

Rates were too high for children.

Children should be barred from the camp.

Next year "better arrangements should be made."

About the only clue we had to follow in trying to find an answer to all these problems was that the less "organization" there was of the parents, the more infrequent the complaints, and vice versa. But leaving the parents to shift entirely for themselves is no solution. Several parents came to the conclusion, after thinking the matter through from every angle, that they would try to find someone at home with whom they could leave their youngsters. For those who cannot make such arrangements, it might be possible at extra expense either to the camp or to the parents, to provide a small amount of full time assistance. In all cases, comrades bringing

children under school age to the camp should be warned that conditions will be far from ideal for them, so they will not be disappointed.

HEALTH

Another problem which was of constant concern to us, although it never materialized very seriously, was that of illness or accident. Our health precautions consisted of establishing a few safety rules, watching food refrigeration very carefully, trying to serve well-balanced meals, and keeping a small first-aid kit handy. Luckily, we had no illness nor accidents among the campers, but it did occur among the kitchen help, bringing home to us sharply the need for professional medical care and the question of liability. It is possible also that there are health laws regarding food handlers to which we were liable, and to which we should give more attention if the camp is run next year.

FINANCES

We had planned to run the camp at cost, basing our estimates as follows: a nights lodging, \$1.00 (the rate we had originally agreed to pay the owner); meals, incidentals, and emergencies, \$1.00 per day for children; and \$1.50 for adults. However, we overestimated costs and at the end of the two weeks stay had a profit of \$407.47.

As we approached the opening date, advance reservations indicated that we would be paying a very large rent at the rate of \$1.00 per person per night. Therefore, the day before the camp opened, we arranged to pay the owner a flat sum which saved us not only a lot of extra bookkeeping, but also about \$185.00. This saving we put into hiring as much kitchen help as was available instead of doing all the work ourselves as planned. We also spent money as liberally as possible by buying the best quality food and as much as we could refrigerate and cook; by providing free taxi service, at the same time paying car owners for the use of their cars; by renting extra lodgings from our cook for the crowded weekend of the auto conference, by selling beer and cigarettes at what we thought was cost, etc. Nevertheless it appears that we overestimated our costs by about 25-30%.

Actually our rates should not have been lower, either for the children or the adults, but we should have spent more money, and should do so next year. If we were to deduct the \$17.00 per week paid us by each of the coopted staff, plus their travelling expenses, plus the wages of a second competent cook (which we needed but did not have) our profit would have been around \$100.00 which is a comfortable operating margin.

While we had no initial capital (also no initial investment) we had over \$700.00 on hand a few hours after the camp opened, simply by asking comrades to pay their bill on arriving instead of when leaving as announced in one of the circular letters. When comrades left before their estimated date, the money was refunded.

The following is our financial statement:

INCOME

Room and board (less \$87.50 in refunds)	\$1492.45
Sale of beer, pop, and cigarettes	<u>44.81</u>
Total Income	1537.26

EXPENSES

Rental of premises	412.00
Rental of cars for taxi service	15.25
Rowboats, ping pong, softballs, etc.	25.41
Rental of cars for transporting equipment	11.00
First aid and hospital bill	9.24
Food	438.51
Ice	5.00
Rental of cars and truck for transporting food and ice	30.25
Wages	139.00*
Dishtowels, dishrags, paper napkins, etc.	8.51
Beer, pop, cigarettes	<u>35.62</u>
Total Expenses	1129.79

BALANCE ON HAND

407.47

*In addition to the dollar wages, we gave our cook all the groceries, canned goods, meat, and cigarettes left over at the end, which amounted to about \$35.00, and which appears under food costs in the statement. Thus food actually consumed cost about \$400.00.

CONCLUSION

Changing political and economic conditions make it too early to draw up any blueprints for next year. However, if we are to run a camp, we should not wait longer than March or April to start making necessary plans and arrangements. Given ample notice, the owner of Mid-West will enlarge and improve the kitchen and bathroom facilities, whose limitations hampered us considerably this year. Following are some other recommendations:

1. The camp should not be the project of any one branch, but a regional camp run by the National Office, possibly as an adjunct of the new educational program now under discussion by the party.
2. Allowing several months for instructors to prepare courses, the curriculum should consist of more and smaller classes running simultaneously to suit the varied needs of the comrades and sympathizers.

3. Some spot should be set aside in the camp for a library which will be well-lighted in the evening, and quiet.
4. Every possible effort should be made to get those contacts and sympathizers to attend whom we consider prospective party members.
5. We should have a full-time administrative staff, organized and present before the camp opens, with at least their expenses paid by the camp.
6. We should have at least two experienced and well-paid cooks, one of them a man for heavy lifting.
7. We should investigate the feasibility of getting the owners to do the catering for us, supplemented by KP on our part.
8. We should avoid overcrowding and try to stabilize the attendance.
9. We should run the camp for at least four weeks.
10. The rule which we announced this year regarding advance registrations should be clearly established and understood, and we should adopt a policy of strictness rather than leniency toward those who disregard the rule.
11. Reservations should be accompanied by a deposit, with receipt for the deposit constituting a confirmation of the reservations.
12. Reservations for at least five days of classes should be encouraged, and weekending discouraged if not barred.
13. No one should check in at the camp after 11:00 PM.
14. We should try to get the owners to put in a telephone.

To run the vacation-school next year, but on a "bigger and better scale" as the comrades at the camp asked, would mean assigning a number of experienced comrades to lead the classes and take charge of the camp. Even though some comrades might have to be taken away temporarily from other important party work, we believe such assignments would have great political value for the party.

The benefit to the many comrades who are in small branches is obvious. Dependent on a few comrades to carry out all the functions of a branch, they are not always able to provide the full branch life and party education which will help them grow out of their isolation. Many sympathizers who agree with our program 100% are reluctant to join a small branch. They remain sympathizers, who follow our press and come around only on special occasions, usually when a comrade from the center is speaking. Bring these same isolated comrades and sympathizers to a vacation-school, and their sense of isolation vanishes almost as much as it does at party conventions.

But not only the small branches stand to gain. Every branch, particularly the large ones, has comrades who for one reason or another are not fully drawn in to party life. One week of the vacation-school, in constant company of other Trotskyists at meals, on KP, in classes, on ball teams, will break down many barriers whether they are real or imaginary, and bring these comrades closer. Likewise, most large branches have many contacts some of whom are very close. The vacation-school, with its combination of fun and serious discussion, is an excellent medium for bringing these contacts all the way into the party.

The possibilities for recruitment and for assimilating new party members are very great if we apply ourselves to these tasks. Add to this the broadening experience for all party members, whether from large or from small branches, if living together for a week or so and becoming well acquainted with one another's party problems, and we already have sufficient reason for making the vacation-school a permanent party institution.

But there is still another advantage to be considered. Many comrades and sympathizers, even with the facilities of branch libraries, classes, and experienced teachers available, find it difficult to study as much as they should. They are too tired, or too busy, or too absorbed in their union work or branch activities. During one week of camp, many will attend more classes and participate in more political discussions than they have all winter long. And they will still have plenty of time left over for reading and relaxation.

The vacation-school is not a substitute for the educational and social life of the branch, but it can be made into a valuable supplement. With not too much effort, it can turn good comrades into better, and win many recruits for the party.

Kay Wood

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SOME COMMENTS ON THE MID-WEST SCHOOL

Comrade Kay Wood's excellent report, which should serve as a guide for those assigned the task of planning and conducting summer schools next year, points to the positive achievements of the school: three classes were held each day; a total of eight courses were given; informal talks drew all comrades into a discussion of Marxist theories and provided an opportunity for comrades to exchange experiences and broaden their conception of the party. These features combined with a stimulating vacation atmosphere were crowned by the inspiring auto conference.

But, of primary importance, the school was an experiment on which we can base our plans for the future.

What is to be Learned

Like the Trial-Sub Campaign, the CRDC campaign, in fact, like almost everything we have undertaken in the recent period, the Mid-West School exceeded our expectations. Instead of the anticipated enrollment we had many times more, and some applications had to be turned down for lack of space.

This enthusiastic response was so great that our resources were strained in meeting the educational requirements of the school. As the enrollment increased it was necessary to find more instructors, and, in some cases, they didn't have adequate time to prepare thoroughly. The educational problem was further complicated by the widely varying stages of political development among those attending. An attempt was made to solve the problem of teaching old members and new recruits in the same class. The most satisfactory solution would have been to have had at least two different courses; one for the old members and one for the new recruits and sympathizers. However this was not possible under the circumstances.

Partly, because the educational program didn't arouse the interest of everyone, and also because of our failure to place enough emphasis on the school, many comrades were not drawn into the formal educational activity. It is entirely understandable that comrades on a vacation want to relax and enjoy themselves, but with proper organization of the time that classes are not in session we can get better results.

Even though attendance at the school was large and could have been larger if we had had the facilities, we could have gotten a still greater attendance if the announcement had been made early enough so that comrades could have planned their vacation to take advantage of the opportunity.

Some Suggestions for the Future

In planning for future summer schools, we should make it possible for a selected teaching staff to study and prepare for four to six months in advance. This might be accomplished through the Trotsky School. Comrades can be prepared for a definite teaching assignment at the summer school which will be a practical application of their work and an important part of their training. In other words, we

should prepare a faculty and utilize the summer school as a medium for their future development. They in turn can teach comrades at the summer school how to prepare and conduct classes for the branches.

The emphasis, both in announcing the summer schools and while they are functioning, should be placed on Marxist education. This may seem like a truism. But unless the proper tone is set, many comrades fail to grasp the opportunity to improve their Marxist training.

Placing the emphasis on education need not detract from the recreational aspects of the event. A well qualified recreation director, appointed in advance, can plan, in cooperation with the educational director, an ample and varied program that will not conflict with but will supplement the educational program. The recreation director should function at the school as a member of the full time school staff to organize and carry out the program.

The educational program should be planned to meet the needs of the group expected to attend the school. This will depend upon the area in which the school is to be held, the composition of the branches that are participating in it and so on. If the Mid-West School is any indication, the schools will have to provide courses for groups of students of greatly varied stages of development. As a minimum, there should be classes for the most developed comrades and for the newest recruits. And it is possible that enrollment will make it necessary to have courses of still another category. One of the courses should be of such a character that everyone attending the school can profit from it, thus facilitating an exchange of opinions, experiences, and problems among old and new comrades.

The Mid-West School has shown that there will be no trouble in financing a full time teaching and administrative staff for the school. At the unusually low rate of \$17 per week, the camp made money. This could be increased a little, if necessary, to provide for more recreational facilities and a larger full time staff.

Everyone agrees that the Summer School should run for a longer period of time, possibly two months. This will make it possible for more comrades to attend for a week or two and for some to remain for an even more extended period.

Since as comrade Wood shows in her report, distance doesn't seem to be a decisive factor in relation to attendance, it might be well to hold a school in Michigan for the entire Eastern and Middle Western area. This centralization would make it possible for us to concentrate our efforts and give the Eastern comrades an opportunity to come into intimate contact with those of an industrial area. Also, a not unimportant argument for centralization, is the fact that through it comrades are able to become acquainted with a wider strata of the party.

The West Coast should, at an early date, attempt to select a centralized location suitable for the entire area.

Although it is too early to project definite plans for next year, we must begin preparations well in advance; for the possibilities inherent in a system of summer schools, which are clearly indicated by the Michigan experience, are too important for the party to overlook. The summer schools can aid the party in training instructors; the experience of comrades from smaller branches can be broadened and enriched by acquainting them with the problems and experiences of other sections of the party; a period of carefully planned education will produce a qualitative change in the development of new comrades; and the schools will form the basis for an extension and improvement of our educational activity generally.

Charles Carsten

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THE MINNEAPOLIS-ST PAUL FORUM

When the Twin City branches in Minneapolis and St. Paul open their forum season this fall, it will begin the eighth consecutive year of regular public forums held every Sunday during the fall, winter and early spring months. So far as we know, Minneapolis and St. Paul are the only branches in the country which have held such weekly forums every year for so long a period. We believe that this method of bringing the ideas of the party before the public have provided an extremely successful means of teaching not only the non-party members who are interested in socialism, but that they have contriouted immeasurably to the education of our own comrades, both politically and organizationally. Comrades have learned, of course, from the discussions of local, national and international problems, presented from a Marxist point of view, but further than this, they have gained valuable experience in the organization of public meetings, from the selection of topics suitable for public discussion to the planning of Sunday night suppers which have become an established part of our forum season.

Although open meetings were held by both the Minneapolis and St. Paul branches at intervals during the 1936-37 season, it was not until the Minneapolis branch moved into a new and larger headquarters in 1937 that the forums were really launched as a regular part of Twin City activities. When the Minneapolis branch was settled in its new quarters with a well-stocked book store and a meeting hall that would accomodate 200 people, it was generally agreed that one of the best ways to win recruits to the party was to bring Minneapolis and St. Paul workers to the headquarters where they would have an opportunity to hear the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky discussed in open meetings, to ask questions and participate in the general discussions which are part of every forum session, to talk with individual members of the party and to come in contact with the scores of books and pamphlets of the movement available in our bookstore. From the beginning, forums have provided a fruitful field for party recruitment.

The organization of forums is handled by a special committee named by and responsible to the Executive Committees of the Twin City branches. The first consideration is always the subject of the forum and the selection of a speaker most qualified to lead the discussion. Frequently, the topic has centered around local trade union or political events and on many occasions, forums have served as part of our campaigns in local and state elections when we have had our own candidates in the field. National trade union and political developments have provided many subjects for forums and, of course, developments, politically and economically, in all parts of the world, have been important forum topics. In general, the aim of the forum is to interpret from a Trotskyist viewpoint the news of the week which is most important to the workers in this area.

When the topic has been decided upon and a speaker chosen, an announcement of the forum is mailed to a wide list of party members, friends and sympathizers in both cities. In addition, announcements are sent to the daily press in both Minneapolis and St. Paul, and nearly every week, a notice of at least the subject and speaker appear in the papers.

An important aspect of our work in the forums has been the training of newer and less experienced comrades both in understanding and presenting the party program, as well as in public speaking. Last season, four comrades who had never before addressed public meetings, spoke at forums. We consider this an invaluable part of our forum activities.

The procedure usually followed at forums is to allow the speaker about an hour in which to present the topic of the day, with the session opening at 3:30 P.M. Following the presentation of the topic, a collection is taken. During the collection, the chairman calls the attention of those present to the current issues of the Militant and the Fourth International and to books and pamphlets which deal with the subject under discussion. After the collection, the floor is thrown open for questions and discussion by members of the audience. Those who may have an opposing or differing point of view are allowed to state them, but a time limit of three minutes is set for such individuals unless further time is granted by common consent. Very often the discussion period is the most profitable part of the session wherein specific and particular aspects of the topic of the day are clarified for the benefit of both party and non-party people.

Usually the forum is concluded by 5 P.M., in time to adjourn to the recreation room for supper. In an atmosphere of good food and friendly company, further discussion on the subject of the forum and on other topics comes easily and new friends are made under very favorable circumstances.

Supper consists usually of hot dishes, salads, bread and butter, coffee and dessert. As much as possible, food is prepared in advance so as not to interfere with the attendance at the forum itself. Under the supervision of a social committee, the meal is served by comrades named to a serving committee for the evening. A cleanup committee, also named for the occasion, washes dishes and puts things in order when the meal is finished. Both men and women comrades serve on all committees in charge of social activities. It has been well established in the Twin Cities that preparing food, washing dishes and the like is not "women's work" and male comrades have long ago ceased to look upon it as such. A reasonable charge is made for supper, all of which is donated by party members, and such income provides an important source of party finances, along with the collections taken during the forums, during the entire season. Since the Twin City Forum is a joint project, sponsored by the Minneapolis and St. Paul branches, proceeds are divided on a 3 to 1 basis, with St. Paul responsible for supper on every fourth Sunday.

The forum season this year has been postponed to the first Sunday following the convention, due to the press of work in the literature sales campaign and the raising of funds for the convention. However, in the meantime, we are organizing a series of Saturday evening public meetings to be followed by socials. The first of these meetings, also sponsored jointly, will be held October 14th on the subject, "Which Road for Germany?" Chester Johnson will be the speaker. It is planned to hold such meetings every two weeks if other activities do not interfere.

Barbara Bruce

REPORT FROM TOLEDO

Due to the newness of our membership and the fact that we have been able to keep up a constant recruitment of new members during the last few months, the problem of education was posed sooner and more sharply here than in most of the branches.

In the past we have always had educational programs but they were considered as a subordinate part of party activity. We had plenty of time to educate, so education was conducted in a haphazard fashion. Now with an influx of new members we are confronted with a situation where we must educate and do it much more efficiently than hitherto.

In Toledo we came to recognize months ago that one of our main tasks was the education of our membership and our close sympathizers. So, we mapped out a plan, a program of education, necessarily limited by our meagre resources, especially a scarcity of capable instructors. Our educational program was not, at conception, and is not now, a finished product. However, in the process of realizing part of it and underlying all of our concrete plans is the realization that we must systematically raise the political level of our entire membership and of our sympathizers to successively higher levels.

Our first task was to provide a basic course for our own members, 90% of whom had never even had that. We organized a class for beginners which ran for 11 lectures on the A.B.C. of Marxism. At the completion of the course we had a "true and false" quiz in which the members of the class were divided into teams. Out of a total of over a hundred questions there were only 8 incorrect answers. A total of 12 comrades took the entire course. 9 others attended some of the lectures. During the course of the class, 6 of the students joined the branch. Not all of them joined as a result of the class but it was undoubtedly a contributing factor.

Following the branch meetings all during the summer we had a lecture every week by one of the comrades on current, historical, and theoretical questions. We had one class in public speaking and

following that 5 comrades who had never spoken before the branch previously accepted assignments to prepare and deliver educationals. They carried out the assignments and acquitted themselves very well. Others have expressed willingness to do the same and will get an opportunity in the future. Our educationals for the next few weeks will be organized around the pre-convention discussion bulletins.

We have started 2 more classes for beginners and expect at least 12 of our new comrades and sympathizers to take the course. We are also considering starting up again a midnight class for 2nd trick workers which we had to discontinue last summer because of lack of attendance.

We are projecting another class, to start as soon as practicable, on a more advanced plane than the last. Tentatively, we are planning a series on the History of the Russian Revolution. And, if possible, to follow that up with a series on the history of the labor movement for the last twenty years, with lectures on the Chinese Revolution, the Spanish Civil War, the British General Strike, etc.

As you will see, the program that we project is ambitious, but the needs of the party in Toledo demand it and we are confident that we can carry it out.

So much for what we have done and what we plan to do in the immediate future.

As we mentioned earlier, one of our main difficulties is lack of personnel to teach classes. So far all of our classes, except the educationals after branch meetings, have been conducted by the organizer and the educational director. This is a condition that will be overcome when other comrades have advanced sufficiently to take over the task of teaching. One of the biggest aids in overcoming this weakness would be the issuance by the National Educational Department of comprehensive outlines covering fundamentals and capable of being followed by comparatively new instructors.

Every branch in the party is going to face the problem in the next period, that has been posed, thus far in only a few branches, and nowhere as sharply as in Toledo:

The problem is to educate the new members of our rapidly growing organization. This problem must be faced and solved with a well-organized plan of streamlined education of our ranks. Every class of beginners should raise up instructors from its ranks capable of passing on what they have learned. Every comrade must become imbued with the desire to acquire an education in Marxism and must be able to pass on, in turn, what he has learned to others. The National Educational Department must facilitate this work by organizing it and providing the materials, outlines, etc., which workers in the branches haven't the time to prepare.

The most immediate need, as we see it, is a standard outline on the fundamentals of Marxism. This outline should include in simple form the fundamental concepts of the materialist conception of history, the origin and nature of the state, and Marxist economics.

Education is one of the paramount tasks facing the party as a whole. We know from experience that when we fail to educate new members we stand to lose them. We are growing today and we stand on the threshold of great events. There will be struggles in which political theory will play a decisive role. If we carry out our tasks today and build a party of educated Marxists, we need not fear for tomorrow.

We believe that the educational plan of the P.C. is excellent. It should be approved by the convention and immediately put into practice.

There is one suggestion that was made by one of the younger comrades here which we think might be incorporated into the plan for the "Trotsky School". That is that the school be made available to comrades, who otherwise might not be chosen, on a tuition basis.

Mac Ingersoll

REPORT FROM YOUNGSTOWN

The proposals of the Political Committee on Education in our party are being hailed by all of our members here; they coincide with the needs of the party nationally and our branch locally. We feel that the centralization of the educational work, crowned by the Trotsky school, will bring efficiency into our work and will bring about a speedier development of all of us; that it will help tremendously in all the members getting the greatest benefit of the experiences of the party as a whole. It will help those comrades that may be found in more or less isolated situations to organize their work of building the party branch.

The program as a whole will greatly stimulate study and desire for a better understanding of the history of the world labor movement; an impossibility when branches have to rely too much on their own resources.

With the present revolutionary period bringing new workers to our party, we must be geared to the task of doing the most educational work in the shortest period of time and this can be done only by direction of this work from the center. With this speedier development and the organization of our educational work, new recruits will, in turn, be brought into the movement.

Can we do the job, Our criterion in answering this question is determined primarily by examining the needs of the party and the period and state of the party. Our party is fully capable of carrying this project through successfully and the times demand it. We

feel that, with educational work being organized as proposed, our party will fill the gap in our work as a whole.

We are convinced that this is the scientific way of proceeding with this phase of our work (examining the situation and then proceeding to meet the problems.)

The Youngstown branch wholeheartedly supports the proposals of the political committee.

Jack Wilson

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REPORT FROM NEW YORK EAST SIDE BRANCH

One of the most satisfactory of the several innovations projected by the Educational Committee of the East Side Branch, Local New York, were the results obtained from the Chairmanship Class. The need to train our new comrades in the rudiments of parliamentary procedure has been felt for sometime, especially so, when week after week the same experienced comrades would have to be called upon to chair the meetings. In addition, the hesitation and trepidation with which new comrades, and even some of the older party members faced the task of conducting meetings, further convinced us of this necessity.

How to organize such a class was our first problem. The Executive Committee discussed the question at some length and found the most practical plan would be to select 4 comrades interested in learning the basic principles of parliamentary procedure, have the class led by a comrade who had some knowledge of Robert's Rules of Order, and have them meet for a series of 4 consecutive weeks thereby giving each trainee a chance to chair one meeting. Also, in order to avoid an extra meeting night the class would meet an hour before the regular branch meeting.

In order to guide the instructor in the correct method of training the participants, the initial session was given by comrade C. Thomas. The procedure in teaching the class was very simple but quite thorough and was approached from a practical standpoint rather than an academic one. At each session the four comrades would select one from among themselves who would chair the meeting that evening; the others would take notes on the manner in which the meeting was conducted, the errors made, points left out etc., and at the next session the errors would be discussed, corrected and rarely would they be repeated.

In addition, at these "practice meetings" the comrades were given copies of the agenda for the branch meeting. The trainee chairman would conduct himself as if he were in front of the branch membership. Point by point the business on the agenda would be discussed. To provide a well-rounded picture of what might take place at the regular meetings hypothetical motions were made by the three other members, the instructor lending aid whenever the student chairman would become confused on some question of procedure. To further check on the procedure, the class used as a text a handbook prepared by two trade-unionists, Claessens and Jarvis called "ABC of Parliamentary Law."

A number of very interesting facts unknown to us were learned through participation in this class. To cite just a few examples: We learned that a chairman should always rise when addressing the meeting for any business; the various parliamentary devices for closing a discussion that might otherwise go on indefinitely; what can be taken up under the point of "good and welfare," and a number of other fine points of parliamentary law. This knowledge we felt will prove to be valuable for our comrades participating in the mass movement.

The interest created among the membership in this class resulted in our forming new sessions each month with four comrades, sixteen comrades having participated to date.

Justine Lang

SOME COMMENTS ON OUR RECENT CAMPAIGN

- C. THOMAS -

In reviewing our recent campaigns it must be recognized that what is involved is a break with previous habits of work acquired during a period in which our external activity was limited and circumscribed by the outbreak of war and the strengthening of reaction.

Immediately following the entry of the United States into the war, the P.C., taking cognizance of the new situation, sent a letter to all branches (Dec. 19, 1941) stating: "Up till now we have aimed at a mass quantity distribution in order to spread our message to the widest possible circle. The new situation requires that we aim at a distribution of our material to a narrower circle selected from the standpoint of quality. The paper and other material should be distributed to carefully selected people who are known to the party distributor, and, as a general rule, the paper should be paid for, not given away. In the next period we will be directing our message -- oral as well as written -- to the smaller circle of people who are more or less known to our party comrades and are interested in what we have to say."

This precautionary measure on the mass distribution of The Militant was modified a few weeks later after the National Office had a chance to check with the branches and it was left to the branches to "use their own judgement in continuing the mass distribution of the paper or curtailing it according to their own experiences from week to week." The comrades were further "cautioned against taking unnecessary risks in this work." Other precautionary measures were taken to minimize the dangers of our comrades being victimized in the period of reaction following the outbreak of war. The attention of the party was directed to the most politically conscious workers, internal educational activity was emphasized, etc., which required only a minimum of activity from the party membership.

The major political campaign in this period was conducted around the Minneapolis case. When, after a year's effort the Militant regained its second class mailing rights, we saw an opportunity for breaking out of our shut-in existence by launching a national subscription campaign. The trial sub campaign was the first step taken by the party since the outbreak of war in the direction of political mass work organized on a national scale.

When the idea of a trial sub campaign was first projected there were two variants discussed. (1) -- An intensive campaign. That is, a campaign in which the number of trial subscribers would be limited to that number which could conveniently be called back on after the termination of the trial period. (The number of trial subscribers could have been limited by shortening the period of the campaign -- e.g., to two months instead of three.) We characterize this as an "intensive" campaign because the object would be to sift out those subscribers who renewed their trial sub with a regular subscription when the call-back was made, eliminating

those who failed to renew. Under this variant, our object would be to cull out the most advanced group, which would of necessity be a small minority, and concentrate our attention on this minority for further intensive activity. Our goal would be the modest one of building a small periphery, making a few recruits and a modest increase in the list of regular subscribers to The Militant. In this sense, an intensive campaign would be based on our past concept of directing our message to a narrow circle selected from the standpoint of quality.

The second variant, (the one adopted) was that the campaign should be extensive in character. That is, our aim should be to reach the widest possible section of the masses without regard to our ability to make prompt call-backs for renewal upon the termination of the trial period. This variant was based on an analysis of the new period we were entering. We estimated that the change in the objective situation with its concomitant change in the mood of the workers had created a fertile field for the dissemination of our ideas and program; that the paper itself would do the work of agitating and propagating our ideas. Instead of aiming at sifting out the most advanced workers, our purpose would be to expand the area of our propaganda with the certainty that impending developments would create a more favorable and much wider response to our message. The decision for an extensive campaign was based on our political prognosis of the coming period, a prognosis which makes it imperative that we address our message to the widest circle of workers newly awakening to political consciousness and emphasizes therefore its quantitative character.

It was with this thought in mind, I believe, that comrade Martin proposed that we offer a six months sub for 25 cents instead of the three months trial sub which we decided upon. He felt that three months was not a sufficient "trial" period in view of the fact that we were approaching raw workers and that events were developing in our favor. The decision for the three months sub was motivated on our part by a reluctance to break down the regular subscription rate of The Militant, which is six months for one dollar. I believe now, in the light of our experience, that it was a mistake not to have adopted comrade Martin's proposal. However, in making the decision for a three month sub we tentatively agreed that we would not cut off any subscriber before six months had elapsed. We later amended this decision, again in line with our conception of the task we were called upon to perform, by notifying the branches that we would not cut off any subscriber unless we were definitely notified to do so by the branch and that only those subscribers who proved to be hostile, antagonistic, or worthless, should be cut off after the first visit.

In line with our perspective, when we discussed the follow-up on the sub campaign, we decided to continue our program of expansion. A plan was worked out of sending each subscriber four 25 cent trial subs upon the expiration of their subscription. The idea was to urge the subscriber to buy the four cards for one dollar -- for which his own subscription would be extended for six months. In addition to expanding our list of subscribers by this method, it must be recognized that there is a qualitative difference between a worker buying a sub for himself and a worker selling subs to his friends and

fellow-workers. In regard to this plan comrade Martin wrote: "It is really worth while to try to involve the new trial subscribers in the campaign and it will be a very great gain and worth the expense if some of them respond. We must keep trying, by new and extraordinary measures, to expand and push out the boundaries of our active supporters." The emphasis here was not so much on the renewal of the sub but on enlisting our subscribers as active participants in our program of expansion -- of extending further the circle of new readers of The Militant.

In the letter sent to the branches by comrade Stein (March 21, 1944) announcing the trial sub campaign, the primary purpose of the campaign was set forth as follows: "The Militant subscription campaign is the most immediate political task before the party. It represents the surest way to crack the capitalist conspiracy of silence around the case of our 18 imprisoned comrades; the surest way to mobilize the workers in the struggle for democratic rights; the surest way of educating the workers towards an understanding of the issues that have led to the imprisonment of the 18." In line with this task we decided to launch a campaign for the sale of the pamphlets on the Minneapolis case to be carried on in conjunction with the follow-up on trial subscribers.

The pamphlet campaign was outlined in a letter (June 21, 1944) to the branches entitled: The Conclusion of The Militant Sub Campaign: The Next Steps. In commenting on the magnificent work of the comrades in the sub campaign the letter pointed out the significance of the campaign: "It demonstrated that there is greater receptivity to our ideas among workers. It proved that our ideas, corresponding as they do to the needs of the workers, find a much more favorable reception than ever before. This applies especially to our transition slogans, which have become the slogans of ever-widening circles of workers." In summing up the experience of the sub campaign along with the growing trade union support for our imprisoned comrades, the letter concluded that: "This is why we must continue to expand our activities outward even to a greater extent." It was decided to continue the feature of offering an introductory sub for 25 cents and all comrades were urged to "carry at all times sub cards he or she could sell in the plants, to their friends and enighbors."

In preparation for the pamphlet campaign an attractive container was devised including the four trial pamphlets which were to be offered at the special price of 25 cents. The campaign was to be directed in the first instance to the subscribers of The Militant. In this sense it would have a combined character; i.e., the sale of the pamphlets was to be combined with the follow-up call on Militant subscribers urging that they avail themselves of the 4 introductory subs for which their own sub would be renewed for six months.

Because of its combined character, some confusion has arisen over where the emphasis should be placed in the follow-up call. That is, whether it should be placed on the sale of the pamphlets, the 4 cards or the renewal of the sub. It is in connection with this confusion that I remarked above that I believe we made a mistake in not accepting comrade Martin's proposal for a "six-month"

trial sub. If we had, the question of a sub "renewal" would not have arisen in connection with our pamphlet campaign. The campaign then would have proceeded on the basis of selling the pamphlets in a follow-up call on Militant subscribers who would be urged to participate in our program of expansion, and at the same time our comrades could have gotten the information necessary to catalogue our subscribers for future visits.

In one of his letters dealing with the importance of the New York organization, comrade Martin amplified his remarks in the form of an estimate of coming events. These remarks are applicable to other sections of the party as well. He pointed out that the cruel deception and outright betrayal practiced by the traditional leaders and parties would provoke such a wave of revulsion that the workers would turn away in mass numbers from those parties and leaders. This would create a "political vacuum" and it was our task to be there and be known as the only party who told the truth, as the only genuine anti-war party, when the disillusioned masses turned their backs on the demagogues and liars. This was reemphasized in connection with the sub campaign when he wrote: "I remarked before that New York should be a concentration point of double intensity in the campaign; we should be more lavish there than anywhere else. The reasons for this have already been given.., Our distributors and sub canvassers should swarm like bees at every labor and radical gathering, at union meetings, in the Needle Trades market, etc. We should now reappear at the colleges also. Our aim should be to swamp all relatively progressive, articulate circles with the volume of our propaganda; to psychologize them with the impression of our energy and aggressiveness. This is a weapon."

What is envisaged here is a real turn in the direction of mass political activity involving a sharp break with the old routine, with old habits of work, etc. The magnificent results of the sub campaign in New York and throughout the country have demonstrated that the party membership is ready for such a turn. What is required is a correct perspective and orientation. The war which at first hindered the radicalization of the masses will impart to that radicalization a tremendous sweep. The United States will not escape the effects of the revolutionary convulsions that will rock Europe. The tempo of our party activity must be stepped up in anticipation of these inevitable developments. Our orientation must be toward the masses awakening to political consciousness. Our attention must be focused on this problem. We must begin to think and plan on recruiting in terms of tens and hundreds -- and not as in the past when we thought in terms of one or two. This means that for the next period we must emphasize the extensive (quantitative) character of our propaganda activity in contrast to our previous intensive (qualitative) activity. Under the impact of great events quantity will be changed into quality. Our party will grow by leaps and bounds.

How does the pamphlet campaign fit into this perspective? In a letter to the branches (Sept. 19, 1944) entitled: The Trial Pamphlet Campaign, it was pointed out that: "Our present campaign is in line with our general objective for the further expansion of our movement. This campaign combines two features:

"(1) The intensification of our propaganda work through personal contact with our readers who have been receiving The Militant for a period of time; and through the sale of the trial pamphlets, which places in their hands our program as presented in popular form in the courtroom.

"(2) The further extension of our reading circle by inducing the readers to make use of the four trial sub cards sent them by the Militant National Office, and to procure new trial subs in this manner. The comrades should make an effort to enlist the participation of our new readers in the campaign to expand our list of subscribers. This can be done by explaining the special offer of four trial subs for \$1.00 for which the reader has his own sub renewed for six months while giving or selling the four trial subs to his friends or fellow-workers."

The letter concluded by stating: "The general political situation has created a fertile field for our ideas and program. The rising ferment in Europe, the sharpening of the class struggle in this country, as exemplified most vividly at the UAW convention, gives us cause for great optimism. We must gear our party for bigger campaigns and greater achievements in the next period. Our slogans, which not so long ago were confined to a small circle, are becoming the slogans of the most militant sections of the workers, and will in the next stage become the slogans of the masses if we work tirelessly to bring our program to an ever wider audience."

In launching the campaign for the sale of the Minneapolis Trial Pamphlets we had in mind the need of acquainting the widest section of the workers with the fact that it was our party that was persecuted for its uncompromising opposition to the imperialist war, it was our leaders who were imprisoned for defending their revolutionary Marxist ideas, and of presenting in a popular form the ideas and program for which we stand. This is a political task of first importance. This is the proper time for concentrating on the performance of that task in campaign fashion.

Will the acquisition of sub renewals be injured by this campaign? Not at all -- the number of regular readers of The Militant will be increased. The Militant has consistently carried front page articles on the Minneapolis case. Readers of The Militant can hardly have escaped becoming acquainted with the case. The pamphlets, containing a wealth of material on the case, will clarify many questions as to the nature of our ideas and program and will stimulate an enhanced interest in those ideas as they are presented in the pages of the paper. Further, our readers can be enlisted in participating with us in the campaign against the Smith "Gag" Act and to free our imprisoned comrades. The best way for such participation on the part of our readers is by utilizing the four sub cards for their friends and fellow-workers to acquaint them with the fight which has taken place around the Minneapolis case.

The sale of the pamphlets should not be confined to Militant subscribers. And here our campaign can dovetail in with the CRDC campaign. At every union which has endorsed the case, or which

the CRDC is contacting for an endorsement, our canvassers should be present to sell the pamphlets as the workers leave the meeting. In particular, the pamphlets should be sold to the members of those unions which, because of the opposition of the Stalinists or labor fakers, have refused to endorse the case. In addition to union meetings, radical gatherings, factory gates, etc., other avenues of distribution will open up once we recognize the political importance of this work.

A source of confusion is the fallacy of designating the current campaign as a three month "renewal" or "contact" campaign. In effect, this is a reversion to the first variant of an "intensive" campaign which was rejected. Let us assume for the moment that this is a "renewal" campaign of three months duration. Let us also assume that in this period of time it is possible to call-back on every one of the trial subscribers on the branch list. But unless all those who fail to renew their subs are dropped from the list on the first visit the result will be that after the termination of the three month period there will be well over half the subscribers who have to be revisited.

The number can be ascertained with almost mathematical certainty. The average of those renewing or definitely discontinued because of hostility or antagonism on the first visit is estimated at approximately 25%. Based on this average, it is estimated that 75% of the entire list will have to be revisited. In other words, at the end of the three month campaign there will remain approximately 5,000 to be revisited. We are leaving out of this account any new trial subscribers. It is therefore incorrect to create the impression that this is a "call-back" campaign of three months duration. It is obvious that the work of calling back on Militant subscribers must be combined with the extension of our list of new readers and made a regular part of the branch activity which must be conducted in campaign fashion. It is precisely in this question that we must make a sharp break with previous routine methods of functioning. It would be more precise to designate this aspect of our work as a follow-up campaign and make it a regular part of our political mass activity.

Upon the outbreak of the war, we were compelled of necessity to direct our attention to the most advanced workers. This set the tone for our methods of functioning for the past period. During this period certain habits of work and routine methods were formed. The party made only a minimum demand on the membership. We are now entering a new period. Our estimate of the change in the mood of the masses was confirmed by the success we achieved in the sub drive, which was beyond our most optimistic expectations, and has been reinforced by the success of our follow-up campaign. The whole tempo and area of our political mass activity must be accelerated. Instead of confining our attention to the most advanced workers we must reach out to the widest possible section of the mass. Where previously the party only demanded a minimum of activity we must now demand a maximum.

Through our recent campaigns the leadership is endeavouring to guide the party to a timely turn based on our political prognosis of the new situation being created by the revolutionary developments in Europe, the imminent collapse of the European military front, the sharpening class conflicts and the growing political consciousness of the American workers. The trial sub and follow-up-pamphlet campaigns can set the whole tone for our party expansion program which the coming convention will act upon.

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LOS ANGELES LITERATURE and SUB CAMPAIGN REPORT

The early part of the literature drive in Los Angeles finds us coasting along at a good clip. I say coasting, because with only a comparatively small proportion of the total membership involved, we are still hitting a good pace. When we get our entire forces mobilized the results should be impressive.

The experience gained in the special sub drive, the "arousing" of the membership by it, has brought us to a point where such drives are assuming a routine nature, and if anything, will differ from other routine work only in the sense that they are more eagerly awaited and enthusiastically undertaken.

SUB DRIVE

When we first heard of the drive for 3000 new subscribers, all of us felt that someone had had a moment of great inspiration. This type of sub drive is the perfect example of the Bolshevik campaign principle applied to the objective needs of the party.

Locally, many of us felt that we had been assigned a rather high quota, 400. We had no inkling of what was going to take place. However, we were determined to give it a real try.

The rest of our experience is shared in common with the other sections of the party. Despite other important work coming at the same time we reached almost 300% of our quota, over 1100 subscribers. Most of this in a little over one months time.

Due to the other pressing work we found ourselves in the last month of the campaign with a bare 60% of our quota accounted for. Of our branches only San Pedro had been accomplishing any regular work on the drive.

The notable example of some of the smaller branches had made it clear that we couldn't stop with just a 100% fulfillment of our quota. And so the Los Angeles section was quickly mobilized for one of the most startling and successful drives it had ever experienced.

ORGANIZATION OF SUB CAMPAIGN

The Central Branch, because of its larger size had been divided into three teams. This was mainly for the function of dividing the work of getting the branch out each week. Later, however, an element of competition showed up.

The four week drive opened on a Sunday, and before the day was over the astounding results had converted any sceptics that may have been present into enthusiastic activists. On that Sunday alone about 230 subs were sold throughout the section and a scant four weeks later (after four full Sunday mobilizations) we slowed down after a breath taking drive which had seen us win 850 new readers to the Militant in a scant month.

In this campaign the two highest scorers in the section sold over 60 subs each, one of them reaching 25 in one day, including two one year subs. On some days a few would reach the 15-20 bracket. These experiences will certainly contribute much to the future roles of our comrades as propagandists in the working class movement, and is definitely giving all who participate a closer feel of the mood of the workers.

Other of our experiences were closely borne out by other branches in the other sections of the country. The high average of about 5 subs per hour in the Negro neighborhoods compared to about 3 per hour in other areas. Try to sell these workers a "labor paper" and the answer was "I've already got one," or "No thanks."

But when we asked them to subscribe to a "socialist anti-war paper" then we didn't have to invent any artificial sales methods, then we didn't have to go in for any high-pressure tactics, because we already had the sub sold to an enthusiastic reader. We are also assured of being welcome when we come back for our renewal, and to sell literature.

This point was felt so keenly by many of the comrades that they are using it in going out on current sub drives.

Such an effective means of broadening our close contact with the workers as these special subscriptions is obviously not something to be discarded after the special drive, and we in Los Angeles soon had an opportunity to turn to it again.

THE SAN PEDRO OFFENSIVE

In San Pedro the Stalinists had been putting on another of their innumerable anti-Trotskyist lynch campaigns. Buying a half-page ad in the local press they have agitated for our forcible eviction from San Pedro because of our demand for labor to revoke the no-strike pledge etc. The success of the C.R.D.C. in the union movement played its part in this also.

The political answer to their attack was obvious in the use of the special subs. A mass of new Militant readers in this area was a thousandfold more effective answer than thousands of leaflets could possibly be. A reduction in the literature quotas at this time enabled us to divert our full section strength to this area for action bordering on "blitz" speed. With over 300 Militant readers in this area at present we are going on to make it a thousand. What better answer to the Stalinist provocateurs!

Our first Sunday mobilization on the "San Pedro offensive" netted 110 new subscribers. The average reached this time was over 6 subs per hour.

When we finish, not only will our San Pedro branch have the strongest possible base for increased political work but any attempts by the Stalinists to arouse a lynch spirit will boomerang on them.

LITERATURE CAMPAIGN

Once we had obtained our 7000 new readers nationally the emphasis turned to a period of more intensive work on these readers. The present literature campaign is very adequately filling this need.

One of the more important steps taken locally at the outset of the campaign was the clarification on the nature of the campaign. Despite communications from the National Office many of us believed that it was sort of a dual campaign with equal emphasis to be placed on renewals. At this point it was established by the Section Executive Committee that this was a literature campaign. Subscription renewals could only be on an incidental basis if we were to conduct a real literature campaign.

On this basis the literature campaign was organized. Our list of special subscribers was divided up by area regardless of expiration date. This facilitated visiting.

In the course of the pamphlet sales, which have been about 75% successful, we have also managed to obtain renewals from about 10% of those visited. Our next visits to these people should show a sharp rise as they will have had an opportunity to read our literature and will have been reminded about the coming expirations.

In some cases where people had already been cut off the list because of refusal to renew (before the literature campaign got under way) we found that they were willing to buy sets when we came back. This was another warning against premature removal from the subscribers lists of many who seem to be not interested.

We have also found that 10% who are resubscribing now (their subs still have as much as two months to go) are a much better material than could be found on our contact lists of a few years back.

So that even in the process of organizing the campaign from the perspective of concentrating on pamphlets we have lost nothing in the way of more immediately contacting the best elements.

As a matter of fact everyone visiting a better than usual contact follows the policy of retaining him as a personal contact or in some cases turning him in for someone else to visit. These are considered as close recruiting material.

CAMPAIGN METHODS

The general procedure is to say "I'm from the Militant, the paper you've been getting for the past few months and I would like to ask you how you like it." Then according to how much they comment we ask them which articles or columns they like best. There is more of a positive reaction to the column on the Negro struggle than any other. After we have discussed the paper for a few minutes we show them the set which has been reserved for all readers of the Militant, if necessary giving them a little more information about the pamphlets. Generally it is enough to tell them that they can read more about our ideas there.

When they reach for the quarter we remind them that their subscription to the Militant is expiring and that we can take the renewals for them. This point we do not press, however. The really good contacts will usually renew right away and many ask us to come back later in the week. Unfortunately we are not able to do that at this stage of the campaign. However, we have almost exhausted the lists and we will soon come to the revisiting stage both for those who haven't as yet bought sets and for the renewals.

But the procedure of introducing ourselves on the basis of first asking them how they like the paper has been found to be the best and is used universally.

ORGANIZATION OF CAMPAIGN

Two of the branches are organized on a team basis for this campaign. Three teams in the Central Branch and two teams in the Southside branch. The Central Branch teams are now being shifted around to conform to geographical considerations which has been found to be extremely important. Each branch has its campaign director to allow for a more than normal concentration on the drive. They work in close collaboration with the Section Campaign Director and in turn with the Section Buro.

Charts and posters giving an up to the minute picture of the status of the drive in the Los Angeles section and its branches are posted on the walls of the section headquarters and are in preparation for the other branches.

A duplicate set of cards was issued to the branches containing the names and addresses of the subscribers in their area, with space on the backs for information such as union affiliation, occupation, literature sold, etc. After a visit these cards are turned in so that the information gathered may be registered in the files.

INITIAL RESULTS OF THE CAMPAIGN

In a period of less than three weeks the section has sold well over two hundred sets. Only one branch participated in all three weeks, the others getting under way two weeks later than the Central Branch due to a delay in receiving the sets.

The reaching of what we had previously considered a steep goal now looked easy, and with the reduction of quotas we were enabled to take the important step in San Pedro which has been outlined to you.

We find that about 70-75% of our new readers have bought the sets and that about 10% have resubscribed. About 10% of the readers contacted represent short term recruiting material. A high proportion of these are Negroes most of whom seem to be trade unionists, although statistics are not very complete. Most of the unionists are shipyard workers, although we have a sprinkling of almost all the unions.

One comrade was asked to come back to speak to a group of friends of the reader. Innumerable instances of readers sharing their paper with five or six others occurred. In one housing project which we had evidently not covered very thoroughly we found that about 50% were sharing their paper with several others.

The returns on the four special sub cards being sent to these people should yield even better results than among the original subscribers because they are sure to be handed out to people who have a definite interest.

We found that the housing projects afforded us the best locations due to the ease with which they can be covered. We covered six of these projects altogether.

Sunday afternoon mobilizations gave us the best results due to the ability to systematically cover a large area. Although many people are not home on a warm Sunday we do not run against any time limitation as in the evenings when we catch many as they are going to bed. On Sunday also, they are not in such a rush and so there is more of an opportunity to speak to them.

On these mobilizations we have been able to hit an average of 6 houses per hour. Since many of the comrades stay out for three to four hours we found that an average of 10-12 people were visited by each participant in the mobilization.

Individual records so far include 24 visited in the course of one mobilization, 12 sets in the course of one mobilization, and 26 sets by a single person to date (three weeks).

Collective records include 82 sets at a mobilization (an average of 6 sets per person).

The real records will, however, begin to be made in the next months intensive campaign. Up to now we have been feeling our way, and although we have had a few full Sundays of work, we haven't attempted to get going at a rapid tempo. The real literature drive will begin now and continue for a month tapering off with the Convention. Tapering off doesn't have the same meaning it might have had a year or two back. Now it connotes activity, although not at a killing pace. It means making certain that every subscriber has been sold a set.

MASS MEETING

As I have hinted, a heavy emphasis, and deservedly so, has been placed on our work in the main Negro district of the city. Many of the readers in this district wanted to come to our meetings but found it difficult, and so the party decided to organize a mass meeting in the center of the district. Mailings to subscribers, leaflets and 100 posters to be placed in neighborhood store windows were printed as well as an advertisement in the Militant. The meeting is taking place under the joint auspices of the Socialist Workers Party and the Militant Publishing Association as the Militant is better known than the party at the present time.

The section, which has held three successful mass meetings within a month is solidly behind it, and everyone who has participated in the mobilizations has his three, four, or five good contacts whom he wants to bring down.

RECRUITING AND THE LITERATURE DRIVE

As this meeting placed itself in order because of the work being done among the subscribers, so also will the question of recruiting increasingly come to the fore. It is obvious to all the participants in the campaign that we have a wealth of potential members here. How are we to recruit them?

Even now we find that the various campaigns have started to influence recruiting, although in an indirect manner. Contacts, being inspired by the healthy state of the party have felt an urge to take part in its work.

In the past recruiting was done by those who made their own contacts one way or another and worked on them until they joined. This could not be done in this case because many people would be overwhelmed by too many contacts. Recruiting is coming to the point where it must be done in the assignment form. We will find, and are already finding that we have enough potential members so that there are several for every party member.

Whether this question is handled by committees or otherwise the main point is clear: recruits by the dozens replacing the previous pace of single recruits, is on the order of the day.

We found in Los Angeles, for example, that this question was already becoming urgent and have begun the process of designating people to be recruited within a period of from 3-6 months. Of course it is an arbitrary period but it helps pose the question sharply.

The future extension of our subscription and literature campaign will increasingly stress the point. And even as the comrades are now becoming accustomed to going out every week selling subs and literature so will they become accustomed to going out and recruiting.

These two major campaigns, necessitating periods of intense activity have resulted in bringing the average level of party activity to a point which has not been reached in years. Our standards of work are rising so rapidly that the campaigns of yesterday are becoming the regular assignments of today, preparing the party for its task in the coming revolutionary period.

Al Lynn

BUFFALO REPORT ON PROGRESS OF SUB CAMPAIGN

1. Organization of Campaign

The central feature of the call-back campaign to obtain regular subscriptions and sell the pamphlet sets, is the weekly branch mobilization. Once a week, half to three-quarters of the branch membership meet at a designated place and receive address cards, pamphlet sets and other necessary material. Each comrade receives approximately ten names in the same neighborhood, sometimes on the same street. Usually a comrade is required to visit each address on an average of two times. Additional cards are supplied as required. Comrades also spend additional time during the week on re-visits. Members of the branch who, for one reason or another, are not able to participate in the mobilizations, go out when they have free time. In this way all members participate. Our practice is to send only one comrade to visit the prospective re-subscriber.

In order to handle the great amount of paper work involving over 250 names twenty five cent subscribers, to keep a record of visits, pamphlet purchases, resubscriptions and comments, and also to facilitate the classification according to streets and zones, we have instituted a card filing system. The master list received from the Militant office is cut into strips and the names pasted on index cards. When the expired subs arrive they are also pasted on index cards and clipped together with the corresponding master list card, thus forming a duplicate file. The master list cards never leave the index box, which minimizes the chance that a name might be misplaced or overlooked. The duplicates are handed to the comrades and the date and initials of the person receiving the duplicate are entered on the master card. Cards are arranged according to zone and street.

The campaign director checks results weekly with each comrade. The results are posted on a large score-board at the headquarters. In addition the director ascertains the requirements of each comrade for the coming week, such as new names, pamphlet sets, etc. By the

time the mobilization night arrives the director has already prepared the cards for the different comrades, taking into consideration the area in which they are already working, and as far as possible allowing the person who originally obtained the twenty five cent sub to make the re-visit. After a re-subscription is received and a pamphlet set sold the name is transferred to our permanent contact file.

2. Comments on the Militant

Typical comment is that "It's a swell paper, a real workingman's paper." Others say, "It's the only paper that tells the truth." Negroes invariably express interest in the Jackson column, and state that the Militant "Is the only paper that really fights Negro discrimination." One subscriber told us he would give away the four cards and wanted to know where he could get more. Another sold all four to union brothers.

3. Results of First Month of Campaign

People visited.....	126.	
\$1.00 subs sold (including 3 mailed in).....	37	
\$2.00 subs sold.....	<u>1</u>	
Total	38	-- 33 percent
Pamphlet sets sold	79	-- 63 percent

So far we have visited about half of our twenty five cent subscribers and we expect that by the time the convention takes place we will have concluded the work connected with this phase of the campaign. We feel certain that we will maintain the present percentage of subs, and since we originally obtained 250 quarter subs we will wind up with approximately 75 one dollar subs. As to pamphlet sets, on this basis we will have sold in the neighborhood of 150, or 600 pamphlets by the time the campaign ends.

In visiting Negro contacts we have found it helpful in making pamphlet sales to include a free copy of 'Negroes in the Post War World'. It is interesting to note that practically all those who subscribe buy the pamphlet sets as well. Those who have not will be revisited in the near future. We are using the names of all subscribers as part of our mailing list, and expect to see some of them at our forums in the coming period. We have run across some individuals who are potential party material. In general we consider that the next stage of this work will be to draw our new subscribers into a sympathetic periphery that will increase our influence, make the name and program of the party known to ever growing circles of workers and facilitate the recruitment of the best elements into our ranks.

L. Jones

NEW YORK LOCAL
CALL-BACK AND LITERATURE CAMPAIGN

The pace of political events, accelerated by the developing European Revolution and the sharpening of the class struggle here, has created an opportunity for us to reach out to new broad layers of the working class and engage in a great expansion of our press, literature and party. In order to get the greatest results from this new development, we must streamline the party organizationally so that our membership can devote more of its time to external activities; and we must plan with precision our external work in order to achieve the maximum political results with our forces.

This leftward political shift was demonstrated by the great success of the trial sub campaign. In New York, the 2,000 trial readers provide us with the most fertile field for carrying out the expansion of our press, literature and party recruitment. These new readers have now been receiving THE MILITANT for 4 to 6 months. We face the task of gauging the effect that THE MILITANT has had on their thinking, helping them understand our ideas more fully and drawing the best of them closer to the party.

The most effective method at present by which this work can be carried on is by calling back for personal contact, obtaining regular subscriptions and selling them literature. In addition, after obtaining regular subscriptions and pamphlet sales, the new subscribers become a lever for further expansion of our MILITANT readers through the use of the four premium cards. With each 6-month renewal we ask the subscriber for 4 names and addresses of his friends to whom we will send THE MILITANT free for three months. Thus, the new subscribers act as MILITANT agents, by giving us a select group of new readers.

At the same time that we call-back on the trial readers for regular subscriptions, we are engaging in a campaign to sell the Minneapolis Trial Pamphlets. The CRDC campaign has mobilized the support of three million organized workers. The task of publicizing the Case of the 18, especially while the comrades are still in prison, is a primary political task. We must step up distributions and sales of the trial pamphlets and the CRDC literature at this time. In addition to selling the trial pamphlets to the new MILITANT readers in the call-backs we must increase the sale of pamphlet sets at factory gates, union meetings, etc. In New York, we distributed over 8,000 CRDC pamphlets at factory gates and union meetings, and because of this preparatory work we should have some success with sales of the pamphlet sets.

The Minneapolis trial literature is one of our best means of carrying on more concentrated political work with the new MILITANT readers. The trial pamphlets contain the simplest exposition of our ideas. The readers who indicate an interest in the paper will buy the trial pamphlets when we demonstrate the educational material they contain and explain that the reading of this literature will aid them in a fuller understanding of the MILITANT and our ideas.

In Negro neighborhoods where readers are interested primarily in the Negro struggle, we add to the trial pamphlets a copy of "The Struggle for Negro Equality" or "Negroes in the Post-War World". These pamphlets are either sold separately, or more often, one of them is added to the set of trial pamphlets for twenty five cents, and the local subsidizes the Negro pamphlet.

ORGANIZATION

The Call-Back and Literature Campaign is organized from the point of view that this is the central organizational task of the party. All other party work is geared to it. For instance, at branch meetings the Call-Back Campaign is the hub of the business-half of the meeting and other party work is subordinated to it. The City Educational Department has scheduled a series of public forums, designed to attract and draw these new worker readers to our headquarters.

It was necessary to plan the whole Call-Back and Literature Campaign in detail beforehand, so that when it started rolling, it would function smoothly both organizationally and technically. Branch Call-Back Directors were selected and, as we have relatively large branches in the N. Y. Local, the branches were divided into teams. The most active members were selected as team captains to spark the campaign. Frequent meetings of the directors and team captains are held to strengthen the organizational and technical methods, sustain the enthusiasm, and insure that all aspects of the campaign (i.e., obtaining regular subscriptions, premium subs, sale of pamphlet sets, contact work, etc.) are improved in the light of the experience gained.

To call-back on 2,000 names with our forces is a tremendous task and requires that the entire membership be activized and concentrated on the Call-Back and Literature Campaign. Therefore, every member is expected to participate in the call-back work at least once a week unless officially excused by branch executive committees. With careful organizational preparations, the campaign takes on the disciplined and serious character necessary to carry through an important party task.

RECORDS

The sympathizers and MILITANT subscribers gained in this campaign, form a sizeable active contact list for the party, a group which is in weekly contact with our ideas and to whom THE MILITANT gives us easy access all the time. This is especially important for the N. Y. Local where our problem is to build a working class periphery from these new readers who include many trade union members. In order to do effective work with this new periphery it was necessary to keep careful records of information on each new reader visited. A master file with the information taken from the initial calls is kept in the office. A duplicate file is made by cutting up THE MILITANT tape and pasting each name on a separate card. These cards are arranged geographically and given to the comrades for the call-back. The comrades record all pertinent information on these cards. The information is then transferred to the master file.

FOLDERS

The campaign directors prepare folders for each comrade which include several copies of the current MILITANT, premium cards, trial pamphlets, sub blanks, MILITANT self-addressed "stamped" envelopes and the Negro pamphlets.

In each set of trial pamphlets we insert the Pioneer catalogue, so that any reader who is interested in a particular problem such as fascism, war, etc., will have a description of all our literature and will know what pamphlet or book deals with that subject.

MOBILIZATIONS

The spirit and enthusiasm is best sustained by organizing the campaign around regular mobilizations of the entire branch membership. Members mobilize at the headquarters either early evening during the week or Sunday mornings, go out in teams of two and return to exchange experiences and results. This is especially necessary at the beginning of the campaign when the exchange of experiences is important for the improvement of our methods.

METHODS OF WORK

First, EVERY TRIAL READER IS RETAINED ON THE MAILING LIST UNLESS THEY EXPRESS OPEN HOSTILITY, ANTAGONISM OR REQUEST TO BE DROPPED.

From our experience to date we have found that there are certain methods which aid our approach to the trial readers. We make every effort to get into the house to discuss. Every comrade must conduct himself in these discussions with the supreme confidence that THE MILITANT carries the ideas and program that the workers need and will welcome as they come to understand them. Bolshevik confidence and aggressiveness is a political quality.

The new readers took 3 month trial subs last April, May and June and are now receiving letters informing them that their subs have expired. Since we introduce ourselves as representatives of THE MILITANT and the new trial readers have been receiving the paper for 4 to 6 months, we begin by talking about THE MILITANT. We open up with a short discussion of the paper and feel around for some response on a subject, article or column in the paper in order to make it easy for the reader to express an opinion or reaction to the paper. While we are thus getting acquainted by discussing the paper, we are beginning to get clues about the reader and as soon as we have evoked some response, we then proceed to elaborate any point which we feel will have the greatest interest, utilizing the trial pamphlets in the discussion. Naturally, the circumstances vary and we have to adjust ourselves to each individual and each new situation accordingly.

Our first objective is to urge the trial reader to become a regular MILITANT subscriber by securing a 6-month subscription. The difference between a trial sub and a regular subscription is a qualitative step in drawing the new reader toward the party. In most cases, the subscriber will buy the pamphlet sets along with his MILITANT subscription.

One of the ways to obtain a regular subscription is to explain that with each 6-month renewal, the subscribers receive 4 premium cards, worth twenty five cents each, which he can either sell or give to his friends or shopmates, in this way introducing the paper to them.

Since we have 2,000 readers to visit we always try to make definite appointments to revisit for subscriptions or pamphlet sales wherever possible. For readers who do not have the money when we call, we often leave a sub blank with the canvasser's name and a MILITANT self-addressed envelope, and ask them to mail it in.

When we cannot obtain a regular subscription, it is usually very easy to sell the set of pamphlets, and as a result of our discussion there is a greater probability that they will read the trial pamphlets and have a greater desire to receive and read the MILITANT regularly because they will have a better understanding of our ideas and program.

It is very important that there are public meetings, forums, classes, social affairs etc. to which we can invite the new readers. We have found that if we send a personal letter (mimeographed) to the new reader inviting him to party activities it means a great deal and is more likely to bring him down. The comrades are also asked to keep in close contact with particularly good readers they meet -- phoning, writing or even calling on them before a meeting, forum, etc. A party contact is placed in a special category to be handled by branch contact committees in a planned, systematic fashion.

RESULTS

In New York, the call-back campaign has proved of great value in the education of our party membership. Each comrade is getting rich experience in talking to newly awakened workers, with little previous political experience, sharpening up his own political understanding by learning to present our program in clear and simple terms. This experience is preparing our ranks for the task ahead of integrating the best of these politically unschooled workers into the party.

At the time this article was written, October 14, the fifth week of our campaign, the N. Y. Local has obtained the following results: 200 six month and one year subscriptions, 127 premium subs and 220 sets of trial pamphlets.

Our percentage of sales ran about 20% on subs and about 30% on pamphlets in the first three weeks. With improved methods and greater experience our percentages have increased to about 25-30% on subs and 35% on pamphlets. Our percentage of discontinuations has run about 20% which has been largely offset by the premium subs secured for the friends and shopmates of the new regular subscribers.

The results obtained by the Brooklyn Branch illustrate the best example of the New York campaign. With only 12-14 comrades available for the call-back work, they have secured the following totals from 200 visits: 50 six month subs, 62 premium subs, and 63 pamphlet sets.

CONCLUSION

This is only a brief sketch in outline form to indicate the methods and results of our Call-Back and Literature Campaign in New York. In a few weeks, as the campaign unfolds more fully, we will be in a position to draw up a more rounded and detailed report. In the meantime we would like to receive reports from other branches so that we can exchange experiences and improve our methods and results.

The results of the first five weeks of the campaign in New York have already shown that we are taking a giant step forward by concentrating the expansion of our press, literature and recruitment upon the new MILITANT readers.

The trial sub and call-back campaigns have also served as powerful accelerators to speed-up the integration of our newest members. They are among our most enthusiastic and successful campaigners.

The crowning political achievement of the trial sub and call-back campaigns thus far in New York, has been the establishment of a Negro periphery of over a hundred permanent readers of THE MILITANT. From this extensive group of new MILITANT subscribers we are building a firm base among the Negro masses in every borough of New York.

In addition to meeting our quota of 2800 trial pamphlets, we estimate that we will finish our call-back campaign with the 400-500 regular MILITANT subscribers and almost an equal number of premium subs for friends and shopmates of these new subscribers. Thus we will consolidate a working-class periphery of nearly 1000 new subscribers and readers of THE MILITANT.

Among these new subscribers and select group of new readers, there will be hundreds of new working-class sympathizers drawing closer to the party by this campaign. Our work in this new periphery will transform the New York Local in every sphere of party activity: party recruitment, Negro work, trade union, educational, CRDC, propaganda and literature, youth work, etc., and lay the groundwork for a swift growth of the New York Local.

George Grant, Organizer
New York Local

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