

(FOR MEMBERS ONLY)

# Party

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# Builder

VOL. I - NO. 1

JULY 24, 1946

OF THE WORKERS PARTY

B. I.

## I N T R O D U C T I O N

With this issue we introduce the PARTY BUILDER as a regular institution of the Workers Party. The PARTY BUILDER, which is the organizational discussion bulletin of the Workers Party published only for members of the Workers Party, will henceforth appear on the 24th day of each month, in accordance with the decision adopted at the Fourth National Convention of the Party.

The Fourth National Convention of the Party indicated that it felt that it was necessary for the Party to provide a medium through which ideas, experiences, opinions and views could be communicated to and shared with all members of the Party - all for the purpose of improving the Party and building it into the kind of organization it must become. This bulletin is being published for that purpose.

All members of the Party are urged to express in writing their views and opinions on Party organization matters and decisions and their experiences in Party activity and building, and to submit the same for publication in this bulletin. For the time being there are no restrictions on length and subject matter of material submitted for publication.

This bulletin will also serve as a means for communicating to the Party the organizational decisions and reports of the leading bodies and departments of the Party.

All communications and material for the PARTY BUILDER should be addressed to Y. Barsh, Editor of PARTY BUILDER, 114 West 14th Street, New York, N.Y.

- Editor.

# PROGRAM OF ACTION

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## 1. Orientation

In outlining the Program of Action submitted here, the National Committee calls to the attention of the Party that the over-all problem which is central and the key to our tasks is that of changing the social composition of the Party. This Program of Action, and those to be submitted hereafter, can have the most profitable results and attain a fuller significance only if the overwhelming majority of the Party membership is entrenched in the basic industries and these industries become the principal source of Party recruitment.

The Fourth National Convention has reiterated this as the central task of the Party and has directed that all necessary steps be taken to convert the organization into a party of workers. The question of recruitment, of building the Party, is integrally linked with the problem of proletarianization of our ranks. We repeat, our Programs of Action acquire their fullest meaning only if in the process of carrying them out we move concurrently toward our goal of proletarianization. To the degree to which our Party is proletarianized, to that degree do we establish and expand our arena for the presentation of our political views and influencing sections of the working class and to that degree do we establish an arena for effectively carrying forth our Program of Action.

Organizationally the three primary objectives of the Party may be headed as follows: I - the development of political campaigns designed to supplement and effectuate the following two objectives; II - recruitment and industrialization; III - consolidation. With this in mind, this Program of Action is designed to concretely implement the tasks of the Party in this period and guide the Party toward the achievement of our major objectives.

## 2. Purpose

The purpose of the Program of Action is to coordinate the political and organizational efforts of all locals and departments of the Party moving toward common limited objectives in a given period of time.

## 3. Period.

The Program of Action covers the three month period beginning August 1, 1946 and ending November 15, 1946. At the termination of this period a new program will be outlined in accordance with the central political issues and given tasks before the Party. The latter phase particularly will depend upon the extent of progress registered in the first period.

## 4. Implementation

All local organizations will seek to meet the objectives outlined in the Program of Action, to follow directives incident to the program and seek to implement the Program in terms of application to the local arena. Departments of the National Office, as well as

Branch Executive Committees, will implement this Program with related directives complementary to the Program affecting:

- (a) All Branch Executive Committees.
- (b) The National Labor Department
- (c) The National Organization Department
- (d) The National Educational Committee
- (e) The National Veterans Department
- (f) The Publications Department
- (g) The Labor Action Editorial Board
- (h) The National Negro Department.
- (i) The National Committee of S.Y.L.

## 5. Coordination and Direction

Responsibility for coordination and direction of the Program rests with the Political Committee and the three National Office officers (National Chairman, National Secretary and Director of Organization) and their departments.

### I. Political Campaigns

#### The Central Political Focus and Tasks

The political activity of the Party will be focused upon two primary (and related) political issues:

- A. The fight against rising prices.
- B. The housing crisis.

Both issues will be central to our political propoganda and agitation and will be the point of departure for our activities related to the 1946 Congressional elections.

#### A. The Fight against Rising Prices.

Propaganda and agitation around the issue of prices will be related to such questions as the OPA, rationing, the GM Program as the instrument for combatting price rises, wages and profits, bread and meat lines, famine in Europe and Asia, industry's boycott of production, black market, policy of the Truman Administration, etc.

(a) The Political Committee will issue a statement dealing with these questions and will propose appropriate slogans, this statement to be published in LABOR ACTION and in a leaflet or series of leaflets to be used for judicious distribution. Leaflets applying the program on prices to given localities are to be issued by the respective locals.

(b) The Political Committee will publish one pamphlet on the price question.

(c) LABOR ACTION will seek to feature this issue for the duration of the campaign.

(d) The National Educational Department will collect data to be published in an educational bulletin or bulletins for use of

the branches and the party committees in their propaganda.

(e) The National Educational Committee will provide, in addition to material, an outline for branch discussions on the above subjects.

(f) Branches of the Party will hold public meetings on the issue of prices.

(g) The Labor Department will issue directives on the application of the price issue to union activities.

(h) The Veterans committee will issue directives on the application of the price issue to activity in veterans organizations.

(i) The National Negro Department will issue directives relating the question of prices to Negro activity.

(j) The Secretariat will issue directives on neighborhood work, the organization of neighborhood actions, work among housewives, etc.

### B. The Housing Crisis.

The agitation around housing, while an individual problem, is related to the price issue directly, as in the case of rents, OPA, etc., and indirectly, as in the case of the boycott of industry, the inability to obtain building materials, etc. Agitation around the housing crisis must bring into relief such problems as: slums and slum clearance; a housing program including Federal and State housing projects for low income groups; the real estate interests and the OPA; real estate's sabotage of building; pre-fabricated homes; the use of mansions and hotels for emergency housing; etc.

All the directives from point "(a)" to "(j)" inclusive, listed under the heading "The Fight Against Rising Prices," shall obtain as specific directives applied to the "Housing Crisis" under this point of the Program of Action.

### C. Prices, Housing and the Congressional Elections.

Wherever feasible, candidates of the Workers Party should be placed on the ballot. Participation in the election campaign through the medium of a Workers Party candidate will provide the Party with a more effective instrument for conducting our agitation around prices and housing, which issues will occupy a prominent place in our platform. Party pamphlets for the New York election campaign will be printed for use in any locality where candidates of the Workers Party are on the ballot. Where candidates of the Workers Party are not put forward, activity in the period of the Congressional elections will be conducted with a view to capitalization upon the increased interests in political issues prevalent in election periods. Election activity must be utilized to link our program on housing and prices to the labor party issue, workers' government, nationalization under workers' control, etc.

One national tour in behalf of the campaign on housing and prices will be organized and conducted with Comrade Erber as the representative of the National Committee. This tour will cover branches from

the east coast as far west as Hibbing, Minnesota, and will be conducted in the month of August.

Comrade Goldman will tour for the National Committee in the latter part of July, covering the four west coast branches. The tour of Comrade Goldman is, however, to be mainly centered around the question of unity and the SWP Minority's recent adherence to the Workers Party.

A coast to coast tour will be conducted in the latter part of November.

#### D. Other Political and Educational Activities

While carrying out the campaign around prices, housing, labor party, congressional elections, the Political Committee will supervise activities in accordance with the convention decisions, namely:

(a) Publication of a Weekly Letter by the National Secretary relating to the discussions and decisions of the Political Committee.

(b) Publication of a Party discussion bulletin under the supervision of the Secretariat, with McKinney as Editor; the first issue to appear on August 7th and monthly thereafter. This bulletin is to contain articles on theoretical questions, current political questions, as well as issues referred by the convention for post convention discussion:

- (i) Hall amendment to the International Resolution.
- (ii) Discussion on the Resolution of the Conference of the Fourth International.
- (iii) Political views of the I.K.D.
- (iv) Jewish Question.

(c) Post convention discussion on CP-SP government slogan.

(d) Publication of a Party organizational bulletin under the supervision of the National Organization Department, with Yetta Barsh as Editor; the first issue to appear on July 24th and monthly thereafter. This bulletin is to include organizational reports and plans, programs of action, departmental directives, publications directives, summary reports of progress, branch reports, as well as discussion articles on all organizational and party building problems.

(e) Preparation by November 1, 1946, of additional pamphlets on: "The Negro and Labor", "The Veteran and Labor" and "Russia and American Stalinism."

#### The Central Organizational Tasks of the Program of Action

The chief organizational tasks of the Party may be divided as follows:

#### II. Recruitment and Industrialization.

##### A. Recruitment.

- B. Integration of new members.
- C. Education of the membership; training of leaders.
- D. Industrialization.

### III. Consolidation and Expansion.

- A. Consolidation of the branches.
- B. The efficient functioning of the National Office and the branches.
- C. Colonization.
- D. Field organizers.
- E. Establishment of new branches.
- F. Headquarters.
- G. Establishment of a publications department.
- H. Pamphlets.
- I. Development of the 8-pager.
- J. Make THE NEW INTERNATIONAL self-sustaining.
- K. Break the financial stranglehold on the Party.
- L. Into veterans organizations.
- M. Strengthening and formalization of the youth organization.

## II. Recruitment and Industrialization

### A. Recruitment

Recruitment is not an accidental process by which contacts haphazardly "fall", as it were, into the Party. It is both a "natural" and an organized process. It is a natural process because recruitment is related to and flows from our program and our activities in general. It is this which neutralizes uninitiated workers and directs their sympathy to the Party. The task of recruitment itself - of actually getting contacts to sign up - can be achieved only by a conscious and organized effort which exploits to the maximum the program of the Party and exploits in systematic detail every activity of the Party. This means that the primary objective, the goal, the beginning and end of every individual campaign, every effort, every activity must be fixed immovably on recruitment.

In general terms, the methods of recruitment may be divided into three categories:

1. Recruitment through campaigns.
2. Recruitment through activities in our fields of concentration.
3. Recruitment through our general activities.

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1. Recruitment through campaigns means simply that individuals are recruited into the Party as the result of a specific campaign. For example: in both Los Angeles and Chicago, particularly the former, the Party locals conducted effective anti-Smith campaigns. In both cases scores of workers were familiarized with the Party primarily (many perhaps exclusively) on the basis of the specific issue of that campaign: on the basis of opposition to G.L.K. Smith. Yet, despite the exceptional character of these campaigns, we recruited,

to our knowledge, only two members. This was, of course, inadequate. It is to be attributed not to the character of the campaign - they were, as we have pointed out, effectively conducted. It was due primarily (we believe) to an absence of an organized effort in recruitment; that is, to a failure to link integrally the campaign with recruitment.

Recruitment through individual campaigns means the winning of members exclusively on the basis of that campaign. In assessing the results of each campaign, every branch must answer the question: "How many members have we gained, not during the period of the campaign, but as a direct result of the campaign." When we conduct our campaign on prices, on housing, on the election campaigns, etc., the actions must be related to recruitment. If, in a given campaign on housing, a rent strike should be organized in a neighborhood or even in a building, the Party members involved should be able to report that, as a result of this single effort, we recruited so many members to the Party. Every campaign must bring results in recruitment.

Again, recruitment as a result of a political campaign, is not preordained. It is accomplished by an organized effort, by a plan carried out by a membership that is "recruitment conscious," by a membership which understands that the success or failure of a campaign can be largely measured by the results in recruitment.

The fact that the primary object of every campaign is recruitment, in no way contradicts the political import of campaigns conducted as part of our general "fight for Socialism." The relation between our political objectives and recruitment are clear. They are two forms of the same general objective. The struggle for Socialism is a process of arousing the masses, of educating them and of making the best of them soldiers of the organized movement for Socialism.

2. Recruitment through activities in our fields of concentration. Too often recruitment from this source is regarded as "long range." Rather it is our steady and continuous source of recruitment. We have concentrations in industries, in factories, in unions; concentrations in veterans organizations, in Negro organizations, etc. In these spheres recruitment should be a continuous and uninterrupted effort. Fractions must orient their work toward recruitment. Assignments should be made for the recruitment of contacts. Here individuals are brought into our organization on the basis of our fight for a political program and activity in behalf of that program presented within the framework of the field of concentration.

In this, as in all other fields, the tendency has been to allow recruitment to drift, to depend upon the initiative of the contact rather than upon the organized planning and initiative of the fraction. Common and revealing, also, is a practice indicated by this experience of one of our fractions: a fraction had been working in a shop for over two years and had recruited only one member from the shop despite numerous good contacts. When lay-offs began, the fraction became panicky and decided (for the first time) to make a drive to recruit their contacts, lest they lose touch with them in consequence of the lay-offs. In less than two weeks, five contacts were



recruited. We cite this as an example of how not to proceed. In the particular case referred to, the five probably could have been recruited long before, adding thereby to the strength of the fraction and broadening the base for further recruitment from among the other layers of workers in the shop.

Discussions of fraction work must invariably contain reports and check-ups upon the recruitment prospects, reinforcing the techniques and efforts, and reports on progress. Contacts should be approached for membership at frequent intervals.

Apparent, also, is a tendency in too many sections of the Party to establish a too high qualification for membership. This is generally expressed in the all too frequent comment, "He's not yet ready to join." While this may be true in fraternal branches (i.e. potential branches) which have the object of establishing a solid corps of branch members as the nucleus, it is not usually justified in cases where we have established and functioning branches.

Indicative of the attitude outlined above is the experience of one of the branches which canvassed sixty LABOR ACTION subscribers. The "findings" on these subscribers was, "Not one of them is qualified for Party membership." This is incredible - that of 60 subscribers not a single one should be a potential Party member. Either the comrades were not serious in their contacting work (which is not likely), or were completely misinformed as to what constitutes qualification for membership, sometimes reflecting a smugness which can be injurious to the Party.

Often the statement, "He's not yet ready for Party membership," or, "He's not Party material," actually means that the branch into which the potential member is to be drawn is defective in its functioning and in its internal life; that is, that the branch (not the potential member) is not qualified to assimilate, integrate, and educate the new members. That is to say, it is a branch of the Party which has a long way to go toward becoming a "QUALIFIED" branch of a workers party.

Qualifications for membership are elementary enough. The rest is up to the branch. No recruit comes into the Party a fully blown Socialist. If he does, it usually means that his recruitment is belated. He is recruited as a POTENTIAL Socialist. The "potential" is converted into the "developed Socialist" through the efforts of the organization.

The Party has very probably lost more members because of failure to recruit on the grounds that "He's not yet ready" or "He's not Party material," then it has through inability to assimilate and hold new members. This attitude must be altered. It is among the chief barriers to Party building.

This substitution for recruitment must be supplanted by the concept which establishes recruitment as the DAILY function in every field of concentration. Qualification for membership must be kept at a minimum and supplemented by an adequate program of education and of activity capable of integrating the new member. Let the Party members recruit! Give the branches the opportunity to assimilate and to educate the new member!

### 3. Recruitment through our general activities.

In the conduct of our daily work among friends, fellow workers, LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL readers and subscribers, in classes and study circles organized for contacts, at mass meetings and lectures, again and again and again, recruitment must be kept in the foreground. A study group that fails to recruit members into the Party has failed as a study group. This is true in the long run of work among LABOR ACTION readers, etc.

Through every activity, in every field, in each campaign, recruitment into the Party is set forth as one of the most decisive barometers of success. It must be regarded as the immediate organizational objective.

The Party membership, we have stated, must become "recruitment conscious." Simply put it means that members must be taught to think in terms of recruiting. A member entering a new plant should begin at once to list in his mind the probable, the more likely individuals to be contacted for eventual recruitment. He continues to expand upon his list as he conducts his activity. Wherever the Party member goes, in whatever field of activity he is engaged, he must begin to keep constantly in mind the exploitation of the field for likely party members. He is armed with this concept at all times.

That the party has excellent opportunities for recruitment is clearly evident. These opportunities exist not for our Party alone but for every workers' organization competing in the political field. Where we fail to capitalize upon these opportunities, other parties will probably succeed; a potential member of the Party will be lost to us. And we must think in terms of individual recruits. "Mass" recruitment is possible only by a mass organization.

The Party must grow - the Party must recruit! Our recruitment in the past, to the degree that we have experienced any at all, has been desultory. Recruitment, like any other phase of Party activity, must be the product of carefully conceived and well organized efforts. The opportunities for recruitment must be kept before the Party, must be exploited by a membership that is "recruitment conscious." Every instrument of the Party apparatus, every phase of activity, must be conducted with a view to winning members to the Party.

According to the report of the Credentials Committee at our last convention, 350 members of branches participated in the voting. It is likely, however, that our present membership stands at about 400. We will provide accurate figures based upon the registrations when they are forwarded by all the branches. It is clear that the Party must make substantial gains in recruitment in the next three month period.

No quotas are given to the branches. Quotas for recruitment are deceptive and bureaucratic unless they are based upon specific knowledge of contacts, factory and neighborhood work, etc. within a given locality. Branches, however, are urged to set local "quotas" for their own branches.

It is possible for a local to set such quota on the basis of

its knowledge of its possibilities, contacts, etc. Once this is done, the branch can and should make a concerted effort to bring those indicated into the Party within a limited period of time.

All branches will conduct all activities so that they are directed toward recruitment. This is the organizational expression of all our political activity. This is the only way to really build the Party.

### B. Integration of New Members.

The task of integrating new recruits into the Party remains one of the chief problems of the Party and one of the major obstacles to Party building. While this has been a major problem of long duration, the Party has only begun to recognize it as one about which something can be done. Only recently are there the beginnings of a conscious effort to grapple with it. Inextricably bound with the question of recruitment is the task of assimilation, integration, education of the new member. Like recruitment, the process is not achieved by itself. Essential to integration is a well organized and functioning branch and branch departments, a branch serious in its devotion to the principles of the Socialist revolution and intent in its activities. This phase of the question is covered in another section of this document.

Integration of the new member means progressive education in the principles for which we fight; it means introduction to and participation in the political and organizational activities and social life of the branch.

Once a contact becomes a member of the Party, he is assumed to be assimilated and is permitted to shift for himself. He is usually invited to a "beginners" class, formally introduced to the members and permitted to participate in such activities which his energy, aggressiveness and curiosity will encourage. He is really on his own. Too often the branches proceed from the point of view that once the contact is recruited, the job is done as far as that individual is concerned, and we now pass on to the next contact or the next order of the day. The comrade who recruited the new member usually feels a greater obligation for the recruit and manifests his interest by periodic inquiries as to his progress.

The Party must learn that the task of recruiting is relatively simple; that the real task begins once the member is in the Party. This means education through classes and through personal contact. This means education by participation in the class struggle and through personal contact. This means participation in party activity, through the Party branch and through personal contact. This means participation in social life of the organization through Party socials, gatherings and affairs, and, above all, through personal contact and attention. This means participation in Party discussions through branch meetings and through personal contact.

Personal contact is not the beginning and the end of integration but it occupies a very important place in the list of methods. Without it assimilation is well-nigh impossible, save for the most determined and stoical recruits.

The assimilation of the new member must be supervised. It does not take long to teach the new member to distribute leaflets - but even this bears personal attention. Supervision of integration becomes the responsibility of the branch organizer and the branch executive committee. These first and foremost must be held accountable for every member of the Party.

Integration of each new member must become a Party assignment for at least one Party member for each one or two or (at the most) three new members. This comrade forms a team with those to whom he is assigned. As a team they carry out their Party assignments together; they become personal friends, comrades, buddies. He is responsible for familiarizing the new member with Party procedure; attending meetings with him; discussing the proceedings of the meeting with him after it is over; discussing the weekly contents of LABOR ACTION; reading THE NEW INTERNATIONAL with him; explaining the meaning of Party resolutions and directives; where possible, attending classes with him. The National Educational Committee will prepare a "kit" of literature for the new member. The comrade assigned will supervise his study of the material. The comrade assigned will become a friend socially with the new recruit, will introduce him to the comrades, will make social calls with him, will make sure that he becomes friendly with all or almost all of the Party members. This comrade too will be held accountable for this, as well as for any other branch assignment.

If concomitantly the life of the branch is so organized as to be efficient in proceedings and politically alive and attractive, we will then have made our first - but only our first - big stride toward the solution of this problem.

The National Organization and Educational Departments will prepare additional material on this question. Branches and members will be encouraged to contribute discussion material (where possible based upon their own experiences) on the subject for "The Party Builder" (monthly organizational bulletin). Branch executive committees will discuss these problems periodically and organize the supervision of the efforts of integration.

### C. Education of the Membership. Training of Leaders.

The Party will utilize the political issues around which this program is outlined; the post-convention discussion; the program of basic and advanced education to be submitted by the National Education Department; for the consistent and planned education of the Party membership. Hand in hand with the education of the membership goes the training of new leaders and the further development of all our present layers of leadership. Without this development of the present leadership and the systematic training of new layers of leaders, any and all gains of the Party are threatened. Probably the majority of our present membership is endowed with latent leadership qualities. To mature these, to bring them out, to train them, this is the task and the responsibility of every functionary, of every branch organizer and branch executive committee. The task must be undertaken with conscious understanding and organized effort.

A basic education in Marxism, participation in the class struggle,

experience among workers particularly in the unions, participation in the political life of the Party, coupled with organizational work, experience and responsibility in Party assignments, accomplishing the talents of articulations - speaking and writing; all these must be carried in the schedule of the training (i.e. the education) of Party leaders. This concept must be underlined and adhered to: Leadership in the Party is EARNED by devotion to our cause, by continuing political development, by discipline and responsibility in and toward the activities of the Party, by loyalty and self-sacrifice. Not any one but all four are prerequisites for "promotion" in the Party. Just as promotion to leadership must be earned, so the leaderships elected must prove themselves or be replaced. The concept of "continuity of leadership" cannot be confused with the perpetuity of leadership. Leadership must be earned and that leadership must be always subject for examination, must prove itself at every stage. This applies to the leadership of the Party from the National Committee and its members (especially) to the branch executive committee and its members.

In the branches it is the responsibility of the branch organizer and the branch executive committee to direct the education of the ranks, and to supervise, provide impetus and guidance in the development of leaders. Just as it is the duty of the Editorial Board of LABOR ACTION, through its vehicles, to develop and train its staff members, so it is the duty of the branch organizers and executive committees to develop and train the membership which it directs. An organizer, for example, who in six months to a year, fails to develop at least one comrade who is QUALIFIED to handle the organizer's job (not necessarily as qualified as himself or herself) has failed in an important responsibility of his post. This is equally true of the National Educational Director and the branch educational director, etc. This is true of the National Committee, as it is of the branch committees. Every post holder must train at least one other for that post. The organizer of a branch may select one of his committee to work with him as assistant organizer with the primary objective of training him. Such training is accomplished by pedagogy and experience. This process will prepare the cadres for an expansion of the Party.

(Education and Organization Departments will issue added material on the above.)

#### D. Industrialization

The Party must become an organization of workers entrenched in the basic industries. The Party cannot influence and lead workers unless its members are in daily contact with the workers in the shops and in the unions. When the social composition of the Party is overwhelmingly composed of workers in the basic industries, then and only then can the party effectively carry out its struggle for Socialism. This change in composition will effect a qualitative change in the Party, in Party life and Party work. Such a change will influence our policies, and provide not only a wide and meaningful arena for our propaganda, but will also improve the techniques of enunciation of policy.

The change in the social composition of the Party has been a primary objective of the Party since its founding convention. Yet,

the recent industrial census taken by the Labor Department demonstrates a regression in our attempts to proletarianize the Party. This regression set in immediately after the war. Partly it is due to reconversion lay-offs and a general trend against the employment of women in the basic industries. However, this is neither the only nor the primary reason for the back-sliding, for, with the exception of several isolated islands of unemployment, jobs in industry are available.

The reconversion lay-offs were accompanied by a change in attitude on the part of many comrades who had been in industry during the war. The Party had not been educated, during its period of highest industrialization, to the vital, the crucial necessity of work in the basic industries. Many comrades who had worked in factories sought "softer" jobs after the war. A trend to return to school (especially among veterans) became manifest. Fortunately, this attitude was not too widespread and was effectively combatted. In various sections of the country we observe a general relaxation on the part of Party committees (from top to bottom) in their former insistence that the Party membership must be in industry.

The Fourth National Convention has directed the reintroduction of the drive to industrialize the Party. It is necessary that this campaign be pursued with the fullest energy. The success or failure of this campaign, as stated in the "ORIENTATION" section of this document, is one of the keystone questions for the Party, bearing decisively upon the future of the Party.

The campaign for industrialization begins with a drive to place the overwhelming majority of our present membership into the factories. This refers not alone to comrades who are now being colonized and will be in the future (although one of the objects of the colonization is to reinforce our forces in industrial concentration). It refers primarily to most Party members who are not at present in industry. Every branch will consider its membership rolls from the point of view of placing every available Party member into industry.

The campaign for industrialization of the Party is enhanced by the recruitment of workers from the shop. The process is inter-related.

We cannot expect to make our Party a proletarian party within a three month period, or within a six month period, or even a year. But every month of the period ahead must show progress in this direction. We emphasize that the opportunities for getting into industry are at their best now. The progress in the direction of proletarianization will be measured in percentages and will be reported to the membership quarterly. The Labor Department is preparing a directive designating the national fields of concentration (with possible variations according to locality) and will implement this section of the Program of Action.

### III. Consolidation and Expansion

#### A. The Consolidation of the Branches.

The three month period of the Program of Action is adequate time for the completion (begun after the convention) of the consolidation of all the presently established branches; that is to say, at the end of the period set in the Program of Action all presently established branches should be functioning as well organized, efficient, cohesive, well-knit political-organizational units, their memberships disciplined and active, the looseness in organizational habits and functioning, all informality at branch meetings and functions, eliminated.

The departments of the organization, coordinated, must be operating with the maximum efficiency possible, with branch executive committees directing the political and organizational efforts of the branch. The tightening up of the organization must be accompanied by the development of political initiative on the part of the branches. The tightening up of the organization will, in fact, make possible political initiative as the function of leadership.

The consolidation of the branches, which is largely an internal function of organization, begins in the executive committee itself. A well organized executive committee transfers its efficiency and its discipline, its order and habits of work to the branch. A minimum activity schedule is set for all Party members, and the maximum contribution of each member is striven for. This is accompanied by the "economy of forces", i.e., the allocation of forces to the most efficient advantage of the Party's tasks and concentrations.

Branch meetings themselves require the greatest attention. The meetings are to be organized by the executive committee, convening and adjournment times planned and adhered to, business disposed of with dispatch, assignments for work as equally distributed as possible, assignments and attendance at meetings strictly accounted for, educationals planned with timely subjects.

Consolidation of the present branches is key to achieving the most effective results, most efficiently, and will contribute vitally to the education of the Party as to the kind of organization a revolutionary party must be.

#### B. The Efficient Functioning of the National Office and the Branches.

The Party must make a radical change in its habits of work. Individual departments must initiate plans and are responsible for the supervision of execution. At the same time this must not lead to institutionalization, i.e., the functioning of departments as separate entities, instead of as coordinated parts of the whole. While each department of an executive committee is the immediate responsibility of its head, it is also the joint responsibility of the leading committee of which that department is only one. The task of coordination is primarily the function of the branch organizer as it is the function in the National Committee of the National Secretary.

Party functionaries must put in a full (i.e., an eight hour) day at their Party posts. As with any other member of the Party who works at a job, attendance at meetings and other evening assignments cannot be reckoned as part of the eight-hour day.

All offices of the Party will keep regular office hours, as must the functionaries who work in them. Work schedules of the functionaries will be kept up to date, including correspondence. Schedules will be issued for sending of organizers' reports, minutes, financial reports, publication dates of bulletins, etc. and will be adhered to. Directives will be issued with time schedules attached and will be complied with. Meetings will be reduced to an absolute minimum to allow for the maximum time for execution of the decisions of the meetings.

While Party assignments for work are to conform as much as possible to the inclination of the individual members, the decisive factor must become conformity with the needs of the organization. The rule that national functionaries must be available to the Party can have no meaning unless it is understood in the sense conveyed here. The efficient functioning of the National Office and of the branches is an integral part of the consolidation of the organization. The Political Committee, acting in its capacity of political and organizational heart of the Party, must give political leadership to the Party by timely intervention in the life of the country as it affects the working class, and direct such organizational efforts concomitant with the political needs. Without this the Party will drift instead of move with organized and planned gait toward its objectives.

#### C. Colonization.

The National Committee has established San Francisco, Buffalo and Cleveland as the three centers toward which the greatest colonization efforts will be directed during the period of the Program of Action. It establishes further as a goal in the period the colonization of a minimum of 40 comrades.

#### D. Full Time Organizers.

At present we have full time Party organizers in each of the following branches or areas: New York Local (2), Philadelphia area (1), Detroit (1), Chicago (1), Southern California area (1), and one part time organizer in Newark. Recently a full time organizer was added in Seattle. The following branches are now without full time organizers: Boston, Buffalo, Akron, Cleveland, San Francisco and Louisville. The National Committee sets as a minimum objective in this period the placing of a full time organizer in San Francisco and one in Buffalo (subject to approval by the branches concerned).

#### E. Organization of New Branches.

In addition to our 21 established branches, the Party has fraternal branches (nuclei of branches functioning with less than five members) in St. Louis, Reading and Hibbing. It is the perspective of the National Committee to activate the fraternal branches in St. Louis and Reading as regular branches by November, 1946.



## F. Headquarters

It is the aim of the Party to have every locality where branches exist as of this date establish a regular headquarters. It is not possible, due to the housing crisis, to make this mandatory. We emphasize, however, that everywhere efforts be continued to obtain suitable headquarters. The National Office will continue its efforts to obtain a new headquarters capable of accommodating the expanded organization.

The headquarters of the Party will be attractively decorated, kept clean and neat at all times, and attractive not only to visitors but to the Party members themselves. Headquarters committees should be established in each branch which will be responsible for attending the headquarters. As much as possible the headquarters should become the political, organizational and social center of the Party.

## G. The Establishment of a Publications Department

The Party will establish a functioning Publications Department with a staff of two full time functionaries in charge of the promotion and circulation of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL and LABOR ACTION and one part time assistant in charge of the Book Service and the "Book Fund". This department shall be charged with responsibility for organizing and conducting a promotional campaign for the "Fight for Socialism" book, as well as for "Plenty for All" and "Socialism - The Hope of Humanity." It will be responsible for the promotion of all pamphlets issued incident to our Program of Action.

## H. Publication Schedule of Pamphlets

The Party will publish three pamphlets relative to the campaign: (1) Prices, (2) Housing, (3) The Election Program of the Party. A fourth pamphlet may be possible within this period -- Trotsky's "Marxism and Our Times", the rights for which have been purchased by the Party. A pamphlet on the Negro and the coming elections will be published by the New York Local and may be used for national distribution. In addition, pamphlets on "The Negro and Labor", "The Veteran and Labor" and "Russia and the Role of American Stalinism" will be prepared during this period for publication in the latter part of 1946 and early part of 1947.

## I. The Development of the 8-Page Labor Action

The Business Department of LABOR ACTION has already issued a communication treating in some detail with the change in method of distribution of LABOR ACTION and suggesting techniques of distribution in accordance with the new plan. Additional material on this subject will be issued at frequent intervals until the eight-pager is an established institution. This document incorporates the points contained in the communication of Comrade Drake, Business Manager of LABOR ACTION, dated July 1, 1946.

The sales of the paper should be organized around our concentration points, with workers on the job carrying copies for sale to their contacts, and Party sales organized outside the shops, union meetings, etc. Members of the Party should adopt the practice of carrying the

paper wherever they go, with the object of selling them to contacts, friends, fellow workers. Contacts in turn should be called upon to do likewise. LABOR ACTION sales should become the chief propaganda agent of the Party linked with our concentrations, and also can become the source of a steadily mounting income for the branches.

Emphasis should be placed upon subscriptions for the paper. Every member of the Party should seek to make every friend and contact a subscriber of the paper. Special attention should be given to obtaining renewals. Make every contact a subscriber and every contact-subscriber an agent for LABOR ACTION!

The eight-pager will facilitate the placing of the paper on news stands and considerable attention must be paid to this phase of promotion. Every city where a Party branch exists should have at least one or two newsstands or bookshops handling the paper.

#### J. The New International as a Self-sustaining Institution

Promotional work for THE NEW INTERNATIONAL in both the National Office and in the branches has been at a dangerous minimum. Despite the progressive improvement in the contents of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL and in the magazine as a whole, there is no evidence of increase in sales and subscriptions over a period of several years. One exception is to be noted - the renewed interest in our magazine displayed by our European and Asiatic friends. From this source our subscriptions to the magazine have increased measurably.

The magazine is not being utilized as it should be - to educate our members and sympathizers in Marxian theory and politics. The magazine, neglected politically, suffers financially so that its continued publication is in danger. The present cost of publication of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL is \$621.00 per issue. Income to THE NEW INTERNATIONAL is less than \$150.00 per issue. This deficit must be spanned. THE NEW INTERNATIONAL can and must become a self-sustaining institution. We begin by a campaign to make every Party member and sympathizer a subscriber to the magazine. Newsstands handling LABOR ACTION will usually handle THE NEW INTERNATIONAL. Newsstands usually prefer THE NEW INTERNATIONAL because a measurable profit is involved. Book stores are an excellent medium for distribution of the magazine. Sales of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL by the branch and through branch activity must be elevated to the level of among the more important of the regular branch functions.

(Directives on the above will be issued by the Publications Department.)

#### K. Break the Financial Stranglehold.

The Party has been, in fact, expanding for a period of six months, and further expansion is contemplated. This expansion, entailing enormous increases in expenditures, has not been accompanied by any substantial increase in finances. The initial steps in the actual stabilization of finances consisted in developing standard procedure with respect to the handling of dues, etc. and the establishment of a new dues system and tax schedule which would allow for the rising cost of living. The entire financial system of the Party had broken

down and had to be restored. The basis for the restoration has been laid. It is now a question of making the dues system operative and reinstating the practice of selling the paper; of establishing THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, LABOR ACTION and the Book Service as separate institutions of the Party.

The Party must establish a national balanced budget of \$5,000.00 monthly, with all branches self-sustaining, or suffer severe retrenchment, not alone as it refers to the eight-page LABOR ACTION. (The increase in cost of an eight-pager is not great enough to make a marked difference in our finances. From the financial point of view, if the Party cannot maintain an eight-pager, it is doubtful that it can maintain a four-pager for any extended period of time.) The Party will be compelled to retrench its plans for pamphlets, the magazine, organizers, functionaries, etc. down the line. This warning signal was given in January, 1946. The financial stranglehold **MUST BE BROKEN!**

The following must be observed if the Party is to balance its budget at \$5,000.00 monthly:

1. The rigid enforcement of the new dues system.
2. The acceptance of the schedules for pledges as absolute minimums. Branch organizers and financial secretaries are to seek to increase the pledges of the individual comrades above the tax schedule minimums.
3. The systematic solicitation of funds from sympathizers as regular contributors to the branch sustaining fund.
4. Building up of sales of LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
5. The sale of pamphlets and books to serve as a source of income.
6. Branch socials and affairs held for the purpose of raising funds.
7. Above all, recruitment and the building of the Party.

In each case, for the program as a whole, the branches must give the financial stranglehold their closest attention and organized efforts must be made to break the hold. This is a matter of primary political importance. It is the problem not of the branch financial secretary alone, nor only his function. It is the responsibility of the branch executive committees and of the BRANCH ORGANIZERS.

Branches which three months ago began the reorganization of their finances and undertook the task with the necessary seriousness, are now well advanced in the solution of their financial problems. Those which are not, must not delay one day. If the Party finances are not stabilized on a \$5,000 budget by November 1, 1946, the Party must be prepared, as of that date, for an ensuing retrenchment.

## L. Into the Veterans Organizations.

The participation by veterans and veterans organizations in the strike wave, the battle on housing (spearheaded by the veterans), prices and a host of social and political issues has demonstrated beyond a doubt the significant role of the veteran. The Party's tendency is to ignore the veteran question or to relegate it to an insignificant position finds us impotent today to play an active role in their actions around housing and prices. This is a serious blow to the Party.

The veterans organizations present an unbelievably favorable field for Party agitation and recruitment. The very nature of the problems facing the veteran have imposed upon their organizations a role transcending immediate economic issues - has forced them to intervene in the social and political life of the nation.

Veterans work, in itself integrally intertwined with trade union work, must become a concentration of the Party, regarded as secondary only to the trade union concentration. The convention decision - "Every veteran in a veterans organization" - must be carried out to the letter. It is not enough to be in the veterans organizations. In each city, Party members who are veterans must be assigned to this work as their major Party activity. And the Party as a whole must intervene in the field as it does in a variety of others (Negro, union activity, etc.).

The Party sets itself the goal of having every veteran in a veterans organization, with at least 25% of them having this as their main Party assignment.

(Supplementary directives will be issued by the Veterans Committee)

## M. The Strengthening and the Formalization of the Youth Organization.

The Socialist Youth League, youth section of the Workers Party, has a membership of approximately 100 with branches in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Seattle, Chicago, Baltimore and West Virginia. In the latter two cities youth branches exist without units of the parent organization. The youth organization has still not been formalized and continues under the political and organizational supervision of the Party.

The efforts at strengthening the youth organization is largely a problem of providing it with a trained and experienced youth leadership - both for its national committee and the localities where there are youth branches. The Party will, if necessary, withdraw qualified members from their present Party assignments and establish youth work as their sole Party function. In localities where Party branches function as parent organizations to the youth groups existing there, the branches will assume responsibility for aiding the youth organization. In each such area, at least one experienced Party member shall be assigned to youth work exclusively. The branch executive committees will maintain close contact with the youth organization and shall provide a representative to the youth.

The Party establishes that, in addition to providing the youth

organization with additional qualified Party members, it shall also assume as one of its major tasks the education of the youth comrades pointing to the crystallization of a cadre of youth comrades capable of performing the function as leaders of the young workers and students in this country.

The Party will speed these tasks in conformity with the convention decision for the formalization of the youth organization.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE

REPORT ON PERSPECTIVES AND PLANS  
FOR THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT

\* \* \*

1. Purpose and Policy: Experience has shown that it is not enough to assume that the purpose and functions of the National Educational Department are self-evident. It is therefore necessary to state definitively that the purpose of the department is to advance the education of the Party membership and close contacts in the program of the Party and in the general theories of Marxism as accepted and interpreted by the positions of the Party. It is necessary to state this to clarify the mistaken notion often expressed in proposals to the educational department that it is the function of the educational department to develop the Party's position, to initiate and lead polemical discussions, to stimulate study and research projects toward new theoretical contributions for which the Party is not prepared to take responsibility, etc.

As with its function, so is there considerable confusion with its policy. Many members have the notion that the policy of the educational department should be to stimulate debates, polemical discussions, study classes led by as many teachers as there are viewpoints in the Party, etc. It is necessary that the Political Committee adopt a clear and firm directive on this question and make it known to the Party. Failure to do this will make of us an all inclusive debating society rather than a party. The concept that a new members class is open to all Party members who wish to attend to "represent a viewpoint" is a form of nonsense which, if permitted to develop, will make party-directed education an impossibility. The Party's responsibility for the education of the new member, just as in his recruitment, is to teach him what the Workers Party stands for. Minority points of view have equal status with the Party position only during pre-convention discussions.

The maintenance of a year-round discussion bulletin, the organization of polemical discussion meetings, controversial discussion in the press, etc. should be one of the regular and consistent features of party-life in our kind of a party. But this must not be confused with the function of the Educational Department which is to educate in the Party's program.

2. Main Objective in Coming Period: It is necessary that the Educational Department have a "line" so that it knows what it is after in planning its work from period to period of Party life. This will determine where the emphasis is to be laid in issuing educational material, in directives and correspondence to the branch directors, etc. The main objective in the coming period should be to educate the membership on those distinctive features that distinguish us from other parties in the radical movement and which simultaneously sum up the specific theoretical contributions of our Party. This objective was indicated by the resolution of the convention on the role of the Party and the need to develop a cadre and by the weaknesses in the educational level of the Party revealed by the pre-convention discussion.

3. Secondary Objective: The objective second in importance should be the training and integration of new members, especially new worker-recruits. If the next six-month period sees the party attain its goal of industrializing the overwhelming majority of its members, we should begin to see results in terms of recruits from the shops. However, when this begins to develop as a major and regular factor in the life of the party, the realization of our main objective should already be under way and the main emphasis can then be shifted to the matter of integration.

4. Media for Guiding Educational Work: The experience of the last six to eight months in conducting national educational work is that the most important medium for guiding the educational work from the center is through the publication of material like study outlines, reading lists, outline speeches, etc. This side of the work should receive the greatest attention. The efforts of the department to intervene in the educational life of the branches through a bulletin, circular letters, correspondence with the branch directors, etc. has not been very fruitful. The diverse needs of the various branches and the strong tendency of local directors to want to experiment with their own pet notions on education make it very difficult for the center to influence the course of branch educationals. This side of the work is rendered even more ineffective as a result of the widespread inefficiency of branches generally about such things as communications from the center, reporting to the center on local activities, etc. The existence of full time and competent organizers in a whole series of localities where we had none before may remedy the latter.

5. Set-Up and Personnel: The work of the educational department falls into categories as far as the involvement of additional personnel is concerned: (1) decisions relating to questions of policy and planning and (2) the actual work of research and writing of educational material. The former should be in the hands of a small committee of politically developed and responsible comrades, preferably entirely composed of NC members. These should compose the National Educational Committee. Their main function is to plan and assign work, make decisions on matters of policy, keep fully informed on the functioning of the department, exercise control over its activities, and pass upon the political and pedagogical content of material before it is published.

As members of the committee I nominate, in addition to myself, Freddie Forrest and Henry Judd. A committee of three is entirely adequate for the tasks at hand.

The second category of work, the research and actual writing of material, should involve the largest number of comrades available. For reasons of getting the work done without undue delay, in order to equalize the burdens of political writing by spreading them over the largest number of persons and in order to advance the development of comrades not directly concerned with the political direction of the center, every effort should be made to assign this work to non-PC members, especially out-of-town NC members and other comrades of political ability. Such comrades are to be thought of as part of a national educational staff, each taking an assignment from time to time and devoting several months to it. Aside from out-of-town NC members, there are such competent comrades available as Brad, Weiss,

Jensen, Craine, B. Walker, Stanley Gray, Howe, Miriam Gould, Louise Brown, M. Harvey, Stiler, etc.

Ever since I took charge of educational work last September, I have had the assistance of comrade Eleanor Mason in the organization of the work, especially in the technical work that made possible the issuance of a considerable amount of material. She has functioned until now without any other status than that of a volunteer assistant. I want to propose that she be designated as department secretary and that her duties be a continuation of the work she has carried out until now.

6. Educational Material on Hand:

|                                      | <u>Pages</u> | <u>Price</u> | <u>Issued</u> |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Role of the Party (B.C.S. #1)        | 32           | 10¢          | Nov.          |
| Role of the Trade Unions (N.C.S. #2) | 24           | 10¢          | Oct.          |
| The Russian Question (Documents)     | 35           | 25¢          | Feb.          |
| The Labor Party Question (" )        | 21           | 15¢          | April         |
| The Transitional Program (reprint)   | 15           | 10¢          | June          |
| What to Read                         | 5            | 5¢           | Oct.          |
| Reference Guide to Basic Documents   | 3            | --           | Dec.          |

7. Material in Preparation

ABC of Marxism - by Hal Draper  
 Study Outline for "Capital", Vol. I - by F. Forrest  
 Class Outline on "Plenty for All" - by E. Mason  
 Nature of the Russian State - by E. Erber  
 Historical Materialism (reading list)

8. Material Assigned

History of the CIO - by J. Johnson  
 WP and the National Question - by E. Erber  
 WP and the SWP - by R. Craine  
 Marxism and War - by B. Walker  
 WP and the Fight against Fascism - by Hal Draper  
 Study Outline on International Resolution of WP - by H. Judd  
 History and Background of Jewish Ques. - by E. Findley, A. Gordon, et al.  
 The WP and the Negro - by K. Leonard.

9. Material Planned

Questions and Additional Reading for "The Fight for Socialism"  
 Manual for Branch Educational Directors  
 "What to Study" (comprehensive list of Marxist and other works arranged in graded order and catalogued by subject, with brief description of each.)  
 American History (reading list)

10. Plans for the National Training School: As can be seen from the memorandum submitted to the PC on this question, the school is an exceedingly important and extensive undertaking for the party.



In view of the valid arguments produced by those who feel that the school would conflict with the other important projects slated for the end of the summer (putting over the 8-pager, election campaigns, etc.) and the reasonable doubts raised as to whether the indicated students could attend in view of their attendance at the convention, the postponement of the school until next Spring is clearly advisable. However, it must be emphasized that the postponement is not an indefinite one but specifically until Spring. As soon as feasible (depending upon the location of a place for the school) definite dates should be set. Other steps should be taken at once by the PC: (1) adoption of all plans except for place and dates, including curriculum and staff, (2) selection of tentative list of students.

I want to advance a word of caution on the curriculum. It is the result of considerable thought upon the question and the most realistic relationship of the problem to that of (a) the educational level in our party and in what specific regards it needs remedying and (b) just what can be achieved in a two week course. I urge upon the PC members a study of the curriculum as a whole from this point of view. All suggestions and proposals that emanate from such an approach can only contribute to an understanding of the tasks before the school. However, I shall be very much disappointed in proposals that emanate from pet theories on training schools that proceed without regard to time or place. The problem must not be approached from the point of view of some favorite subject someone may want to see included (or some "traditional" subject) but rather from the specific educational needs of our party in this period.

I would also like to give my hearty endorsement to the proposals of Comrade McKinney that the instructors begin work immediately on their material and prepare outlines that will be available to the entire party next winter as part of the general education of the membership and, more specifically, as part of the intensive preparation of the students. This project also requires the definitive action of the PC on the plans for the school within the next few weeks.

Fraternally submitted,

Ernest Erbor  
National Educational Director

June 25, 1946

(Adopted by Political Committee  
on July 12, 1946.)

## IS THE WEARINESS WORTHWHILE?

By Abe Victor

\* \* \*

There are three reactions to a projected subscription drive: agonized anticipation, weary application and the final sigh of relief. New York escaped none of these in its drive last spring and, as usual, added some embellishments to the usual attitudes which accompany an organized effort of this kind.

But the most important qualification, the one which is to some extent the reaction of every member, whether conscious and articulate or not, is that all this effort may not be of any value in the long run. Those who read faithfully through the long list of bulletins preceding the national convention will recall one article from Chicago which raises this question in a more or less sober manner. The New York sub drive is now three months in the past; perhaps we should look at it and estimate its worth.

New York members got almost 2200 subscriptions. This was the work of six branches, of which the Harlem branch was the most successful. To the 450 subs acquired by Harlem can be matched the 373 and 341 of the two Brooklyn branches, the 285 of Yorkville, the 278 of Chelsea and the 207 of Queens. These figures convey the real relation of achievement.

The variation in figures is not due to effort but to the receptivity of certain neighborhoods to the paper.

Five of the six branches each had a housing project, which was part of the neighborhood in which it solicited subscriptions. Not all the housing projects were equally good. The Queens branch, for example, worked in a project in which the progress was extremely discouraging. On the whole, however, the projects seem to be "made" for this kind of activity. The physical requirements are at a minimum: elevators make climbing less necessary (they do not eliminate climbing entirely, of course), there are four to six families on a floor, and five to fifteen floors to a building, and the buildings are close together. But no New York branch got its subscriptions entirely or even largely in the housing projects. There were many weeks of work in ordinary two, three and up to eight family houses.

The emphasis, of course, was on achieving large sales. But this did not have too much of an inhibiting effect on political discussions. Comrades discussed, contacted and returned to the better subscribers. In fact, as a result of the drive, in two housing projects small classes of new subscribers were established and during the month of July we plucked the first fruits of these classes in the form of several recruits for those branches which had done rather well in their subscription and in their follow-up activity.

But we did not at any time have the notion that we would cover each and every subscriber as we would any potential contact. We have spent the weeks since the convention covering only the better ones, trying to consolidate political sympathy, to recruit, to in-

tegrate, all in preparation for the most difficult job which New York faces - the job of involving our two thousand new LABOR ACTION subscribers in the election campaign.

And at this point the subscription drive proves its real value.. We have hundreds of names and addresses of LABOR ACTION readers who live in the heart of the 22nd and the 15th Congressional Districts where we are now attempting to run Max Shachtman and Ernest Rice McKinney for Congress. During the months when we have not been able to reach those workers personally, LABOR ACTION has maintained contact for us. By now, if they even glance at the front page they know that we are planning to nominate a Congressman from their district.

Eventually these hundreds of names will become the solid core for our election campaign mailing list. We will mail each one of them a petition or two and ask them to get their friends to sign. The branches will visit them to collect their petitions after a reasonable interval of time and to attempt to enlist their aid further in the election campaign. We will mail them small quantities of our printed election material, leaflets and pamphlets as they come off the press so that we know that a block of several hundred working-class voters will receive our material as soon as it is issued.

And immediately following the signature drive, we will go to work on renewals. We have from July 27th until September 2nd to collect our signatures on Independent Nominating Petitions. The bulk of our six-month subscriptions were gotten during the months of March and April. The first of these will begin to expire the first week in September. As soon as the nominating petitions are filed with the Board of Elections, the branches will go to those subscribers whose subs are about to expire. By that time they will have seen at least three issues of the eight-pager and we feel that we will be able to get a good percentage of them to subscribe at the new rates.

Now, actually, of course, every time one mails some printed agitation, it represents a big outlay of money for an organization as small as ours. Looking at the 25 cent subscription as a large outlay for a mailing, the cost becomes almost ridiculous when one compares the value of a paper received weekly to some small leaflet or announcement. And such a preparatory build-up is necessary to both projects: to the election signature drive and to the drive for permanent LABOR ACTION subscribers.

One fact must not be overlooked. The 2200 subscriptions are not all new readers of LABOR ACTION. During the drive a substantial number of renewals came in from the branches or directly from the subscribers, all of them credited to the quotas, of course. So that the impression that many comrades get that subs pass through our hands like water through a sieve: a thousand gotten and a thousand lost during the course of the next nine months, is not really correct.

Unfortunately, New York never kept a record of renewals separate from new subscribers. This should be remedied in the future. And the real token of a successful sifting of subscribers is the growth

of a group of permanent readers who renew their subscriptions regularly, who are interested in the Party's ideas and who follow the Party's activities. From these people something can be expected in the way of assistance and eventual membership for the Party.

PLANS FOR DISTRIBUTION OF THE EIGHT-PAGE LABOR ACTION

\* \* \*

July 14, 1946.

Susan Drake  
Business Manager

Dear Susan:

The Literature Committee has begun to make plans for selling the eight-pager. So far this is what we have decided to do:

1. Regular Sales at Newsstands. I have received a list of nine stands from some of the comrades. Today I am going to ask all those people in shops to scout around their factory locale and try to find bookstores and/or newsstands that might sell LABOR ACTION. If we think the stand might also take THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, we will place it on the stand too; but at the moment the NEW INTERNATIONAL will have to be a side issue as we have our hands full. There are one or two housing projects that we might try, but some of our comrades think it isn't feasible. We are going to all the old regular newsstands and expect all of them to take the paper. The week of July 21st we are going to visit every stand on our list with sample copies of LABOR ACTION. We are going to find out if we can build stands outside some of the factory gates or else make arrangements with the newsboys the same as we do with newsstands.

2. Regular Sales at Local Union Meetings. We are, so far as possible, going to have regular salesmen for each local meeting. That is beginning to be quite a headache. Too many of our comrades cannot sell the paper and we have to resort to the youth group.

3. Special and City-wide Meetings. We are going to sell at veterans' meetings, NAACP meetings, Zionist rallies, PAC, OPA rallies, etc.

Comrades are being assigned to notify the literature director of meetings with which they are connected.

We are going to try selling at union educationals held in the University, special cultural evenings at the Main Library and Art Institute lecture series.

Comradely yours,

Miriam Evans  
Literature Director  
Detroit Branch

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THE FACTS OF PARTY LIFE

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The Political Committee has directed the National Chairman, the National Secretary and the Director of Organization to issue this statement to the Party membership. By the instructions of that body, this statement is to provide all the vital facts regarding the cost of Party operations, Party income, estimates of cost of operation of the eight page LABOR ACTION, etc. The statement is to provide all the necessary background material on the basis of which each member of the Party will understand the reasons for the new dues system. In compliance with that decision, this report by Comrades Shachtman, McKinney and Gould is submitted. We request only that every member of the Party read this as carefully as the nature of the report and the seriousness of the present situation merit.

The authors of this statement have never made a survey of the comparative dues rates obtaining in various working class parties - past and present. From our recollections we can say, with a fair degree of certainty, that no working class organization has ever operated upon a dues schedule as high and as demanding of each member as that of the Workers Party during the war years and immediately thereafter. It is doubtful that any membership has contributed so generously and so loyally as has the membership of the Workers Party for the pursuance of the Party's "fight for Socialism." The Party dues schedule for the war years is the stiffest general dues plan any of us can recall.

The membership as a whole responded with characteristic loyalty to the heavy demands placed upon them by the Party, making unequalled personal sacrifices over a sustained period of time. Through the unstinting support of our membership (and no other organization can boast of a similar response), the Party and its press were maintained through the war years. Nothing but the sacrifices of our membership made the continued existence of the Party, during its most difficult period of existence, possible.

During the war, the rate of employment among Party members was high and wages were relatively good. In consequence, dues payment, the sole source of Party income during the war, was high enough to cover, by and large, the operating costs of the press and organization. In addition, the Party managed to put aside a small reserve fund to help carry us for a limited period of hard times.

The old dues system, although nominally in effect until June 1, 1946, had actually collapsed by October-November, 1945. Lay-offs followed immediately upon the heels of V-J Day, affecting a sizable portion of the Party members. Those who had managed to retain their jobs experienced sharp reductions in take-home pay. By January of 1936, income to the Party from dues was just under \$1,000 per month while cost of output of LABOR ACTION alone exceeded \$1500 per month, and the Party budget called for from \$3,000 to \$3,500 per month. THESE ARE FACTS.

The decline in income was accompanied by an absolute increase in the expenditures of the Party, locally and nationally. Locally,

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branches which had operated during the war years without headquarters seized upon the opportunity to establish local headquarters, marking an important and necessary step forward for the Party as a whole. Several branches increased local expenses by adding full-time organizers, a policy encouraged by the National Organization. These additions to the expenses of the locals were, however, made without in any way compensating for the declining rate of income from dues or a reorganization of finances to meet the rising costs of organization. Beginning in December of 1945, branches, overcome by added expenses and diminishing incomes and, finding all the income from dues of the branch (not to speak of the 10% to 20% of total dues allotted by the old system) inadequate to meet the local budgets, arbitrarily allocated all sums from dues to the branch without regard for the national press, magazine and organization. In February of 1946, the Party income in dues reached an all time low - just under \$800 per month.

While income declined and expenses rose in the locals, the national expenses did not remain at par but followed, rather, proportionately the trend of the locals. The January Plenum of the Party directed the expansion of the machinery of the Party in preparation for a general reorganization and expansion of the Party, culminating in the establishment of an eight-page LABOR ACTION. The already critical financial condition of the organization was gravely accentuated by the expansion of the Party and further exacerbated by a new development in the branches, whose income to the National Office had been cut sharply and almost 50% of which had ceased sending any money, retaining the same for local expenses. Upon inquiry, we learned that most of the branches financing full time organizers found themselves unable to pay the organizers' expenses regularly and had accumulated debts to the organizers. The National Office, to assure the continuation of the functioning of the full time organizers in those branches which had taken the step, assumed responsibility for the payment of the organizers' expenses for a given period until the finances of the organization could be reorganized. Branch organizers were then carried on the national expense accounts and in some cases were repaid on their arrears owed them by the branches.

On examination of the records, we found that between October-November, 1945 and April 1, 1946, the average income to the Party had declined to just under \$1,000.00 per month while expenditures had risen to \$4,000, yielding a monthly deficit of approximately \$3,000.

From September, 1945, to April 1, 1946, the Party deficit mounted an impossible burden upon the organization. Two things saved LABOR ACTION, THE NEW INTERNATIONAL and the Party organization from a financial catastrophe:

1. In September, 1945, the Party membership had responded to a special appeal - the first in over four years - for a \$5,000 fund to be used to meet not all but just the more pressing of the Party debts. The membership, despite its heavy contributions weekly over a sustained period of time, answered this appeal with contributions totalling over \$5,500 in the one month drive. An account of the expenditures of this sum was issued by Comrade Bern. It will be recalled that the bulk of it was used to repay some of the debts, leav-

ing old accumulated debts, totalling another \$5,000, hanging.

2. This debt might have been partially paid out of the reserve fund that had been laid aside. But the Committee was under obligation to use this reserve specifically and exclusively for current bills which could not be otherwise met due to the wide deficiencies in income. This reserve fund was totally exhausted by March 15, 1946. If during the period January to March the Party did not make any headway in its payments on old debts, it at least managed, thanks to the reserve fund, to meet all current expenditures without accumulating new debts, except in wages to functionaries in the National Office (all field organizers were kept up to date).

Unfortunately, most of our old debts were with the printers, binders, engravers, etc., upon which the Party depends for publication of the paper. These declared that our credit was at an end and that future publication of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL and LABOR ACTION was possible only on a "cash and carry" basis.

The Party membership can never know how very close the Party came to the suspension of publication of LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL - to what would have been an incalculable blow to the Party. A majority of the branches, withholding money in the desperation of the local situation and making no organized efforts to raise the local income, had placed LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL in jeopardy.

The call for a \$15,000 fund for Party expansion was made and to it the membership by and large responded with its usual capacity for sacrifice for the needs of the Party. The call specifically stated that the \$15,000 could not cover the expenses of the expanded organization for more than three months and that the campaign was entirely subordinated to the problem of the stabilization of Party finances on a \$5,000 per month budget. The \$15,000 was to have been used for the purchase of new equipment for the eight-pager, for the organization of the National Convention, for equipment for the National Office, \$2,000.00 for organizational expenses, another \$2,000 for books and pamphlets, etc., etc. Elsewhere we will present an account of the expenditures of the \$15,000 fund money and the Party can see that we have, by and large, observed the pledges made. The Convention, for example, cost the national organization over \$2,000 in actual costs and an indeterminate sum in dues income sacrificed due to heavy attendance of members at the convention, i.e. due to the absence of many members from work over an extended period of time. Shop equipment for the eight-pager ran well into \$3,000; books and pamphlets another \$1,000 or more, office equipment and organization expenses (tours, refunds to branches in need, one mimeograph machine, one typewriter, branch organizers' expenses, etc.) almost \$2,000. Almost \$3,000 was used to cover current LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL expenses and another \$1,000 on a pressing bill to the printers who demanded payment on our arrears on the basis of the progress of the \$15,000 drive (as they saw it published in the paper). (A precise report on the fund drive and its expenditures is in the process of preparation now.)

In February, 1946, the National Committee took steps to salvage what it could of the old dues system, to reorganize finances in a manner consonant with the reorganization of the Party, to reintro-



duce some measure of order in the dues system, and to raise the income of the Party, nationally and locally.

The partial accomplishment of this task consumed a very large part of the energies of all three of the authors of this document, as well as of Comrade Garrett. After a staunch effort which met (and to some degree is still meeting) resistance of inertia and lethargy (accompanied by a failure to assess as of primary importance the task of stabilization of finances as a coordinated system, assuring the functioning of both local and national organization), the Political Committee succeeded in establishing some order out of the anarchy that had prevailed for over six months and which well nigh put us out of operation. The process was slow and the slowness deepened the hue of red in the Party ledgers. Nevertheless, we succeeded in raising the income of the Party. While average income from dues for January, February and March was \$1,000 per month, this income was increased to an average of almost \$1,900 per month for April, May and June (despite the loss of income due to the convention). And while this income in no way approaches the amount required, it has reduced our monthly deficit, bringing the Party a few steps closer to our objective of a balanced budget at \$5,000 monthly. Part of this plan requires, at a minimum, the increase in remittances from dues from the present level to \$2,700 per month.

This goal depends upon two steps: (1) the growth of Party membership, and (2) the most rigid enforcement of the new dues system.

How is this possible? The new dues system bases itself upon: (a) a reduced tax schedule (as compared with the previous one) for the individual Party member; (b) an increase in the total retained by the branches; and (c) the retention by the branches of all moneys (practically speaking) collected from sympathizers.

In referring to the reduction of the tax schedule for the individual member, we do not infer that the schedule is not steep. It is - it is very steep and places a terrible burden of continued sacrifice upon each Party member. But the financial picture will demonstrate that it is unavoidable at this time; that we cannot cut, beyond what we already have, the income tax schedule. It will demonstrate, in fact, that it is not merely necessary for each Party member to comply rigidly to the schedule, but that individual Party members, already paying the schedule, should consider seriously any and every possibility of increasing their pledges to the very limit of their capacities. And we do urge each member of the Party to do so. We ask that each Party member act now on this proposition. We ask that each Party member avoid as much as possible requests for exemptions from the schedule on the basis of personal needs (unless they be for urgent medical needs). We ask each Party member to examine seriously his personal budget and, where possible, increase his pledge to the Party above the tax schedule requirements, especially for the six month period ahead. Such increases will help the branches and the National Office to become solvent.

The reduction in the schedule is a very, very minor step in the direction which we must follow. As the Party becomes solvent, we must and will reduce further the tax schedule. But that must wait for at least another six months - at least that long.

The new tax schedule increases the allotment to the branches. Whereas previously branches with a full time organizer were permitted 20% of the total tax reduction (while at the same time responsible for paying the organizer's expenses), the new schedule calls for a 50% deduction of pledges only to branches with a full time organizer. Likewise branches with a headquarters are allotted 30% and those with neither a headquarters or an organizer, 20% (instead of the previous 10%). The income from dues is to be supplemented by the building of a local sustaining fund from among sympathizers - the branches to retain 100% of all moneys raised from sympathizers up to the first \$50 per month. We are aware that all of this is still inadequate to meet the needs of either the branches or the National Office. We declare that the allotments to the branches must be progressively increased. We hold this forth as an objective to drive for in the next period. We emphasize, however, that both projects (reducing of the tax schedule and increasing further allotment to the branches) can be systematically employed only if and as the Party progresses in stabilizing the national income at \$5,000 per month.

The Party member will ask: "But even if we raise our income from dues by approximately \$800 - \$1,000 to \$2,700 per month, how will we raise the remaining \$2,300 per month?" We must work toward increasing income to LABOR ACTION, THE NEW INTERNATIONAL and the book fund to that level:

First, by striving to make THE NEW INTERNATIONAL pay for itself. The present deficit of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL runs to between \$350 and \$400 per month. We can, in time, build circulation of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL to a point where the magazine will be self-sustaining.

Second, we have now in stock literally thousands of dollars worth of books, pamphlets and bound volumes. We can increase income from this source in time to where the book fund (Party pamphlets and books) is a profit-making institution. This is possible despite a better than modest program of pamphlet publications in the months ahead.

And third, we must build the circulation of LABOR ACTION through sales and subscriptions to a point where LABOR ACTION, while not sustaining itself, will be in a position to meet from one-third to one-half of its monthly budget. At present, income from LABOR ACTION is about \$50 per month. We can increase this, we believe, through the new system which goes into effect with the eight-pager to between \$600 and \$900 per month. The necessary steps are being taken to attain these objectives. It will take time - more time, and until this is accomplished, we must continue to rely primarily upon our income from dues.

These are the facts of Party life. That is why we request once more that the following steps be taken:

1. Branch organizers, in conjunction with the executive committees devote themselves to the task of increasing income in Party pledges and in building a substantial sustaining fund through sympathizers.

2. Each member reconsider his pledge to the Party and seek to

increase it.

3. Branch literature directors, together with executive committees, lay plans for the effective sales and subscription efforts for LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, and plan a concerted drive on sales of all literature.

4. Each branch, at the earliest possible moment, hold at least one social, the bulk of the proceeds to be used in payment of the branch debts locally and to the national organization.

5. All members who have failed to pay their pledges on the \$15,000 Fund Drive make good their pledges.

For the information of the Party membership, we submit the following provisional statement on the financial state of the organization from April 1 to July 17, 1946, inclusive. On his tour, Comrade Erber will be prepared to answer any questions the membership may have. The statement shows a total deficit of \$8,999.19 over the three and one-half month period covered.

APRIL 1946

| <u>Institution</u> | <u>Income</u>     | <u>Expenditures</u> | <u>Deficits</u> |
|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Workers Party      | \$1,796.68        | \$1,586.48          |                 |
| Labor Action       | 549.10            | 2,721.19            |                 |
| New International  | 240.46            | 405.22              |                 |
| Book Fund          | 129.12            | 563.80              |                 |
|                    | <u>\$2,715.36</u> | <u>\$5,276.69</u>   | \$2,561.33      |

MAY 1946

|                   |                   |                   |          |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------|
| Workers Party     | \$2,377.65        | \$3,053.93        |          |
| Labor Action      | 259.22            | 1,650.83          |          |
| New International | 87.30             | 508.86            |          |
| Book Fund         | 111.42            | 351.69            |          |
|                   | <u>\$2,835.59</u> | <u>\$5,565.31</u> | 2,729.72 |

JUNE 1946

|                   |                   |                   |          |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------|
| Workers Party     | \$1,365.61        | \$1,735.66        |          |
| Labor Action      | 20.10             | 1,896.82          |          |
| New International | 109.38            | 370.10            |          |
| Book Fund         | 144.40            | 74.20             |          |
|                   | <u>\$1,639.49</u> | <u>\$4,076.78</u> | 2,437.29 |

JULY 1-17 (INCLUSIVE) 1946

|                   |                   |                   |          |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------|
| Workers Party     | \$ 974.72         | \$ 920.50         |          |
| Labor Action      | 53.38             | 900.36            |          |
| New International | 40.65             | 487.22            |          |
| Book Fund         | 36.48             | 86.00             |          |
|                   | <u>\$1,105.23</u> | <u>\$2,376.08</u> | 1,270.85 |

RECAPITULATION

| <u>Institution</u> | <u>Income</u>     | <u>Expenditures</u> | <u>Total Deficit</u> |
|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Workers Party      | \$6,514.66        | \$7,278.57          | \$ 763.91            |
| Labor Action       | 881.80            | 7,169.20            | 6,287.40             |
| New International  | 477.79            | 1,771.40            | 1,293.61             |
| Book Fund          | 421.42            | 1,075.69            | 654.27               |
|                    | <u>\$8,295.67</u> | <u>\$17,294.86</u>  | <u>\$8,999.19</u>    |

FUTURE PARTY MONTHLY BUDGET AND ESTIMATED COSTS  
OF 8-PAGE LABOR ACTION

| <u>Institution</u> | <u>Present Average<br/>Monthly Expenditures</u> | <u>August Estimate</u> |
|--------------------|---|------------------------|
| Workers Party      | \$1,740.53                                      | \$1,376.50             |
| Labor Action       | 1,797.50  | (8-pager).... 2,557.13 |
| New International  | 491.24  | 500.00                 |
| Book Fund          | 343.10  | 450.00                 |
|                    | <u>\$4,372.37</u>                               | <u>\$4,883.63</u>      |

It is evident from this that the Party cannot temporize; that the Party in every branch and department must come to grips with the problem. Everywhere emergency measures must be taken to increase the income on the basis of the new dues system; the new techniques of distribution of LABOR ACTION, etc.

Party reorganization is moving ahead at the scheduled rate of speed. We are confident, overcoming the financial stranglehold which now grips the Party, that the Party can make the general advance it has already embarked upon. We can move forward with gratifying results. These are the facts of Party life - or retrenchment.

MAX SHACHTMAN  
National Chairman

ERNEST R. MCKINNEY  
National Secretary

NATHAN GOULD  
Director of Organization