

(FOR MEMBERS ONLY)

Party

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Builder

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OF THE WORKERS PARTY

N O T E S

In accordance with the desire of the National Committee to make available to all comrades the reports and decisions of the Plenum held November, 1946, there are published herein Comrade Gould's "Report on the State of the Party" and Comrade Garrett's "International Report" which were approved by the Plenum. Because of the paper shortage and the volume of material presented, the supplementary reports referred to in Comrade Gould's report are being sent to each branch of the Party in duplicate so that they may be circulated amongst the comrades in the branches.

The Plenum resolutions on the November Elections and the Anti-Stalinist Drive in the Unions have been published in the December 2, 1946 issue of LABOR ACTION. "On the Letter of the I.K.D. to the Convention of the Workers Party - Notes for a Restatement of Our Position," adopted by the Plenum, will appear in the next issue of the PARTY BULLETIN (Vol. I - No. 21).

The next regular issue of the PARTY BUILDER (Vol. I - No. 6) will be dated December 24, 1946.

- Editor.

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NOTE RE: REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE PARTY

"Recruits" set forth in schedule on page 14 of this issue of the PARTY BUILDER are exclusive of the comrades of the SWP Minority who joined our Party together with Comrade Albert Goldman.

- N. Gould.

REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE PARTY

By Nathan Gould

* * *

A meaningful appraisal of the "State of the Party" today cannot be a judgment of what, abstractly speaking, the Party SHOULD be. In the concrete, the Party can be only what its internal limitations will ALLOW it to be. What the Party is today is proscribed by what it was yesterday. The span of progress or retrogression of an organization is the measure between the brackets of what it had been yesterday and what it is today. In this instance "yesterday" refers to the period from January to June 1946. While it is not within the province of this report to treat with the causes, it is incumbent upon us to recapitulate the state in which the Party found itself in the pre-convention period. If this is the only criterion by which we can judge our present (comparative) state, it is also the chief instrument through which the policy, perspectives and work of the party can be subjected to critical examination.

The Party in the Pre-convention Period

The Party, prior to the National Convention, was in an acute state of disorganization. There is no other way to characterize its organizational looseness and sluggishness, its perspectiveless resignation. The atmosphere of informality of work habits of branches and center alike (a variety of "routinism" without routine), coupled with an established decentralization, exacerbated the "aimlessness" of direction which pervaded the Party.

The Party was drifting. Not politically, to be sure. Politically the Party continued the advance initiated coincident with the formation of the WP in 1940, and accelerated during the war particularly in the struggles around the "Russian" and the "National" questions and in the fight for unity. This strength in political superiority was further demonstrated in the enunciation of our "domestic" program, codified in "The Resolution on the United States." It is the traditional anachronism of our party that our political strength is in inverse proportion to our organizational weakness. This was clearly demonstrated at our national convention which displayed a gratifying capacity in dealing with all political questions and a casual interest in the organizational problems. It is this dichotomy which, in fact, severely limits the exploitation of the advantages inherent in our superior politics and which reduces the effectiveness of our efforts in the political sphere.

The national convention seated delegates from branches in 12 localities. The Reading branch had been disbanded as a regular branch of the Party (April 1946); the Buffalo branch was in a state of collapse (January - May 1946); Cleveland was a borderline branch tenaciously hanging on by a hair; Philadelphia battled for a degree of stability in an atmosphere of a seemingly unending series of local crises, the most severe of which threatened defections to the SWP (April 1946); Akron and San Francisco were extremely weak; the Chicago branch, though not in any serious condition, was nevertheless weak and stagnating; Detroit was listed as among the better branches although it too, suffering losses among recruits, began to reveal visible signs of stagnation and dis-

satisfaction; the branches in Southern California (Los Angeles and San Pedro) were in extremely serious condition, the branches meeting twice monthly and the membership showing signs of depression if not of organizational disarray; the branch in Louisville, though small, was closely knit and stable, however, it conducted virtually no purposeful activity other than internal education. Public activity of any kind was almost nowhere in evidence. The New York party had undergone a reorganization in February and was showing slow but very definite progress in the stabilization of several of its branches without resolving the problems obtaining from a membership overwhelmingly unindustrialized and erratic in activity. Only two branches in the party were progressing satisfactorily: the newly formed Newark branch and the small but active branch in Seattle. This was the state of the branches in the pre-convention period. The total picture was one in which disintegrative tendencies were, if not conspicuous, beyond the stage of incubation.

The branches, though straining to the effort, limped aimlessly, their condition aggravated by the absence of or the grave inadequacy of a central directing and coordinating link. The fund and sub drives represented the sole activities in which the Party had been engaged in a national effort.

The draft, especially in the latter years of the war, had depleted many of the branches of their most qualified cadres. Nor was the national leadership of the Party spared. At one stage of the war all of the numerous tasks of direction of the center devolved upon three of the originally selected members of the National Committee: Shachtman, McKinney and Gates. That our organization reported itself as a revolutionary Socialist party should in the course of an imperialist war was to have been expected. But that the Party sustained itself as an organization, despite the "loss" of a high proportion of its leading cadres, is a tribute to the caliber, the training and the tenacity of the Party. Nonetheless, the drain upon our first and second line cadres - more costly because of the youthfulness of the Party - the unremitting strain on the comrades who remained to carry forward the work, the effort to compensate for the losses by distributing greater burdens of the work of leadership amongst a willing but a largely inexperienced membership, taxed the Party to the hilt and had a cumulative effect.

To the overworked membership the declaration of the end of the war was a signal for a respite in the strain. The Party relaxed. The prevailing mood was aptly summarized by one comrade who said: "We've passed the hump. Now that the war is over, we can relax. We will wait for the boys to return, then the situation in the Party will improve." The period of relaxation and waiting stretched over many, many months. Problems of reconversion, adjustments, an "unanticipated" slow tempo of demobilization, contrived to aggravate further a condition in the Party which had been already regarded as serious, by both the leadership and the membership alike. As the period of "waiting" dragged on, the party was thrown completely off its apparently fragile organizational hinges.

The sorely understaffed center was a mere skeleton, and an incomplete one at that. This centralizing and coordinating agency was a center in name only. Contact with the branches in any active

sense (correspondence, directives, etc.) was all but completely non-existent. The branches, unaided and left to their own resources, placed little or no reliance upon the center as a source of organizational guidance or aid. The inattentions of the center encompassed problems on the organizational and administrative level and to a somewhat lesser but yet serious degree, problems on the political level posed by branches and center alike. It is natural that decentralizing tendencies, cultured in the soil of this general neglect, should flourish. Not a "decentralization" (read: local initiative) stemming from the self-confidence and alertness and initiative of a high-spirited local, which must be encouraged. Ours was a well known variety which passes under the misnomer of "initiative and responsibility by default." It is an "initiative" of exasperation flowing from a declining confidence in the Party and in its leadership.

The inability of the center to direct proper attention to branch problems and to pressing problems of organization and administration on a National Office level was reflected in the life of each branch. Relying solely - for all practical purposes - upon their own limited organizational (and often political) resources, the branches tended to become separate entities, united by the program carried in LABOR ACTION, but linked to the center and through it to one another only in a tenuous, formal sense. The political tie was strong, even vigorous. The organizational abutments were lacking. The "decentralization" process reflected itself in a virtual cessation of correspondence; where branches still kept minutes, they neglected to forward copies to the National Office; reports were not invited and none were given; payment of dues by a membership that had made records of financial sacrifices during the war, declined sharply, and the number of branches which still remitted dues payments to the National Office grew fewer by the month.

Without an apparatus, the center itself had no routine. There was no one who could report the membership figures of the Party. There were, in fact, branches of the Party which were unable to provide accurate figures as to their own unit membership. If contact with the branches was largely nominal, relations with most of the fraternal branches and with members at large had ceased to exist. In the absence of any financial or budgetary policy and in the absence of any effort to conduct even "pragmatic financing," the Party deficit mounted. Publication of LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, the chief function of the center, became, as a matter of necessity, its sole function. Without personnel there can be no departments, and without departments there can be no departmentalization or rational division of work. Lacking these, any prescribed delineation of function is an a priori invitation to violate the demarcating lines of departmentalization. Party organization, normally regarded as the orphaned child of the Party was at its lowest; i.e., it had sunk to a par with Party administration. There were no records of recruitment, of turnover in membership; no files or records in any active state of use. Both the branches and the center were on the financial rocks and were vying with one another for the frugal revenue in dues. The headquarters on 14th Street, shy of equipment, space or simple attractiveness, was not only not an incentive to work, but very often a barrier. Morale was low. Everywhere the comrades faced the braggadocio and inflated reports of the SWP, our chief competitor among the radical workers, with a defensive and apologetic modesty.

If the center was without a headquarters worthy of the name, the branches were in no better condition. Only Detroit and Newark possessed headquarters which conformed with the elemental requirements of a workers center - and Buffalo. But Buffalo, on the verge of demise, had no use for the headquarters and was negotiating the sale of furniture, preparatory to abandoning its center. Philadelphia had a small and unattractive headquarters. New York Local had an inadequate office in the crowded National Office, and a meeting hall in Brooklyn. Los Angeles and Chicago had offices.

Clearly then, what was called for in this situation was not merely a strengthening of the Party. The situation demanded a complete overhauling, a major reorganization and rearming of the Party - from top to bottom, from stem to stern.

The January 1946 plenum did, in fact, move to meet the situation. Anticipating (when it was apparent that unity negotiations with the SWP had been cynically blocked by the SWP leadership) the adherence of the SWP minority, and the return of the bulk of the cadres, the plenum projected plans in preparation for "a forced march." The staff at the center was enlarged from 7 to 10 functionaries. Comrade Fenwick was dispatched to Philadelphia, Victor added as assistant organizer in New York and Berg as part time organizer in Newark, which increased the staff of field organizers from 4 to 6 full time and one part time. Comrade Barsh was charged with the administration of the office and proceeded at once to reorganize the administrative work. The LABOR ACTION subscription drive directed by Comrade Craine, oversubscribed its 5,000 sub quota. The \$15,000 fund drive was concluded successfully. Organization tours were conducted by Comrades McKinney and Gould, covering all branches east of the Mississippi. O'Connor conducted a speaking tour from San Francisco to New York (touching key points). Shachtman on two occasions covered several cities between New York and Chicago in speaking engagements. May Day was celebrated with a special number of LABOR ACTION and simultaneous meetings with national speakers in all cities where branches of the Party existed. Department heads, relieved somewhat by the addition of forces of some of their variety of responsibilities, were able thereby to begin to organize or step up the pace of work of their departments. This was notably true of the Educational Department and International correspondence.

These were the elemental steps required to strengthen and tighten the muscles for the forced march. The effort was great-- but the process exceedingly slow. The laws of inertia are inviolate. The wheels of the organization, impeded by disorganization and lethargy, turned laboriously. Techniques of functioning, improvised during the war as emergency or substitute measures, had now become the accepted normal mode. These, added to the sluggishness, decentralizing tendencies and the temperament of resignation that pervaded the Party, the financial breakdown, the "routinism without routine," gutted the gears. It was evident that the laborious process of reorganization of the Party was possible of achievement only as a concomitant to a painstaking re-education of the Party in "new" techniques of functioning. As we regarded time as being of the essence, the two-fold effort was conducted simultaneously. Expectations were not for a spring-board advance in this period. We aimed only to erect the spring-board, temper the wood, and to HOLD OUR OWN, to stalemate dis-

tegrative tendencies until the board and the Party were ready. By the time the national convention convened, some seeds of optimism were in evidence. But the "optimism" was one of expectation.

By the time the convention convened, almost all of the cadres were back in the Party. An exceptionally satisfactory convention stimulated the delegates and the Party. The adherence at the convention of the SWP minority added trained and qualified cadres to our Party, primarily in Chicago. But this addition in forces, so important and valuable to the Party in itself, is far overshadowed in importance by the tremendous political significance in the movement of the best section of the official Trotskyist movement in America to the WP. The decision of the Minority following the failure of our joint effort to attain the unity of the Trotskyist movement in this country pointed to the WP as the party of revolutionary socialist vitality. It reinforced our position among Trotskyist sympathizers and militant workers in America and enormously enhanced our position and prestige and our growing influence in the International. It registered as an incontestable fact that the trend in the Fourth International is toward the politics of the WP vis-a-vis the bankrupt sterility of the SWP. If the full magnitude of this adherence is not yet fully appreciated by the party-and it is not- it is primarily because the Party is not yet in a position to appreciate it. Organizational weakness reduces the effectiveness of political effort and dulls the senses of appreciation of political achievements.

The Program of Action, by the very tasks which it set, inferred the picture of the state of the Party at the time of the fourth national convention. It is indicative that the Program of Action combines a set of very limited objectives with an elementary "manual" of Party organization and administration.

Upon the groundwork laid in the months prior to the convention, the national center moved at accelerated pace in the drive to reorganize the Party. I cite as symptomatic of the changed state of affairs two incidents: (1) the Political Committee proceeded at once to systematically act upon all matters referred to it by the convention; and (2) a full and unabridged set of convention minutes (approximately 75 mimeographed pages) were issued and sent to the branches in what is probably record time in the history of the American Trotskyist movement.

A series of measures were instituted designed to tighten the organization, to give it form, to provide a common pattern of functioning administration and organization. We list the more important:

1. The registration of the membership provided us with the first inkling of membership strength and gave us some insight into the kind of membership we have. It encouraged, at least in such cities where the registration had been completed (the registrations were only about two-third complete), a sloughing off of people who were being carried on the books out of sheer inertia of the branches or at best, through extremely liberal tolerance of membership qualification. It was the first registration of the Party in six years.

2. To simplify and to formalize the keeping of branch minutes,

and to assure the regularity of preparation, a "minute form" was issued. This form is prepared so that a record of vital information of branch activity and life is assured and such information is accessible to the National Office, the branch organizer and the membership. From an examination of a consecutive series of these forms a reasonably accurate chart of the life and activity of a branch may be drawn.

3. Membership application and removal forms were issued providing a record of recruitment and turnover in the Party.

4. A new dues system was instituted, together with a budgetary plan, which, while reducing the income tax of the individual members, raised the income of both the National Office and the branches POINTING to a stabilization of finances. (Separate report on finances.) A new weekly collection report conforming with the new dues system was issued.

5. In accordance with a convention resolution favorably recommended to the National Committee, we introduced a uniform bookkeeping system and issued a financial secretary kit.

6. Organized, reorganized or established - as required - records, files, books, and systematized their usage.

7. Established the "Organizational Directive" as a regular institution of the Party.

8. Established the "Weekly (information) Letter" as a regular institution, as a means of keeping branches informed of Political Committee decisions.

9. Reestablished active correspondence with the branches (regular and fraternal) and took steps to renew contact with the "members at large."

10. Provided the publications department with a director, one full-time and one part-time assistant, and reorganized the Publications Department establishing it as a separate institution.

11. Established a "Publications Directive" as a regular institution of the Party.

12. Although work on the revised edition of "Plenty for All" and "The Fight for Socialism" had been started many months before, and its major work under the direction of Comrade Craine, completed prior to the convention, these publications - together with the 1945 bound volumes of the NEW INTERNATIONAL - were delivered shortly after the convention so that its advantages contributed measurably to the post convention efforts.

13. A manual for educational directors, as a guide for educational work in the branches, was issued by the National Educational Department.

14. The PARTY BUILDER, a discussion bulletin on questions of Party organization was established as a regular monthly institution.

15. The PARTY BULLETIN was established as a regular monthly

discussion bulletin.

Stimulated by the efforts of the preconvention period, by the convention itself and by the measures listed above, the branches responded -- and were, in fact, already engaged in their own reorganization. Southern California held a city convention; Akron, Philadelphia and Seattle (at least these) initiated programs of local consolidation. The Party organization was beginning to assume some form. The convention ended on June 1; the last of the delegates reached their branches by July 1; by mid-July, a comprehensive program of action was in the hands of branch organizers. A series of directives preceding the Program of Action, anticipated that Program in several important phases (prices, housing, consolidation, etc.). The resolution to hasten the reorganization at through the traditional obstacle of the summer months.

The Program of Action

The Program of Action covered a period from August 1 to November 15. It directed the development of a political campaign around the issues of "prices" and "housing" and outlined a set of organizational perspectives under two principle categories: "Recruitment and Industrialization" and "Consolidation and Expansion." Many sections of the "Program of Action" were merely a codification of plans already placed in operation through a series of organizational directives issued immediately after the convention and in one notable instance (Detroit) through local initiative (prices, housing, consolidation, etc.). The Program itself while setting a series of limited objectives, followed the pattern of a manual of organization indicated by the need for re-education of the Party. The material which follows is in the nature of a report of the Party's activities around the Program of Action.

The 8 Page Labor Action (Program of Action - Section III, Subsection 1)

The greatest, the most significant single attainment of the Party in the post convention period is the expansion of LABOR ACTION from a four to an eight page weekly. So important was this advance that we feel justified in saying that if the party had accomplished nothing else in this period, the 8-pager in and of itself represents a substantial forward step by the Party. But, in truth, the very expansion to an eight page weekly testifies to the reinforced strength of the Party and in turn strengthens it. It was not possible to have conceived of an 8 page paper one year ago; it would not have been possible to establish it six months ago; but an 8 page weekly was established 3 months ago. It is in this respect that we regard this achievement as a barometer of the general advance of the Party.

The editorial and textual superiority of the 8-pager, the improvement along the line from make-up to style, from content to coverage, is apparent to every reader. The innovation of the Magazine Section has, we believe, conformed with its prescribed function; implementing the Party's task in Socialist education, not alone of militant workers who read LABOR ACTION but of Party members as well. The Magazine Section, far from over-lapping and substituting for the NEW INTERNATIONAL as some comrades feared,

has enabled LABOR ACTION to dovetail with the NEW INTERNATIONAL. The measurable strides made by the Party in the Fourth Internationalist movement abroad may be attributed in good measure to the mutual supplementation of LABOR ACTION and THE NEW INTERNATIONAL, made possible only by an 8 page paper.

It is pointless to belabor the significance of the advance. If any doubts existed as to the merit of an 8 page paper before its issuance, the appearance of 16 consecutive issues must surely have dissipated them.

The appearance of 16 consecutive issues of the 8 pager is not, however, to say that its maintenance is permanently assured. Its maintenance can be definitely assured only when the Party attains a balanced budget; then and only then. So long as the Party financial statements are written in red ink, so long will the existence of the 8 pager be tenuous. At the same time, it is necessary to bear in mind, that the development of the promotional work of the 8 pager is an important peg on which the Party income can advance toward a balanced budget.

The Program of Action placed heavy stress upon the necessity for developing the promotional work of the paper. Emphasis was placed upon sales at factory gates, especially points of concentration, at union and public meetings and demonstrations, at veterans meetings, in contact work, etc. The program emphasized the need for soliciting new subscriptions and obtaining renewals on old subscriptions.

Progress along these lines worthy of acknowledgment is evident in at least half the Party branches, notably in Chicago. But it is in this field that the old habits of sluggishness reveal themselves as costly handicaps. For five years LABOR ACTION circulation was a simple problem of free distribution. This technique of circulation is one of the expedients referred to above as a war-time improvisation. Thousands of copies were disposed of - often indiscriminately - and with little effort. The temporary emergency technique was readily adopted as the normal and then as the exclusive technique. The leadership of the Party displayed its own symptoms of the malady of sluggishness in failing to revert to the usual means of distribution at any time between the early part of 1945 and August 1946.

If we detail this example of sluggishness it is merely to avoid repetitive examples and definitions in other instances which will be cited. The shift to the sales technique of circulation of LABOR ACTION is being victimized by the inability of the Party to move swiftly, to make adjustments and changes, to overcome traditional habits. The return to the normal method of circulation met a passive resistance in many quarters of the Party, a resistance which to this day has by no means been overcome. It was sharpened by the record of regularity of the appearance of the paper which gave the Party a false sense of security about LABOR ACTION. Its weekly appearance was taken for granted. The new promotional methods entailed again a reeducation of the Party. Again we witness the painstaking process. The gains made by Chicago, San Francisco, etc. in making the turn were weighed down by the failure of New York, among others, to make the turn, to devise and then to exploit the new techniques. At the inception of the 8 pager, i.e. at a crucial period in the

life of LABOR ACTION, New York failed to properly integrate the sales and promotion of the paper with their election campaign. The Party as a whole showed no energy in the organization of sales and subscription efforts. This is not to say that there was a total neglect. Every branch did in fact direct some energies in the field. LABOR ACTION began to appear on newsstands in many sections of New York and in almost all other cities where we have branches. But again and again, the process was laborious, fragmentary, inadequate; that is, proper importance was not allotted to circulation; that is to say, the field was not and has not been systematically exploited. It is only today - 3-1/2 months after the appearance of the 8-pager - that all the locals of the Party just begin to show signs of organized promotional activities.

Almost all of the subscriptions obtained in the three month drive (February, March, April) have now expired. Renewals have come in at a rate of about 10% (which is regarded as fair by standards of comrades familiar with the field). About 5% of the renewals are unsolicited. A letter sent to 500 subscribers of LABOR ACTION, selected at random, appealing for contributions and for a sustaining fund, netted us \$25.00 in contributions and \$51 in monthly pledges. Income to LABOR ACTION has increased from an average of less than \$50 per month to over \$350 per month (subs and sales).

Circulation of LABOR ACTION stands at 4,966 per week:
Weekly bundle orders - 2,249; subscribers - 2,717.

The following is a table of circulation of the paper (November 5, 1946):

	<u>Bundle</u>	<u>Subs</u>	<u>Renewals</u>	<u>New Subs</u>		
				<u>Aug.</u>	<u>Sept.</u>	<u>Oct.</u>
New York City	350	468	158	25	44	36
Newsstands	30					
Philadelphia	40	105	33	7	13	26
Newark	40	183	87	7	24	16
Reading	15	33	18	0	4	6
Mixed Pennsylvania		36	13			
Baltimore	30	17	3	1	0	1
Buffalo	40	83	19	4	8	0
Louisville	10	7	3	1	0	1
Akron	40	68	21	12	8	2
Lic.	10					
Cleveland	40	74	35	10	10	9
Mixed Ohio		25	6			
Youngstown	5	4	0			
Detroit	100	150	48	12	15	14
Chicago	150	187	56	12	39	41
Newsstands	15					
Missouri, St. Louis	15	40	10	0	3	2
South East	254					
Streator		25	13	1	3	4
San Pedro)	35			0	2	6
Los Angeles)	100	161	57	1	15	3
San Francisco	125	138	49	7	25	15
Seattle	25	97	15	2	10	3
Boston	5	67	3	14	2	15

	<u>Bundle</u>	<u>Subs</u>	<u>Renewals</u>	<u>New Subs</u>		
				<u>Aug.</u>	<u>Sept.</u>	<u>Oct.</u>
Minnesota	50	38	15	0	3	2
Oregon	5	28	4	0	0	5
West Va.		41		17	2	2
Mixed States	10	92	19	3	17	13
Foreign	230	350				
Misc. bundles & subs	<u>500</u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
	2249	2717	692*	136	247	221

(* Of 7,000 subs in files at end of sub drive, there were 692 renewals. Of the 692 renewals, approximately 300 were without solicitation.)

The Party membership has given evidence that it will "give the shirt off its back" to keep the 8 pager. The key to the assurance of the continued existence of the 8 pager and of its proper exploitation as an instrument of Socialist education and organization is the systematic, highly intensified development of promotional activities by every branch and by every member of the Party. LABOR ACTION, its circulation an activity in its own right, must become the fulcrum of all phases of all Party activity.

Establishment of a Publications Department (Program of Action - Section III - G.)

The Program of Action called for the establishment of a "Publications Department with a staff of two full time functionaries in charge of promotion and circulation of LABOR ACTION and NEW INTERNATIONAL; and one part time functionary in charge of the Book Service." This has been accomplished and the reorganized publications office, departmentalized.

The promotional campaign for the sale of "The Fight for Socialism" and "Plenty for All" was late in getting under way and has never really been properly organized or pursued with any vitality.

Consolidation of the Branches (Program of Action - Section III-A.)

Recruitment (Section II-A)

The extent of success (or failure) of the varied activities envisaged in the Program of Action was largely contingent upon the degree of success of the plan for the consolidation of the Party and its branches. Some of the measures taken to realize this plan are outlined in the preceding pages. Others will be outlined in almost every section following: Colonization, Industrialization; New Headquarters; etc.

Consolidation and expansion, as we pointed out previously, were not consecutive but a concurrent process. The appended reports of the local organizers will provide additional detail as to the implementation of the consolidation plan as it applied to the individual branches. Suffice it to say that by and large the plan of consolidation was carried through with a very high measure of success. This is adequately demonstrated in the reports of the branch organizers, is reflected

in the increased efficiency in the functioning of the center and the branches, is confirmed by the abundant and detailed correspondence from the branches, is revealed in the marked rise in morale and in the confidence in the Party and is testified to by "eye-witness" reports from touring representatives of the National Office (Erber, Barsh). Comrade Erber, returning from a national tour (August 15 to September 15), covering all branches east of the Mississippi, evaluated the effects of the consolidation in terms of an "encouraging transformation of the Party; a prevalent mood of optimism." Erber named Detroit as the exception to the rule: "Detroit is, in my opinion, the weak spot in the Party now." Comrade Barsh, reporting to the Political Committee in October the observations made on her visits to Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Detroit and Buffalo, concurred in the general picture reported by Comrade Erber. It was evident by October, 1946, that the Party had truly experienced a transformation. There were and are, to be sure, branches which still require strengthening, but even these have shown vast improvement and have shared in the qualitative transformation of the Party.

This qualitative transformation is expressed in tangible terms by the coordination of work, activity, some recruitment, functioning executive committees and branches, etc. and intangibly by a growing confidence and morale. It is graphically summarized in this factual relation: If in January-March 1946 all but 2 (or at best 3) branches were in varying conditions ranging from a state of protracted stagnation and concomitant diffidence to a state bordering upon disintegration, today all but 3 are in a healthy state. The exceptions are: San Pedro which, for reasons largely due to local industrial conditions, never emerged from the critical state in which it found itself in mid-1945. The San Pedro branch (10 members) voted to disband and merge with the Los Angeles branch. The National Office has requested the branch to reconsider its decision. We feel that despite apparent weaknesses, the branch can effect reorganization and stability. Los Angeles, although improved over its January condition, is still in need of major assistance. And Detroit is considered a "weak spot" given internal difficulties flowing from a failure to integrate new members, i.e., the heavy loss of new members around January, February, 1946. It is to be noted, however, that none of these branches, save for San Pedro, are considered as being in an alarming state or anything resembling it. Neither Los Angeles nor Detroit are in any danger of disintegration or anything approximating that. They are considered weak spots only in terms of the general strengthening of the Party. Los Angeles has, in fact, shown improvement, but we still list it as a "weak spot." And the characterization of Detroit (28 members) as a "weak spot" is made only relative to what has been put into Detroit and relative to the importance of Detroit in our scheme of Party anchors. The position of Los Angeles is likewise regarded from the point of view of its importance.

Akron and Cleveland have both experienced perceptible improvement, the latter more so than the former but only in the sense in which Cleveland was one of the branches on their "last legs," i.e., there was more room for improvement. Both branches, though improved and reasonably solid, can use assistance, es-

pecially in terms of a full time organizer for Ohio. Louisville, which has "lost" members to other branches, has none-the-less undergone some qualitative improvement in terms of activity (public) and in primary steps toward industrialization. Comrade Clancy was brought to New York for two months for training and has now returned to Louisville. We are confident that this "venture" will bear fruitful results. The newly formed Reading branch is solid and in terms of social composition among the best in the Party. That branch requires the assistance of some colonization, primarily for educational work.

Local New York, which went through a series of reorganizations, partly dictated by the drain on active cadres for colonization, partly due to the rootlessness of branches, has sought for one and one-half years to establish roots for its branches. This appears to have been moderately achieved after what we consider to have been a somewhat too prolonged period of reorganization and consolidation. The development of a trained cadre of Negro comrades in New York party is an achievement of national importance. For the first time in the history of the party, the Harlem branch is being directed and led by a cadre of qualified Negro comrades, rather than by importees into the district. The election campaign in Brownsville rooted that branch in the neighborhood. Brooklyn Downtown has made very gratifying headway in work in a housing project and have succeeded in recruiting 4 members from the project. The branch continues to conduct a class in the project. The Manhattan branch has a needle trades orientation and, in addition, is responsible for work in the lower East Side. The Day branch is a U.E. and U.A.W. and Ship concentration. A maritime branch has also been established recently. Finally, there is the newly formed Bronx branch. The Party has not had a branch in the Bronx in four years. One comrade applied himself to the task and with the aid of several others organized a class. Ultimately five people were recruited and with the addition of other comrades residing in the Bronx, a branch was formed.

So much for the branches in New York. We refer the comrades to the report from Local New York for a picture of the election campaign activities which constituted the main effort of Local New York between June and November and for a report on the school now in progress. (Party Builder, Vol. I, No. 4.)

To summarize the state of the branches: With the exceptions or qualifications enumerated above, the general picture of the state of the branches is one of health and promise. The task of consolidation has been largely completed; the Party has replaced the disorganization and diffidence with stability and confidence.

There remains one main phase of the consolidation program which has yet a few steps to go to completion. The books of the Party prior to the convention were still cluttered with names of people who could be considered members of the Party only in the atmosphere of laxity which gripped the Party. Comrades who had been inactive for a year or more, disinterested, comrades who failed to attend meetings with a moderate degree of regularity if at all, and assumed no responsibilities, comrades who had not paid dues for many months (there were people listed as members who in not a few instances had not paid dues

in a year or more), all were considered members with equal rights. As part of the tightening up process, the center urged all branches to clear the Party rolls of all dead wood. We urged that branch membership rolls be reviewed, that where possible efforts to reintegrate delinquent "members" be made, and that those not amenable to reactivation be summarily dropped. The Party registration form and the "removal from membership" forms were designed to facilitate the shedding of nominal members of the Party who had been retained only through the sheer inertia of branches or thanks to a strained sense of tolerance.

This phase began in the early part of July but did not really get fully under way (especially in New York) until August - September. New York, for its own peculiar reasons, suffered most acutely from this spirit of "overstrained tolerance." Branch rolls were too heavily weighted with defunct members. The New York City Committee established an Activities Committee charged with the task of reviewing the membership rolls. The Committee interviewed members which it had divided into two classifications: (1) those either remiss in their activity obligations to the Party or characterized as deadwood, and (2) comrades who had not yet been industrialized. A city membership meeting was held at which Comrade Shachtman addressed the New York Local presenting the view of the Political Committee, urging a clearing of the books of chronic inactives. Three of the inactives responded to the alternative of the Activities Committee (activity or removal) by discovering political differences with the Party and resigning. Another countered the demand of the Committee by requesting a six months leave of absence to write fiction; it was refused; he resigned. Several others were dropped. Many were reactivated in the Party.

There remain two or three centers where deadwood members are still being carried on the books. Since almost all of these have long case-histories of chronic inactivity, non-payment of dues, etc., we urge that the branches stipulate a period, not to exceed one month, for final disposition of these cases.

The National Office does not treat losses in membership lightly. The Program of Action, in dealing with the problems of integration of new members, encourages a spirit of tenacity toward members. But in almost every case referred to here we are dealing not with new members but with people having long records of inactivity and, in some cases, disinterest in the movement. The dropping of such members can be considered a loss in the numerical sense only. In almost every case on record the removal of dead weight - members who contributed only demoralization to a branch - was no loss to the Party. The Party can ill afford to lose members and has directed special attention and energies toward the problem of educating and integrating new members. But a Party burdened with the dead weight of demoralized and tired "radicals," disillusioned with the working class, can neither recruit nor educate new members to Socialist thought and action. The Party viewed these as encumbrances to the development of the movement.

In the campaign to clean the books the National Office anticipated the removal of between 45 and 55 "members" from the rolls between August 1 and November 1, 1946. (The removal and recruiting forms reached the branches toward the end of July

and were put into active use at that time. Although some records of removals and recruitment were available for the prior period - June to July - these were still desultory and did not convey an accurate picture. Such as we had would indicate a much greater recruitment than removal - but this is deceptive as the branches had not yet begun to keep actual records, especially of removals. Accurate figures on recruitment and removals are from July 25th on.) Although we placed emphasis upon recruitment, given the reorganization and consolidation effort urging no temporizing with hopeless inactives, we anticipated that removals would exceed recruitment.

The following figures cover the period from July 25 to November 5:

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Removals</u>	<u>Recruits</u>	<u>Net Gain</u>	<u>Net Loss</u>
New York	10	19	9	
Seattle	0	5	5	
San Francisco	0	4	4	
Newark	1	4	3	
Baltimore	0	2	2	
Buffalo	0	2	2	
Reading	0	2	2	
Cleveland	1	3	2	
Los Angeles	2	4	2	
Louisville	0	0	0	
Detroit	2	2	0	
Hibbing (Frat.)	1	0		1
Chicago	4	3		1
Boston	3	1		2
Philadelphia	2	0		2
Akron	2	0		2
	<u>28</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>8</u>

Total net gain in Party membership is therefore 23. We feel entirely justified in saying, and we are certain that the branch executive committees will confirm us in this view, that while the 28 removals represented no real loss to the Party, there were 51 militants added to Party strength. In the qualitative sense, these additions as against the losses represent a greater real gain than the 23 net would indicate. The results, though still small, are gratifying.

The branches have been streamlined and are in position to accelerate the rate of recruitment. Seattle, Brooklyn Downtown (New York) and the Bronx (New York) have set good examples. Seattle recruited 4 members from a class in elementary Socialist principles. Brooklyn Downtown recruited 4 members through work in a housing project which began through solicitation of subscriptions for LABOR ACTION and was followed through in contact work, a class and a second class to facilitate education and integration of the new recruits. The Bronx was recorded previously. Other branches have recruited through shop and veterans work. With the consolidation of the branches, the strengthening of the Party, the extension of influence in unions and in other organizations (especially veterans organizations where we are only now making our first good contacts), with a heightened confidence in our Party and an aggressive spirit, the road is now opening for

greater recruiting possibilities. The sections of the Program of Action on recruitment are reiterated here. We think that all branches are in a position today to set local quotas for recruitment. Wherever this is possible on the basis of actual knowledge of contacts, etc., this should be done.

Integration of New Members
(Program of Action - Section II - B)

The Program of Action developed a set of ideas to meet the problem of integration and education of new members. It is too early to make any evaluation of effectiveness of these ideas. Where the technique has been applied it has generally netted satisfactory results. The last word has by no means been said on this experiment. With the presentation of these ideas, the Program of Action merely initiated discussion in the Party. The PARTY BUILDER has encouraged a full discussion on the problem. Detroit suffered most acutely from an inability to integrate new members. Comrade Stanley Grey, of Detroit, has prepared for the current BUILDER (Vol. I - No. 4) a comprehensive study of the Detroit experiences, which we recommend as a valuable contribution to the discussion of the problem. Other material is in preparation.

The New Members Kit, as required by the Program of Action, has been issued by the National Education Department and has been sent to all recruits who joined the Party after July 25th.

The Membership of the Party

The following table of Party membership is a precise and accurate listing of Party membership as of November 5, 1946. We include in this table a column "Doubtful." We indicated above that some sections of the Party have failed to clear their books of deadwood and urged that those so classified be either reactivated or dropped. The "Doubtful" column refers to members in this classification.

<u>Branch</u>	<u>No. of Members</u>	<u>Doubtful Comments</u>
Akron	15	1
Buffalo	16	1
Cleveland	11	0
Detroit	28	0
Chicago	42	0 -- 2 members on leave due to illness.
Los Angeles	23	3
Louisville	6	0
Newark	16	1 and possibly another
Philadelphia	32	5
Reading	6	0
San Francisco	23	0
San Pedro	10	2
Seattle	18	2
Local New York	182	10 (reported as of October 21, 1946)

Fraternal Branches

St. Louis	4	0
Boston	3	0
Streator	3	0

Frat. Branch (Cont.)

Hibbing	2	0	
Baltimore	3	0	
Youngstown	4	0	
S.E. Missouri	2	0	(Total of 21 members in Fraternal branches)
Members at Large	<u>11</u>	<u>0</u>	

Total Membership - 460 - 25 of which are doubtful

60% of the Party membership are in branches outside of New York. The Party at the time of its founding was largely a New York party with about 75% of its membership located in New York City.

recent A protracted colonization policy, plus the adherence of the SWP minority in Chicago has contributed to the alteration of this relationship. We consider this a healthy trend in converting the Party from a largely New York party to one that is truly national.

Industrialization
(Program of Action - Section II-D)

The Program of Action placed renewed emphasis upon the necessity for changing the social composition of the Party. So important did it regard this task that the entire Program of Action was oriented on this note (See Point I of Program of Action). In the aftermath of V-J Day, the Party had lost considerable ground in the industrialization effort. The Party reached a low point in this regression in the period between December and April 1946. (The January 1946 convention of Local New York listed 37 members in industry and the number declined in the succeeding months.) The Program of Action attributed this regression to "reconversion lay-offs and a general trend against the employment of women in the basic industries." The Program added that these were neither the only nor the primary reasons for the decline in industrialization. "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 highest period of industrialization to the vital, the crucial necessity of work in the basic industries. Many of the comrades who had worked in industry sought "softer jobs" after the war. A trend to return to school became manifest.... In various sections of the country we observed a general relaxation on the part of the Party committees (from top to bottom) in their former insistence that the Party membership must be in industry." The Program directed an energetic resumption of the drive to industrialize the Party adding that "We cannot expect to make the Party a proletarian party within a three month period, or within a six month period, or within a year. But every month of the period must show progress in this direction."

The center applied itself to an effort to combat the prevailing trends away from industrialization, to block the trend, especially prevalent among returning GI's to resume school work, and to turn the Party toward the shops. By June 1st the trend had been reversed and industrialization figures began to move slowly upward on the charts. The July 26th report of Comrade McKinney (Weekly

Letter #4) based on reports of 326 members covered by branch reports listed 102 as being in industry and unions. It established that "This means also that this is the approximate number in industry out of a total of 326 members in the reporting branches. There are a few scattered unorganized shops where we have a few comrades working." Although no earlier figures are available we know from locals reporting the industrialization of individuals that the July figure represented an upward swing and was indicative of the trend back to the shops.

Most of the branches mounted pressures and the trend has continued upward. The activities committee in Local New York is one of the methods employed to carry out the industrialization program. Similar methods have been employed in other branches.

The following is a report of the social composition of the Party. At the date of preparation of this report, two branches have failed to submit their reports: Philadelphia, and Cleveland.

Figures of industrialization in these centers are nevertheless given in the report. For Philadelphia and Cleveland the figures are necessarily approximations but we think very close to accurate.

Most of the organizers' reports do not break down their members in industry according to unions. These breakdowns will be provided by the Labor Secretary's report. Several of the branches failed to break down their membership by social composition other than to indicate "worker" or "non-worker." Where these break-downs are provided we have listed them in our table.

(See schedule set forth on page 18.)

These figures show a marked increase in industrialization over the July 26th report. There are too many unknown factors in the July 26th report to allow for any precise comparative percentages. The exact membership of the Party was not known. The exact number unaccounted for is therefore not known. Hence, the closest we can possibly get to any percentage of industrialization on July 26th would be by means of dividing the total number in industry (102) by the total number accounted for (326) which would give us the "absolute" percentage of 31%. But by this method every unaccounted for member erroneously increases the percentage of workers. By that same token in the present case our "absolute" percentage would not read 43.4% and our "real" percentage 51%, but 46% and 55% respectively, since there are 25 members whose social composition is not specified. However, from the available information we have, it is reasonably certain that our numbers in industry today show an increase of at least 12% over July 26. We regard this trend as showing satisfactory progress and propose to press the continuation of the trend.

The percentages in the table indicate other things besides those branches which must apply themselves to an extraordinary effort to change their social composition. They indicate some of the obstacles to an overnight, as it were, 100% industrialization. The five people listed as unemployed in Detroit are all women. All are out of industry now not by their own choice but by what the Program of Action called attention to as a source of difficulty in industri-

REPORT ON INDUSTRIALIZATION

Branch	Mem- ber- ship	Work- ers	Abso- lute %	Real		Func- tionaries		Prof. & Wh. Collar		Student		House- wives		Unem- ployed		Unaccounted for	
				%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Reading	6	6	100	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hibbing	2	2	100	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cleveland*	11	10	90.9	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9.1	0	0	0	0	0
Newark	16	13	81.3	31.3	0	0	2	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Buffalo	16	8	50.0	72.7	1	6.3	3	18.3	0	0	4	25.0	0	0	1	6.3	0
Akron	15	7	46.7	53.3	0	0	2	13.3	1	6.7	3	20.0	0	0	0	0	0
Phila.*	32	17	53.1	?	1	3.3	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	13.3
Detroit	28	13	46.0	52.0	1	3.6	5	17.9	2	7.1	2	7.1	5	17.9	14	43.7	0
San Pedro	10	5	50.0	62.5	0	0	2	20.0	0	0	2	20.0	1	10.0	0	0	0
Frisco	23	10	43.3	47.6	1	4.3	6	26.5	3	13.0	1	4.3	2	8.7	0	0	0
New York	182	63	34.6	44.5	16	8.8	49	27.4	7	3.8	23	11.7	23	12.7	0	0	0
Seattle	18	6	33.3	40.0	1	5.6	6	33.3	2	11.1	2	11.1	0	0	1	5.6	0
Louisville	6	2	33.3	33.3	0	0	1	16.6	1	16.6	1	16.6	1	16.6	0	0	0
Los Angeles	23	10	43.3	53.3	1	4.3	4	17.0	1	4.3	5	21.7	1	4.3	0	0	0
Chicago	42	11	26.3	50.6	1	2.4	15	35.7	7	16.6	5	11.9	1	2.4	2	4.4	0
St. Louis	4	1	25.0	25.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	25.0	2	50.0	0
Mem. at largell		5	45.5	?	0	0	3	27.3	0	0	?	?	?	?	3	27.3	0
Frat. Br.#	15	11	73.3	?	0	0	3	20.0	0	0	1	6.7	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	460	200	43.4	51.0	23	5.0	101	21.9	24	5.2	49	10.6	35	7.3	25	5.4	0

Notes:

* Approximate, as per remarks above.

This refers to fraternal branches other than Hibbing and St. Louis.

You will note 2 columns giving percentages on "workers": one is listed "Absolute %" and the other is listed as "Real %." To get the absolute percentage, we merely divide the total number of comrades in industry by the total number of members in the branch. This, however, does not give a real or properly relative picture of industrialization. Housewives and full time functionaries are not available for industrialization. Theoretically, all others are; that is, if every member in the Party, except housewives and functionaries, were in industry, we would consider that the Party had achieved 100% industrialization. The percentage for the "Real" column is obtained by dividing the total of comrades in industry by the total in the branches, minus housewives and functionaries.

The plan for colonization from New York was divided into two phases: June 1 to August 1 - 15 comrades; August 1 to November 15 - 15 or more. As we neared the completion of the first phase, a meeting was held with Comrade Bern and a new list drafted. The new list carried 28 names as individuals theoretically (i.e., as far as we guessed) available for colonization. The representatives of the New York Local called to our attention the following salient facts:

1. All of the people who had been withdrawn from Local New York in the first phase and the five who were already scheduled to go during the second phase, were either local leading personnel or activists and were people either in or in a position to enter industry.
2. That many of those among the 28 new names to be interviewed were likewise activists or cadre people and were seeking jobs in industry.
3. That the drain upon Local cadre personnel had left the branches particularly in a weakened state at a time when the New York organization was undergoing expansion. That the five already committed to go would further weaken the organization to a very serious degree. And the withdrawal of 10 additional ones from the new list would put the election campaign in jeopardy.

The Committee yielded to these arguments to this extent: it was agreed that the five already committed to colonization shall carry out their commitments; that considerations of the new list be held in abeyance until after the election campaign. A total of six were colonized in the second phase.

As is, we colonized from New York in this period alone four times more comrades than had been colonized in the six month period prior to the convention.

The colonization plan will continue, but one important lesson has been taught and must be taken into consideration. Colonization must be conducted in waves and not as a continuous uninterrupted process.

The selection of three cities toward which the main colonization effort was to be directed did not exclude aid to other cities. We had planned on sending 6 to Buffalo, 6 to San Francisco and 5 to Cleveland. We had hoped to send one or two to each of the following cities: St. Louis, Akron, Seattle, Reading and Baltimore. Later Los Angeles was added to the list. The plan for Buffalo and San Francisco was carried out fully and Cleveland partially. The effect which colonization had upon these cities may be seen in their reports. Buffalo which had been in a state of collapse is a stable and well-functioning branch. San Francisco which was in a very weakened state is likewise stable and functioning. Cleveland, with the aid of the three comrades colonized and a fourth who was there for the summer months, plus three new recruits, is also in good condition. (Cleveland wrote that the 3 comrades sent filled the bill and that further colonization there was not urgent. We still propose to send 2 additional comrades if we can.)

In the next period our colonization efforts must be directed toward the following centers: Los Angeles, Akron, Reading, St. Louis

and Baltimore. With the exception of Los Angeles, each of these places needs from one to three comrades.

The colonization program fulfilled its main objective - the stabilization and support of Buffalo, Cleveland and San Francisco. The colonization of 23 comrades in the five month period following the convention represents four times the number colonized in the previous six months. Despite an inability to meet the numerical figure set (40) which we indicated above was too high, we regard the colonization program for this period, both as to the number colonized and the purposes fulfilled, as successful.

The Establishment of New Branches
(Program of Action - Section III-E)

Since the national convention, the Party has lost one regular branch - Boston. This represents our sole exception in a picture of general advance. The Boston Branch (6 members) was formed immediately after the national convention. Within one month, two of the new members - both students - dropped out of sight, one comrade resigned from the Party and a fourth left Boston, returning to Akron where he is active in the branch. Three comrades remain in Boston which has been constituted a fraternal branch.

The Program of Action reported the existence of fraternal branches in each of the following cities:- St. Louis, Reading and Hibbing. The Program of Action called for the establishment of regular branches out of the fraternal branches in Reading and St. Louis. We succeeded in achieving this in Reading where we now have a small but active and effective unit. The St. Louis perspective revolved upon getting one or two comrades to colonize there. We requested of Chicago that it provide this comrade, but the Chicago organization was not able to comply. We propose to pursue this proposition for St. Louis.

Since the convention we have established in addition to Hibbing and St. Louis, fraternal branches in the following cities:

1. Youngstown-Warren, which has four members and is in the process of being formally constituted a fraternal branch.
2. Boston which has just retreated from a regular to a fraternal branch
3. Baltimore. Baltimore has a functioning youth group and our one party member there has recently recruited two others. The three constitute a newly formed fraternal branch. The Baltimore comrades have been conducting a very successful series of forums. If the center can provide Baltimore with one or two experienced comrades to aid Comrade R.P., who has done a remarkable job, we have every prospect of a flourishing branch in this important industrial area.

Finally, through some youth members in the West Virginia coal fields, we have the opportunity of forming at least a fraternal branch in West Virginia. The ground work has been laid by the active work of Comrades Barb and Priscilla. Plans have been made for special circulation of LABOR ACTION in this area during the miners' strike and arrangements have been made for Comrade McKinney to spend

time in West Virginia shortly after the Plenum.

Fraternal branches now existing:

1. St. Louis
2. Hibbing, Minn.
3. Baltimore
4. Boston
5. S. E. Missouri
6. Streator
7. Youngstown (to be formed officially).

The Party will strive to organize St. Louis, Baltimore and Boston into regular branches giving these equal consideration with the regular branches listed for colonization. It will direct special attention to the West Virginia area. Other fraternal branches are to receive colonization aid as soon as earlier colonization requirements will allow. Schedules of national tours will be drawn to include all fraternal branch areas and all other aid from the center possible will be given to fraternal branches. In addition, we will call upon established branches adjacent to or near fraternal branches to assist these in their efforts to build regular branches of the Party.

Headquarters
(Program of Action - Section III-F)

The Program of Action declared:

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

We have already reported that prior to the convention only Detroit, Newark and Buffalo had headquarters conforming with the needs, that Philadelphia had a small inadequate headquarters; that New York, Chicago and Los Angeles had offices and that the Brooklyn Branch and also Harlem (we neglected to mention this above) had headquarters.

Since then Chicago has given up its office and has moved to and decorated a spacious headquarters. Buffalo has newly decorated its quarters so that visitors who have seen the three branch headquarters are in doubt as to which is the best and most attractive. Philadelphia has moved from its small headquarters to a much larger one which it is also decorating to enter the competition of the three listed above. San Francisco has obtained a new headquarters; Seattle will have one by the 1st of January; New York Local has taken over the old national office and redecorated it so that it is fully adequate to their needs. The National Office has succeeded in obtaining a new center which, as described in previous directives, is fully adequate to its needs. Cleveland has established a headquarters fund and is seeking quarters. Akron which had a hall has been denied further use of it and is in search of a regular headquarters. Los Angeles, which lost its original headquarters, managed to locate a new one.

Branches with adequate headquarters:

1. National Office.*
2. New York City Center.*
3. Brooklyn Downtown, New York
4. Harlem, New York
5. Buffalo (newly decorated)
6. Philadelphia *
7. Newark
8. Detroit
9. Chicago *
10. San Francisco *
11. Seattle - To move into headquarters by January 1, 1947.
12. Los Angeles *

(* Newly acquired.)

Regular branches which do not have headquarters:

1. Akron
 2. Cleveland
 3. Reading
 4. Louisville
- New York City Branches:
5. Brownsville
 6. Bronx
- (Maritime, Manhattan and Day branches use the City Center.)

Publication Schedule of Pamphlets
(Program of Action - Section III-R)

The publication of pamphlets schedule called for the printing of pamphlets on (1) prices, (2) housing, (3) election program of the Party; and indicated the possibility of publication of Trotsky's "Marxism and Our Times." This is the only phase of the Program of Action which reports no success whatever. It is true that the pamphlet on the election program was published, but this was exclusively an effort of Local New York and cannot be credited to the efforts of the national organization as such. The National Office planned to reissue this pamphlet for national distribution but its value as such was considerably diminished by the fact that no section of the Party outside of New York can any candidates. A plan for the revision of the New York pamphlet for use in the "prices campaign" was launched but bogged down under serious technical difficulties.

An excellent pamphlet on housing was drafted by Comrade Weiss but that met the same fate. Similarly the manifesto on prices and a second manifesto prepared by Comrade Johnson:

Technical difficulties refer to three types:

1. Finances. The quick return anticipated by sales of "The Fight for Socialism" and "Plenty for All" upon which we relied to pay off our debts on account of these pamphlets and to refill the till of Workers Party Publications was not forthcoming. Instead, the slowness with which promotion of LABOR ACTION proceeded necessitated a pillaging of the Workers Party Publications funds to help meet LABOR ACTION and NEW INTERNATIONAL bills.

2. The printer's schedule. Our printer works on a very close schedule. Priority is given to LABOR ACTION and often THE NEW INTERNATIONAL suffers on that account. The printers and linotype operators work on pamphlets during lulls in other work (and these lulls are rare).

3. Editorial work and pressure. Probably influenced by the above 2 factors, there was a noticeable slovenliness, reminiscent of old habits of functioning, in the attention to these projects. The committee did not press the comrades assigned sufficiently, and the writers in turn aware of the financial and printing difficulties, as well as of the lack of the lack of pressure, were under no impulsion to complete their work. For example, the election pamphlet was never revised. The pamphlet on housing was returned to the author for cutting and was never revamped. The fault here is not with the authors but with the Committee.

However, we can report progress on the Goldman pamphlet on the SWP. The body of the pamphlet and the numerous appendices have been set up and await the introduction to be made up for publication.

The body of the Trotsky pamphlet has been set up and here too it awaits only the introduction in preparation for publication.

The resolutions of the national convention will be either printed or mimeographed in booklet form.

A document replying to the SWP statement "Revolutionary Marxism or Petty Bourgeois Revisionism," one section of which has appeared in LABOR ACTION (message to the delegates of the SWP convention) is in preparation and will probably be published in book form. This is contemplated not merely as a polemic with the SWP but as a positive elucidation of the theoretical position and program of the WP.

Into Veterans Organizations (Program of Action - Section III-L)

At the time of the national convention, despite the large proportion of veterans in the Party, we had almost no one in veterans organizations and there was no organized effort in the field. The Party veterans unfortunately showed little interest in joining veterans organizations. The effort to get our vets into organizations proved a long and tedious process. Progress in this field is coincident with the reorganization of the Party and bears a definite relation to it. To date, of approximately 120 veterans in the Party, 77 are definitely in veterans organizations. Fractions exist and function with varying degrees of effectiveness in Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco, Cleveland, Philadelphia and New York. New York is still poor in the organization of the work and Philadelphia's organized activity is of recent origin. Buffalo, Los Angeles, Baltimore and Newark have between 2 and 3 members each in veterans organizations.

Chicago, Detroit and, to a lesser degree San Francisco, have functioned especially effectively in this field. Comrades in almost all localities have been elected to positions in their chapters. We have representatives on several area councils, have had delegates elected to area and state conventions and have had speakers of the Party invited to present the Party's program before veterans

organizations. Although there is very much room for improvement of the work in this field (100% veteran membership, functioning fractions everywhere instead of just a few places, greater number of individual activists in veterans organizations), the biggest task has been largely accomplished - approximately three-fifths of our veterans are now in veterans organizations.

The functioning of the National Director of Veterans work has been inadequate and the Veterans Committee has been rather decorative. Correspondence with the branch veterans directors was initiated but this was not pursued except in the important centers where work was being done and reports, information and directives were needed. Even here, correspondence was not as active as it should have been.

A veterans research library was set up in the national center but has not been kept up to date.

This field offers the Party great opportunities. To organize the Party effectively to capitalize upon these opportunities, a full time veterans director is needed.

Education of the Membership. Training of Leaders.
(Program of Action - Section II-C)

A report on this phase of the program of action, prepared by Comrade Erber - National Education Department - is appended. The work has been proceeding satisfactorily. It is reflected in the reports of the branch organizers, almost every one of which reports educational activities conducted through forums, forum series (New York, Newark, Detroit, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Baltimore), branch educationals, classes. Almost all branches conduct elementary classes for members and contacts and several hold advanced classes and study groups for members.

The National Education Department has taken some initial steps for the organization of a research department which will provide data for propaganda and agitation. Space in the new national headquarters has been provided for a research room.

The following material was issued by the National Education Department since the national convention:

1. The Transitional Program.
2. A Guide to Branch Educational Directors.
3. An outline of Capital, Vol. I.

Make the New International Self-Sustaining
(Program of Action - Section III-J.)

The Party has advanced several pegs toward its goal of making THE NEW INTERNATIONAL a self-sustaining institution. Income to THE NEW INTERNATIONAL has been doubled since the convention. Average monthly income is now close to \$300 as compared to less than \$150 previously. Cost per issue is \$600. We have still another \$300 per month to go to attain our goal of a self-sustaining magazine. The source of improvement is revealed in the figures of circulation published below. Circulation of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL has been almost doubled since the convention. The Publications Department reports that 69 new subscriptions have come in during the first three

weeks of the new subscription drive. This almost totals the aggregate subs received for the months of August, September and October.

<u>Branch</u>	<u>Bundle</u>	<u>Subs</u>	<u>Renewals*</u>	<u>New subs for August, Sept. and Oct. *</u>
San Francisco	50	28	5	7
Los Angeles	100			5
San Pedro	0	8	2	0
Chicago	50	57	10	10
Streator	5	3		
Louisville	14	3	0	3
Baltimore	5	10	2	1
Boston	3	16	4	5
Detroit	40	37	1	2
Minnesota	5	6		
St. Louis	6	6	1	1
Newark	15	27	3	5
Akron	40	7		
Cleveland	14	20	3	
Columbus	0	5	2	1
Mixed Ohio	0	7	1	1
Oregon	0	2	1	1
Mixed Penna.	0	4	3	3
Reading	10	3	2	3
Philadelphia	35	39	5	7
Seattle	25	20	4	2
West Virginia	0	3		
Buffalo	15	11	3	3
New York City	850	191	35	24
Foreign	<u>340</u>	<u>350</u>		
	1622	803	97	84

*These figures are approximations and not too accurate.

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An examination of these figures nevertheless shows the range of the strides that are yet to be made. We regard the present circulation of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL as being about one-third to one-half of what it can very readily become, given energy and systematic promotion work. As is apparent from the above, the number of subs is exceptionally low. Present circulation of THE NEW INTERNATIONAL is 2,400, but of this 700 are foreigners. Less than 2,000 are handled in the United States.

As part of the campaign to put THE NEW INTERNATIONAL across, 150 posters advertising THE NEW INTERNATIONAL have been made and placed on as many newsstands. 6 months ago 300 NI's were handled by 50 newsstands in Manhattan alone. This has been increased to 100 stands and beginning December 1, 150 stands in Manhattan, Bronx and Brooklyn will handle a total of 900 copies of the NI. Several other branches have reported progress in placing the magazine on newsstands. Given these efforts and the current drive for 500 new subscribers to the magazine we look forward to a pronounced increase in circulation of our theoretical magazine.

Finances and Youth

See separate reports appended.

The Prices and Housing Campaigns (Program of Action - Section I-A, B, C, D.)

The Program of Action directed the conduct of political activity around the fight against rising prices and housing to be linked with the election campaign and the fight for an "Independent Labor Party."

The size and strength of the Party precluded a campaign on any grandiose scale. The plan was devised for the coordination on a national scale of the external activities of the Party. Branches were directed to conduct political activities in accordance with their facilities and abilities.

Discussions were opened in the Political Committee early in June and a policy on the housing and prices situation formulated and conveyed to the Party membership through the weekly letters. The nationwide protest strike called by the UAW was met with a special prices issue of LABOR ACTION. 30,000 copies were distributed at demonstrations with Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago reporting the greatest successes. The Party, through most of its branches, participated in these demonstrations. Here again, as always, the effect of our participation is in relation to the limited capacities of a very small organization. Despite this, it is reported everywhere that where LABOR ACTION was distributed it received an exceedingly warm reception. In several centers literature was also sold at the demonstrations and subscriptions to LABOR ACTION obtained.

Comrade Erber conducted a national tour on behalf of the campaign. The tour covered the branches East of the Mississippi. Public meetings were organized at which Erber presented the Party view on the prices question. Comrade Erber reported all but one (Detroit) meeting as successful. Comrade Goldman, conducting a tour, reached the west coast as the prices issue broke. Two of the three west coast branches converted the Goldman meetings into "price" meetings. The Seattle meeting was reported as the biggest and the most successful meeting conducted by the Trotskyist movement in Seattle.

LABOR ACTION featured the prices issue in almost every number during the campaign and published a manifesto on the prices and housing issues. Branches were conducting local meetings and several issued their own special leaflets on the housing and/or prices issue. The New York election campaign was conducted with prices as its central immediate issue. All but three branches engaged in activities around the issue ranging in method from motions introduced at union meetings (Reading: Union elected a price control committee at instigation of our fraction. Louisville: Union local and CIO council went on record for escalator clause in contracts.) to the Seattle organization and participation in the "Housewives Price Control League" on which a separate report is appended. Chicago held one public meeting on the prices issue before the campaign was officially under way. Chicago has also initiated ro-

cently neighborhood squads for the establishment of popular price control committees; Prepared a picketing of the South Side Negro landlords which action forced the cancelling of the meeting. Detroit party was active in the fight through its unions with several Party members (representing their unions) speaking at a large mass meeting; Party members were also on union price committees and participated in buyer strikes picket lines, etc. The high point in this activity was reached in Seattle (see special report).

The comrades from Newark and Reading have both criticized the failure of the center to produce a pamphlet on prices. The reasons for this failure are treated in the section on pamphlets. The criticism is valid insofar as a pamphlet would have provided the Party with a special instrument for crystalizing our efforts - a function which LABOR ACTION could not possibly have fulfilled adequately.

But to say that "the National Office made it doubly difficult to take it too seriously on the campaign by failing to issue a pamphlet on it" as the Newark report says does not conform with the facts conveyed in individual reports from the branches. Newark had, in fact, informed the center before the campaign was under way that it would be unable to participate in any campaign. Los Angeles reported that the issue was not alive there. San Francisco wrote that it would be unable to devote energies in this direction because of the need for the reorganization of the branch. The degree of participation in the campaign was definitely related to the state of the branches, the requirements of efforts in reorganization, the internal strength of the branches, and their strength in the unions.

It is not possible to characterize the prices campaign as either a success or a failure. Its importance lies in the fact that the Party sought/and in some phases succeeded in injecting itself into the political issues of the hour. It was the first such attempt made by the Party.

Much of the material called for in the Program of Action was not issued. We failed to publish pamphlets on housing and on prices; no national leaflet was issued. The educational bulletins with data on the prices question was not issued. No directive was issued by the veterans or labor department as prescribed. The phases carried out by the center: A manifesto was issued; LABOR ACTION conducted an effective propaganda campaign which was utilized in connection with local demonstrations and activities. Most branches did conduct public meetings. The national tour was carried out by Erber and Goldman. The special directive on the prices campaign was issued.

Summary

The Party has just concluded a period of intensive activity. The main objectives set forth in the program of action have been realized. The consolidation program has been effected in its main features, the reorganization of the Party is virtually completed. The Party branches are stabilized and in position for new advances. We reiterate the point we started with. The degree of our progress is measured only in terms of what the Party was and what it is today. In terms of objective considerations, the Party is still very, very far from what it must become. In carrying out the Program of

Action we have made only the mere beginnings. But they are important beginnings. They are the indispensable steps necessary to the construction of a revolutionary party. The building of a party is a long and difficult task. The weaknesses of our present party are not alone in our small numbers. There are many within the framework even of our size which are reflected in this report and which must and will be overcome. But in these six months the Party has taken a pronounced forward stride and has demonstrated its determination to overcome all obstacles. It is the beginning steps but very salutary ones. In comradeship and gratitude for the splendid efforts of all of our comrades and in the spirit of revolutionary solidarity, we greet the Party and urge it forward in the new and great tasks that lie ahead.

By E. Garrett

1. Our International Work:

We have made notable progress in this field. Where as recently as a year ago we were considered as beyond the pale, in the literal sense that no section of the Fourth would officially acknowledge our existence, we have made our influence felt to the point where it is virtually certain that we will be invited to attend the International Conference. However, there is much that remains to be done in systematizing our work. We have real persistent contact only with France and England, and to a lesser extent with Italy, Ceylon and such groups as the South African which mean little in the life of the International.

As will be seen from the factual report, our relations remain on the most formal and irregular level with other sections. That these are also the weakest sections is beside the point. They will not make efforts to discuss with us on their own. It is necessary that we pursue them. To do that we have to undertake a barrage of correspondence. As it stands now, we are unable to do more than answer what letters come in. If comrades abroad do not write, months necessarily pass before we contact them.

Thus, RECOMMENDATION NO. I: To establish a department under the direction of a comrade designated by the P.C. to widen the field, and increase the intensity of our correspondence.

2. Political Issues Involved:

We have had some disappointment in stimulating political correspondence. Many who write to us do so only on matters of relief. Gradually we are breaking this down. However, to do so effectively, we will have to initiate the discussion of views from our side. Hence the importance of RECOMMENDATION I.

Unity Issue: The work of the minority in the SWP had much to do with breaking down the wall the Cannonites had built around us. Though few sections formalized their position, there is generally a pro-unity sentiment in the International which has done much to orient groups towards a friendly attitude. It remains one of our two biggest advantages in international relations.

Russian Issue: The Russian question has arisen in virtually every section. Willy-nilly, the defeatists, regardless of their specific development of the Russian question, are thrown in the direction of an alliance with us. It is interesting to note that the anti-workers-state position is identified with "Shachtmanism." With the exception of the group of Greek comrades, who did not know of our position, and assumed the whole International had taken a defeatist position, we have directly influenced the consideration of this problem. With the International presumably conducting a discussion on the Russian question, and with the French section having voted for such a discussion formally, it is necessary that we intervene directly.

Thus, RECOMMENDATION NO. II: To prepare a document on the Russian question elaborating our position specifically for the discussion in the International.

National Question: Has done much, notably in France and England, to advance our standing.

3. Literature:

We have been sending our material, books, bulletins, etc., to all sections and to dozens of individuals. However, we are severely handicapped by not having this material in other languages: French, Spanish, German and Italian in that order. We are already trying to get some of our material translated into French, which will serve as well for Italy and for Spanish speaking comrades. The "New Course" has been particularly effective. We are trying to get parts of it translated.

Thus, RECOMMENDATION NO. III: To seek to provide material in one or more languages.

4. IEC and International Conference:

The IEC met recently and took a position for a Republic in Spain. Our position in Poland, as enunciated in the NI editorial, was presented to the IEC and was attacked. Demaziere recommended an attack on our position by the IEC on the ground that the IEC should intervene to correct errors of a supporting section of the Fourth. Frank took the position that since we are not an official section, the IEC should ignore the question entirely and that it was within the province of the SWP to attack this position should it desire to do so. The French comrades succeeded in getting a decision instructing the IEC to reply to the WP position. Some members of the IEC recommended inviting us to the International Conference with voice and no vote.

Our information is that the IEC decided to invite all parties basing themselves on the Fourth, with voice but no vote, unless the International Congress itself decides to give this vote. Also, voted in favor of continuing SWP and WP unity negotiations.

The change in the French Party leadership has improved our position enormously in the IEC. We are also, according to all reports, greatly assisted by the choice of the Cannonites for an International Representative.

Since this was written we have had additional information which indicates some confusion in the delegations to the IEC meeting as to what actually was adopted. The consensus, however, seems to be that all groups claiming to be Fourth Internationalists can come to the International Congress. The sections already belonging will vote on other cases, with the general understanding that all those groups that agree to accept the decisions of the Congress can take part even in the voting. Altogether, this bears the mark of a "compromise" put over by Frank and the SWP. On the face of it it would preclude us from attending, for it is we who are actually involved, but there is good reason to believe that when the Congress convenes we will be accorded the right to participate. Even if we do not get the formal right to attend, we must have a representative present.

Thus, RECOMMENDATION NO. IV: To designate a delegate for the International Congress, with the further recommendation that this comrade leave about a month before the day set for the Congress.

5. Report by Country:

Latin America: Our weakest contact. We know that the Mexican and Spanish-Mexican section sympathize with our stand on unity. We know that they consider us a part of the Fourth International movement. The Mexicans, apart from republishing our material in their paper, have even requested permission of us to reprint the Atom Bomb series in LABOR ACTION as a pamphlet. Muniz, the leader of the Spanish group in Mexico, has published a pamphlet taking a state-capitalist position on Russia. N., we are told, follows our material, though with difficulty because of the language barrier, is strong for unity, and is studying the Russian question.

Cuba - A member of a small party which publishes a monthly organ writes to us. He is personally friendly toward us although critical.

Bolivia - Several comrades write us. They are mostly refugees. One of these agrees with our Russian position and writes that he has several followers - all refugees. We have a great advantage in Bolivia in having what appears to be an excellent comrade who shares our point of view on many questions. However, we have no direct contact with the two Trotskyist groups that exist in Bolivia.

Brazil - M. is there. He publishes a paper that may be characterized as left-centrist or POUMist. He has never replied to the letter we sent him, although his paper publishes reprints from the NI and LA.

Chile - We have no direct contact. We know that there is a Trotskyist group operating there about which we know little.

Mexico - The Mexican section (as distinct from the Spanish section in Mexico) is friendly toward us. They have repudiated the bureaucratic attitude of the I.S. They reprint material from our paper but have followed a policy of giving us no credit. We attribute this to a fear of embarrassing themselves before the I.S.

Argentina - We have a comrade (German) who writes us regularly.

Peru - The Peruvian F.I. paper has reprinted articles by Coolidge, Shachtman and Gates.

It is especially important for Latin America that a special comrade be assigned for this work.

Australia - There is not very much of a movement there and we have some individual contacts.

South Africa - Capetown has a section of the 4th which is completely Cannonized. In Johannesburg there was a group which disintegrated due to internal difficulties and lack of finances. It is composed of very good comrades who incline to a defeatist position on the Russian question, although they have never committed themselves for or against the position of bureaucratic collectivism. We have good contact with these comrades. However, we have heard that a few comrades who remain in Johannesburg intend to go to England. They are young and feel that their political education can be best advanced there, as well as give them a practical oppor-

tunity of engaging in work. The leading comrades there rely very heavily on us, and generally disassociate themselves from Cannonism.

Canada - A comrade who recently visited Vancouver reports that the official Trotskyists are making an exist from the CCF, that the organization was in complete hiding during the war, that they hardly maintained even personal contact and that they are now coming out of hiding. The movement for withdrawal from the CCF appears to be precipitous and the result of a bureaucratic ultimatum. The Canadian Trotskyists issue a paper which reads like a reprint of THE MILITANT. Later information indicates a base of sympathetic contact in Vancouver. We have one or two friends elsewhere in Canada, but the field of contact remains to be developed.

Ceylon-India - The India party was founded during the war - prematurely. We received their English paper published in Calcutta. Judging from this paper they are 100% orthodox on Russia. In South India this section has influence in the trade union movement. In Ceylon the situation is complicated. There is a loose mass organization of many years standing whose leadership was imprisoned during the war. After their emergence from prison, a split occurred. The old leadership still maintains the old party which has a popular frontist complexion. Judging from its paper, which we receive, we have the impression that it is semi-Stalinist and has an extreme defensist position on Russia. The second group in Ceylon is small and highly politicalized, is not as popular as the first group. It considers itself a unit of the Indian party which is a section of the 4th. The organization is friendly to us and has reprinted several of Shachtman's articles. It takes 150 copies of the NI per month, circulates our literature.

Palestine - There is an official Trotskyist group. We are not in contact with it. There is also a small group called the Democratic Club which also has an extremely pro-Zionist attitude. We are in contact with one of the members of this latter group.

Italy - Party founded by Nicola, after Allied armies occupied Italy. Nicola, well known for his work in Spain, first joined the SP in Naples. With arrival from abroad of comrades W. and V. who met Nicola through the SP, a nucleus was created for the Party. Nicola succeeded in legalizing paper through letter to Togliatti. His death removed the most influential member of the Party. One of the leading comrades writes to us regularly, and we have had politically friendly contact, though infrequent, with the official secretary of the party. (We have heard that a provisional bureau was created by the IS, including one defeatist, because of his wide following in the party, and two defensists. Why the IS had to choose a bureau is still unclear.)

The party numbers about 300, tends to consider us a part of the 4th and favors unity in America. Their strength is in the south where the specific weight of the proletariat is weak, though they are trying to send people to Milan. The Bordigists are very active in the north where they claim a membership of several thousand.

R. is doing what appears to be excellent work in the CP around Naples. Some of our comrades are in the CP and winning recruits. Poverty is the principal handicap of the party, and makes it difficult for it to spread into the north where it has nothing

whatsoever, although a few British comrades are making contacts there. Altogether, help from outside comrades has been vital. It is interesting to note that when W. first arrived he was warned against sending any information to the WP, but that now party leaders themselves write to us.

Belgium - The Belgian section is friendly in a purely formal way. They are inclined to sympathize with us on unity. The organization has declined in membership.

Holland - Also friendly in a very formal sense. The organization has made no commitment on unity.

Greece - In Greece interesting developments are taking place. The CP is debating with our comrades, which seems to indicate that there is considerable internal disturbance in the Greek CP. In the official Greek section it is reported that approximately 140 out of 200 members have "Shachtman's" position on Russia. They manifested a sectarian position on the national question during the war.

England and Ireland - At a recent congress of the English section the leaders of the North Irish section and some English comrades got together and presented a draft resolution on the Russian question supporting generally the position of the WP. The North Irish section has led the fight for unity in America. In the discussion of the Russian question, the comrades asked for time to present their point of view. They were denied such permission unless they presented a resolution. A resolution was hastily drafted. Two speakers were given the floor for an aggregate of 13 minutes to defend this resolution. It received only one vote. Since the convention further progress has been made. A group has been gotten together. The English section has between 200-300 members who feel no bitterness toward us despite Cannonite influence and pressure.

We should note that the Haston group is moving towards a defeatist position on Russia, currently toying with state capitalism. The party is also engaged in a dispute over entry into the Labor Party, with the Healy group advocating entry. We will have to discuss this matter (along with the general question of entrism elsewhere in Europe) because it is certain that our opinion will play a role in the discussion. One comrade, who has publicly allied himself with us on the Russian question and is building a group, has already requested our opinion.

(A quote from a letter: "I note that you object to the term Shachtmanism. But the term 'defeatist' is too vague to describe our Russian position. There is more than one defeatist position. On the other hand, acceptance of the WP position on Russia and the European national question does not mean that all the WP are necessarily adopted. We used the term 'Shachtmanism' as the most convenient, embracing our position on these two questions. We understood, of course, that there is more to the WP than Comrade Shachtman.")

France - The old minority (Domaziere) is now the majority following their recent convention. Domaziere disagrees with us on the Russian question but considers us a part of the Fourth. The

differences in the French party revolve around Russian and domestic situation. On the domestic situation Demaziere holds that the proletariat suffered a defeat in the recent referendum and subsequent elections but will emerge from it. Frank holds that France has entered into the second wave of revolutionary crisis. He considers the SP-CP government concept as equivalent to that of a workers and peasants government, raising it as an extra-parliamentary demand.

Friends of the WP have contributed 34,000 francs to the French party election campaign. The French membership has doubled in one year. The relations between the French party and the WP have changed since the advent of the new leadership. Heretofore, there had been no relations with us whatever, not even acknowledgment of receipt of assistance. Relations today are considerably improved.

We have really battered our way into recognition by the French party. Though we have wide political differences with the leadership of the party, it is exceedingly friendly to us - particularly because of our stand on the national question and unity. Their greatest weakness is, as charged by the old party leadership (Frank-Cannon), a "Stalinophilism" that is indicated, for example, by their offer to the CP to withdraw PCI candidates and for which they were attacked by the IEC.

The Guerin group inclines towards a state capitalist position - though it includes comrades with a more-or-less bureaucratic collectivist view. The Montal group has a position similar to ours on the Russian question, however, on domestic questions he has an "ultra-leftist" approach. (The same is true of other comrades in Greece and Italy, who hold positions similar to ours. It will be necessary that we discuss the national question with these comrades.) The PCI did excellent work on the elections. (See LABOR ACTION, November 25, 1946.)

6. Other Groups:

Our standing is exceedingly high among the small revolutionary groups outside of the Fourth. Bordighist groups, left communist groups of all varieties, and such representatives of the left wing of the POUM as A., look upon us as a group that does not hesitate to discuss new issues or old doctrines. Unfortunately, we are unable to engage in the kind of lengthy discussion that these groups want. Their forces are tiny, even as compared with ours (except for Italy) and most often incline to sectarianism, but we appear to be in the best position of influencing them towards the Fourth.

Further, our unfactional distribution of relief has brought us considerable prestige. It is worth remarking, in this connection, that our solidarity activities have a bearing on our international work. A good deal of our political contact arose out of relief contact.

7. Conclusion:

We have gone a long way towards breaking down the Cannonite attitude. However, much remains to be done. There is still the incredible phenomenon of groups and individuals who are sympathetic to us, but who hesitate to reveal it in any way for fear of ostracism in the Fourth.

Taken as a whole, the forces of the Fourth are not very imposing. Except for France and Ceylon there is not a section that resembles a real, lively growing movement. Many tactical problems with respect to activities of the sections will arise. With the start we have now made, we are in a position to assume eventual political leadership of the Fourth. To do so, we will have to begin to consider the problems of the sections in greater detail - such as the problem of entry into the British Labor Party.

Politically, we have made great headway with our position on unity, the national question and Russia. On the latter, we have done the spade-work of making workers-statism an increasingly untenable position. It now becomes our responsibility to direct the International towards our analysis of Russia.

The International Congress will be of extreme importance in advancing our position and our standing. It is purely a matter of speculation, but the Cannonites might conceivably force a split over the question of our presence, especially should steps be taken to include us as a sympathetic section. They will certainly oppose giving us any standing at the Congress, as they did at the IEC meeting, but the weight of the other sections, notably of France, may compel them to retreat without forcing the issue to a break. We would be greatly mistaken if, in our dealings with the International, we acted like poor relations, or hat-in-hand supplicants. Our interests can best be served by a forthright demand for our rights.

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(The above report was presented to the Plenum of the National Committee held November, 1946, and was accepted by it.)