

# THE PARTY BUILDER

Vol. I. No. 3

INTERNAL BULLETIN

December, 1944

## SPECIAL CONVENTION ISSUE

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Issued by  
 National Education Department  
 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
 116 University Place  
 New York, New York

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## ORGANIZATION REPORT

A birds'-eye view of the sixteen year history of Trotskyism in this country, will reveal three clearly discernible stages in the development of our movement. When the small group of pioneer Trotskyists was expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 and formed the CLA (Opposition) its primary preoccupation was the recruitment and training of Trotskyist cadres out of the CP. Until 1933 we considered ourselves a faction of the Communist Party, directing our primary attention to developments in the Communist Party, subjecting every one of the twists and turns of the Stalinists to merciless Marxist criticism.

Hitler's rise to power marked a new stage -- the second in the development of our movement. It was then that Comrade Trotsky issued the call for a new International and for new parties. The incapacity of the Communist Party to struggle against fascism, its capitulation before Hitler, brought the bankruptcy of the Comintern into bold relief and posed sharply the task of building a new International and new parties.

In this task of building a new revolutionary party in this country, the American Trotskyist movement demonstrated its viability. The leadership proved that it was free of organizational fetishism and that it was capable of the necessary tactical flexibility which the tasks of building the new party demanded. In a determined and aggressive manner we proceeded to seek out those elements on the political scene who would join us in building the party. We fused the American Workers Party, and before long we even took the drastic step of entering the SP in order to fuse with the left wing inside that organization. All these steps are fully covered in Comrade Cannon's latest book, "The History of American Trotskyism."

The launching of the SWP at the beginning of 1938 marked the third stage in the development of our movement. By this time we had gathered around us the revolutionary elements of the CP, of the AWP, as well as the SP. The AWP was eliminated from the scene as a possible competitor and the SP remained a hollow shell after our expulsion and the split. We, on the other hand, had gathered and steeled our cadres in this process. At the same time we took advantage of the opportunities that opened before us in the mass movement. We participated in the unemployed struggles. Our Minneapolis comrades led the great strikes of the teamsters in that city in 1934, etc.

But by and large the SWP was from its beginning a small cadre party. The next stage, the third stage in the development of our movement, required first and foremost that we break out of isolation and find a road to the masses. Our possibilities for recruitment at the expense of the CP had largely been exhausted. The period of fusions and unifications had come to an end. There was only one direction in which we could steer our course: towards the militants in the plants, the mines and on the ships. We had to steer our course towards the militants in the mass production industries especially. They were beginning to realize the limitations of isolated economic struggles. They were beginning to awaken to the need of political action. It was then that we advanced the slogan of an independent labor party;

we advanced the program of transitional demands elaborated by Comrade Trotsky. The labor party slogan and the program of transitional demands were to serve as the bridge between our small revolutionary party and the great mass of American workers. The American workers who built the powerful unions of the CIO in so short a time, who fought great battles against the giant corporations, were beginning to stir politically and our party had every reason to hope for rapid growth.

It was at this time, however, that the war broke out. Even before we could get started as a party, even before we had the opportunity to really advance our slogans and to agitate for them, the war crisis threw our own party into a severe internal crisis. Our party was paralyzed by the petty-bourgeois opposition. Under the impact of bourgeois public opinion and its hue and cry against the Soviet Union, Professor Burnham, the playboy Shachtman, and the incorrigible cliquist Abern, banded together in a struggle to overthrow our program. The sharp internal struggle which resulted lasted nine months and it finally led to split. By this struggle we were stopped short on our main course of building the party. We first had to settle accounts with the petty-bourgeois opposition inside the party before we could return to the main job of building the party.

At our convention in April 1940 where the lines were drawn for the split with the petty-bourgeois revisionists, we adopted a resolution on the organization question in which we outlined the campaign methods by which we were to build the party. We said:

"Party activity must be lifted out of dragging, daily routine and reorganized on the basis of campaigns which are realistically adjusted to the demands and direction of the workers' movement. These campaigns must not be sucked out of the thumb of some functionary in a party office, but must arise as a result of the connections of the party with the workers' movement and the indicated direction of the masses in specific situations."

This campaign method of building the party -- the method of well thought-out, well organized campaigns growing out of the needs of the objective situation and limited to realizable goals, and the mobilization of all the energies of the party for the achievement of the goal -- this method has guided us in the work of the party and it remains our guide today. With our tested revolutionary program and policies, with correct slogans and with bold campaign methods, our small revolutionary party will before long gear itself with the movements of the masses. Then and only then will we be unconquerable.

### Defense Campaign

American entry into the war coincided, as you know, with the conviction and the imposition of prison sentences on our 18 comrades. This had a double effect on the work of our party.

1. The rise of reaction and chauvinism limited the scope of our activity, especially in the trade unions, and reduced the possibility of political campaigns.

2. The persecution of our party leaders, and the government's attempt to suppress the Militant pushed to the fore and placed as point No. 1 on our agenda the campaign for the defense of the 18, the struggle against the Smith "Gag" Act and for the freedom of our press.

For three years now this has been our major and our most consistent campaign. The beginning was a difficult one. Our successes at first were very modest. The prevalent opinion in labor and liberal circles was that our comrades would never be sent to jail. The professional democrats could not believe that "it could happen here", that such a flagrant violation of our elementary democratic rights would be committed, especially while Roosevelt was in the White House. When it did happen and the threat of imprisonment became a reality, our campaign in behalf of the 18 entered an entirely new stage. By hard persistent work our comrades succeeded in building up a defense movement that can boast today of the support of trade union, labor, fraternal and Negro organizations with a membership of over three and one-half million. In this campaign our party has done an excellent job against heavy odds. All around us we faced indifference and the outright opposition not only of the Stalinists and Tobin, but of practically all the top bureaucrats in the trade union movement. We faced in addition the conspiracy of silence of the whole capitalist press. What did it matter if 18 Trotskyists were placed behind bars at a time when "national unity" was the watchword?

We can be all the more proud of our wonderful work in the field of defense, of the great achievements, because it was done by and large by the hard work of our own forces. Very few indeed were the liberals and civil libertarians who made any real contributions in this work. I will not go into detail on the defense campaign, of the funds we raised, of the national tour Comrade Warde made, etc. This will all be covered in supplementary reports.

There is one aspect of the defense campaign I wish to emphasize. When the Supreme Court on three occasions refused to hear the appeal in the case and took the unprecedented action of refusing to pass on the constitutionality of the Smith "Gag" Act, we knew, of course, that these "guardians of impartial justice" were motivated by political considerations. The imprisonment of our party leaders was in the interest of the warmakers in Washington, of Dan Tobin as well as Joseph Stalin. We naturally asked ourselves: What is to follow? Are they going to take other repressive measures against the party? Will the substitute leadership be harrassed? The truth is, we had no answer. All we knew was that the more successful the struggle in behalf of the 18, the less chance there would be of further persecution. We knew that the more we hollered the greater would be our chances to operate freely. We did indeed raise quite a holler, especially for our small movement.

### The Militant

Our Militant campaign, with which I will deal briefly, was in a sense an outgrowth of the defense campaign. Or to put it more precisely, it represented our political implementation of the defense campaign.

1. The Militant was the chief weapon at our command with which to break the conspiracy of silence which surrounded the Minneapolis case.

2. It was our chief instrument with which to bring the political views of the 18 to the attention of the workers, to bring to their attention the party program and slogans.

Here is what we did: We increased the size of the Militant to six pages. This in itself made a qualitative change in the paper. It gave us the chance to introduce new and popular columns and features. In this we have been very fortunate. We have discovered new very talented writers in the party -- worker-journalists in the truest sense of the term. It is a great tribute to a movement when it is able to attract such intelligent, capable militants as our new columnists, Comrades Jackson, Grey and Kovalsky, and our wonderful cartoonist, Comrade Gray. We have finally succeeded in establishing a Workers Correspondence Section in the paper as a regular feature. This was no easy task. It was not so long ago when we had to beg for letters. It is not easy for workers toiling hard and long hours to come home after work and put their thoughts in writing. But the reason our paper is liked by workers is because it has become more and more a workers' paper rather than one written for the workers by professional journalists. Everyday's mail brings new testimony to the wonderful reception our paper is getting among workers.

After we increased the size of the Militant to six pages and, following a year's struggle, won back our second-class mailing privileges, we launched a national subscription campaign. By its results this campaign exceeded the hopes of even the most optimistic of our comrades. We had set for ourselves the goal of 3,000 new trial subs, and we got 7,614.

We can first begin to appreciate the achievements of the sub campaign and its significance when we realize that we only had 900 subscribers when the campaign was launched. In the course of three months we thus increased our individual subscriptions almost ninefold. For every worker who received the paper before the campaign, we now had nine. This means in the last analysis a ninefold chance for the growth and development of our movement. I am sure that when the delegates take the floor, they will tell us what a change this has made in their work: in literature sales, in new contacts and in recruitment. Our sub campaign represents a great investment of money and hard work by all the comrades. But it has already brought us great dividends and will bring ever greater dividends in time.

By the combination of effort by the Militant editors, the staff, and our hard working and eager membership, we have managed to expand the paper, to improve it and to increase its circulation. Everyone can feel proud of his or her share in the work that made this possible.

#### Fourth International

We have placed so much stress on the Militant in the past period that the F.I. suffered somewhat as a consequence. Its date of publication wasn't always regular. But we did manage not to skip any issues, and this sometimes required special efforts. On the whole, we have better than held our own as far as our theoretical organ is concerned.

The increase in the Militant circulation will prove to be the trail blazer for the increased circulation of our theoretical organ. As the Militant readers come closer to the movement, they will become readers of the F.I. as well. Our comrades must always be mindful of this. It is for them to judge when, at what point, a reader of the Militant is prepared for the next step, is ready to be introduced to the F.I. Bear in mind that we must not be too hesitant about it. We must not underestimate the intelligence of the workers, and push the F. I. more boldly.

### Books and Pamphlets

Our publications program too revolved largely around the Minneapolis trial and the imprisonment. One of the reasons we published only one full-sized book within the year -- "The History of American Trotskyism" -- was the need of getting out second editions of the two basic trial pamphlets. The first edition of 5000 of "Socialism on Trial," Cannon's testimony in the trial, was sold out before the beginning of this year. And we remained with only 500-600 copies of Goldman's "In Defense of Socialism."

We published a new edition of 10,000 each of these two trial pamphlets. We published, in addition, 10,000 of "Why We are in Prison", the farewell speeches. These three excellent pamphlets, plus the CRDC pamphlet on the biographies of the 18, represent not merely the record of this historic trial, but the best type of literature for revolutionary socialism we could offer to a militant worker. This is why the sale of these pamphlets became our next indicated campaign.

This campaign -- the sale of these four pamphlets in the attractive box we prepared for the purpose -- has been less speedy than the sub campaign and less spectacular. The reason for it is that it was combined with the call-back on the new readers of the Militant. But it has been rich in results nevertheless. The cumulative results of the trial literature placed in the hands of the readers of the Militant will yet be felt and is bound to result in new contacts for the party and new recruits.

It is noteworthy that our literature campaign coincided with the pre-convention discussion. The party members carried on the campaign plus the routine work of the branches and discussed at the same time. This is a sure sign that our party has grown in maturity and stature. There was a time when an internal discussion of this kind would have rocked the party to its foundations. But hardly a tremor was felt now; the discussion did not even impair the conduct of our work efficiently. The greatest strain of the pre-convention discussion was felt in the National Office, where so many internal bulletins were turned out in so short a time.

The publication of Comrade Cannon's lectures on the "History of American Trotskyism" in book form has been no small achievement. In this book we have the record of our movement, as well as a study of politics and strike strategy. It is of inestimable value to our own comrades and to our co-thinkers in other countries. Its popular style makes it possible for even a raw worker to read and understand it.

The workers awakening to political consciousness and seeking the road to the revolutionary movement will find in Comrade Cannon's book an excellent introduction to Trotskyism. It was unfortunate that the publication of this book had been delayed. When it finally appeared we were involved in our pamphlet campaign and in the pre-convention discussion. After this convention we must concentrate our attention on the sale of this book.

This does not exhaust the work that Pioneer Publishers has done. The supplementary report will round out the picture in greater detail.

### Party Recruitment

Our recruitment campaign, too, like our other campaigns, flowed from the Minneapolis trial and was intimately connected with it. This campaign was conducted in two stages:

(1) In the period commencing with the conviction in December 1941 until the imprisonment of our comrades. In this campaign no goals were set, but continuous stress was laid on the recruitment of new members and periodic reports on recruitment were sent to the branches by the National Office. From the period between the conviction and imprisonment, a period of 25 months, we recruited 245 members.

(2) With the imprisonment of the 18, we launched a new recruitment campaign, setting ourselves the goal of 180 new members -- 10 new members for every comrade in prison. This campaign was to last until the release of the comrades, January 23, 1945, that is, a period of 13 months. We are well on the way towards the fulfillment of this goal. By November 1st we had recruited 150 new members, and assuming continuation of the same rate of recruitment, we should exceed our goal in this campaign as well.

The rate of recruitment in the present campaign as against the one preceding it, shows a marked increase. The average monthly recruitment between the trial and the imprisonment was approximately 10 members per month. In the present campaign it has been 15 per month, an increase of 50% in the rate of recruitment.

Where did these recruits come from? We have tabulated the information we had on 308 of the new recruits. It is interesting to note that 68-1/2% of the recruits have had no previous political affiliations. This bears out our contention that in this stage of our party's development our source of recruitment will come primarily from the un-schooled militant workers. 13% of the new members had been in the CP at one time or another; 3% have come out of the Socialist Party; 2% out of the Workers Party.

Several comrades criticized us for the harsh tone we use in our attitude toward opponent parties. This question deserves special treatment. Here we will only point to the record of recruitment from opponent parties. At the same time I may add that I do not know of a single one of our members who have been attracted either by the Stalinists, the Socialists or the petty-bourgeois Workers Party. It is not unlikely that Shachtman has someone operating as an agent in our party.

The fact that he was in receipt of the Morrow Post-Plenum document, that he is in possession of our internal bulletins, would indicate this. But the trend is unmistakably in our direction. Anyone who is serious-minded and wants to be a revolutionist can see clearly that it is our program and only our program that has been verified by events.

25% of our new recruits have come out of the auto and aircraft industries: 10% out of the shipyards; 8% seamen; and so on and so forth.

Those who misunderstand or misinterpret our policy of caution in the trade unions as a do-nothing policy, will be at a loss to explain this record of recruitment. It is precisely because we correctly analyzed the objective situation conditioned by the war and adapted our tactics to it, that we not only preserved our own cadres in the unions and in the plants, but recruited serious militants who because of the correct advice and guidance our comrades gave them, joined the party. This is why, among the new recruits will be found a number of experienced trade unionists who occupy positions of leadership and esteem in the mass movement.

The average age of the new recruits is 27-1/2. This shows that we are a young party and that it is the young generation of militant workers who are attracted to our revolutionary program. The following is the break-down in recruitment according to sex: Male - 66.2%, Female - 33.8% -- two to one. A very encouraging feature of the recruitment is that 12% of the total number of new recruits are Negroes. This is by and large the relationship between Negro and white in the population generally, and it shows that we have finally begun to penetrate the layers of the most oppressed sections of the population.

Unfortunately, we have no record of those who dropped out of the party. There are undoubtedly some who could not be assimilated, or even some old-timers who joined the legion of "tired radicals." We intend to institute a system of periodic branch membership reports which will give us this information in the future.

The growth of our party reflected in our recruitment is of course modest. So far we have been only adding to our membership by recruiting on the basis of individuals here and there. Our task is far greater. But we must bear in mind that this recruitment has taken place during the war years of reaction. It has taken place under conditions when our party is under persecution. It has taken place while approximately twelve million of the American youth are in the armed forces. In the next stage of disillusionment with the imperialist war, when the slogans of our party will become the slogans of the mass to an increasing degree, when the revolutionary struggles in Europe and in the colonies will reverberate on this continent, we are confident that hundreds and thousands of workers will flock to our party and its program. It is in anticipation of these developments that we have laid a basis in the expansion of our work and our task today is to broaden this basis in the campaigns to follow.



Excerpts from Report on Finances

I shall now try to present a picture of the party finances since the last convention. Party finances are a good barometer of the general health of the party, the degree of devotion of the membership of the party, their readiness to sacrifice.

\* \* \*

With 1938 as the base our average monthly increase in expenditures was as follows:

1939	---	78%	over	1938
1940	---	128%	"	"
1941	---	271%	"	"
1942	---	264%	"	"
1943	---	371%	"	"

On the basis of the first nine months of this year, the average monthly expenditures were 542% over 1938.

This reflects the steady uninterrupted growth of our movement. These figures deal with the funds of the National Office and with the other institutions such as the Militant, F.I., and Pioneer Publishers only insofar as we have given them subsidies. Supplementary financial reports of these institutions will be given later.

\* \* \*

Of the total expenditure of the past two years, 66.6% went to organization work and supplementary subsidies. 25.1% for direct subsidies to the press and publications; 8.3% for international co-thinkers.

\* \* \*

66% of our average monthly expenditures have been supplied by regular income, and 34% through the special campaigns. In 1941 the picture was entirely different. This was before we had established the Sustaining Fund system in the branches. At that time the average monthly expenditures were offset by regular income only to the extent of 27%, while 73% of the funds needed for the functioning of the party had to be raised through special campaigns. This shows that in establishing the Sustaining Fund we have succeeded in stabilizing the party finances to a large degree. This means that the need of special campaigns is reduced to the extent that the Sustaining Fund is increased and maintained on a regular basis.

\* \* \*

I must dwell here on the fine performance of the branches, on the regularity with which they have been paying the Sustaining Fund. Regularity and efficiency in the matter of finances is no less important than in all other fields of party work. As a matter of fact, financial regularity and stability is the lubricant that makes it possible for the whole party machine to function smoothly and efficiently without a breakdown.

### Special Fund Drives

I mentioned earlier that our regular income only accounts for 66% of our necessary expenditures. The question, then, is how did we raise the balance?

In the period of two years since the last convention we had to resort to several special fund-raising campaigns. At the last convention we launched a campaign for \$1000 to aid our Indian comrades. The contributions to this fund totalled \$1045. This fund has been kept separately and for this purpose only.

In November and Decemoer 1942, in a campaign that was confined to New York, the object of which was to raise a fund to buy radio time for our party, we raised a total of \$379.68. This fund is kept separately to be used as soon as the opportunity presents itself.

In December 1942 when the post-office department began to interfere with our second-class mailing privileges, causing extra expenses in the mailing of the paper, we had to appeal to the party for a special fund to tide us through the emergency. We asked for \$1000 and received \$1160.38.

In June 1943 we launched a labor party fund campaign, in conjunction with the tour that Comrade Dobbs made at that time, and the receipts on this fund amounted to \$3055.92.

### \$15,000--15th Anniversary Fund

And then followed the biggest of all our campaigns, the \$15,000--15th Anniversary Fund campaign. The \$15,000--15th Anniversary Fund campaign, which was launched by our 15th Anniversary Plenum in October 1943, was the largest, most ambitious fund-raising campaign ever undertaken by our party. The highest goal we ever set in any previous campaign was the one for a \$13,000 Organization-Press Fund campaign in 1942. In the 1942 campaign we fell short of our goal, but we came within 12% of it -- that is, we raised \$11,460 or 88% of the total goal. In the \$15,000--15th Anniversay campaign, however, we not only raised the full amount, but the campaign was oversubscribed by 24% bringing us a total of \$18,554.95.

\* \* \*

In addition to the \$15,000--15th Anniversary Fund, we carried out a campaign for a \$1000 solidarity fund for the British Trotskyists. The reason we undertook this campaign is well known and was explained to the branches. We did this as a public demonstration of solidarity with the British comrades who were under persecution by the Tory-Labor Coalition government, and we did this, furthermore, because we had no provisions in our \$15,000--15th Anniversary Fund campaign for such a large contribution to one single section.

\* \* \*

Our international obligations will increase immeasurably in the next period. It might be necessary for us to make special appeals to the party for such funds in the next period, and we are sure that the comrades, ever mindful of their international obligations, will always be ready to make additional sacrifices to help our co-thinkers abroad.

## Education

The growth of the party and the recruitment of politically unschooled workers posed before the party the need of a well-planned and organized revolutionary educational system within the party. In the stormy revolutionary days ahead every rank-and-file comrade will be called upon to give leadership to great masses. It is therefore one of the indispensable tasks of the party to educate the membership for the tasks of leadership in the class struggle and to generally raise the theoretical level of the party as a whole.

In the past the branches have been carrying on with modest educational programs of their own, assisted by some outlines that have been sent out by the National Office from time to time and assisted, of course, by those of the writings of our Marxist teachers that are available.

We have now reached a stage when we must without delay bring the element of centralized, conscious planning and organization into our educational work just as we have done in our political work, trade union work, and in our campaigns.

I hope all the comrades have studied carefully Comrade Martin's comments on the party's educational plan, in the first issue of the Party Builder. You can properly understand our educational plan in the context of these comments.

What is our plan, in brief? It means the establishment of a Trotsky School system which would take care of the Marxist educational requirements of the very newest recruit as well as of the requirements of the top leadership. History has imposed upon us a great mission, the mission of liberating humanity from the rotten putrid capitalist system. One of the means by which this system maintains itself is by the deception and miseducation of the people. The masses are subjected to the process of poisonous miseducation through the medium of public schools, high schools, colleges, the press, movies, radio, etc.

In its miseducation and deception capitalism has at its command the best brains money can buy. It is helped in addition by the petty-bourgeois confusionists of all schools including the self-styled "Marxists" of reformist and centrist varieties. The revolutionary party must carry on an increasing and unceasing ideological struggle for its program, for its policies, for its philosophy. The membership as well as the leadership must be trained as revolutionary Marxists who know how to fight in the class struggle, to fight not only with physical courage and power, but also with the sharpest ideological weapons.

So far we have only taken the first steps in our educational program. We have set up a national educational department with a full-time educational director at its head. We plan to continue publication of the Party Builder, which we intend to issue periodically as an internal bulletin devoted to the educational and organizational needs of the party. In this bulletin we have published our educational program, articles elucidating this program, and the

branch reports on education. These were the necessary first steps. We will discuss the next steps later when we project our program of action.

The Mid-west Vacation School, which was not originally a part of our educational program and which we initiated as an experiment, has been very successful and rich in the lessons it has taught us. Party Builder No. 2 carried a full report on this project. We intend to build on the experiences of the vacation school in Michigan and to have a far more imposing school next summer. I shall return to this point when we deal with our plans for the ensuing period.

### Branches

At this convention it is hardly necessary to go into any detail on the state of the branches. There is this big advantage in the campaign method of functioning. The party as a whole and every single branch -- one might say, every single member -- are put to the test in each campaign. Their functioning is continuously observed by party public opinion. Their records of achievement are recorded in the press or in the special bulletins we have been sending out monthly on recruitment. So the picture is a clear one to every party member who has been eagerly watching our campaigns.

No branch and no individual member of a branch can rest on past performance in a party which proceeds from one campaign into another. On the whole, the party branches, with very few exceptions, have grown in numbers, in strength and in self-confidence. Some branches stepped out more to the fore than others, but we know that all our branches are trying hard to maintain the pace set by the most advanced.

We have strengthened our party organization, by placing more full-time organizers in the field. The advantages of a full-time organizer need hardly be labored here. We all know what a qualitative difference it makes in the life of a branch, when there is at least one qualified comrade devoting full-time to the work of the branch, planning the work, coordinating it properly, participating actively in the educational work of the branch, guiding the trade union fractions, etc.

The most graphic picture of this difference can be seen in Toledo. The Toledo branch was organized a little over a year ago, with some 8 or 10 recruits; some of whom had been members of the old Toledo branch, but by and large they were comrades who were inexperienced in the functioning of a branch. We sent Comrade Mac Ingersoll into Toledo, first as a part-time organizer, and then as full-time organizer. In the course of several months the whole branch became transformed. It established a headquarters, unfurled its banner and proceeded to recruit workers. Today Toledo is able to boast of the recruitment of 15 new members. It has organized trade union fractions in the most important plants in the locality. It established itself firmly, and the growth of the branch is by no means at an end. This is the picture of Toledo before and after it had an organizer. We have also added a full-time organizer in Buffalo. Comrade Bill Grey has been working in Buffalo as branch organizer for some time

and doing a very good job of it. In the recent period we have put him on full time, and he is dividing his time between his responsibilities in Buffalo as well as Rochester. Buffalo, as you know, has recruited six new members to the party in recent months, and Rochester four.

The Seattle branch has, since the last convention, been established as one of our strong branches, with a record of 12 new recruits since the beginning of the year. This branch too has had a full-time organizer for approximately a year. I can go right down the line and mention the wonderful work Los Angeles had done; Detroit, which has been in the forefront of recruitment, not only in numbers recruited but also in the quality of the recruits; and so on and so forth. Altogether we now have a total of 27 branches; 9 of them have full-time organizers, as against 7 last year.

When we speak of the growth of such branches as Toledo, Buffalo, Rochester, we must remember that this was made possible because of the tenacity with which an individual here and there clung to our program and the organization against heavy odds. In Toledo, for example, Comrade West maintained a small nucleus after the dissolution of the old Toledo branch, and this nucleus was at the foundation of the reestablishment of a Trotskyist branch in that locality. Comrade West maintained his confidence in our organization and its program when everything looked black and hopeless. Today too there are some groups that are in a similar position as Toledo was a little over a year ago. In Allentown, for example, three or four comrades have been maintaining the continuity of our movement in that locality despite all obstacles. They can now look upon our Toledo branch as the example of what will happen on the morrow in their own locality when the objective situation improves and when the party is able to send them reinforcements to take advantage of an improved situation.

We now have nine full-time branch organizers as against the seven we had before the imprisonment of the 18.

#### Trade Union Work

The growth and the strengthening of the branches went hand in hand with the growth and the strengthening of our trade union fractions in the most important plants in those localities where we have branches. The increased strength of our trade union fraction was reflected at the steelworkers convention in Cleveland where we held a national fraction meeting of delegates. It was reflected at the auto convention, and especially at the auto conference in Michigan last August, with E. R. Frank representing the P.C.

We had yet another national gathering during this period in addition to these national fractions mentioned. This was the Cleveland conference of the organizers and N.C. members of eight mid-west branches, which I attended for the P.C.

All these national gatherings reflected the complete agreement existing in the party on the trade union question, and the general appreciation that the policy of caution proved its worth and was

vindicated by events. This general understanding of our trade union policy made the task of conducting the trade union work a relatively easy one. In trade union work, as well as in all other party activity, it is always the main task to have an understanding of the general line and it is only then that the specific problems of tactics begin to find a rightful place within that frame-work; without too much difficulty.

### The Party and the Imprisonment

The imprisonment of our 18 comrades confronted the party with its most serious test. Included among the prisoners were the outstanding leaders of the party -- its National Secretary, Labor Secretary, Chairman of the National Committee, the editors of the press, the New York organizer, the Minneapolis organizer, and others, -- all comrades with many years of experience in the revolutionary movement behind them. Comrades who have occupied the key posts in the party organization and in its leadership. By striking this blow at us the conspirators in Washington hoped to paralyze our will and ability to struggle. They calculated that this imprisonment would not merely decapitate the party, but also terrorize it.

But they have failed to accomplish their purpose. By our tenacity and hard work we have frustrated the aims of Roosevelt, Tobin and Co. We have turned the blow of the imprisonment into a party victory. The Minneapolis case -- the imprisonment -- symbolized our party banner. We raised it high as the banner of uncompromising Trotskyist struggle against capitalism, against imperialist war, and for a socialist society. This was no banner for faint hearts and cowards to flock to. But many revolutionary militants rallied to this banner and joined our party. Our recruitment has been greater since the imprisonment than in any comparative previous period.

How was this made possible?

Because we have always been entirely free of illusions about capitalism and what it has in store for us. The imprisonment did not come to us as an unexpected blow. What else has capitalism to offer a revolutionist except frame-up and persecution? We knew this when we first came into the revolutionary movement. We knew this when we joined it to be participants in a life-and-death struggle. But we also knew that this fight is the only fight worth the sacrifice of one's freedom and even of one's life.

Our party was not caught unawares. By years of preparatory work we steeled a cadre capable of assuming the responsible tasks of the imprisoned comrades and carrying on the work of the party with devotion and confidence. The substitute leadership did not come out of nowhere. They are no apparatus appointees. They are all comrades who have distinguished themselves in the work of the revolutionary movement for many years. They were not imposed upon the party but came into their positions naturally, as a matter of course. And this is how the party accepted them, placing full confidence in the substitute leadership and displaying a magnificent spirit of cooperation. Not for a moment was there the least sign of jitteriness or panic in the party ranks following the imprisonment. The party as a

whole remained steadfast throughout and confident in its own strength and ability to carry on.

The substitute leadership was assembled from various parts of the country. A number of the comrades in the substitute leadership hardly knew each other except that they met at national party gatherings every now and then. Very few of us had had the opportunity to work together for any period of time. But we were united by a common program, which is the firmest of all bonds. We were united in the determination to demonstrate to the whole world the vitality of our party. We were united by the common training we had received in the same school of Bolshevism. This is why we could work so harmoniously, not only when there was unanimity on questions, but also whenever differences arose on questions of policy or tactics. We were always mindful of our responsibility to the party and to the world Trotskyist movement, a responsibility that demanded that differences be resolved in the democratic way by majority vote rather than by the method of factional struggle, personal recriminations, etc. In a word, we have functioned in the true spirit of a collective leadership where the collectivity gives greater strength and greater wisdom to each individual. This is, after all, the true meaning of the Bolshevik party. It is only through the party that a worker finds strength and capacity to struggle, that he finds the wisdom with which to carry on his struggle most ably and most successfully.

There is yet another factor which gave inestimable aid to the functioning of the substitute leadership. We have mentioned the loyalty, devotion and readiness for sacrifice displayed by the party as a whole. We spoke of the collective spirit in which the leadership functioned. There is one more element in this picture. This is the efficiency of the party apparatus, established and trained by the imprisoned comrades. I can well remember the time described so well by Comrade Cannon in his chapter on the Dog Days of the Left Opposition, the time when sending out a letter to a branch was a major project. I can well remember the early days when the greatest complaint at conventions and throughout the party generally was: we can never get a prompt answer from the National Office. Our National Office has been functioning as a well-oiled machine with great precision and punctuality. We have managed not only the routine work of the organization but we have had the additional work imposed by the various campaigns we have carried on. We have taken care of all this thanks to the efficient staff of Comrades Sylvia Caldwell, Reba Aubrey, Lillian Charles and others.

The imprisonment of our comrades occurred, as you know, at a time when our number of absentees was at its height. As it stands today, we have over 150 of our young, energetic comrades unable to participate in the party organizations, although I am sure that wherever they are they remain revolutionists and are doing good work. But for the moment it meant a weakening of the party structure. Among these people are included many experienced comrades who have held posts of leadership in the movement, including membership on the National Committee.

The test that the party was confronted with by the imprisonment of the 18, therefore, took place under the most difficult conditions because of the absence of so many experienced comrades. Here is where our women comrades came into this breach and have performed miracles in every phase of party work. I mentioned the excellent work of our office staff, of the manager of the Militant and F.I., of the manager of Pioneer Publishers -- all of them women Bolsheviks doing a splendid job in the center.

In addition, the work of defense was carried on almost exclusively by our women comrades, and what a splendid job they have done! Comrade Larissa Reed, heading the defense work, planned and managed all the magnificent campaigns and carried them out with boldness and efficiency. The whole staff at the center and nationally, was made up of our women comrades. One can go on and mention branch after branch where the women comrades took over the responsible functioning of the party and did a very able job of it. The two largest branches in New York, for example, have women organizers. New York City has an educational director who is a woman comrade. The local that is next to our largest -- Los Angeles -- has a woman organizer. And so on and so forth.

When the history of Trotskyism during the difficult and trying period of this war is written, one of the brightest chapters in this book will be devoted to the portraying of the magnificent role of our Bolshevik women.

Our greatest tribute goes to our wonderful rank and filers, the comrades who have been compelled to work in their plants sometimes as many as ten hours a day and seven hours a week, and who have nevertheless found the time and energy to carry on with the manifold tasks of the past period. This demonstration of revolutionary devotion to the cause has no equal in any group or party in this country. It is a promise that the greater tasks ahead of us will be crowned with success.

#### PROGRAM OF EXPANSION

For the next period of our party's activities we are proposing a rounded program of expansion, embracing all aspects of our work. We are proposing a bold program that will mean a great forward leap for our movement. It is proposed, in addition, that we carry out this program by the same Bolshevik campaign methods which have characterized our recent activity.

In introducing this program let us first state briefly the main motivating factors from which the proposals flow.

(1) Our main task, that of breaking out of isolation and steering a course to the working masses, still lies ahead of us. No matter how our program stands the test of events; no matter how correct our ideas; no matter how just our cause, unless we succeed in bridging the gap between our small revolutionary party and the masses, we will never fulfill our mission and will go down in history as another failure.



(2) While in the past our slow, modest growth was conditioned by an unfavorable objective situation, there is a radical shift taking place today, a shift that is bound to offer us great opportunities. The workers are becoming restless under the burdens the imperialist rulers have imposed on them. They are becoming disillusioned with the imperialist war aims. This was reflected in the trade union conventions held in the recent months. It was reflected most vividly in the UAW convention and the struggle against the no-strike pledge. The slogan for rescinding the no-strike pledge, which not so long ago had been our exclusive slogan, has become the slogan of masses of workers.

The sentiment for independent political action among the militants in the trade unions has been growing stronger. Even though the PAC has succeeded in sidetracking this movement for the purposes of the election campaign this year, we can say confidently that the movement for an independent labor party will grow in strength in the next stage. And this slogan, too, which not so long ago was advanced almost exclusively by us, will in the next period become the slogan of the trade union militants nationally, just as it has already become the slogan of a growing number of trade union militants especially in Michigan.

(3) In addition, the revolutionary struggles occurring today on the European continent, struggles which are bound to extend to the colonies, and which will grow fiercer with time, are also bound to have their repercussions on this continent.

(4) We do not need any new program. Our American resolution has outlined the political course that lies ahead of us. It indicates the slogans that will become most appropriate at the next stage. This resolution itself makes no pretence of presenting a new program. It bases itself on the program of the 4th International, and in particular, on the program of transitional demands adopted in 1938 and supplemented later at the outbreak of the war with our proletarian military policy. Our course in our agitation for an independent labor party was mapped out in 1942 and this course applies today even more than it did then.

Proceeding from these considerations -- i.e. the knowledge that the objective situation will be far more favorable than it has been in many years, and the fact that we are armed and equipped with the correct program and with the appropriate slogans, we must strike outward to an ever-increasing extent. We must reach out with our ideas to an ever-greater number of the most oppressed and exploited sections of the masses.

### 1. THE MILITANT

The wonderful reception that The Militant has received from the new readers, their enthusiasm for our paper, indicates that The Militant is the key to our program of expansion. The Militant is the generator supplying the power with which the party and all its institutions will advance. This is why we lay primary stress on The Militant in our expansion program.

(a) Concretely, we propose to transform The Militant into a big national weekly; our aim is a 50,000 circulation.

(b) That as soon as practicable The Militant be increased to 8 pages. We have seen what a qualitative change has been made in the paper when it was changed from 4 to 6 pages. The addition of 2 more pages will give us the chance to add new popular features to the paper, to brighten it up much more, and to give it proper balance for our needs.

(c) We propose to reduce the subscription rate of The Militant to \$1.00 per year.

(d) We propose to start off in order to achieve the goal of 50,000 circulation, with a campaign for 10,000 new readers -- to be followed by a second subscription campaign sometime before the end of 1945.

The proposed subscription campaigns are to be carried on by the same methods employed in our last campaign, but taking into account its lessons. We will offer a 25 cent trial sub for six months. We feel that in approaching raw workers three months is not an adequate "trial" period. Once a worker buys a sub that entitles him to receive a paper for six months, our comrades will not be under the pressure of revisiting the new subscriber so soon for a renewal. Once the subscriber is revisited for a renewal, during the course of the call-back work which should be a regular part of branch activity, and is sold a \$1.00 renewal, this renewal will entitle him to receive the paper for a full year. This, too, will relieve the comrades of the burden of making too many visits to the same people.

Our job is to get more and more readers and let The Militant itself do the job of convincing them week-in and week-out, thus drawing them closer to the party. The stormy events of the next period will help us greatly. Our agitation in our paper will be confirmed by the experience of the workers and will find greater receptivity. Our line will gain plausibility in the eyes of the workers; plausibility which will in time become transformed into conviction.

As the circle of Militant readers broadens, it will of necessity also lead to the broadening of the reading circle of the Fourth International, our theoretical magazine. We will have a bigger market for our books and pamphlets, a larger periphery for forums, mass meetings, etc., which will lead to the more extensive recruitment of new members.

## 2. BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

For the publishing branch of our activities, we propose to complete as speedily as possible the publications program we have promised earlier. This includes the publication of two volumes of Comrade Trotsky's "Five Years of the Comintern" and Comrade Trotsky's "Man and His Communist Future." We propose, in addition, that the incoming committee be instructed to outline a program of publishing as many as possible of those of Comrade Trotsky's works which have

been out of print -- namely, the writings on Germany, France, etc. The new workers joining our party find it increasingly difficult to familiarize themselves with Comrade Trotsky's writings that our movement had published earlier, because most of them are out of print. We must make extraordinary efforts to place these writings, this Marxist treasure, at the disposal of the advanced American workers. In addition we propose the publication of popular pamphlets on timely topics. Such a pamphlet on the labor party is now in preparation. We are also planning to get out a selection of the "Shop Talks on Socialism" and of Comrade Jackson's columns, "The Negro Struggle" and others.

### 3. FIELD ORGANIZERS

The expansion of our party work must also include an increase in the staff of full-time field organizers, to provide organizers in those localities where the situation requires it. We will, in addition, have to pay attention to new localities where the possibility for the organization of party branches will present itself. We have seen one example of it most recently in Cincinnati, Ohio, where we have no party branch. A worker on his own initiative sent us seven subs to The Militant and said in effect that he would like to place himself at our disposal to carry on the work of spreading The Militant.

This is no isolated phenomenon. If we are in a position to send out national organizers to such and other localities, it will be possible to form new branches. It may even be advisable to send an organizer into new territory, get several hundred subs to The Militant, and then proceed elsewhere to repeat the same performance. The Militant would then do the work of education and organization. The planting of this seed in fertile soil will bring rich harvests.

### 4. EDUCATION

As this expansion program unfolds and becomes realized, the need of placing greater stress on our educational needs will become more pressing. New members joining the party must be educated towards an understanding of the party program and policies as the only sure way of assimilating them in a Bolshevik party. Our educational proposals, mentioned earlier and elaborated more fully in the Party Builder, must be carried further along step by step. Our plan to establish the Trotsky School system, which would take care of the Marxist educational requirements of the new recruits, promising candidates for leadership, as well as of the requirements of the top leadership and all the categories in between -- this plan we propose to put into effect as part of our expansion program.

We propose to build on the experiences of the Michigan Vacation School and to establish next summer a national training school of longer duration where all the stress would be laid on education rather than vacation. It is our proposal to gear the Trotsky School, which is part of our educational project, to the requirements of the summer training school. That is, as soon as we are able to establish the Trotsky School and select the student body which is to devote a period of time to education, it would be the task of the comrades thus privileged to be selected for full-time

study of Marxism, to equip themselves as the faculty for the training school in the summer, and prepare the courses for the training school. This will enrich the school and at the same time give the school faculty the necessary experience in teaching others.

#### 5. 18,000 PARTY EXPANSION FUND

To make this program possible we come before the party with the proposal to raise an \$18,000 Party Expansion Fund. We have set the sum at \$18,000 because the party proved in the \$15,000--15th Anniversary Fund campaign that such a sum is a realistic goal. We furthermore wish to symbolize the imprisonment of our 18 comrades. Our expansion program and the \$18,000 Party Expansion Fund will be the best possible welcome home for our comrades when they are released.

We have no proposal on the duration of this fund raising campaign. We would like to complete this campaign by the 23rd of January, the date of release from prison. But we are not sure that this amount can be raised in only two months. We are leaving it up to the convention to make a decision on this, just as it has to decide on everything else in this expansion program. We propose that the delegations meet to consider their quotas and to decide how much time they would require to complete them. On the basis of this information the convention will be able to set the date. Comrade Karsner has been placed in charge of the fund campaign by the P.C. and she is available for consultation on all matters pertaining to it.

The success of our expansion program will require the united effort of the whole party. It will require financial sacrifices of every one of our members. It will require a lot of hard persistent work. But, on the other hand, there is nothing more nourishing than the fruit of achievement, nothing more satisfying than the feeling of a job well done. There is nothing more gratifying than watching your party, armed with your program, march forward in expansion and growth.

Our sacrifices for the party have not been so great after all when you look around and we can see how the capitalist class has imposed the sacrifice not only of money, but also of life and limb of millions of youth and adults in the cause of imperialist slaughter, in a cause in which the people have no interest whatever. Our cause, the cause of liberating humanity from the shackles of exploitation, from the misery of war, deserves all the sacrifices we have made and even the greater sacrifices we will be called upon to make in the days ahead. Only to the extent that the party is infused with all our energies and strength, will the party grow and become powerful.

Let us then unite in the firm determination to fulfill this program of party expansion as another leap forward on the road to the masses. As the party grows, we will have bigger, more audacious campaigns, until that day when we will plan and execute the most audacious of them all, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the socialist society.

M. Stein

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MILITANT AND F.I.

Supplementary report to the Organization Report

This past year has been one of great expansion for The Militant. For the reasons pointed out by Comrade Stein in his Organization Report, the expansion of the paper has been greater than that of our theoretical magazine, Fourth International. The magazine has only slightly increased its circulation.

First a brief picture of the F.I.

Our income from bundle orders and subscriptions, bound volumes, etc. was fairly stable during the year.

Our expenditures for 1944 have not increased much over 1943 with the exception of wartime increases in the cost of paper, printing and supplies.

Our average circulation increased only a few copies per month during 1944. The bundle orders from branches have increased a few copies and we are sending a few more bundle orders to foreign countries. Subscriptions, both domestic and foreign, have dropped about sixty under 1943.

The figures show only a slight actual increase in the press run, but two years ago with a press run per month of 2,300 copies there were many in excess of our actual needs. Now with our press run at 2,500, every copy is needed and used.

We believe that for the present one of the ways to increase our circulation is by getting the magazine out earlier in the month. Our perspective is to send the magazine to press at least a week earlier each month until finally it comes off the press by the 20th of the preceding month so that the branches will get the current issue by the first of each month. We are sure that getting the magazine to the branches in time will increase the newsstand sales.

Almost every branch has made a real effort to get newsstands to carry the F.I. At the present time twenty-six newsstands in eight cities carry the magazine. And our comrades report steady increases in these newsstand sales.

For instance, New York reported that the increase in sales for the August issue over the preceding month amounted to almost 50%.

Los Angeles reports that the August issue had the highest newsstand circulation of any issue during the last six months. Their newsstands sold eighty-two copies of this issue. Six months ago their stands sold an average of thirty-five per month, which means that in six months their sales have more than doubled.

As yet we have not received reports on the September and October sales.

Now just a few suggestions on the magazine --

Those branches that have not yet placed the F.I. on newsstands in their areas should make this a primary task.

Where possible, the comrades should place the magazine in the public libraries.

And above all, we must now introduce Fourth International to the more advanced readers of The Militant.

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Now on The Militant --

First the financial picture. All the figures are in round sums and therefore approximations.

Income from bundle orders and subscriptions during 1944 increased 43% over the previous year.

Our expenditures increased 85% this year and we needed \$7,000 subsidy to cover the difference between our income and our expenses.

We believe that with comparative percentages you will see why we needed such a large amount this year.

1. During 1944 our printing bill, and this includes paper for The Militant, increased by 50% due to enlarging from a four-page to six-page paper and to our increased press run.

2. Cuts and mats increased 435%. What this increase really means is a livelier paper with more cartoons, caricatures, illustrations, and every comrade knows what a rich treasure we acquired when Comrade Gray began to draw cartoons for the paper. Her cartoons have brought forth a volume of praise from our comrades and friends.

In addition to the increases in expenses just mentioned, there were also increases for such items as research materials for the editors, supplies used in getting The Militant out each week, delivery of the paper to the post office, etc., all of which was due to an improvement in the quality of the paper and to our increased circulation.

All the various increases add up to a total increase of 85% in our expenses over 1943. Our operating expenses, however, are really comparatively low and would, of course, be much higher if it were not for the volunteer help we get from the New York comrades. Here we would like to express appreciation in behalf of The Militant to the New York comrades for the fine cooperation they have given and continue to give us in accomplishing the huge amount of work there is to be done in getting the paper out every week.

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This is the brief financial picture of the paper. We shall now try to give you a picture of our circulation.

Today our press run is 17,500, a 52% increase over 1943 when it was 11,500.

Our bundle orders, domestic and foreign, dropped about 2,000 copies under 1943. The decrease in foreign bundles is because of the tight wartime censorship. And when the United States entered the war, a letter was sent to the branches, as most of you will remember, cautioning the comrades against taking unnecessary risks in distributions of the paper and to use their own judgment in continuing mass distributions or curtailing them according to their own experiences from week to week.

At that time most of the branches cut their bundle orders to a minimum.

This decrease in weekly bundle orders, however, has been more than offset by our increased subscriptions. Our foreign subscriptions during 1944 have increased from 35 to 263. This increase is most heartening when we consider that The Militant is now being read by workers in twenty-five foreign countries.

Not only is our paper being read by more workers in more foreign countries, but it is being read by 8,000 more workers right here in the United States. Our domestic subscriptions have increased by 890% -- from 918 subscriptions in October 1943 to 9,090 in October 1944. This increase of 890% has taken place, as all of you know, since April and The Militant is now being read in 42 out of the 48 states, the exceptions being Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, New Hampshire, South Dakota, and Vermont.

We can truly say that through the Militant Subscription Campaign we have gone a long way on the road to breaking out of our isolation and in cutting a wide path to the working class.

Now to go back a little for a brief history of the Subscription Campaign.

The Campaign was made possible by the restoration of our second-class mailing rights which we regained through a year of vigorous fighting. Once again we could send our paper through the mails at second-class postage rates, with a fair amount of assurance that it would not be delayed or confiscated outright.

When the decision was reached that the Campaign cover a period of three months with a goal of 3,000 new subs to The Militant, some of us felt that the figure was high. We had little previous experience to guide us.

Just prior to the national campaign, San Francisco had conducted a local campaign for 25% subs and in four mobilizations sold 142 subs. But this occurred in a specific locality and we couldn't know at that time whether the experience of San Francisco would be that of other branches.

However, the branches accepted their quotas. The first week was rather slow because we had not allowed sufficient time for them to make local plans for their campaigns. But the second week the subs began to pour in. The third week the branches sent in 311 subs, the fourth week 425. With amazement we all watched the subs pile higher each week. In the sixth week we thought we had seen the peak with 688 subs. In the seventh week two-thirds of our national quota was filled and in the eighth week of the campaign we had gone over the top.

It was about this time that Comrade Cannon wrote: "I have heard numerous reports on the sub campaign -- all in the same vein. What do you think of the 3,000 goal now? Does it appear fantastic or realistic?"

And the subscriptions, instead of tapering off, increased. The twelfth week of the campaign the branches sent in 821 subs -- in one week 821 subs! And this incredible weekly number of subscriptions piled up to total 7,614 at the termination of the campaign.

This worthy achievement had a profound effect upon the branches. Every branch wrote of the enthusiasm and inspiration aroused in the membership by the campaign.

Not only were the branch comrades inspired by the achievement, but our comrades in prison felt the same inspiration.

Comrade Cannon wrote: "The July 12 Militant came with the next-to-last scoreboard. The news of our wonderful party makes us do our time easier; or more correctly makes it less difficult, for there is no such thing as 'easy time.' How badly we all underestimated the energies of our membership and the new responsiveness of the workers to a paper that tells the truth!"

Before we go on, I think you will be interested in the financial picture of the 3-month campaign.

It cost us about \$3,000 to send our new readers 13 issues of the paper. Each copy of The Militant costs almost 3¢. The income from 25¢ subs totaled \$2,100 which means that the campaign was subsidized by \$900.00. Of course, we all know that no publication pays for itself. The bourgeois press is able to show profits by leaning heavily on its advertizing section. Radical and revolutionary publications have to be subsidized in one way or another. Our press is, and always has been, subsidized by the party. This subsidy is a big drain on the National Office, but it pays big dividends to the movement, as we all know.

Now when the follow-up on the sub campaign was discussed, the decision was to continue our program of expansion. In addition to the thousands of trial pamphlets sold, the figures show the comrades have not let down for one moment in spreading The Militant to an ever-widening circle of readers.



Since the campaign, the branches have continued to send in 3-month subs. They have made the sale of the introductory subscription an integral part of their branch work and during the last four months have sold 1036 new 25¢ subs.

Not only our comrades but our new readers are also doing their part in helping us increase our circulation. As you know, we send a letter to each subscriber when his sub expires in which we enclose four of the special 25¢ sub cards. We ask the subscriber to send in four subs for his friends. To date our new readers have sent in 629 subscriptions for their friends.

We have now compiled the figures for the November 15 scoreboard.

To date we have sent out approximately 5,000 SPECIAL OFFER letters. Of these 5,000 subscribers 18% or 927 have renewed for six months, some for one year, of which 854 were secured by comrades in the various branches. The percentage of renewal will undoubtedly be much higher after the branches have finished calling back on all of these 5,000 trial subscribers.

A total of 967 trial subscriptions have been cancelled. However, these cancellations have been more than offset by the new 3-month subs which have come in since the end of the campaign -- 1,665.

On the special coupon printed in the paper we have received 85 subs during the last four months, which clearly indicates the spontaneous response of the workers to our paper. Many of these are coming in from places where we have no branch and no comrades. Evidently our subscribers are mailing the paper to their friends. We've received subs on these coupons from such places as Powers Lake, N.D.; Coushatta, La.; Thiensville, Wis.; Cairo, Ga.; Carbon, Ind.; Monclova, Ohio; Olympic, Wash.; Ronceverte, W. Va., etc.

It is a real inspiration to know that our subscribers want to acquaint their friends with the paper they themselves found so welcome. I'd like to quote from a few letters in which our subscribers make this pretty clear.

Oakland: "Please send me at once one dozen 25¢ sub cards. I am going to peddle them at the shipyards and those guys are going to buy them. I am sold 100% on The Militant."

(This subscriber has sold about 15 subs to date.)

Buffalo: "The four names on the four cards are for subs I sold to union members. Please send me four more cards. I am sure I can sell them."

Cincinnati: "I am willing to try to promote the cause here so please send 6-month subscriptions to the following seven people. All are officers of our union Organizing Committee."

We've received many other letters just as good as these.

In addition to the expansion of our press through the campaign, there are other concrete results.

For one, the branches now have worker contact lists, some for the first time.

And comrades in the various branches report that many of the new Militant readers have been attending their public functions such as forums, classes, socials.

Another result -- and we cannot say too much about this -- is the fact that through the campaign the comrades have started to send us detailed reports about what is going on in their branches. These reports not only give those in the National Office a better picture but this is the kind of information that we can pass on to the other branches -- reports of progress, ideas that have proved successful, etc.

There are undoubtedly other concrete gains which will probably be reported during the discussion.

Before we go on to a brief recapitulation, I should like to quote from a few letters which will make you understand better than anything else how the workers feel about the Militant.

One subscriber asked for back issues of the paper. He later wrote: "Sat up half the night looking them over. That's what I wanted -- to get at the core of what's going on today."

Another reader renewed his sub and wrote, "Must continue to read your press since its clarity cuts through all the confusion created by the capitalist radio and press, as well as that of the Social Democrats."

This is a letter that accompanied a new sub. "Your paper, The Militant, fell into my hands quite by accident near one of the defense plants and let me say that after reading it, there is more solid truth in that paper than in any I have ever read, including the union papers which supposedly represent the workers."

And this last letter from an auto worker says, "As one auto worker I would like to inform you that we look forward to getting The Militant. Without any hesitation I may say that The Militant has helped in clarifying to the members of our local the necessity of withdrawing labor's no-strike pledge."

There are scores of other letters like these.

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Now to recapitulate briefly:

On Fourth International there has been little change in the financial picture. The circulation of the magazine increased by 136 copies in spite of the fact that we lost heavily in our foreign

circulation. We now print 2,500 copies a month.

On The Militant -- Our income per week is 42% higher this year than last.

Our expenses per week are about 91% higher this year than last.

The subsidy needed every week has increased more than 100% this year over last.

The circulation today is 17,500 as compared to 11,500 last year. Of our present circulation 8,146 are bundles, both domestic and foreign, and 9,090 are subscriptions.

For the first time in the history of our party, the subscriptions have exceeded the bundle orders going to the branches, which means that instead of the general and haphazard method of distribution we are getting the paper into the homes of workers regularly week after week.

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And now that we know the great receptivity of the workers to our paper, now that we have been shown the workers' eager response and acceptance of a paper that tells them the truth about what's happening and shows them the way out of capitalism in its death agony, we must concentrate even more upon a perspective of greater and greater expansion.

Comrade Stein proposed a perspective of a 50,000 press run. This perspective is not fantastic! In one campaign our press run was lifted from 10,000 to 17,500. A new campaign for 10,000 subscriptions has been proposed. If we conduct this campaign and others to follow with the same concentration of energy and hard work that characterized the previous Subscription Campaign, there is no doubt that we can and will go forward to the realization of our goal.

Reba Aubrey

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PIONEER PUBLISHERS

Supplementary report to the Organization Report

In preparing a report of any party organization such as Pioneer, one deals with a great mass of figures. In the bourgeois world, data of this kind is cold material representing profit and loss in dollars and cents. That is the criteria of achievement or failure.

Because there is so much more at stake in our achieving or failing to achieve our socialist goal, so infinitely far beyond the realm of the almighty dollar, the figures involved in our work have a dramatic meaning of their own.

Every single pamphlet printed, every book that reaches the hands of someone who will help to attain the socialist revolution serves not as a profit making item, but as an educator, an agitator and a propagandist in its own right. We have not but a handful of people for the tremendous task we face. With every piece of literature we publish and distribute, we multiply our forces.

In the past two years we have had to cope with multiple problems. Most of our top rank leadership was withdrawn from active participation in party work by imprisonment and absenteeism, which left us short handed in both our editorial and technical departments. And then in paper houses, print shops, binderies -- in every step along the line of production arose the countless hurdles and delays occasioned or attributed to the manpower and material shortage. Paper for the publishing of books was sharply curtailed so that it could be used more extensively in behalf of the election of "labor's friend." In some instances our costs increased 100% for work inferior to that done two years before.

But there was work to be done. The publication of more and more of our material was essential to meet the growing receptivity of the workers under the impact of the war.

In the two year period since our last convention, Pioneer has published a total of 114,000 pieces of literature. We have shipped out 67,000 books and pamphlets, of which 58,000 were made up of those published in the last two years.

In the fiscal period October 1st, 1941 to October 1st, 1942, we printed six items with a total of 356 pages. You will recall that 1942 was also a banner year, for it was then that we printed the first editions of the trial pamphlets; Their Morals and Ours, and other works.

In the 1943-44 period we printed 19 items, consisting of 1,682 pages. This figure includes 300 pages of reprints of such items as Socialism on Trial and In Defense of Socialism. If we had proceeded at the 1942 pace, we would have published only 712 pages. Instead we stepped up our rate by 236%.

In brief, we produced 114,000 pieces of literature and more than doubled the number of pages brought out in print in the previous period.

The production of this period has been well rounded. If Pioneer had been able to accomplish nothing more than the publication of the three books: In Defense of Marxism, The Struggle for a Proletarian Party, and The History of American Trotskyism, its contribution to the important literature of Marxism would have been established.

However, we have been able to add to these: large editions of the indispensable trial pamphlets, the excellent Negro pamphlets, the Maritime book, and the topical and popular pamphlets Your Standard of Living and Wartime Crimes of Big Business, as well as such important items as The End of the Comintern, The Russian Revolution and the Old Man's writings on Fascism.

Another publication of which we are very proud is the attractive Pioneer catalogue, which fills a long felt need and serves as a star salesman.

While our primary concern does not lie with the monetary value of our stock, and while we do not select works for publication because they are "money-makers," we are not in a position to ignore the financial aspects of our work.

Last year when the figures were assembled for our report to the October Plenum, we were surprised and gratified to find that we had amassed a stock of saleable merchandise valued at almost \$10,000. We have not fallen behind in this year. Even after shipping out 67,000 pieces of literature, we have on hand over \$18,000 worth of books and pamphlets ready for distribution. Thus, even by bourgeois standards, weighed on the dollar scale, we are a going concern.

In the past two years our income has been almost \$15,000. Of this amount the 15th Anniversary Fund contributed \$5,000. \$800 was contributed by the Maritime comrades toward the publication of their book. Over \$600 came in as a result of the publishing campaign conducted soon after our last convention. The income from sales alone totalled \$8,500. It is of some interest that almost 13% of these sales came through sources other than the branches. These sales were made to individuals, commercial houses and libraries as a result of the Militant advertising, our price list, and the reviews and listings we have been able to secure in the bourgeois press and catalogues.

We have also been able to expand our services to the branches with respect to the works of other publishers. Over 10% of our sales are made up of books and pamphlets put out by International, Kerr, out-of-print items, such specials as the Zapata book, etc.

In spite of the fact that the literature campaign got off to a late start and is ending early because of the convention, by the time the sales now made have been reported, we will have gone over the top. Work of inestimable value to the party has been done in calling back on the new subscribers. There is no need to elaborate on that, for every comrade has participated in the campaign and knows from first hand experience the enthusiasm which has been engendered in the party by the reception we have received from the workers who are reading our press.

In a little over two months, the comrades with devotion and hard work, have placed 10,000 of the trial pamphlets in the hands of our new readers. It is not now, but rather in the coming months that we will feel the results of this work. We have often characterized the Goldman and Cannon trial pamphlets as "primers of socialism." They will serve that purpose for the new subscribers who read them. In effect, we have left a party teacher in every home in which we have left the pamphlets.

If we are to get out any quantity of material, our publications must pay their own way. Even so, because it is far more economical to publish larger editions than we will use immediately, and because there is a lag between the time of meeting the bills and the time when the investment is returned, a subsidy is necessary if we are to continue to increase our volume of production.

In the case of Socialism on Trial and In Defense of Socialism, because of their manifold importance, these pamphlets were priced below cost and were heavily subsidized so that they could have the widest possible circulation.

The History of American Trotskyism ran into almost every hazard known to the publishing business, which made it no less welcome when it finally arrived at 116 and we were able to ship it out to the branches which had been eager to have it for so long. 1,000 copies have already been ordered and sent out. There is no doubt that the book will sell easily because of the increased interest in our movement -- both in bourgeois and working class circles.

This book, perhaps more than any other we have published in recent years, will have a wide library circulation if we can place it on the library shelves. Since libraries order books only in response to a demand, it is up to the branches to see that the libraries receive enough requests for the History to warrant their ordering it.

The book is a popular item both in subject matter and style. We have already received reports of its warm reception by workers who have read it. Now that the pamphlet campaign is over and added attention can be given to the sale of The History of American Trotskyism, we can be sure that a new Pioneer record will be set.

Our latest popular pamphlet on The Labor Party is now at the printers. Here we are venturing out in a new and attractive format. This pamphlet will have line-cut illustrations scattered throughout its 48 pages and will have a two-color cover. As you have seen from the excerpts in the Militant -- the style is simple and popular. We are getting out 10,000 copies for quick sale while the interest in this subject is high.

Immediately after we have finished the Labor Party pamphlet, we will get out another edition of The Struggle for Negro Equality, of which the second 5,000 copy edition, printed last December, is almost exhausted. This pamphlet, together with Negroes in the Post-War World, has been invaluable for the party. Besides their usefulness in the campaigns and in contact work: we have received more individual and library orders for these two pamphlets than for all our other works combined.

Comrade Stein has told you of the plans for the two volume edition of Five Years of the Comintern and one volume of Man and His Communist Future.

Until we can start work on these three books, however, we are planning two smaller ventures. It is proposed to print some of the Militant columns, Shop Talks on Socialism in pamphlet form. This material has aroused very favorable comment among our readers: and placing it in compact form will facilitate and accelerate its wide distribution.

Everyone who has gone out in the sub drive and the literature campaign speaks of the enthusiastic response to the Negro Struggle column in the Militant. This material also is being prepared for publication in pamphlet form and as soon as the funds and the material are available, it will go to the printer.

In the not too distant future, we also want to re-publish the Old Man's writings by country -- starting with a compilation of his works on Germany: What Next? The Key to the International Situation, The Only Road and shorter articles.

Added to this, of course, there will probably be a pamphlet containing the basic documents of this convention. We will also publish popular, topical pamphlets that will be necessary from time to time. One on post-war reconversion and unemployment, for example.

We are always justifiably elated by our success in conducting a good public meeting, in recruiting new members, in reaching out to broad and receptive fields in our sub drive. But it is a tribute to the real spirit of internationalism that pervades our party, that the news which stirs the party most deeply, is the news from our comrades abroad that they are on the march.

And in the same way, Pioneer takes particular pleasure in reporting to you that since the last convention we have sent over 2,000 pieces of literature to our comrades in other countries. We have sent over \$1,300 worth of books and pamphlets. It is difficult to transfer money to the U.S. from abroad, but our foreign market sent us \$260. in cash in this same period.

Of course, the bulk of this literature went to Great Britain, but in the last few months we have been happy to be able to send some of our most precious out-of-print works to our comrades in Italy, where they are being translated.

The next year will see great historic changes -- both here and abroad. Pioneer will continue to play as great a role in those changes as our means permit -- as an instrument of the party to spread the ideas of the 4th International as widely and as forcefully as possible!

Lillian Charles

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SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

December 5, 1944

TO ALL LOCALS AND BRANCHES:

Dear Comrades,

THE EXPANSION PROGRAM AND THE IMMEDIATE TASKS

The campaign for the \$18,000 Party Expansion Fund is off to an excellent start. From first indications it promises to be a complete success. The Fund Campaign will be followed closely by the campaign for increasing the circulation of The Militant, as outlined in the convention report on the Expansion Program. We are planning to launch a 3-month trial sub campaign for 10,000 new 'Militant' readers beginning March 1st.

Recruitment Campaign

In the meantime the branches should concentrate on the successful completion of the campaign to recruit 180 new members by the time our comrades are released from jail on January 23rd. The convention report on the Recruitment Campaign recorded 150 new recruits. Since then 15 additional recruits have been reported by the branches.

Every member of the party must become recruitment conscious. We must seek out the most likely contacts among our shop-mates, with the object of recruiting them to the party. In addition, the branches should organize systematic calls on those new readers of The Militant who are most likely to join the party. It has been our experience that organized recruiting work brings the best results. In this work we must always be mindful not to expect the new recruit to be a 100% Bolshevik before joining the party. Far from it. Our recruits will come largely from raw workers who may not even have a full understanding of our program before they join.

It is the responsibility of the branches to give such workers every opportunity to learn the party program inside the party; to create the kind of branch atmosphere where new members can be assimilated. With a correct approach there is no doubt that we will top our recruitment quota. Furthermore, we will thus learn the best recruitment methods. This experience will prepare our membership for the next stage in the expansion of party



activity when recruitment will be raised to a higher level.

### Literature Sales

There are a number of related activities that can supplement and aid our contact and recruitment campaign. One of them is the continued sale of trial subs and literature. We must continue selling trial pamphlet sets, especially in the next few months while our comrades are still in prison. We are duty bound to rouse the labor movement to a full understanding of the issues which led to the imprisonment of our comrades.

The labor party pamphlet will be off the press within a week. It will appear while the election campaign is still fresh in the minds of the workers. It should have a widespread sale, especially at union meetings, factory gates, etc.

### "The History of American Trotskyism"

Special efforts should be made to increase the sale of the "History of American Trotskyism". Comrade Cannon's book gives in lucid, popular style, not merely the history of our movement, but also the methods which govern our political line and conduct. The sale of this book has been somewhat neglected because of the pressure of other activities. Now is the time to make up for it. The branches should make every effort to place this book in libraries and local bookstores.

Wherever possible we suggest the branches organize a public forum using the "History of American Trotskyism" as a text. The object being to stimulate interest in the book and to sell it at the forum. When you organize this forum you should circularize all 'Militant' readers in your locality, informing them that you have arranged a lecture on the History of American Trotskyism.

Our ideas and program as presented in The Militant have undoubtedly raised in their minds questions about the origin and history of our movement. Inform them that the meeting is being arranged for their benefit, so that all these questions can be explained.

In addition comrades should have this book with them in their contact work; it should be prominently displayed in branch headquarters; etc.

Forums

The National Educational Director has undertaken to supply an outline for a speech based on a review of the book. In addition, other speech outlines will be sent to the branches from time to time so that forums on current topics may be organized wherever possible. Such forums, if properly organized, in conjunction with the work of contact and recruitment, will help greatly to facilitate the task of recruitment. Once a forum is organized, our comrades should always be mindful of bringing their contacts, whether from the shop or neighborhood, to the forum where they can be brought closer to the party.

Pioneer Publishers Notes

We are planning to establish a new feature along the lines of The Militant Army, which will report in The Militant branch methods and experiences in literature sales. This column of Pioneer Publishers Notes will have to rely primarily on information supplied by branch literature agents. We therefore urge all comrades to report their experiences along these lines for publication in the paper. Send all reports to L. Charles, Manager Pioneer Publishers.

Fraternally yours,

*M. Stein*

Acting National Secretary

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