

BULLETIN NUMBER 1.

ACT. 1 WORKERS CONFERENCE

This is the first bulletin for the ACTIVE WORKERS CONFERENCE. It contains material bearing directly on the conference and is to be used as discussion material in the pre-conference discussion in the branches. Another bulletin will be ready in about a week. Comrades are urged to send in discussion articles dealing with the conference agenda.

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This is an orientation article dealing with the agenda for the Active Workers Conference. It is intended to elucidate the meaning and content of the agenda. The following from the conference call will help in clarifying the nature of the conference.

"The scope and seriousness of the problem arising from our party's transformation have now reached a stage where their solution can no longer be postponed. To do so would be to invite a crisis in our work. Comrades everywhere have problems and questions which they find it impossible to settle on a local scale. These deal with our method of recruitment, our points of party concentration our role and influence in the unions, our party dues system, the nature and circulation of "Labor Action" and the "New International", our party education, our party campaign, above all the issue of lay-offs and re-conversion, the question of centralism in party direction and discipline in party activity, the problems of leadership, etc. The extent and nature of these problems produce confusion about basic questions like the kind of party we are building, our main tasks in the unions, how politically developed a worker must be before he can join, etc."

First of all the conference is to be a working body devoted to the main organizational and administrative problems of the Party. It will not be a political meeting in the sense that a Party convention is a political meeting. We are not coming together to discuss the Party line or any of the important and interesting theoretical questions of Marxism. The conference will be based on the present political line of the Party. The reports and the discussion will revolve around the application of the present political line and program of the Party.

THE AGENDA

3. REPORT ON THE TASKS OF THE PARTY. This report will consider such questions as the following: What kind of Party are we trying to build? What type of Party is required for today? What are the duties and responsibilities of Party membership? What is the meaning of the expression; "our Party is a Bolshevik Party"? What are the organizational, strategical, and tactical steps necessary to build such a party in the U.S. today? What is a cadre party? What are the main tasks of such a party today in the U.S.?

4. REPORT ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL TASKS OF THE BRANCHES: This report will deal with the main methods of branch organization and functioning. It will be a practical report dealing with the organizational and administrative tasks of WP branches

and not with theories of organization. Such questions as the organization of the practical work of the branches, the duties of officers and the EC, how to conduct branch meetings, relations of the branches to the National Committee, handling branch finances, how to present the face of the Party. Above all: Question of recruitment and assimilation of new members.

5. REPORT ON THE ROLE OF THE PRESS AS PARTY BUILDER: Under this head the reporter will consider the role of the Press in the building of the Party in the way of direct recruitment and developing greater influence of Labor Action and the New International in the working class and broader masses of the population, subscription campaigns, administrative and organizational problems of the press, financing the press. The report will not deal with questions that have arisen from time to time of changing the type of Labor Action but positively with the concrete problems of taking a paper of the type which Labor Action is today and using it to build the kind of Party the WP aims to be.

6. REPORT ON EDUCATION, PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION: This report will be somewhat of a new departure for us. However the report will not deal with theories of education, propaganda and agitation. The reporter will discuss practical techniques for carrying on educational work internally and externally by the WP. How to organize branch educationals. How to educate new members. How to use Labor Action and the NI in educational work. For propaganda and agitation the reporter will handle such questions as using Labor Action and the NI for the education of non-member-contacts and prospects as well as for spreading the program of the Party among as large a group of workers as possible. The report will deal with the organization of propaganda campaigns and the techniques of agitation where agitational procedure is indicated.

7. REPORT ON THE PARTY'S ROLE IN THE TRADE UNIONS: This report will deal precisely with the question indicated in the title of the report: how the Party should operate as a revolutionary socialist organization in the trade union movement. How each fraction should operate in the trade union. What is the function of the Party in the unions. What is the chief function of the individual Party member in the union. The aim of the report will be to show how to organize the activities of a Bolshevik Party in the labor movement, to the end that the Party may acquire political influence and members. The report will not emphasize primarily the state of the labor movement, what we are doing and where or the importance of this, that or the other situation. The report will not be a "shop talk".

Fraternally yours,

David Coolidge  
Acting National Secretary

## PROBLEMS OF PARTY EDUCATION

### Discussion Article for Active Workers Conference

#### 1. Why Education Has A Special Importance at This Time:

The shift of the centre of party activity into the shops and trade unions and the recruitment of new members from this activity has given to party education an importance never experienced in the past.

The party has demonstrated that it can recruit from the shops on the basis of our activity in the class struggle. The real test that faces us today is whether we can take trade union militants who have been won to our ideas and make real party-men of them. This is a problem of education understood in its broadest terms.

Unless this problem is solved, it will prove itself the bottle-neck in the party's growth. The recruitment of union activists without their integration as understanding and disciplined party members will only result, in the long run, of reducing the party to an amorphous mass. It is this that gives education in this stage of party development an importance that requires the mobilization of our best forces for its solution.

#### 11. Education Must be Understood in its Broadest Terms:

One of the prevalent errors in our movement is to regard education solely in its formal aspects of classes and lectures. With this view prevailing it will never be able to so permeate the membership with a consciousness of education as to achieve a solution to our problems in this field. This view toward education is no better than if we were to view party agitation as being solely the job of "Labor Action" and public meetings, without knowing that the latter can only show the way while the real follow-through is accomplished by our members in the shops, on the union floor, and in visiting contacts. Just as few workers will join our party solely from reading "Labor Action" so will few new recruits become good party members solely from attending classes.

Education in its broadest terms must mean that every phase of the new members contact and activity with the movement must have educational value to him. Unless this is understood the best planned formal education programs will fall short of their goal.

A branch cannot go through its "business meeting", its fraction meetings and its various activities while ignoring the presence of a new worker-member in its midst and then, suddenly, when coming to the educational part of the meeting turn its attention toward integrating the new member. Such procedure helps make him more aware of being "on the outside of things" and, consequently, throws up a barrier to this real integration.

#### 111. The Role of the "Business" Meeting in Education :

The life of a good branch centers upon its so-called business meeting. In poor, inactive branches the business meeting is a routine and dull affair. Because of this a certain universal feeling of antipathy toward "business"

meetings has grown up in our ranks. This is, in large measure, a reflection from the period of our isolation from the workingclass movement. The business of the branch under these circumstances was a monotonous repetition of arranging distributions, sales, meetings, classes, social affairs, etc. A branch that is part of the class struggle activity of the class hears reports from its fractions or members on developments in the local or locals of the trade union movement, the progressive groups, local and city-wide, the rank-and-file movements, the CIO Industrial Council, etc. Each branch meeting is confronted with some new development which requires the party taking a position. Where the party has its members in these various spheres it is inevitable that these problems of the class as a whole crowd their way into the branch agenda.

The discussion around these problems is one of the most potent educational weapons at our disposal in integrating the new worker members into the party. Its potency flows from the fact that the subject matter deals with something from his daily life. He at least knows what we are talking about, or is, at least, in a position to know. His understanding of these problems is, of course, very limited by virtue of his political inexperience. But his familiarity with the problems being discussed will permit him to follow the discussion closely and, more often than not, participate in it.

However, the extent to which he learns from such discussions and the degree to which he is able to participate depend upon how the discussion is conducted. This is what was meant earlier by stating that one cannot ignore the presence of the new member during these discussions. The entire branch must be aware of it and the discussion must take it into account. What does this mean concretely? It means that it is necessary to go out of our way in these discussions in making our point of view understood, it is necessary to consciously use these discussions for education, it is necessary to remember when speaking that the new member has a limited background of knowledge in our methods of approach in these problems, it is necessary to avoid allusions to esoteric theories and phrases without immediate explanation of what we mean, including an avoidance of the mumbo-jumbo of abbreviations that have no meaning to the new member like: "exec", nc, pc, pg. plenum, fraction, faction, no, etc. The branch can engage in a discussion of the new members very own shop situation and keep him completely in the dark as to what it is all about.

In addition to discussions in the branch that reflect the parties activities in the labor movement, there are the various party problems that constantly arise for discussion and action which constitute equally good material for education. For instance the problem of discipline. We can have six classes or private discussion with a worker before he joins in which we explain that we are a disciplined party without it having half the effect which we achieve by one concrete discussion in a branch dealing with a case of discipline. The same applies to other problems of party organization and procedure like the relationship of a fraction to the branch, the election of a branch executive committee, the relationship of the branch to the national organization, etc. Here again we can either carry on these discussions in such a way that the new member achieves a tremendous education or we can carry them on in such a way that we may as well be speaking Tibetan as far as he is concerned.

Even these phases of branch activity that inevitably assume a routing character should, for the sake of the new members, be discussed in such a way that they can understand the reason why this or that activity is

carried on by the branch and why it is done in a particular way. This includes explanation of why a particular plant or housing project is a chosen point of concentration for our distributions, why distributions in Negro neighborhoods are not merely accidental but flow from a policy, etc.

Conducting a branch meeting with this awareness of the new member and the resultant concern for his integration and education will, inevitably, lengthen a meeting. Short meetings, however, have no virtue of their own. The demand for short meetings arise as a reaction to dull meetings. It is believed that if a meeting must be dull than, at least, let it be short. The extent to which this psychology has permeated our older comrades is amazing.

On any number of occasions I have seen a branch conduct a series of extremely important and educational discussions that arose from the branch agenda. These dealt with the party line on the PAC as applied in a certain progressive group, the attitude of a fraction toward a wildcat strike in a certain department, the attitude of a member on a slate in a union election that involved Negro representation, the problem of a party member who undertook serious steps in the union without consultation with the fraction, etc. At the conclusion of the "business meeting" it was discovered that it was too late to conduct an educational discussion that had been scheduled. Immediately and automatically a number of older comrades would start grumbling about a "long-winded" business meetings which took up the time allotted to educationals! In their routinist concept of the problem of education they could not conceive that the "long-winded" business meeting had achieved more for the education of the branch than ten lectures could possibly have done.

Most of what has been said here of the role of branch meetings in educating the new members also applies to fraction meetings. They differ only in that the field of subjects in a fraction meeting is more narrow. But in a discussion of tactics and strategy which revolves around a trade union situation every decision must proceed from the party's past experience, its program, its perspectives. If these are all taken for granted in the discussion and not explained to the new member, obviously he will be puzzled by many of the decisions taken. He will often disagree, precisely out of a lack of experience and background, and will feel that the decisions are being rammed down his throat. Because the comrades in the fraction cannot find a little additional time to be pedagogical in their remarks for the sake of the new members, they must later spend hours and hours trying to "straighten out" the new members who find it difficult to carry out the party decision because they do not understand the reasoning behind it.

Much of this "explanation" of branch and fraction decisions and activities need not be on the floor of the meeting. If the branch organizer or fraction director or the person who has recruited the new member makes it his business to explain these things after meetings, before meetings, in visits to the members home, etc. a good deal of the job will have been done. Such individual education on the party and its procedures is just as necessary as that which we will discuss later in connection with education in the theories of the movement.

#### IV. Problems Involved in the Education of Worker-Members:

The field of party education is perhaps more effected by the transition to a class struggle party with worker recruits than any other phase of our activity. The transition effects education so drastically because our new recruits are different from those in the previous stage of our existence in at least five important respects: (1) they join on the basis of activity with us in the class struggle rather than propaganda; (2) their activity in the trade unions severely curtails their time for attendance at classes; (3) they are generally past the years when

it is easiest to take to new ideas; (4) their formal education and reading habits afford little background for serious and consistent reading; (5) their time and attention is in large measure pre-occupied with family responsibilities.

Given these conditions it is not possible to conduct educational work in the same manner and the same forms as applied when our average recruit was not engaged in mass activities, when he came to us after reading a politicalized paper and advanced propaganda material (generally the writings of Trotsky) in our magazine and pamphlets, when he was still relatively young, when he was a student, intellectual, or white collar worker with a considerable (at least high school) educational background and accustomed to serious reading, and relatively unencumbered by family and personal responsibilities.

It is necessary that we adapt our education to our new worker members. Any attempt to force the new members education into out-moded moulds just won't succeed.

In approaching the problems of new techniques and forms for education we have much to base ourselves upon that did not prevail in the past. The education of the worker-member has aspects to it that are advantageous and off-set the handicaps.

In the first place the worker comes to us with a background of actual experience. The workingclass, class struggle, the trade unions, exploitation, are all actual facts of life rather than theories he read about in a book. He takes his theory with his feet on the ground rather than, as in the case with intellectuals so often, sailing off into the clouds. A theoretical understanding of the program of the party and Marxism generally that is built upon such a foundation is built well and will not easily be blown away by some new fancy that may captivate the intellectual.

In the second place the party today, precisely because of the presence of the workers in its ranks, can build much of its educational activity around the living problems of the class struggle and use them as the point of departure for a pedagogical unravelling of their connections to strategical concepts, revolutionary politics and fundamental theory in economics, history, and philosophy.

Taking these two positive features into account we can through experimentation and the pooling of the best solutions work out a theory and practice of party education attuned to our new needs.

#### V. Branch Educational Programs:

It has already been pointed out that a party active in the class struggle has no dearth of live subjects for educational discussions following the regular business meeting. However, the education of the new members should not proceed very fast nor would it be a rounded development if it was confined to these current problems. It is necessary that these be bolstered by fundamental education in the history and theory of the movement.

The ideal arrangement would be a special class in the fundamentals of Marxism to meet on a night other than the branch meeting. However, experience seems to indicate that worker-members of the party who give one night to a branch meeting, a second night to a fraction meeting, and a third night to a union meeting (either local meeting, committee, or caucus) find it impossible to accept the responsibility of another party affair. This might be expected of party members who have been integrated and become part of the party cadre, but our problem is those who require the education necessary to integrate them. A special class is therefore

usually not possible.

The next best arrangement must be a class that meets after the business of the branch is finished. However, such a class, to achieve its purpose of educating the new members, cannot suit the branch as a whole where the members are at widely separated levels of experience and background in the movement. It becomes necessary then, to divide the branch into two classes, one an advanced class and one on fundamentals.

It is not advisable to have these classes take the place of all branch educationals. The purpose of the class is to supplement and substitute for the branch educational discussion of current questions. It is therefore advisable that the branch alternate each week between a class on Marxism and a branch educational on a question of current importance. Such an arrangement should make branch educationals a reflection of the party's interest in the class struggle, both national and international, and still provide fundamental education in basic theory.

This proposal like all such arrangements must be regarded in a flexible light. The life of a SLP branch might be planned and regulated for a year in advance. In a live and fighting party like ours however, new developments continually will upset the best laid plans. What is important is that we keep our eye on the ball and continually find ways and means of again making the practical adjustments to achieve what we are after -- branch educationals that both reflects the life of the party in the struggle and provides for fundamental training in Marxism.

#### VI. Subjects and Techniques for Branch Discussions:

Current subjects for discussion should be chosen with an aim to achieve the maximum participation by the entire branch, including both the oldest and the newest members. This is not easy to do and sometimes proves impossible. Branch discussion subjects will fall into these three general divisions:

(1) Discussions on how to explain the party position on various questions. Examples: what to do with Germany; the PAC; the annual wage; how to combat anti-Semitism; objections to Socialism answered; are we for national defense, why we oppose peace-time conscription; party attitude toward conscientious objection; why we believe that the new League of Nations will not end war; etc. The purpose of these educationals is obvious. It is to prepare the members to answer the objections and questions raised in the shop and elsewhere to our party position.

(2) New Problems for the Party to discuss. Examples: the role of the veterans in post-war America; how can the unions utilize the FEPC in the struggle for Negro rights; what are the revolutionary prospects in Russia after the war; can American super-imperialist exploitation provide a period of prosperity; should we favor moves toward local labor parties; can a fascist movement base itself upon the workingclass in America; etc.

(3) People and Events from History. Examples: Marxist study of the American Revolution, of the Civil War; the Paris Commune; the Eight-Hour Fight, founding of the CIO; the Russian Revolution; role of Compers, Debs, DeLeon, Haywood, etc.; the Labor Party movement of 1919-24; history of the IWW; the founding of the Workers Party; etc.

The techniques used in discussing these various subjects will most often be determined by the subject itself. Subjects dealing with how we advance and defend the party position hardly ever require a lecture. The best method is to have an advanced comrade play the role of an opponent of the party position and ask

questions of the various members in rotation. It is important that the newest member not be omitted even if it is necessary to ask a very simple question of him.

In discussion on subjects that are more or less new problems for the party, it is usually necessary to have a discussion leader state the problem in outline form in 10 or 15 minutes before opening a general discussion. Where historical material is being presented it is necessary to rely upon a well prepared lecture to introduce the material since even if reading assignments have been given in advance it is not realistic to expect active members to always find the time to do it.

### VII. Class in Marxist Fundamentals for Workers:

Experience in teaching Marxism to students who joined the old youth movement and now in teaching it to trade union activists has revealed the wide difference necessary in approach and method. The student was familiar with history, even if somewhat muddled about it, having come fresh from a class room. He was accustomed to studying and had the time to do it. He was in the habit of listening to lectures and knew how to extract salient points. It is quite different in regard to these matters with a trade unionist.

It was the practice to approach Marxism via the historical development of society: primitive communism, slavery, feudalism. From it arose a practice which we still seem to follow as though there is no other. Nothing is more absurd than to begin teaching a group of workers Marxism with an analysis of feudalism. Who worker never was a serf and knows little about feudalism. The aim of our approach should be to utilize his own knowledge and experience and build from there. It is sensible, therefore, that we begin his instruction in Marxism with his own relationship to his employer, i.e. the nature of wage labor; with his experiences in collective bargaining, the struggle that ensues, and strike experience, i.e. the theory of the class struggle; with the experience of his union with the government, both on the picket line and as compulsory arbitrator, i.e. the theory of the state. There is no law that we must begin with historical materialism. Once the worker understands the theory of the class struggle, the state, and our own struggle for social change, he will more easily grasp the laws of social development that explain the history of past societies.

As in most other educational activities, our crying need is for written material especially designed for the job at hand. In the absence of texts especially prepared for our use with workers, it is necessary to rely upon outlines prepared by the instructor for the class or to use some classic of the Marxist literature. The latter have handicaps in that they were not written especially for class use and most of them, written 100 years ago, do not use the rich experiences of illustration that have occurred since then. The use of a Marxist classic as the text has one advantage over an outline prepared by the instructor. The classic is available and can be given to students to study.

(The publication of a revised edition of Temple's outline on the "ABC of Marxism" especially suited to our educational needs would be a tremendous step forward in this respect.)

A class that meets at least for 1½ hours can cover the average pamphlet in from four to eight sessions. If it is an after-branch class and meets every alternate week this means two to four months. Though this is considered slow progress by past standards, it would still record a solid accomplishment for most of our branches. Compared to what we have done in this field it would do much to



educate and integrate the new members.

Just as necessary as the education of the new members in Marxist theory generally is the need for education in the program of the party as applied to the problems of the day and to our differences with other organizations. The scattered nature of the material on these questions makes it imperative that we begin publication of a series of study outlines that, in a year or two, will give us a body of literature that explains the party position in a rounded manner.

The constitution of our party provides that new members are on probation for the first three weeks. It would be well that branches make one of the provisions of this probationary period attendance at three sessions of a new members class. In practice we will usually find that there are only one, two or three at the most, who will join and take such a class. We must not shy away from individual instruction. Whether a class contains one or ten, the need for it exists and it must be rigidly adhered to. Such a class, in addition to what the new member learns at the outset, gives him a feeling that he has joined a serious organization, that just anybody cannot belong, and that party membership is a trade one must master. No matter what the trade union or family obligations of the applicant, he must be made to understand that for the first three weeks it is necessary to make time to attend such a class or individual instruction. One of the most important subjects for such a new members class is a study of the role of the party.

In addition to a class in the fundamentals and branch educationals, the new members must be continually sought out and engaged in conversation about problems designed to advance their understanding of Marxism. The abominable practice that has grown up in many of our branches to discuss nothing but union problems with new members must be ended. Union problems, as we all know, are often fascinating and provide material for discussions that can go on from dusk to dawn. But the new members must be educated in Marxism so that they can solve their own union problems. This individual discussion method of education will prove our strongest pillar under difficult circumstances precisely because it is informal. The conscientious party educator will seek out the worker member, at lunch hour, on the way home, before or after the branch meeting, by visits to his home and tenaciously keep after him. It is an old family practice to have the husband stay home one night a week with the children while the wife goes to the movies. The new member will usually welcome an older party comrade visiting him at such times and discussing subjects from the life and history of the party. It is often necessary that such individual education be a specific assignment to an older comrade. Each new member should have someone assigned to look after his education. We can do well in this respect to learn from a similar technique practiced by the old Wobblies in what they called "single-jack agitation". The word would be passed around in invading an open-shop town or lumber camp, "Each Fellow-worker grab himself a Jack and sell him the IWW."

#### VIII. Classes in Advanced Marxism:

Compared to the life of the C.L.A. or the S.W.P. before the split, the level of theoretical knowledge is quite low in our organization. We have, it is true, gained in practical knowledge in the class struggle. But a party that must make historical decisions for the workingclass cannot be content with our present situation. Each new party discussion reveals this anew.

It is for this reason, in addition to the other already cited, that the after-branch meeting classes should be divided. It is too great a price to pay to ask that the older comrades go through the same material again and again in order to educate new members. Nor is it necessary that over half of the branch act as the

as the collective teacher for the new members. One teacher is sufficient for any class. The time of the older comrades should be given to an educational project of their own devoted to a more advanced aspect of Marxism.

It often happens that these advanced classes are organized under the impetus of a branch enthusiast who has suddenly taken a deep interest in some specific question of the movement and is hell-bent upon involving the entire branch in his project. Most often it is some tremendous undertaking beyond the ability of a group of party activists to adequately handle, like a study of the New Deal and its effects upon the structure of American capital, foreign policy, and politics. Subjects of this sort require time for research and study which is just not available for the average party comrade.

Classes in advanced question would do well to confine themselves to the study of an important theoretical work. These deal with either fundamental theory (economics, historical materialism, dialectics) or with strategic question of the revolution in our time.

Whenever the word "advanced" is attached to a class the comrades are usually not satisfied unless it deals with the most advanced. If the class is going to study political economy they will be satisfied with nothing less than "Capital". It is necessary that we remain realistic as to how much ground we can cover and the preparations of our comrades for understanding the material. Suggestions for an advanced class should run along the lines of the following:

- Fuehrbach by Engels
- Anti-Duhring by Engels
- Value, Price and Profit by Marx
- Capital (selected chapters, like those on primitive accumulation)
- Decline of American Imperialism by Corey
- Imperialism by Lenin
- Criticism of Draft Program by Trotsky (3rd Int. After Lenin)
- Permanent Revolution by Trotsky
- Resolutions of the First Four Congresses of the Comintern
- Documents of the Founding Conference of the 4th International
- History of the Party Position on the Labor Party
- History of the Party Disputes on the Russian Question
- The Party Discussion on the Transitional Program (1938)
- The Trade Union Dispute
- History of the Bolshovik Party

#### IX. Special Study Groups:

An excellent practice that has prevailed in our movement has been the informal study groups of comrades interested in the study of a particular subject. Such groups, meeting regularly in someone's home, can do much to fill in the need of advanced study in our movement. While these groups are usually not officially sponsored by the organization, it should be party practice to announce their meeting time and place and have them open to any party member who desires to attend.

It is only in study groups of this kind that long term projects like a study of "Capital" or a through study of some period of history can be undertaken.

## X. Party Schools for Workers

The experience of the Philadelphia branch has proven that even a relatively small branch can run a successful school for party contacts from the subscribers list and shop contacts. Such a school has a tremendous effect upon our new members also. Those recruited after attending six sessions of a school will be better educated than those we have brought in after haphazard contact with our ideas and their education in the party will proceed all the more quickly. Secondly our new members prove to be the most regular students at public schools of the party. They usually also bring down the most contacts from among their shop mates. As a result, deficiencies in our educational machinery for new members are made up to a large extent by such schools.

The experience of New York, Philadelphia, and Detroit in this field must be thoroughly analysed and studied for use elsewhere and for improvement in existing schools.

## XI. Week-end Schools

One of the proposals adopted by our National Committee meeting last autumn was for the organization of a series of intensive party schools to take place over a weekend. The lack of capable party instructors in most localities and the difficulty to secure regular attendance in the evenings over more than a couple of weeks on the part of active union comrades led the committee to propose this as an experimental step. The classes would be devoted to those questions proving the most troublesome barriers to the smooth functioning of the branch or fraction or those making integration of new members most difficult. The classes would begin on Friday night and meet twice on Saturday and twice on Sunday. With the coming curtailment of the working week, this type of intensive education should prove increasingly feasible.

## XIII Proposed "Blue Cover" Outline Series:

Our most crying need in written material is the absence of a rounded and completed body of literature that presents the party's program on key questions of our time. The rich body of experience that is concentrated in our program exists in the form of scattered resolutions, articles, speeches, notes, and, above all, in the political knowledge of the party core. This means that it is all but inaccessible to the average member of our organization, not to speak of those who have to be educated to the need of joining.

The problem is one that is of extraordinary seriousness to us today because of the absence of such an overwhelmingly large section of our politically educated membership. In their absence the education of the rest of the members limps along badly. The handful of politically educated members are continually being asked to explain the party's position on this or that basic question. In many sections of our party there is not a single comrade who can do this adequately on the whole range of theoretical and political questions. Even where such comrades are available, it remains an atrociously bad situation to have to tell new members that the bulk of our program exists only in verbal form as the special property of the few advanced members, that the new member cannot study this because it is not written, and that his education must proceed by asking the advanced member for the answer to this, that question about the party's position.

We must be armed with an extensive literature on the basic position of the

party and be able to answer most any query on where we stand on this or that question by handing the person a document containing our position in outline form. These study outlines should not and cannot become a substitute for studying the great Marxist classics. But they will give our membership necessary foundation both for their activity and for their further studies in the classics themselves.

The list here presented may be added to extensively. It is my opinion that it contains the basic material dealing with the party's position which is not easy to get elsewhere in the available literature of the movement. Its publication by the party will be a project covering the next several years. However, it should prove possible to issue them at the rate of one a month. Experience with them in study classes and for individual reading will determine our choice in printing the most essential ones. It should be our aim to eventually have the entire series in printed form. In order to emphasize and regularize their use as an integrated whole, they should appear in uniform format. In their mimeographed form this can be accomplished by using blue covers for all the outlines in this series. (This technique proved very successful in connection with a similar series in the old Y.P.S.L. of the S.P. in the period of 1930-35).

The proposed titles follow:

1. The Role of the Party in the Fight for Socialism
2. The Organizational Principles and Procedure of the Workers Party
3. The Role of the Trade Unions: The Economic Analysis
4. The Role of the Trade Unions: The Political Analysis
5. The Workers Party and the Road to Power
6. The Workers Party and the Nature of the Workers Government
7. The Workers Party and War: Imperialist, National, and Class War
8. The Workers Party and the Fight for a Labor Party
9. The Workers Party and the Fight Against Fascism
10. The Workers Party Platform for the Transition to Socialism
11. The Workers Party and the Nature of the Russian State
12. The Workers Party and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination
13. The Historical and Theoretical Roots of the Workers Party
14. The Workers Party: A Short History
15. The Workers Party & the Int. Movement
16. The Workers Party and the S.W.P.
17. The Workers Party and the Socialist Party
18. The Workers Party and Sectarianism

19. The Workers Party and Centrism
20. The Workers Party and the United Front
21. The Workers Party and the Negro
22. The Workers Party and the Middle Class
23. The Workers Party and the Farmer
24. The Workers Party and Religion
25. The Workers Party and Pacifism

### XIII. Relationship of Propaganda to Education:

In our use of the term, propaganda is nothing but education for our ideas in the spheres where our party is active. There is, therefore, a close tie between propaganda and party education, or external and internal educational work. If our propaganda is successfully conducted the workers who are influenced by our press and literature will be that much more advanced when they join the party. If each worker who joined our party were already an interested and steady reader of our theoretical magazine, then our internal party education would proceed on a much more advanced level. Likewise, if we conducted an effective propaganda for the ideas of Marxism in our press, magazine, pamphlet, special classes, schools for workers etc. than the sum total of this activity, though directed primarily at those outside of the party, would greatly supplement and complement the education of those inside as well.

How do things stand with our party today in this respect? We must recognize that the shortcomings of our propaganda work are one of the factors that has contributed to the low educational level within the party. This is the result of three things: (a) the space limitations of "Labor Action", (b) the failure to relate the contents of the "New International" to the propaganda needs of the party created by its new sphere of work, and (c) the woeful lack of pamphlets and study outlined. As long as these three aspects of our propaganda activity remain unchanged, our internal education will not be given the required reinforcement by the general propaganda work of the party. If we had enough space in "Labor Action" to devote a few articles weekly to more advanced material, if the "New International" were to carry several articles in each issue designed for the average subscriber to "Labor Action" in order to advance his understanding, and if we had available the "Blue Cover" outlines here listed plus a number of party pamphlets, the worker who joined our party would be far more advanced at the outset and those inside would continue to advance more rapidly due to the all-sided nature of our educational activity.

E. Lund