

C I T Y   C O N V E N T I O N

New York Local  
Workers Party

February 2nd 1947

New York City Committee Tenders Its Report On Past  
Work and on Perspectives---

January through December 1946

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## Tasks of the Past and Coming Period

The United States was in turmoil in the past year. Inflation, layoffs and a horribly inadequate and confused economic and political program on the part of the trade union and reformist leadership have left the working class with few, if any, substantial gains. The political policy of the trade union leadership, PAC especially, led to complete disorientation of the middle classes and a swing to the right on their part. For the working class, the elections of 1946 ended a period characterized by small economic gains and by the reactionary politics of Murray and Green.

The next twenty months are a crucial period. The presidential and congressional elections in 1948 will be the test of the leftward moving sections in the trade union movement. Whether or not we run candidates we must be in a position to carry on the most effective propaganda and agitation in this twenty-month period upon our slogan of "Transform the PAC into a Labor Party". We are a small party and we cannot afford to spread ourselves thin. We must, therefore, concentrate our forces in a certain number of areas so that, in those areas, we play as important a part in 1948 as a party of our size possibly can.

We play our part, of necessity, in two fields: the trade unions and the congressional districts; the unions because they are the only real basis upon which a genuine labor party can be built; and the congressional districts because they are the geographical units of bourgeois politics. We must influence the worker in the shop and we must influence the same worker and also his family and relatives and friends in the congressional district in which he votes. And we must not allow ourselves to forget, even when we concentrate on the industrial worker, that in a city like New York, more than fifty percent of the population consists of people who are not industrial workers; these people too must come within the orbit of our work for independent labor politics.

## The Problem of the Last City Convention

Since our primary field of work, the trade unions, suffered as a result of the layoffs of our comrades, and since the whole past period 1942 to 1945 had seen rather weak neighborhood work on our part, the City Convention of January 5, 1946 faced two serious problems:

1. To get every possible comrade back into industry and to reestablish one or two genuine industrial branches, and to reestablish our trade union work in the best political sense.
2. To discover and exploit, after almost three full years of unavoidable neglect due to our concentration on industrial work, fields for public agitation and propaganda.

The present City Committee was elected at a time when everyone knew that more cadre material would be available as a result of the end of the war. But no one knew how successful we would be in establishing new branches, new fields of work or how successful we would be in reindustrialization. The New York organization was under a cloud of uncertainty, lack of confidence, and many comrades felt that the entire party was

in a "crisis". By the time our convention had assembled, most of our real, functioning fractions had been destroyed by layoffs or, as everyone knew, it was merely a question of time before they would be.

In order to achieve these two things the convention set certain tasks for New York:

1. More city-wide public meetings, more open branch meetings, campaigns which we could carry on with our size party.
2. A special attempt to create genuine well-rooted neighborhood branch in Harlem where our branch had been rather weak.
3. Continuation and expansion of the School and of Educational Work.
4. A drive to get 2000 subscriptions to Labor Action in the shops and in the neighborhoods where we wanted to concentrate and the creation of the fund for expanding Labor Action to 8 pages.
5. Strengthening the City Committee so that it would actually lead and not merely advise the branches (add organizers and city department heads

All of these tasks were to have the effect of strengthening our work in the trade unions and in the neighborhoods.

Industrialization and Trade Union Work

Let us see how we have fared since 1945 on Problem No. 1 which was "to get every possible comrade back into industry and to reestablish our trade union work in the best political sense".

<u>Dec. 1945</u>	<u>Dec. 1946</u>
Members in Shop Concentrations....24	34
Members of Unions but not in Union or Shop Concentration...(no figure)	16
Manual Workers but neither in Unions nor in Concentration.....13	<u>13</u>
Total Number of Manual Workers....37	<u>63</u>
Unemployed.....34	23 (10 of these are women. This figure varies weekly)
White Collar.....29	49
Housewives.....11	23 (a few are part-time workers; some in food)
Party Functionaries.....12	16
Students.....6	<u>7</u>
<u>129</u>	<u>181</u>

The last city convention foresaw the difficulties of industrialization. Following the convention we had the following:

1. A general letdown among comrades, a desire for softer jobs.
2. Reconversion layoffs and then the big strikes halting new hiring.
3. Women were not being hired in the most desirable plants; others paid

poorly. Girl comrades felt that the long period of time necessary to become integrated, plus low wages, made the smaller plants questionable. 4. Most skilled workers were colonized. Many veterans who were expected to go out of town wanted to spend their time in New York reading, studying.

An additional factor was a dispute which arose on the question of entering UE locals with a Stalinist leadership; many felt these locals were worthless from the point of view of union work. Work in these locals has since proved worthwhile.

From January 8, 1946 to December 1, 1946, we recruited 14 industrial workers; but only one of these was recruited through fraction activity.

It can be seen, therefore, that although we have made important gains in the reindustrialization of the party, the obstacles were very great and the gains were made slowly and over a long period of time. There is no reason to believe that the task will be easier next year. But we must be persistent.

Practically all of our fractions today are new fractions; the comrades have been employed in these plants for a period of from five to eight months, the minimum time needed to become integrated in the plants and in union work.

In the Queens UE plant, however, where we have such a record of excellent political fraction work, our three remaining comrades have obtained approximately 40 subs to LA, sent out an additional 23 and sold copies of Fight for Socialism. Two comrades are shop stewards and are quite active in the union. They maintain their employment only because they are stewards, and not by seniority. This plant has changed in composition from younger to older workers which makes it exceptionally difficult to recruit; but our work on them continues. Recently the ticket they supported and built made a clean sweep in the elections.

Four comrades in a UE local in Brooklyn are beginning to function well. One of them is a shop steward and is now in a position to start the machinery for recruiting to the party.

Two comrades are involved in the city-wide anti-Stalinist caucus; they exert considerable influence in the group.

Our comrades have fought consistently for a fight on the basis of program.

Radio. One comrade is in a radio local. More comrades worked in radio shops at one time but left for the reasons discussed under the heading of industrialization. We are still trying to enter radio.

Automobile. Here also it is still a matter of getting comrades into the industry. At various times we had as many as 7 comrades in small UAW shops. There is no outstanding UAW plant, however, and it is difficult to organize fraction work. We have 4 comrades left in this union, two of whom are minor officials. We have one comrade left in an important UAW plant in Jersey; two others were unable to survive the speed-up. It is of utmost importance to place more comrades however. Several have

applied for jobs; but none have been successful. We have attempted to place other comrades in various other Jersey UAW plants, but thus far difficulty with traveling and lack of comrades with proper skills have handicapped us.

Shipbuilding. The one comrade who was in the shipyards at the last convention is still working there; his union work is good and he is known as a politico but no recruitment has so far resulted. Three additional comrades have obtained jobs in other shipyards but have been there for a very short time; it is time for them to function as a fraction, however.

Needle Trades. Since the last convention 5 comrades (one male) have gone into needle trade shops. Two others have been in shops for a long time. Fraction work has been haphazard. Since November the Central Manhattan branch has been assigned to get more comrades into the field and to organize fraction work. Unfortunately, two of the better needle trades comrades must devote most of their effort to Harlem work.

Maritime. In December 1945 we had 7 comrades going to sea. No genuine fraction work existed. Since then the work has improved; one recruit and many contacts are the result. As the fraction is now organized, very few comrades plan to continue shipping. For some this is temporary; others will attempt to work as longshoremen. If immediate recruitment is not achieved we will undoubtedly have a reorientation of the comrades and the maritime branch.

We have several comrades in various industries other than those discussed above. Party work can be done if more attention is given.

It should be stated in conclusion that there is still a lack of stability among comrades in industry, a certain lack of interest, lack of seeking for opportunities, a lack of getting together to discuss problems. Of course this criticism should be directed mainly to the city office which has not given sufficient time and attention to this field. But this is due to the fact that beginning with the election campaign in July all the energies of the City Office were exerted mainly in that direction. Another important factor in the lack of stability in our industrial work is the fact that during this past period we colonized 24 comrades who were the most skilled workers and most responsible comrades in industrialization. Colonization is undoubtedly of the utmost importance for the work of the party nationally, but New York paid a heavy price in terms of its industrialization program.

As our perspectives for 1948 indicate, reindustrialization remains the main task of the party. Without it, participation in the 1948 presidential campaign would be a mockery; the trade unions will decide whether or not the PAC turns into a Labor Party in 1948.

For that reason, emphasis for the coming period must still be re-industrialization. Due to the composition of our membership, however, we will soon attain the maximum number of industrialized comrades out of our present membership. Our task, therefore, will increasingly become to concentrate our industrial comrades in those places where the best possible party work can be done and also to recruit from industry. All energies must go to make our union work more effective; if the party is to become really a workers party, it must recruit from the shops. A

limit will soon be reached in the possible number who can be industrialized.

The next City Committee must see to it that regularly organized fractions function in every point of concentration. We must use every means possible, in summary, to industrialize more comrades who are in the non-worker category. Also there are many comrades now in industry who are working at jobs where there is very little possibility of party activity. These comrades should be directed to places of employment where effective party fractions are or can be established.

### The Past Election Campaign

1. For a tiny party such as the New York section, the purpose of an election campaign must be primarily to reach a wider audience of people than we ordinarily reach with the routine paper-selling, contacting and recruiting activities of the party. The purpose must also be to show our own members in which (1) neighborhoods, (2) mass organizations (non-labor), (3) labor unions the party has already obtained some kind of political following. The campaign must then have the effect of correcting the lack of influence in important neighborhoods, mass organizations (non-labor) and in labor unions.

2. The experience of our own party, as well as others, proves that the best trade union work must in the long run prove only partly effective if the party does not take part in the regular political life of the masses. The party, for example, ran no election campaigns in New York from November 1941 until June 1945. There was much trade union work. A great deal of it was excellent in the best political sense. Comrades advanced the party's labor party slogan as well as other transitional slogans on the union floor and in the shop. Because of the four-year abstention from election campaigns, however, the party was able to poll only an average of 50 votes in New York's twenty-odd Congressional districts in the 1945 elections. Compare this with the vote for Shachtman in the 1941 mayoralty campaign when he received an average of 100 votes per Congressional district.

3. Political activity and political interest among the masses is at its highest pitch during gubernatorial and presidential election years. For a party like ours to abstain from participating in at least these elections (1948, 1950, etc.) would be to act in a most conservative manner. The difficulties involved in getting on the ballot are great but not insurmountable.

4. We decided to run Congressional candidates in 1946 because it was the most nearly realizable goal for a party of our size. We selected two out of all of New York's Congressional districts, Harlem and Brownsville, because we decided to run a campaign in a Negro and a Jewish area, and because we wanted to build a local branch in a Jewish neighborhood in which no branch of the party had functioned in four years. An important additional factor was the fact that in those two districts the ALP did not run independent candidates -- they supported the candidates of the Democratic Party.

5. Our selection was supported by the fact that without an excessive number of mobilizations (5 Saturdays and 4 weekdays in all) and with

some 65 party members actually on the street soliciting, we gathered over 13,000 signatures (only 11,400 of which were within the two districts).

6. In the pre-campaign period, like the other working class parties we were immediately challenged by the Democratic Party managers who feared even the small margin of votes they might lose to us. One of our two candidates, McKinney, was removed from the ballot on a technicality. We fought the best possible legal campaign to get on the ballot (at only a nominal cost) with the same result experienced by the SP, SLP and SWP. The New York election laws are rigged against any minority candidate to which one of the two major parties file an objection.

7. In spite of the fact that we were removed from the ballot (or because of it) we achieved the major aim of our campaign in Harlem. Two leading articles in the Amsterdam News (one of them front page) and a third in the New York Age made the name of E.R. McKinney and the name of the Workers Party known to tens of thousands of Harlem people, a far wider audience than we ordinarily reach with the routine paper-selling, contacting and recruiting activities of the party. The distribution of thousands of party pamphlets and leaflets (the make-up, content and attractiveness of our printed material was superior to anything printed by all the other parties in the New York elections) made our program known to a large portion of those who read about us in the papers. The printed material was supplemented by an open air meeting with rented sound equipment and with McKinney as the main speaker; the excellent thing about this meeting was the use of completely new comrades as speakers.

8. Nevertheless, our two attempted indoor meetings in Harlem proved that the Harlem Branch, after five years of activity, is not at all rooted in the district, is not really active in the mass organizations in the Harlem area and could not take proper advantage of the issue created by our removal from the ballot. One of the first lessons of the campaign must be the correction of our work in Harlem. In a sense, all of our work in mass organizations for two years preceding an election campaign is the preparation for our campaign. In this case our preparation was poor. What the possibilities are is indicated by the fact that one forum in which the Harlem Branch had participated for more than two years, invited McKinney to speak at a neighborhood forum where he appeared with the Republican candidate and a representative of the Democratic candidate (who himself ducked all speaking assignments in the campaign).

9. Our campaign in Brownsville did not receive as much publicity in the bourgeois press as in Harlem, but our own agitation and propaganda were better. Our printed material, as in Harlem, was of high caliber; but it was supplemented with regular open air meetings almost every week on two busy corners, the last open air meeting being with rented sound equipment and with Shachtman as the main speaker. Our open air meetings in Brownsville attracted audiences of 200, 300 and 400 people.

10. The Brownsville Branch, although it was in existence for only several weeks, at the time the campaign began already showed that the branch was better rooted in the area. Shachtman debated Congressman Emanuel Celler at the invitation of an American Veterans Committee Brownsville Chapter (reported in Labor Action of October 28). The indoor meeting

held in Brownsville with Shachtman and McKinney as the speakers, furthermore, was attended by some sixty outsiders who asked questions and participated in a lively discussion from the floor on the Workers Party position on the question of the homeless Jews of Europe.

11. We had originally intended to run the City Office with three functionaries during the period of the election campaign so that we could concentrate on the elections without neglecting industrialization. We were unable, however, to put this plan into execution and our work had to be distributed between the two functionaries, resulting in inadequate attention given to industrialization.

12. We used rented loudspeaker equipment, stickers, printed pamphlets, leaflets and a small amount of radio time in our agitational campaign. We allotted our funds in the following proportions;

Printed matter: pamphlets, leaflets.....50%  
Meetings with loudspeaker equipment.....12%  
Mailings.....9%

The rest of our funds were used for the purely technical implements of the campaign: petitions, stationery, press release forms, petition boards, binding, notaries, lawyers, witnesses. We used free radio time only and succeeded in getting a total of about fifteen minutes of time divided between two stations. The New York party successfully raised and paid back \$1400 for the purposes of the election campaign.

13. One of the errors we made was the use of a 32-page pamphlet (given our funds), a pamphlet which had to be sold, rather than a greater number of leaflets like the four-page leaflets for Harlem and for Brooklyn which we could distribute free. The sale of this pamphlet did not arouse any real spirit among our comrades. It was a discouraging form of activity and detracted from what energy we might have expended in contacting and in getting out the vote.

14. It should also be noted that we ran the campaign in a district where we had no headquarters (Brownsville) which is an enormous handicap.

15. The results of the campaign are to be seen in the effect it has had on the perspectives and influence of the Harlem and Brownsville branches and, of course, in the vote in Brownsville, as compared with last year's vote in the same districts. Our lack of influence in Harlem can be corrected within two years, given the present core of the Harlem branch which spoke in the streets of Harlem for the first time in years and which also for the first time really knows the neighborhood and the organizations.

Our campaign had its most effective result in Brownsville where the Workers Party is once more established as a political force. The 23rd Assembly District which embraces 75% of Brownsville, gave Shachtman 20 votes in 1945. The same district gave Shachtman 150 votes in 1946 (15 votes came from the Canarsie, Brighton Beach area where we did not campaign as against 3 votes from that district in 1945). Of the 150 votes we received in Brownsville, perhaps 50 can be said to represent simple protest votes, accidents. The rest is result of our meeting on "Open The Doors to the Jews", people who attended our open air meetings and people who bought or received free our printed election material. In short,



they are Workers Party sympathizers. Considering the fact that in 1945 the Workers Party concentrated the activities of people equivalent to two branches in the Brownsville area, the increase of votes by 130 over 1945 is no mean accomplishment.

To people who have little experience with small Socialist parties like ours, the Cannonites and the SP (since 1937), our total vote in Brownsville of 165 votes would appear unimpressive and even ridiculous. But to anyone who compares it with the Cannonite vote in that district in 1945 (60 votes) and to anyone who gauges it as a sign of the growing influence of a tiny party, it is a good token of the possibilities which Brownsville offers for election campaign activity.

#### Pointing the Branches Toward 1948

Every party campaign is, in the last analysis, carried on by the party branch; it can only be centralized and directed by the City Office. The same is true of our projected campaign for 1948. The campaign must be directed into a number of areas. First in importance among these areas are the trade union locals. Of second importance, but of very great importance nevertheless, are the congressional districts. In a New York Local, 1000 members with 400 in the trade unions, a campaign could be so directed in the shops and in the congressional districts so that we would reach many workers twice, by day in the shop, by night at home. With a party of our size, however, the overlapping is less possible and quite difficult to achieve. But some method must be established of coordinating industrial contacts and neighborhood contacts. The City Office must begin setting up a city-wide contacting system of shop contact by political units (i.e. the congressional districts).

Why is the congressional district so important? The political units under capitalism are determined by Congress which uses its own discretion. Nevertheless, the American worker, the housewife, the veteran, the numerous groups among whom we are to carry on our agitation and propaganda in preparation for 1948 are forced to vote in these political units determined by Congress. The extent to which we influence their sentiment can be judged by their ideas, shop actions, demonstrations and by the vote.

The party, therefore, must have two kinds of branches in the next period.

The Industrial Branch which carries the party campaign into union locals.

The Neighborhood Branch which carries the party campaign into the congressional district.

It is true that we have had these kinds of branches in the past. But, due to the layoffs in September 1945 and the slow and halting reindustrialization described in the previous paragraphs, our reorientation has been slow, confused; our energies have been too diffuse and our efforts at the organization of branches have been too experimental. This hampered all of our work during 1946 and it will be a real obstruction to an effective campaign in 1948 unless we gather up the loose ends, concentrate our 180 and more New York party members in a more specific number of trade union locals and in a more specific number of congressional districts. This wasn't as possible in 1946 as it will be in the next twenty

months. But now we must aim in this direction.

Immediately after the last City Convention we had hybrid branches, branches which had direction over fractions, and assignments in certain neighborhoods as well. For the transition between the layoffs and the re-industrialization, this was inadequate but unavoidable. In our reorganizations we tried to correct this.

Three reorganizations occurred: the first was immediately after the last City Convention with the main task being the Labor Action sub drive and contacting plus recruiting which resulted from the drive. We attempted to organize industrial branches, but at first we could only continue the combined industrial and neighborhood branches which we had in late 1945. This reorganization set up the branches which continued until the pre-convention (for the National Convention) discussion and these branches elected delegates to the National Convention.

Immediately following the convention the branches were reorganized with a view toward following up on the sub drive. We established one industrial branch, the Day Branch, which had comrades with too short a period in their respective plants to carry the election campaign into their local. We also established a perspective for the organization of a Bronx Branch.

A third reorganization came immediately after the election campaign. This reorganization consisted mainly in the establishment of a Bronx Branch, a Maritime Branch and the dissolving of the East Harlem Branch.

### Branches on Wheels

1. Brooklyn-UE established an excellent esprit-de-corps and was quite successful in the sub drive, also assembling a contact list which seemed promising. It did neighborhood work in the Red Hood Project and it was supposed to direct fraction work of all UE comrades working in Brooklyn and in Manhattan. In this field it had very little to do because the comrades in the fraction had recently obtained their jobs, many on the night shift. The branch, in fact, lost contact with the night shift workers. Most of its real work, therefore, was in the neighborhood and an industrial branch had to be set up to fit the needs of the UE comrades. In addition, the Committee had selected Brownsville as the area in which to conduct an election campaign. Since we could not meet the needs of the UE fraction and could not maintain three branches in Brooklyn, the City Committee decided to dissolve the Brooklyn-UE Branch. The executive committee of the branch and the entire branch membership felt that a grave mistake had been made in abolishing it. The City Committee undoubtedly was wrong in acting so swiftly and without consulting the branch. After a discussion with the leading comrades of the branch the City Committee recognized its error but felt that in view of the other means of the city organization its decisions were correct. It amended its original proposal so that the comrades who had participated as a team in the Red Hood Project work could continue this activity in the Brooklyn-Downtown branch to which they transferred.

2. Queens continued its main function as an industrial branch during the first five months after the last city convention. For this period there were still some 7 comrades left in the plant and their work was to carry

on an intensive recruiting campaign to capitalize on all its previous union work. As a result of reconversion and the de-industrialization of party comrades, we failed to integrate many of the recruits from this plant and they dropped out of the party. The branch was also given the task of attempting to root itself in the Astoria neighborhood since only by establishing itself could they recruit the many sympathizers the party obtained in the plant. They did their sub work in this area and made a concentrated but vain effort to get a headquarters or meeting place in the area. They also established a Jamaica team with the perspective of establishing the beginnings of a branch. After obtaining over 100 subs and doing some follow-up work, this work also failed for the lack of being able to find a headquarters or meeting place and not having enough people who could concentrate on this project.

The branch continued to exist until after the election campaign and was then abolished. From June through November they met at a comrade's house but were not successful in recruiting from the shop despite concentrated efforts or in locating a headquarters or regular meeting place anywhere in Queens.

We still have three comrades working in the industrial plant of this branch and many contacts and sympathizers in Queens as a result of all our work in the industrial plants of Queens during the war. There definitely is a good basis for reestablishing a Queens Branch. Serious consideration and effort should be given to this project during the next year.

3. Yorkville (later re-named East Harlem). This branch was established in an area where the party had never previously done any work and where we did not have a single comrade living in the area or intimately acquainted with the community. About a year before the Queens Industrial Branch had obtained some subs in the Housing Project. This was the limits of the previous Workers Party activity. The area itself is thoroughly working class, a notorious New York slum, the Marcentonio stronghold and therefore contains an integrated Stalinist ALP machine and is populated largely by Italians, Spanish speaking Puerto-ricans and Negroes.

After the intensive sub drive the Branch set about visiting its lists to obtain contacts. During the second reorganization the branch was strengthened by the transferring of responsible and active comrades so that the contact work could be really followed through. In spite of personally visiting over 170 people and sending letters with return cards to another 100, the branch was able to produce no results. At two different times classes were held with a total of four contacts. They indicated that they would not join for a variety of reasons. A branch can be built in this area only through concentrated and consistent work over a long period of time. After a strong branch is established in Harlem then the organization should once more consider this area.

4. Manhattan. This branch's first area work was Chelsea. The choice of this area was recognized by all as a shot in the dark. When the branch was first discussed, the City Committee made an attempt to organize a needle trades branch, but it was decided that in view of the fact that two just industrialized in needle trades were needed in Harlem and in view of the fact that this industrialization process had just begun,

this would be an immature step. In the first five months of its existence, the Manhattan Branch obtained a number of subs in the Chelsea area but only a few contacts. But it served as a very good centrally located branch where contacts obtained through the general work of the party organization could be sent to participate in its open meetings. The branch had from this source a large number of contacts as its meeting and recruited several new members. In the reorganization after the November elections, the branch was greatly strengthened by incorporating a large number of the former East Harlem comrades and it was given the task of becoming a real Needle Trades Branch (being placed in charge of all phases of this work, getting comrades in, fraction work, etc.), and attempting to start work in the Lower East Side with the general perspective of establishing a branch in that area.

5. Brooklyn-Downtown. This branch continued as a UAW branch for a month or two after the last City Convention. Then its entire field of operations became the Fort Green Housing Project with Red Hood added. By consistent and persistent follow-up work after the last sub drive this branch was able to establish contact classes for its Housing Project contacts, and to date recruited six new members as a result of this work. This branch, in that sense, has been the most successful in following through the sub drive technique of getting contacts, recruiting and general integrating the party in a neighborhood. Its most important task is now to really get known in the area as a political force through participation in the organizations and affairs of the community and really educating and integrating the new recruits.

6. Harlem. All during the period of the war we maintained a branch in the Harlem area. Though some concentrated work was done there at the beginning of the war, actually up to the last City Convention Harlem was just a step-child, first priorities always being given to the industrial branches. Through the year and during every reorganization a serious attempt was made to strengthen the branch by transferring the best comrades there and giving the work there the first consideration of the City organization. Despite this, what we always suffered from and to a certain extent will continue to suffer from is the fact that we did not have a branch of comrades living in the area or that looked like a branch from the point of view of appearance that belonged. In the November reorganization, Harlem was strengthened with more Negro comrades transferred there. We have now the beginnings of a developed competent Negro leadership. For the first time in our history can the party rely on this leadership to first of all build a real Harlem branch and then extend this work to other neighborhoods and into our trade union work.

7. Maritime. At the request of the maritime comrades, this branch was organized. As yet it is too early to comment on its possibilities. This depends, in the main, upon their trade union work, recruiting, etc. which has previously been discussed under the industrial section.

8. DAY branch was originally established as an industrial branch for UE work and incidentally ship . . . It has been the main factor in organizing the UE fraction and undertaking the beginning of work in the plant and in the local mainly through participation in the Caucus for Democratic Action. It has since been enlarged with all the comrades in

industry in UE (except Queens ~~comrades~~ for personal reasons could not attend meetings on Saturday afternoons and therefore were transferred as a unit to the Maritime Branch) UA and ship. It also has a number of comrades in industry who are not in concentrations and we hope that through the information this branch can provide they can get located in concentrations. The central point of their branch is the actual and educational guidance of these fractions. This branch can easily become a factory cell branch in the best sense of this term.

9. Brownsville. This branch, which was organized in June, is composed of a number of comrades who lived in and knew the neighborhood. The election campaign reestablished the Workers Party in this area for the first time after a lapse of 5 years. A number of contacts and friends have been drawn closer to the party through this branch. It now is in an excellent position to recruit and expand and really become a force in this area.

10. The Bronx. With the drive of one comrade and the help of another after an intensive canvassing of the sub list and visiting of former members and sympathizers, a class was established and a number of people were recruited. By transferring all comrades who lived there plus new recruits, a branch was reestablished in this area after a lapse of four years. With further push and drive, this branch should be able to establish itself in the Negro and Jewish communities of that borough.

We have come through the year with the reestablishment of branches in two areas where we have had no branches for several years. One or both of these branches should prove exceedingly valuable in our perspective for 1948.

Branches and Membership

Branches constituted as of December 1st.

Harlem.....	27	Bronx.....	22
Brooklyn-Brownsville.....	16	Day.....	26
Brooklyn-Borough Hall.....	28	Maritime.....	26
Manhattan.....	30	Members not in branches.....	3
Members at large.....	3	(in doubt)	

Total.....181

New Members: Jan. 8 to July 1.....18 (dropped while on probation...2)  
July 1 to Dec. 1.....21 (dropped while on probation...1)

(There are 4 more applicants who have not been acted upon to date.)

Total New Members since January 8, 1946...39 (dropped while on probation.....3)  
(transferred out of town... 4)

From SWP....13, of which 2 were dropped and 2 are questionable.

Transferred from other branches into New York.....10

Colonized from New York.....24 (21 of these left since Nat'l. Conv.)

Veterans.....47

Negroes.....21

Women.....71

(Dropped from membership, total...28 (6 of which were on probation)  
(14 "old timers")

A TWENTY-MONTH PLAN OF ACTION (March 6, 1947 to November 6, 1948)  
(This is a general plan for a long period. The branches should discuss it with an eye toward breaking it up into shorter periods -- i.e., 3-month periods -- and setting definite goals to be achieved at the end of each period. All motions setting specific quotas should then, in the opinion of the Committee, be referred to the incoming City Committee for definite action.)

The City Committee proposes to the Convention that the party plan all of its work in the next twenty months so that we are prepared as thoroughly as is possible for the intense political events which are certain to occur in 1948, whether we run candidates or support those of another party

All of our work is to be concentrated in four areas (without, however, abandoning work in other areas not chosen as concentrations).

Area 1. is to include a minimum of four trade union locals, the specific locals to be selected by the incoming City Committee.

Area 2, Area 3 and Area 4 are to be three congressional districts; the specific districts are to be selected by the incoming City Committee.

In each of the trade union locals (Area 1) the comrades must strive to establish their position and influence, to recruit, to be so active as unionists and as Trotskyists that by May 1948 we can introduce a resolution for an independent labor party based on the trade unions and have such a resolution passed in each of these locals. Everything the fractions do in the next twenty months, subscription drives, contacting, recruiting, sale of Fight for Socialism and Plenty For All must be done with an eye toward presenting a concrete proposal for political action to these workers in 1948.

In each of the congressional districts (Areas 2, 3 and 4) we are to plan to have at least one large branch with a large headquarters capable of seating at least 40 to 50 people comfortably, and to have selected in advance one public hall in the center of the district which can be rented for public meetings of at least 100 to 150 people.

Before the City Committee makes the final selection, each existing industrial branch (day and maritime) is to discuss the possibility of selecting one or more of the trade union locals which it covers for this concentration.

Before the City Committee decides on Congressional Districts, each neighborhood branch is to discuss the possibility of selecting a congressional district for its operations. Brownsville, for example, should discuss the 15th Congressional District, Harlem the 22nd, Brooklyn-Downtown the 7th, the Bronx Branch should discuss the district in which Shachtman ran for Congress in 1940, the Manhattan Branch should consider the lower east side or Chelsea.

Once the selection is made, everything we do must be done with an eye toward expanding and strengthening our influence in these four areas.

Every campaign we run, price control, rent ceilings, housing, veteran

bonus, etc. must be given special attention in these four areas so that our transitional program on prices, wages, rent, income taxes, housing, etc. becomes very well known to several hundred people in each area. Of most importance is the necessity to demonstrate actively to these people which no other party will do, that we fight on these issues every week in the year and not just three months prior to November 6, 1948.

We must have a Labor Action subscription list of a few hundred names in each one of these areas, well in advance of the 1948 elections.

We must have Labor Action and NI selling regularly on several newsstands centrally located in each of the congressional districts.

We must expand our list of contacts, involve them in our public meetings and forums, involve them in modest actions, rent-control, petitions in the neighborhood, strike committees in the shops.

Contacts who attend Labor Action School and Weekly Forums must be listed and turned over to branches especially in the Congressional Districts

A separate report will be given under Educational Work but we must state briefly under our perspectives that this entire plan will be impossible without proper training of branch leaderships. Primarily this is a branch responsibility. But the City Office must set up at least one functioning training class for advanced comrades from all branches. In addition it must be emphasized under perspectives that without proper branch educationals and without a good speakers' bureau which must be developed immediately, this entire twenty-month plan would be crippled.

The extent to which the twenty-month plan succeeds depends also upon recruitment. Our plant fractions, after they are consolidated, must begin to recruit in the shops. Our branches must recruit especially in the three congressional districts which we select. Recruitment between now and 1948 might make the difference between one and two branches in each of the congressional districts. The incoming City Committee must set a quota for recruitment in cooperation with each one of the branches selected for concentration.

The twenty-month plan cannot really succeed unless the branches become involved in mass organizations. Having your party invited to send speakers to forums, veterans organizations, tenants leagues, consumers organizations makes all the difference between a mediocre campaign and a successful one. To concentrate on a Congressional District means to know virtually every mass organization in it, to know its meeting nights and its officials and members.

Above all, the twenty-month campaign demands a real city leadership, not one which advises the two or three members of the office committee, but a committee which divides all the responsibilities among its various members so that during a campaign period one member of the committee is left free to direct the entire campaign efficiently and with imagination. The City Committee proposes to the convention that it reorganize the City Committee along the following lines: Seven regular members, two alternates. Five members of the Committee are always to fill the positions of City Organizer, Labor Secretary, Education Director, Financial

Secretary and Literature Director. Once a month there must be a meeting of all branch organizers.

All of these things, accomplished together with the proper synchronization will make our agitational activity in 1948 reach a peak of effectiveness such as the Workers Party has never before experienced. We will not work any miracles in 1948 but we will be in a position to effect more people than we have at any time in the past, which for a small party like ours is a distinct achievement.

It can all be accomplished, however, only under one condition: Everything we do, everything we think about, every action we take between now and then must be in terms of the 1948 campaign!

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