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POLITICAL COMMITTEE PROPOSALS

ON EDUCATION

A National Educational Department shall be appointed by the N.C., with an Educational Director who is to be a full-time executive officer of the N.C. The National Educational Department shall organize and direct the continuing education of all party members in all stages of their development. In the execution of this assignment the Educational Department shall;

1. Stimulate, aid and direct the organization of schools and study classes in party branches and locals; prepare study courses, outlines and all other necessary materials for the conduct of such schools and classes; keep in constant contact with their instructors; receive regular reports from them; aid and supervise their work.

2. Organize, in cooperation with local and branch educational committees, a corps of special tutors, from the ranks of party members and sympathizers, who have had advanced formal schooling, whose duty it will be to coach individual comrades and help them make up educational deficiencies.

3. Prepare correspondence courses of study and give special assistance and direction by mail to individual comrades who wish to correct educational deficiencies by self study.

4. Ascertain, by questionnaire and personal consultation, the special educational requirements of party members obliged to be absent from party activities for long periods (political prisoners, seamen, etc.) and provide them with recommended study courses and reading lists adapted to their individual needs.

5. Prepare study courses, outlines and all necessary materials and provide teachers for short-term full-time training schools in party districts.

6. Organize and conduct a national long-term full-time training school for party functionaries.

COMMENTS ON THE EDUCATIONAL PLAN

1. The Necessity of an Educational Plan

It is the historic task of the party to bring the element of consciousness into the spontaneous labor movement. The party, that is, the continuing organization of the vanguard, grows up to this task to the extent that it succeeds in introducing consciousness and plan into all phases of its own work. This takes place not automatically, and not all at once, but slowly and painfully as the party grows and learns from its mistakes and difficulties and gradually, in a long process of work and struggle, throws up a leadership which understands its tasks and knows how to plan and organize their study and execution.

At the October Plenum it was remarked that our party, over a long period of years, has been animated by a conscious method in the selection and development of its leading cadre. The results have become clearly manifest. The superiority of our party's leading cadre over those of its historic predecessors, not even to mention its contemporary rivals, is as great as is the difference between our conscious method of selecting, training and developing our leading people and the unconscious and unplanned, hit-or-miss method, or better, lack of method, by which their leading people found themselves in unstable positions of authority. The difference is qualitative. It represents the conquest of method and design over laissez-faire in the most important question of the party, i.e., the question of the leadership.

Similarly, we have studied, planned and organized our trade union work and the technical sides of party organization, of the publication and distribution of our press and of our books and pamphlets, although much remains yet to be done in these fields. Party education, however, has been handled in a slipshod, planless fashion. It is time now, and the party is fully ready, to make a revolutionary step forward by systematically planning and organizing the continuing education of the party membership as a whole, from the newest recruit to the members of the leading committees. An end must be made of hit-and-miss procedures in party education. The problem must be approached consciously. The work must be organized from top to bottom under an all-embracing plan.

The pioneers and outstanding militants of American Communism were mainly self-educated, that is, they were half-educated workers who lacked adequate formal schooling and had only as much Marxism as they managed to pick up on the fly in all-too-infrequent hours of leisure and freedom from duties and responsibilities. There was nobody to teach them; there were no schools where they might learn what to study and how to study systematically; they had very little time to learn for themselves -- the hard way. They were thrust into positions of leadership and overwhelmed with responsibilities without having previously acquired the necessary theoretical training and political experience to lead the party properly. As a consequence the early Communist Party made many egregious errors, devoured its energies in factional struggles which it was unable to resolve and finally, with the exception of a small nucleus, succumbed to the Stalinist degeneration.

The pioneers of American Trotskyism, standing on the shoulders of the antecedent movement, and aided and guided by Trotsky, did far better. For the first time in the United States, a political organization was built on solid Marxist foundations. The work of the pioneer American Trotskyists, however, while qualitatively superior to their immediate predecessors, was in some respects sadly deficient.

They made Marxist politics their study and did not do badly in this field, as results have shown. They developed the Leninist concepts of party organization and of the role of the party; and it may be said, made not unimportant contributions to Leninist theory and practice of party organization. Marxian economic theories, in contrast, have not received their due either in study or in application. And the philosophic method of Marxism was regarded with such indifference that neo-revisionist attacks against Marxism, marching at first under the flag of philosophy, remained unanswered over a long period of years. Prancing intellectuals and academic tin-horns, preparing their migration to the imperialist camp, continued to hold the center of the stage. The sneering renunciation and belittlement of dialectical materialism was allowed to become the fashion. The party paid for this indifference with the factional explosion of the petty-bourgeois opposition which brought the party to the brink of disruption.

Moralistic quackery, another cloak under which desertion to the class enemy was prepared, long remained unnoticed and unexposed, and was even permitted to infect our ranks. The degeneration of the Soviet Union and the Comintern had produced a great wave of disillusionment, especially in intellectualistic circles. This took the form of a flight from Marxism. Revisionism, the first stage of class renegacy, was long on the offensive on the theoretical front. It remained for Trotsky to lead the defensive struggle for Marxism, first in "Their Morals and Ours" and, finally, in the great anti-Burnham polemics ("In Defense of Marxism").

It must be acknowledged that the party leadership contributed very little to the historic battle in these respects. But the salutary experience of the struggle and the stimulating influence of Trotsky's valiant intervention awakened the party leaders to a new and deeper appreciation of the Marxist theoretical system as a whole, and impelled them to put themselves to school. More serious work is being undertaken in the theoretical field. Hereafter, it may be assumed, no kind of attack from any quarter on any phase of Marxist doctrine will go unrefuted.

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A Comprehensive Program

The further development of world events will surely give rise to a new great wave of revolutionary insurgence. With it will most probably appear new manifestations of centrism, playing in all colors of the rainbow. On our part, the new events must be the signal for the grand offensive of Marxism on all fronts. Trotsky predicted that Marxism is destined to have its greatest flowering on American soil. That will be so only if we plan and organize our study. Marxism will enter its heyday under the leadership of our party, and drive all opposing theories from the field.

The new generation of Trotskyists will grow up in a party milieu characterized by appreciation and glorification of learning in general and Marxist erudition in particular. All the tasks of the oncoming generation of revolutionary militants will be made easier by what we have accomplished up to now. Thanks to these accomplishments, the new cadres will stand, at the beginning of their political work, as far above the level where the pioneers stood at the foundation of the Trotskyist movement, as the latter stood then above the first pioneers of American Communism.

The older generation must continue their studies, and continually broaden and deepen their knowledge. The cadres of the new generation must be inspired to study by the general atmosphere of the party; they must be required to study in order to qualify for recognition in party work; they must be aided and guided in their studies in all stages of their development; and, in preparation for their election or appointment to full-time party positions, the most talented young comrades who prove themselves to be resolute communists must be enabled to devote full time to study for an extended period at the expense of the party.

Such a comprehensive program, imposed upon the movement now by the stern necessities of the role assigned to us by destiny, is not in the least fantastic. Neither is it a vague perspective of the future. The program is rigidly realistic and realizable now. The educational plan, once it has been discussed and decided upon, is to be put into operation forthwith.

2. The Aims and Methods of the Party Educational System

The educational plan, viewed as a whole, contemplates not a single school, but rather, a system of schools and study courses -- a communist university. Its aim is to teach the party member what he needs to know in order to carry out his tasks efficiently at each stage of his development; to equip him for the post occupied today and to prepare him for more responsible work tomorrow.

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The Trotsky School System

At the base of the projected school system is the basic training class for beginners; at the apex is the national full-time training school for party functionaries which should rightly bear the name of the genius-teacher who founded our movement -- The Trotsky School. Those who go through the whole course of study, as hundreds and eventually thousands surely will, should have a rounded preparatory education in those subjects indispensable for a working political leader, organizer, speaker and journalist. Naturally, the students' education will not end with their graduation from the Trotsky School. But they will have acquired the necessary basic knowledge. They will have learned how to study and add to their knowledge the easy way in the course of their experiences in the political struggle.

By and large, they will be far better equipped than their political opponents of similar age trained in the bourgeois schools. That is bound to be so because our students in the main will be better material to start with, and they will learn nothing in our school system but scientific truth; nothing that has to be unlearned. These two great advantages will more than offset the material difficulties which hamper our work but which do not exist for the owning class and its pedagogical apologists.

Our school system will not be a poor imitation of the bourgeois schools, as so many pathetic adventures in "Workers Education" sponsored by half-baked social workers have been, but something radically different from them, something rival and hostile to them. Everything that is good and necessary in the bourgeois educational systems will be taken over and made available for our students, either in school classes or in reading lists for supervised post-graduate study. All that is bad and false in bourgeois education -- and there is plenty -- will be rejected.

While studying and appropriating everything useful in standard pedagogical techniques, the Educational Department of the party will work out in practice its own and unique pedagogical system to conform to the needs of the party membership. It will take each individual worker as he is and devise a way -- by classes, by correspondence, by supervised reading courses,

by special tutoring, or by a combination of these methods -- to help him to learn more, progressively. The first step toward this end will be to ascertain what his educational requirements are to start with, for new learning can only proceed from what is known. There will be no need or occasion for anyone to hide his educational deficiencies or to pretend to know more than he does. There will be no shaming of ignorant workers who have been deprived by the social system of fair opportunities, but comradely help and direction in a friendly atmosphere.

While honoring and elevating Marxist learning, the party will wage an irreconcilable war against prigs, snobs and smart-alecks who regard acquired knowledge as a private monopoly and a means of personal advantage rather than as an instrument of the cooperative struggle to be taught also to others. The knowledge of each individual must be shared with others and thereby multiplied for the general benefit of the party. The party leaders who collectively have acquired a large fund of knowledge, both theoretical and practical, by dint of long study and experience, must make it their aim to teach their younger colleagues all they know, and the latter in turn must become teachers of others, and so on in endless chain system of uninterrupted educational work to add to the collective knowledge of the party.

The main difficulty of an average militant worker is not his lack of adequate book-learning but the fact that he has never had time, free from worry and economic responsibilities, to study. He has not known what to study and in what order, and has not learned how to study systematically. The party will not be daunted by these obstacles. The main thing is the human material -- young rebels with a burning desire to learn and to know and to put their knowledge to use in the class struggle. The party will take them as they are, regardless of what their handicaps may have been, show them what to study and how to study and aid them through all their efforts by friendly supervision and direction. Following Lenin's injunction, the most promising and talented workers will, after a certain preparatory study be taken out of the factory and sent to the Trotsky School and educated there for professional party work.

3. The National Full-time Training School

The party of the future will expect and require in its leading staff, along with skilled practical organizers and mass workers, people who are well-educated in general and scholars in the field of Marxist theory. It is vain to hope that such leaders will be found by accident or that they will come to the party, ready-made, from the bourgeois universities. Experience has shown that it takes a long time and many tests to produce a serious revolutionary political leader.

Experience, all too painful and too fresh in memory, has likewise shown that the university intellectuals invariably bring with them a heavy excess baggage of petty-bourgeois prejudices, social attitudes and habits of life which must be unloaded, and false teachings which must be unlearned. The party must train and educate out of its own ranks the future political leaders of a new type -- the proletarian intellectuals. The two main schools out of which the proletarian intellectuals of the future will come are; (1) the prisons, and (2) the Trotsky School; and many party leaders will pass through both. The persecutions of the class enemy will provide the first source. "The prisons of Czarist Russia were the university of the party." (Natalia Trotsky). This will be the case in "democratic" America also; the persecutions will be turned against their authors. The second source -- the Trotsky School -- will be deliberately organized by the party and supported and developed as its most cherished institution.

The Trotsky School will be a school of higher education directed to one end; the preparation of selected comrades for professional party work. Every aspect of the school -- its curriculum, the selection of its student body, the organization of its faculty and its internal regime -- will be decided with this single end in view.

The Trotsky School will be a unique institution. It will bear little resemblance to the bourgeois colleges, since it will be designed to serve different ends, and the quality of its teachings will be superior. The so-called "liberal education" provided by the bourgeois institutions of learning omits the study of modern man's most acute and unpostponable problem, the problem of the decaying social order and its revolutionary transformation, and the method of thinking whereby he can best understand the problem -- the dialectical method of Marx and Engels. The Trotsky School, in contrast, will build its curriculum precisely around these subjects. The bourgeois "liberal education" is a compound of knowledge, some useful and some worse than useless. It is tainted with evasions, equivocations and even with downright lies (its theories of history, its economics and its philosophy). The Trotsky School, in opposition to this, will evade no important problem and will equivocate about nothing. It will be dedicated to scientific truth and will engrave over its portals the commandment of Trotsky: "Thou Shalt Not Lie!"

All existing schools of higher learning are class institutions, not only as regards their teachings but also in the composition of their student bodies. The academic atmosphere is poisonously hostile to the proletariat and its class interests. Their teachings are determined by the class bias of bourgeois politicians and wealthy patrons, and the professors trim their sails accordingly. Objective truth on any social question arousing "the furies of private interest" is not permitted to be taught in the bourgeois universities. He who says otherwise is a liar. The sons and daughters of the working

class, with rare exceptions, are automatically excluded by reason of their inability to pay tuition-fees and maintain themselves.

The Trotsky School will likewise be a class institution, but of a different kind. It will frankly espouse the proletarian point of view; its student body will be proletarian; and the financial situation of prospective students will not affect their right to admission in any way whatever.

The first condition for matriculation in the Trotsky School will be that the candidate is regarded by his co-workers as a worthy communist who has already distinguished himself in party work and is prepared without reservation to devote his life to the party as a professional revolutionist. The students for each term will be selected by the N.C. from lists recommended by party organizations or trade union fractions. Formal educational deficiencies will not bar the talented and ambitious worker from eventual enrollment. These deficiencies may be made up with the aid of special tutors, assigned by the Educational Department, prior to his coming to the school, or in some cases, during his attendance there.

It may be assumed that the average student, at the time of his enrollment, will be equipped with no more than a high-school education -- in some cases even less -- and may entertain, as is customary among deprived workers, an exaggerated notion of the importance of the "college education" sported by fortune-favored wiseacres. This "mystery" will be dispelled in short order; a realistic view of the matter will be acquired at the outset. The student will easily convince himself that his failure to attend college is far less serious than he has imagined. His teachers will begin by explaining how much he has missed, and precisely what it is, and how the essential things will be learned in the Trotsky School or in the systematic, supervised study afterward. Those among the students who have previously attended bourgeois colleges -- and it is to be expected that there will be some -- will have initial advantages in some respects and disadvantages in others, for they will have much to unlearn. That, as Aristotle said, is as hard as learning.

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On the Student Body

The student body in the Trotsky School will no doubt greatly vary in its composition from one term to another. But one can visualize a typical class as being made up of a number of comrades now working as party functionaries, with one or more candidates nominated by each of the maritime, auto, steel and shipyard fractions, several others recommended by local party organizations, and some designated representatives of foreign parties.

Functionaries engaged in party work at the center may take one or more courses, and some field workers may be brought in for attendance at the school for limited periods of instruction. But the main body of students will devote their full time for the whole term in an atmosphere conducive to study and free from all other party duties and personal financial responsibilities.

All expenses of the students during their attendance at the Trotsky School will be paid by the party out of special funds earmarked for the Educational Department. Food, lodging, laundry, text books, pocket money and medical and dental care will be provided. The student's sole responsibility will be to work and study conscientiously in preparation for his future party work.

The principal teachers of the Marxist courses on the faculty of the school will naturally be the party leaders. But for other subjects deemed necessary for the students and included in the curriculum -- history, English composition and journalism, foreign languages, public speaking, etc. -- the school will be able to draw on the services of party members and sympathizers who specialize in these fields. There is no room for doubt that the teaching staff will be fully adequate at the start and that it will expand with the expansion of the school.

The form taken by the school in its first experimental term will not be fixed and final. It will be changed, modified and expanded on the basis of experiences. The students will teach the faculty a great deal in this respect by showing what they lack, what they need most and what does them the most good. The graduates will automatically become members of a Permanent Advisory Council which will watch over the progress of the School through all the vicissitudes of the movement.

From a modest beginning the Trotsky School will grow and develop into a great historic institution worthy of the name it bears. All other subdivisions of the over-all plan of party education will be developed in proportion, each drawing upon and simultaneously supporting the others. All signs indicate that the conditions are present to launch the ambitious, rounded-out program outlined in the plan. The very fact that a plan of party education can now be projected and enthusiastically received demonstrates that the party has grown taller by a head. The conjunction of the plan and the enthusiastic response it has called forth with the assurance that the party can provide the necessary material means is convincing evidence that the project is completely realistic and that the time is ripe to launch it.

The important thing is for the party to discuss the plan and adopt it as a whole, make a beginning with as many parts of the plan as possible, and set a date for the opening of the first term of the Trotsky School.

That is all I have to say for the present on the subject of education. I am sorry that I could not cast it in better literary form, but conditions here are not the most favorable for such work. There are neither facilities nor time for copying, rewriting and polishing and I feel constrained by space limitations to squeeze everything into the smallest possible compass.

Fraternally,

Comrade Martin

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

by A. Wood

The coming revolutionary wave in Europe will have immediate repercussions in this country which will undoubtedly result in a perceptible increase in recruitment. We must therefore anticipate the coming radicalization of the American workers by gearing our organization to meet the yearning of the newly awakened workers for a revolutionary party. We must not be content in the meanwhile to sit back and await the new cadres but must intensify our efforts to gather them into our fold.

But the recruitment of new elements is only the first step. We must assimilate them into our party, and teach them all we have learned through the years of Marxist method and theory as well as practical politics. In view of the world situation we must integrate the new comrades at an accelerated speed so that they in turn become organizers and teachers of still larger numbers who will be prepared to enter our ranks. In fact no important city in the country, not even in the deep south, should be without a party organizer in the coming period. It is when we come face to face with this problem even to a minor degree that we come to realize how narrow is our base at present for the tremendous tasks ahead.

We must more than ever turn the face of the party outwards to the masses and begin to tackle the difficult organizational problems that confront us. But such is the inevitable dialectical process that in order to do so we must likewise turn in and upon ourselves to raise the educational level of the entire party. It is in this light that Comrade Martin's document on Our Educational Problems and Tasks is especially welcome at this time. System and planning in our educational program are just as essential for us as is the Bedaux speed-up system for the capitalists.

I find myself in accord not only with the main aim and purpose of the Martin document but also with the practical suggestions contained therein. I am particularly pleased with the stress placed upon teaching method of study, thereby enabling all our comrades more easily to enrich their knowledge even if they are for one reason or another unable to partake of the full course of study. This proposal is especially important since all the facilities for setting up the Trotsky University in its complete form might not be possible because of insufficient funds, difficulties of staying away from the job for any length of time, the hazards of being driven underground, etc.

With funds obtained in an educational campaign there should be no difficulty in establishing a National Educational Department almost immediately. With the enthusiasm which this program will generate there should be no time lost in putting into effect points a, b, c, and d of the plan. Even e can be

realized in various parts of the country by the establishment of summer vacation schools. If this is not feasible, an intensive course covering five nights per week for a short period of time can be instituted. Likewise a modest beginning of the full time training school at the center can be inaugurated and its work coordinated with the Militant, FI, branch educationals and party forum. Study would actually be facilitated by assignments to write for our periodicals and to speak at branch meetings and forums. Our near time goal must be a daily paper which this training school will help staff.

In instituting this program I would suggest a national tour on the part of one of our NC members -- and efforts should be made to spare such a comrade from the center -- whose function should be not merely to sell the program to the branches but to discuss with the Branch Organizers and Educational Committee members the course and method of conducting classes most suitable to the particular branch as well as the selection of the best qualified teachers. This would facilitate future correspondence courses, give the center a better picture of the educational level of the various branches and would enrich the work of the National Educational Committee with valuable suggestions obtained from the branch members. Although the most reliance will undoubtedly be placed on securing teachers from the local branches, nevertheless available teachers from the district should also be utilized where possible and in addition at least one teacher from the center should go on tour to give intensive courses for short periods of time in the various branches of the country. It is certainly feasible in those branches close to the center and is also feasible in the larger branches of the country.

The stress laid by Comrade Martin in choosing candidates for the Trotsky School upon the basis of party activity will allay any doubts that we intend to become a party of scholars instead of well trained party workers.

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THE CONCLUSION OF THE MILITANT SUB CAMPAIGN

THE NEXT STEPS

Letter Sent to Branches, June 21, 1944

The three-month campaign for 3,000 new Militant subscriptions is coming to a close June 30th. The results have exceeded the expectations of even the most optimistic comrades. From all indications our goal of 3,000 subs will be doubled.

The magnificent success of our subscription campaign, following as it did the great achievement of the \$15,000--Fifteenth Anniversary campaign, is an eloquent tribute to our party membership, who have responded in a truly Bolshevik fashion to the imprisonment of our 18 comrades. In these campaigns the party branches exhibited a high degree of enthusiasm, resourcefulness and a capacity for sustained hard work, which is a guarantee of greater successes and forward strides for the party in the coming period.

The \$15,000--Fifteenth Anniversary Fund established the financial basis enabling us to increase the size of the Militant to six pages, to undertake the subscription campaign, to expand our publications program, and generally speed up the work of the party. But while the financial campaign, served as a demonstration of the devotion of the comrades and their readiness for sacrifice, the subscription campaign gave us yet another demonstration. It demonstrated that there is greater receptivity to our ideas among workers. It proved that our ideas, corresponding as they do to the needs of the workers, find a much more favorable reception than ever before. This applies especially to our transition slogans, which have become the slogans of ever-widening circles of workers.

This is also borne out by the pardon campaign for the 18. The trade union support for the pardon campaign has already grown to substantial proportions now numbering 300 labor organizations, representing approximately 1,500,000 workers. The Stalinist traitors have become so alarmed at the growing union support for the 18 that they have had to undertake a national campaign of slander, vilification and open incitement to terror, in an attempt to counteract us.

This brief review of our successful campaigns of the past period underscores these two points:

(1) We have a sound party of eager, devoted, self-sacrificing comrades. Our party is the only one in the American labor movement speaking effectively for socialism. Our party speaks the truth and is armed with a program that offers a solution to the needs of the American workers;

(2) We have a fertile field for intensified activity in the labor movement and a greater responsiveness to our program by the workers, so that our activity bears greater fruit and results, clearly discernible with every action we undertake.

This is why we must continue to expand our activities outward even to a greater extent.

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With the conclusion of the subscription campaign, the comrades will naturally ask: What next? For this purpose we outline here some of the proposals of the coming campaign:

The Introductory Sub-Cards

The sub campaign showed the value of the introductory offer of 25¢ subs that has been the basis of the sub campaign. We intend to continue this feature even after the campaign. Henceforth every comrade should carry at all times sub cards he or she could sell in the plants, to their friends and neighbors.

Sub Renewals

Our plan is to circularize our 6,000 new readers by mail from the center, inserting in each letter four sub cards, offering the new reader a sub renewal for six months, plus the four cards which we will urge the reader to distribute to their friends and shopmates -- all for the price of \$1.00. In this manner we hope to get renewals and increase our circulation at the same time.

The sub renewal campaign, in its initial stage, will be handled by mail directly through the National Office. Readers will continue to receive the paper until the National Office receives definite information from the branches to drop them from the list. Such information will be compiled in conjunction with the carrying out of our next major campaign.

Our Next Campaign

The character of the projected campaign is outlined as follows:

We are offering four of the trial pamphlets for 25¢.

These include the CRDC pamphlet, "Who Are the 18?"; Cannon's pamphlet, "Socialism on Trial"; Goldman's "In Defense of Socialism"; and "Why We are in Prison." The sale of these pamphlets is to be conducted by the same campaign methods which made the sub campaign such an outstanding success.

It is our proposal that the comrades visit the new 'Militant' subscribers with these pamphlets. By the time the campaign begins the new readers will have been reading the

paper for several months, and it will give us a chance to ascertain what impression the paper has made, what their criticisms of the paper are, if any, and whether they are prepared to take another step in our direction by buying the trial literature. In addition we will have the opportunity to sift out of the circle of readers, prospective new contacts and members. While visiting the new reader, the comrades will be able to ascertain whether they have responded to the letter from the Militant office asking for the renewal on the sub and whether they have utilized the four sub cards sent them. Such a visit will of course help greatly to get renewals and to enlist the aid of the readers in procuring more subs.

The campaign for the sale of the trial literature will be directed by the manager of Pioneer Publishers, in the same manner as the sub campaign was directed by the manager of The Militant, and will be given prominence in the paper with a scoreboard and all the features that accompanied the sub campaign.

We are, of course, aware of the fact that the comrades have worked hard the past three months and are entitled to a well deserved rest. The manager of The Militant, in addition, needs some time to circularize the readers and prepare the list of new subscribers in the order in which they subscribed, so that the branches may follow the same order. The branches, in addition, will need some time to organize their new campaign and be prepared to launch it with all supplies on hand and in the proper campaign spirit.

For these reasons, we propose an interval of two months between the conclusion of the sub campaign and the commencement of the literature campaign. The literature campaign will start September 1st and continue for three months, until November 30th. You will receive additional directives and the proposed quotas at a future date.

Fraternally yours,

M. STEIN

Acting National Secretary

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ON PARTY RECRUITMENT

by A. Wood

In order for our party to be able to carry out its historic tasks in the stormy days ahead it must first of all gain in size and influence among the workers. Only in that event shall we be able to attract the larger masses when the political conditions become ripe. Having the correct political program is only half the battle and its effectiveness is completely nullified if we lack sufficient forces to reach the main body of workers. It is in this relatively quiet period that it is most essential for us to increase our cadres and place them in strategic positions to win over masses when they get into motion at a later date. Recruitment thus becomes our primary task today to which we must devote all our energies and thinking.

Although recruitment is the summation of our entire party activity with each individual branch function directed toward this goal nevertheless it should be viewed as a separate task to be kept ever foremost in the minds of the comrades during all their activities. Even a cursory examination will disclose that most of our recruits in the present period have been obtained through individual contact work. This calls for a greater emphasis on contact work with special stress on those contacts who are regarded as immediate prospects for the party. Often too large a contact list is as much a handicap as one too small. The list must continually be sorted with only a few names selected as the most likely prospects for membership. These should be taken up one by one in the Executive Committee where plans for their recruitment should be thoroughly discussed. The comrade who made the initial contact will be in a position to give the organizer and Executive Committee valuable information which will make it easier for the party to win over this prospect. Thus the task of recruitment must become one for the entire Executive Committee which should occupy a good part if not half of its time in deliberation over individual contacts.

Similarly an important part of each fraction meeting should be devoted to the discussion of likely prospects in the shop. But in addition to such procedure it is advisable for the organizer or any other person designated by the Executive Committee to take up the question of contacts separately with each member of the branch. In the course of such discussion other likely prospects might be unearthed. Each comrade will thus be made more aware of the task of recruitment and will inevitably become more diligent in his search. Any helpful suggestions that he might receive will make him more confident and eager to pursue his contacts. Such interviews are especially effective with newer comrades who often have a fresher approach to the workers. On the whole the more recent recruits have a wider circle of friends than our older comrades and a thorough combing of this list might disclose possibilities of which our new comrades are unaware. Too often their joining the party

has meant a clean break with their past associates. Our recruits should be encouraged to hold on to some of their friends and bring them closer to us.

But after a certain period the virtue of having friends and contacts can be turned into its opposite. Too often our comrades keep on visiting their contacts over a period of years especially when they were at one time members of the same radical party or organization. These ex-radicals are usually tired or cynical or both and much precious time is wasted in futile discussion with them. Likewise our comrades often participate in liberal and radical discussion groups in the hope of winning over the best elements to our program. In such cases we should remain only long enough to present our party position and obtain the names and addresses of the best contacts. Otherwise we merely aid in bolstering these interminable discussion circles. We can best reach these people on an individual basis and invite them to attend our own party educationals where our serious approach to problems is counterposed to the dilettantism of these liberals or professed radicals. (This of course does not apply to mass organizations that participate in actions where our people in the course of these actions can convince the best elements of the correctness of our program.)

Unlike the European proletariat the American workers have not flocked into the Socialist and Stalinist parties. The slower political development in this country can now be used by us to good advantage for experience has taught us that the mis-education received by the more advanced elements in the two reformist parties has by and large hindered their development in a revolutionary direction and made them thoroughly cynical. It is to the great mass of American workers who are only now beginning to awaken politically that we must turn all our attention. It is among the raw workers that we shall find our best recruits and our recent experience has vindicated this analysis.

We must draw into our ranks all serious workers irrespective of their low political level. It is up to us to educate them in the correct manner and this can best be done within the confines of the party. It is a task we must learn to do if we aspire to become a genuine revolutionary party and the sooner we embark upon this task the better. The relatively high political level of our comrades is often a drawback in this respect for there is still a tendency in our midst to look down condescendingly or to underrate such raw elements. The indifference if not hostility on the part of some of our comrades to the recruitment of such new blood is a realization on their part of the shortcomings of their contacts but it also a political underestimation of their real tasks. We must counteract this tendency in the strongest manner. There are today hundreds and thousands who are beginning to grope for a way out of the economic impasse of capitalism and we must do everything possible to facilitate their entrance into our ranks.

In most cases it is essential to make an initial visit or visits to the homes of contacts but an effort should be made to get them to attend branch meetings and classes as soon as possible. Since contacts are often shy about coming down to the headquarters by themselves it is advisable to call on them and bring them down on the first occasion. It is then that they will make their first observations of the functioning of the party, often form lasting impressions and make their decisions as to whether they will continue to attend future sessions. For this reason stress must be laid on the caliber of our meetings and classes.

Although most branches fully understand the advisability of bringing down contacts to our classes especially the basic training course for beginners, there is still an unawareness of the utilization of the branch meeting as a helpful medium for recruitment. Too often the branch meeting is a closed affair for members only where minor organizational problems that can most effectively be resolved in the confines of the Executive Committee occupy an inordinate part of the comrades' time. In this period when our members work such long hours it is a waste of their energies. But more important it prevents the comrades from gearing themselves to look outward to the workers whom we need to win over.

When the agenda of our branch meetings is carefully scrutinized it is surprising how little need be omitted to make it possible for contacts to attend the business as well as the educational part of our meetings. The whole party always acts on its best behavior in the presence of outsiders and our comrades readily learn to make only constructive suggestions and not bring up petty organizational differences that can be ironed out in committee. The Executive Committee makes more careful preparations to make the business section of the meeting shorter and more interesting. The entire membership gains from this experience with an attendant lift in the morale of the branch. More time is devoted to the educational part of the meeting from which our comrades and contacts can learn the basic principles of Marxism and where they can participate in the discussion of the pressing problems of the world working class.

Although the contacts are attracted to us on the basis of our broad political program it is important for them to see how the party carries out its practical tasks. A short business-like meeting will give our contacts a well rounded picture of the party and show them the interrelation between the program of the party and the daily tasks of our members striving for its realization. We find that most new people are deeply impressed by our business meeting including the directional communications from our national office.

Our educationals also take on new life in the presence of outsiders. Our comrades make a more careful preparation of the subject matter. There is greater effort on the part of

the speakers to simplify the more difficult subjects under discussion making them more easily understandable not only to our contacts but to all our members. It is excellent experience for our comrades to learn how to express themselves in simple uninvolved language.

Of course on occasion, say once per month, it might be necessary to discuss in closed session some of the controversial problems that need solution. For that reason a special meeting should be called either on some other day or perhaps an hour or so before the usual meeting time. Once the rule for admitting contacts to attend branch meetings is established many of them will get into the habit of dropping in if not every week every once in a while. For that reason it is essential that the closed meeting not be held at the regular meeting time since no contact should be turned away after he has come down. It might take a little time to get contacts to come around to our meetings but by diligent effort it can be accomplished without too much difficulty.

Having a contact attend the branch meeting marks a big forward step in recruiting him into the party. He will be impressed by the high intelligence of our comrades as well as by the seriousness of our approach and singlemindedness of our purpose. The best elements will continue to come. But we must do everything possible to facilitate their continued attendance. We must acquire the happy medium of being friendly to them without overwhelming them with attention. We should introduce ourselves and make them feel at home; give them one or two pieces of literature most suitable for their development without attempting to deluge them with all our rich and varied Marxist classics. A social hour after the meeting where coffee or lemonade and cake are served lends itself to a friendly informal atmosphere which helps to reassure our contacts that we are normal human beings. Likewise branch socials should be encouraged and whenever possible held at the headquarters. To these, contacts should be invited with special care exercised by our comrades not to involve themselves there in heated Marxist polemics. There is still an undervaluation of the political importance of socials in the party often on the part of those comrades who have been in the movement a long time.

In addition to individual contacts made in the shop or elsewhere many workers are reached in the course of the distribution of our paper and pamphlets. It is not always too difficult to draw these workers into conversation in which they can be advised of our meetings and classes. The branch literature agent should never fail to stamp the name of the party and the address of the headquarters on each single Militant and pamphlet distributed or sold. Excellent results have already been obtained in this way in several branches. The implication is clear; that no branch however small should be without a headquarters where our contacts can have ready access to our party. Otherwise the branch can experience but little growth. Where-

ever feasible a telephone should be installed in the headquarters and the name of the party listed in the telephone directory. Aside from facilitating the work of the party and enabling our contacts to communicate with us more easily new people becoming interested in our program often first communicate with us in this manner. The headquarters should be kept open at all times but when this is not possible the regular office hours should be posted on the outside door so that the visitor who finds the headquarters closed knows when to return. It should not be too difficult to arrange to keep it open every evening and certain portions of the morning and afternoon to take care of workers on all three shifts.

We should not hesitate to involve our contacts in the manifold activities of the party. Although we recognize the importance of having them participate in CRDC work we often balk at asking them to sell Militant subscriptions in the shop or house to house and refrain from urging them to do other useful tasks which in effect make them an essential cog in the party machine. Nor should we be too squeamish about getting our contacts to contribute to the party fund drives even though they have on occasion given money to the CRDC. Such involvement far from scaring the contacts away from the party is often the means of breaking down their resistance.

I do not know any one field of activity where our comrades have exerted so much effort as in trying to draw the Negro worker into our party. This has been a difficult task despite the fact that the average Negro worker is more aware of the necessity of a revolutionary party than the average white worker. Our house to house work in Negro districts has unearthed excellent contacts but their justifiable suspicion of whites has often kept them from attending our party functions when approached only by our white comrades. When they are finally induced to come to a meeting or class they are usually discouraged by the overwhelming disproportion of white faces. It is the initial recruitment of Negro militants with leadership qualities made thoroughly cognizant with this problem that is the primary task in most branches today. Once we overcome the first hurdle we shall experience little difficulty in winning over the Negro worker to the revolutionary movement.

The task of making initial contact with leading Negro militants should be assumed by the most political comrades. A systematic effort should be made to seek out the most progressive Negro fighters who have distinguished themselves by their militancy in the trade unions and Negro organizations as well as through individual activity. A careful perusal of the Negro press will aid in the search. Nor should we overlook the Negro intellectual and petty bourgeois who are becoming increasingly aware that they cannot obtain their democratic rights under capitalism. Since most Negroes are opposed to the imperialist war or at least recognize that they have nothing to gain from it, straight-from-the-shoulder talks around our full program by our experienced comrades with leading Negro workers

and intellectuals will bring surprising results. If we can convince one such individual of the correctness of our program and his role in the party he will recruit more Negro workers than will all the house to house work by our white comrades. (This is not to be construed as a disparagement of house to house activity which might also uncover good party material.) He will be able to guide us in methods of approach to the great mass of Negro workers who are looking for us as anxiously as we are looking for them. Since we have no rivals today in the struggle for Negro rights our prospect for recruitment would then become the brightest of all in this most fruitful field.

Even upon our revolutionary cadres the ingrained prejudices injected by the capitalist system have left their trace. This is understandable not least of all to our Negro comrades. These unconscious prejudices most often noticeable in the patronizing attitude toward the Negro must be rooted out. For this purpose we need not resort to fuss or fury. Helpful suggestions by more experienced comrades and educational discussions on the Negro struggle will go far in solving this problem. Our Negro comrades must be made aware that they can make effective contributions in educating the party along this path.

In still another important respect can we facilitate the recruitment of Negro workers. Not only must our comrades be the most courageous fighters for Negro equality in the shops and trade unions but we must seize every available opportunity to build up Negro leaders in these places. We must induce Negro workers to participate actively in all union activity and guide the most promising along the road of union leadership. This is not too difficult in those unions where we have a sizeable fraction especially where we are a component part of the union leadership. Once our fractions fully understand this task they will make big forward strides in the recruitment of Negro militants.

The foregoing remarks contain many suggestions which may or may not prove helpful. It is not any one of these suggestions that is all important. By and large our ability and capacity to recruit depends in the last analysis on the political development of the branch, its healthy functioning and the absence of potty factionalism. It is not the question of any one method but rather the unified party activity that will attract workers into our ranks. Above all we must turn the entire face of the party outwards to the masses and exert all our energies in that direction.

We have just added over 7,000 new Militant readers to our list in one of the most successful campaigns in our party history. Among them will be found several hundred good party prospects. Whether or not they join our ranks in the coming period largely depends upon the systematic method we pursue in sorting out the best elements among our new subscribers and concentrating our efforts to win them to our program. This is a real challenge to our ability and resourcefulness. Success in this enterprise will mark a big forward step toward the building of the revolutionary party.

BRANCH REPORTS ON EDUCATIONAL WORK

A Letter From Buffalo

July 12, 1944

Dear Comrade;

In reply to the circular on the educational work of the branches, we are submitting the following report on the Buffalo Branch educational activities. We are also including proposals on educational work that we think may have some possibilities on a national scale.

We are answering the points in the same order they are raised in the circular.

1. Name, Branch educational director - V. Grey
2. Program and Projects
 - a. The branch educational work consists of a weekly educational after branch meetings on current and general Marxist subjects. They are led by all members of the branch, choosing subjects they are able to handle on the basis of experience, background, etc. The branch organizer and educational director participate sufficiently to give the educational program the necessary political weight, as almost all members are comparatively new.
 - b. The branch has been conducting an "unofficial" speakers' training class, which has resulted in practically all members acquiring the confidence and ability necessary to address large groups of workers. We drew up a speech on the C.R.D.C. case, which the comrades memorized and then delivered before trade union, fraternal and religious bodies, with excellent results from every point of view.
 - c. The branch recently concluded a series of five lectures on the program of our party. These lectures, held on a different night than branch meetings and well-attended by sympathizers and party members, filled a long-felt need on the part of both members and friends.

- d. During July and August we are planning two lectures, one for each month. This month's lecture will deal with the all out offensive against labor. The August meeting will commemorate the fourth anniversary of the Old Man's death.

We are also arranging our branch meetings so as to permit close sympathizers to attend and participate in the educationals. We are sure this will facilitate recruitment.

We haven't as yet planned in detail our fall program, but it will include regular forums, continuation of the branch educationals, and perhaps a study class.

3. Educational Needs of the Branches

The majority of branch members and most of the recruits to come are people who are new to the political movement. The history of the American and world revolutionary and reformist movements is entirely unknown to them. Our educational work with this group must start from this fact. This means elementary educational material that explains our program in the simplest terms, introducing in lucid, explanatory fashion, the Marxist terminology.

- a. A series of lecture outlines presenting a rounded exposition of the party program.
- b. A lecture course dealing with the main tendencies in the labor movement, American and European, containing a short historical sketch and centering around our criticism of their programs. (C.P., S.P., I.W.W., S.L.P., Centrism, etc.)
- c. A short pamphlet. Suggested title: "What Every Trotskyist Should Know," to include a sketch of the party's origin and development, party constitution, explanation of how the party works (Democratic Centralism), and the main points of the party program.
- d. Outlines on current topics as well as basic Marxist subjects, suitable for branch educationals. This method will give the National Educational Department an opportunity to keep its fingers on the pulse of the political development of the branch organism. The outlines should include brief reference lists and should be explicit enough to enable even newer comrades to utilize them in educational work.

- e. An educational bulletin to coordinate the work through the branch educational directors.

While organized educational activity is no doubt required for comrades who are more advanced politically, we feel that the most pressing problem is the political development of these new forces.

Fraternally yours,

V. Grey
Educational Director

* * *

A Letter from Minneapolis

July 19, 1944

Dear Comrade;

We have your communication of July 5th on the plans to establish a national educational department. I have been directed by the Executive Committee to give you the information you request.

1. We do not have a branch Educational Director. Up until about a year or so ago, the educational work was handled by a special committee, but as the branch became smaller, we transferred this work over to the Executive Committee and at the present time, it is directed through this committee.

2. In the past several months, we have been using the basic Marxist works in our educational work in the branch. We have recruited several new members and we felt the necessity of directing our attention to their education in the party. We have been utilizing the outlines sent to us by the National Office sometime ago, in the form of panel discussions. That is, we assign three members to participate on the panel and a discussion leader. The chairman asks questions pertaining to the particular subject being discussed and these may be answered by members of the panel and added to or clarified, if necessary, by members in the audience. The chairman at all times keeps in mind avoiding putting a panel member on the spot and at the same time ties in the discussion. We have had these panels on our Proletarian Military Policy and the pamphlets, "Socialism on Trial" and "Socialism - Utopian and Scientific". We have met with good response on this type of discussion and intend to continue them in future meetings. Also we utilize the idea of book reviews and these are usually assigned to the newer and younger comrades. Our most recent assignment has been the book "Zapata - the Unconquerable", the book which comrade Martin recommended in a letter from Minnesota. The internal bulletins, of course, are part of our educational work. We have had some discussions on dialectical materialism and more recently on the

International Bulletin on the British Trotskyists. Then too, monthly reviews of the Fourth International are scheduled and other miscellaneous educational assignments in line with the current activities of the branch.

Many of our recruits have come from the University of Minnesota. Recognizing the need of integrating these intellectuals into the party, we have just begun the conduct of a study group near the campus. They have started studying "The History of the Russian Revolution" and will meet weekly throughout the summer months. An older party comrade will lead this class, or at least be present each time they meet.

As to our public meetings, which are in actuality a part of the education of our comrades, we conduct a regular Sunday forum on current topics throughout the fall and winter season. In the past few years we have conducted Saturday evening classes during the summer months. Last year we had a series on "Workers Struggles in America" and the year before, on "The Permanent Revolution in World History". This year we planned a series dealing with miscellaneous topics, for example, the race problem, fascism, etc. We conducted two of these classes but discontinued them due to the fact that we were faced with the problem of finding a new headquarters. Now that we are in the midst of a political campaign, I doubt whether we will be able to resume them.

3. Because we have recruited many new members in the past period, and in line with the educational program we have been following, we could utilize some more class outlines. When we had the panel on "Socialism - Utopian and Scientific" one of our comrades drew up the class outline. However, this takes a great deal of time and we find that is a precious item. If the National Office were to formulate some outlines on the Marxist classics, we could use these to good advantage. A well-organized reading list which we could hand to prospective or actual new party members would fill a need.

4. As to the assistance, aside from personnel, I think you can get a good idea from the above what our needs are.

5. As to the phase of our educational work we consider most urgent, I believe this question too has been answered above. The recognized political leadership of our branch is absent, and it is demanded of those of us left that we educate ourselves in Marxism and try at the same time to integrate the new comrades into the party.

Comradely yours,

Elaine Roseland, Organizer

A Letter from Seattle

July 15, 1944

Dear Comrade;

This is in answer to your request for information on educational work in the Seattle branch.

Educational director -- Rose Davis

Nature of educational work at present;

Every other Sunday night we have an open educational on current and world affairs, such as Germany, the present American Labor Movement, India, the Stalinists and their New Organization, History of the Bolshevik Party, etc.

On alternate Sundays, after the business meetings, we have planned a series of educationals based on basic party documents such as the pamphlets;

In Defense of the Soviet Union; Why We defend the Soviet Union; End of Comintern and Manifesto of 4th International; Manifesto of 4th International on Imperialist War and Proletarian Revolution; War & 4th International; Workers and 2nd World War; Stalinism and Bolshevism; Lenin to Stalin.

This latter program was designed to serve two purposes;

- 1) to acquaint our new and younger members with this material and to suggest further reading on these subjects; also to have the whole membership reread these pamphlets so that a fruitful discussion can be carried on after the lectures.
- 2) to give new members training in speaking. These lectures will be based primarily on the subject matter contained in the pamphlets, and since they will be reports or reviews, will require no extensive research work on the subjects.

In the regular weekly educational classes on Wednesday nights, we have covered;

The Communist Manifesto; Socialism, Utopian and Scientific; Wage-Labor and Capital; Value, Price and Profit; Imperialism; State and Revolution (at present)

After studying Lenin's pamphlet, we intend to have a series of lectures on the History of the Russian Revolution.

In our classes we have attempted to carry on a logical line of development; first, an introduction to the movement -- the Manifesto. Then having become acquainted with the idea of socialism, we went on to examine various trends of socialist thought in Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. After this, we studied the system which socialism will replace, and how it worked in its expanding stage - economic analysis in Wage-Labor and Capital and Value, Price and Profit. Then we studied capitalism in its dying stage - Imperialism. Next came the political analysis of capitalism and the rôle of the state, and the task of workers' organizations in State and Revolution. In the study of the History of the Russian Revolution we will discover how this task was accomplished. From there, we can go on and find out what happened to this revolution, the reasons for it, and what must be done to correct it, or we can study the History of the American Labor Movement and learn how we can achieve socialism here. This last problem will necessarily be tied up with the study of the struggle for socialism not only in the Soviet Union, but also throughout the world. We also intend to have a series of classes based on Comrade Cannon's book on the history of the party.

Our educational work aims at;

- 1) Education and development of comrades new to the movement (a group of high school and university students, who have a large contact among their classmates), shipyard workers, and seamen.
- 2) Giving those who have been in the movement longer further training and education to help them with their contacts at work.

We have quite a large and well-rounded library in the party office, and are compiling suggested reading lists coinciding with the lectures and aiding independent study of special subjects.

Educational needs;

Outlines to be used as guides for lectures or classes on such subjects as the History of the American Labor Movement, Degeneration of 3rd International, United Front, with special regard to rise of fascism in Germany, History of 3rd International, History of Russian Revolution, etc.

Reading lists on these subjects, and also lists of books and pamphlets that should be in every branch library.

We would like to know what type of educational work is being carried on in other branches, and also would appreciate your comments, suggestions, and criticism on our educational work up to date.

Fraternally,

Rose Davis

A Letter from San Francisco

July 15, 1944

Dear Comrade:

This is in answer to your communication on the branch educational work.

We have no separate Educational Director. I have been handling the duties and have been laying greater emphasis on educational work.

The branch has two major needs. First, the further development of the comrades whose theoretic background could be considerably expanded. Second, we need material for use on contacts dealing with the basic theories of Marxism and with the operation of the future Socialist Society. (I understand that a Pioneer Publication is in prospect on this latter topic. It will be of great use in our contact work.)

The branch has not been able to carry out a full educational program. A good part of its membership is composed of those who can only spend a limited time in town. The other part of the branch, the permanent core, has maintained a high level of activity, which combined with differences in working shifts made attendance at a regular class difficult.

We attempted a regular program as part of the activity of the school but with not too much success. The class on the History began well but petered out. This was due to increased CRDC work and also to the length of time the class lasted. Once a person lost the continuity he dropped out. We also attempted a class on Principles of Socialism for a few of the newcomers and contacts but that folded up almost immediately for lack of attendance.

We are planning a class on comrade Cannon's "History of American Trotskyism" early this fall. It will be in the form of a study class. We will try for a full attendance of the comrades and a few close sympathizers.

We have an educational as a regular part of our weekly branch meeting. Every possible comrade is given a topic for presentation. This has proven to be the most successful of all our educational work. Some of the comrades have given an educational for the first time and have come through quite well.

Recently we embarked on a more ambitious project. We are presenting a series going back over the past of the Socialist movement. The first topic, the history of the Communist League, using Marx's Selected Works as a basis, has already been presented with great success. Other topics are in preparation; the Revolution of 1848, the First International, life of Engels, the Paris Commune, etc. Several comrades are reading Marx and Engels for the first time, and are taking much greater interest in the classics of the movement.

In line with this review of the experiences of the past I think a prepared reading list of books and pamphlets covering each of the major periods would be of great benefit.

Finally, our monthly forum is becoming an important feature. It will serve more and more as a drawing point for our contacts and will also be a means of transmitting our ideas from present day topics back to their theoretic source.

I do not have any pressing need for any new lecture outlines, etc. Actually the party has a wealth of material on hand for the further education of our comrades. Our major problem is to find sufficient time to make use of it. The present emphasis on contact work will also automatically inspire the comrades to greater reading, especially after being posed with a stickler or two.

Comradely yours,

Bob Chester

* * *

A Letter from Los Angeles

Dear Comrade:

The following is the information you requested in your questionnaire of July 5th regarding our educational activity.

1. The name of the Branch Educational Director:

The educational work of the branches is organized by branch educational directors or by branch organizers. Branch work is co-ordinated and section projects organized by the Section organizer and the Section Committee. We hope to have a Section Educational Director as soon as we see our way regarding personnel.

2. The nature of our educational work;

Branch educationals are given each week. The best of these are toured through all the branches. Special study classes in the branches and Section are also organized from time to time. Then, of course, we have the Los Angeles School of Social Science organized last winter. We had planned to have a Summer School but the strain on our already strained financial situation, plus the fact that a poll among our new working comrades on the South Side revealed that they would be unable to attend, forced us to abandon the project on the large scale we planned. We may be able to arrange for a week together of highly selected activists for more advanced study and discussion. However this cannot be formally organized nor advertised. I haven't written Bob in San Francisco that if we succeed in arranging this, one or perhaps two leading comrades (activists) from there can be invited.

3. The educational needs of the branch;

Bibliographies for single lectures, for private study in Marxism, for extended classes, etc. Lecture outlines are not very useful. More practical would be outlines on how to prepare lectures.

4. Assistance;

Help in meeting the above needs.

Fraternally,

J. Bowers

* * *

A Letter from Chicago

Dear Comrade:

July 27, 1944

The following report is submitted on the educational work of this branch in answer to the questionnaire of July 5th.

1. Branch Educational Director - J. Michaels

2. The branch educational program;

A. Classes

We have just terminated a study circle on Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution which had been going on since last December. Attendance started with 12 and at the end had dropped to about 6. This class was instrumental in bringing three members into the party.

We are just starting another study circle of the most important of the writings appearing in the two-volume edition of Marx's Selected Works. The announcement which we sent out giving details about the class is attached. At the first session 18 people attended, four of whom were non-members. We consider the study circle a better method than lectures.

We are planning to begin a six or eight weeks class in Marxist fundamentals shortly after Labor Day. It will be an introductory survey of the field of Marxism. Attendance of certain comrades, new and needy, will be required.

B. Branch Educationals

In the past we have had an educational after almost every branch meeting. The following are some of the topics discussed: Recent labor developments in England; American Imperialism in South America; Roosevelt and the American Labor Scene; Review of Sidney Hook's "Heroes and History"; the Partisan Movement of Yugoslavia; The Baruch Report; Trotsky's article on Trade Unions in the Period of Imperialist Decay; the Labor Movement of India; Report of the Steel Convention.

In addition we have had semi-open commemorative meetings where traditional working class events have been discussed with attention to their theoretical aspects. These have been: The Paris Commune; Lenin's April Theses; The June Days of 1848.

We have now changed our plan so that each month we will hold two open branch meetings to which contacts will be brought. The business meeting will be brief and will be followed by an educational of a popular character. The first one was a symposium by three comrades on the Invasion of Europe. The next will be on the Republican and Democratic conventions. Others have not yet been arranged. In between the two open meetings will be a branch meeting where the educational will be more theoretical and to which interested contacts will be especially invited. We have had one as a review of the recent book, "Managers in Russian Industry and Agriculture" by Binstock, Schwarz and Yugaw. Another will be on the July Days of the Russian Revolution.

In our educationals we have been consciously following the policy of developing new comrades as speakers. In this way we hope to raise the political and theoretical level, give them self-assurance and improve their speaking ability.

3. Our educational needs

Above all we need the inculcation into the comrades who need it most, of the desire to educate themselves in Marxism. This means that they must be made to understand the importance of theory, and that without Marxist theory there can be no revolutionary practice. Many of our comrades understand this and want to educate themselves basically, as is indicated by the large number who have registered for our study circle in the Marxist classics. Unfortunately, some either do not understand this need or do not feel it deeply enough to impel them despite the demands of other activity to participate in this kind of work.

In technical matters we need class outlines and reading lists more than lecture outlines.

4. The most vital and pressing assistance that the center could provide are;
 - A. Promotion of the idea in the Party that education of the members is highly important and ranks on a par with the other major activities of the Party. Creation of an atmosphere which will stimulate and encourage members to become educated in Marxism.
 - B. Preparation of classes, outlines and materials with special emphasis on basic Marxist subjects.
 - C. Regular issuance of an internal organ in which all comrades will be encouraged to express their views on matters of general interest and educational value. This should stimulate thought, discussion and education and help to develop writers.
 - D. Suggestion of subjects and sources of material for branch educationals.
 - E. Interchange of educational experience of the branches.
5. The phase of education we consider most urgent in our branch.

We consider education leading toward a thorough understanding of the fundamental principles of the Marxist movement our most urgent task at present. The great bulk of our older members have acquired a hit or miss, unsystematic familiarity with or smattering of these principles. A few have been fortunate enough to do better. Nearly all of the newer comrades, and this includes most of those who have come in since the split, have hardly touched the classical theoretical writings on which our movement is based. We believe that this is where our education should start. After we have mastered, or at least thoroughly understood, the basic classics of the movement, we then want to go on to the political writings dealing with the application of Marxist theory to the important historical

events of the past and the present. Of course, in our branch educational we discuss current political problems from the party point of view.

We hope that this information will help in the organization of the much needed educational work of the Party.

Fraternally,

Chicago Local

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A Letter from Detroit

July 31, 1944

Dear Comrade:

In reply to your communication on educational work which we have been discussing, we have always conducted open branch meetings weekly where a speaker was assigned to lead a discussion on a timely subject. In addition we have always conducted at least one basic class even through the summer. We have conducted more advanced classes but not too many of them throughout the year. We also had a class in public speaking.

We are in special need of outlines for both class and lecture, reading lists, etc., for which we have written time and time again.

No one has given any courses on dialectical materialism and the branch could very well use such a course. We would appreciate any suggestions on this point.

The question and answer series for an intermediate class is in great demand.

Comradely,

Arthur Wood

A Letter from Toledo

July 23, 1944

Dear Comrade;

Replying to your letter of the 5th;

1. The Branch Educational Director is Charles Reading.
2. At present the educational program consists of a one hour lecture once a week by the branch organizer on elementary Marxism who uses as a base, material from "State and Revolution," and "Teachings of Karl Marx."

Following the regular meeting each week we also have a talk on some current event by a comrade who usually has one week or more to prepare his talk. We believe this helps the comrades to develop their public speaking ability in addition to getting some valuable practise in arranging subject matter for a talk.

3. We are in need of some outlines or guides to be followed. We have been using our judgment in the selection of subject matter and may or may not have been presenting the material in the order of their importance.
4. We believe the most important aid you could give us (aside from personnel) would be to:
 - a. Send us a detailed guide or outline to be specifically followed, listing the subject matter to be presented in the order of its importance.
 - b. Tell us what manner of presentation should be used. We recognize that a lecturer must have outstanding ability to hold an audience for 50 minutes or more. Is the lecture the only method used in the social science classes?
 - c. Tell us a method which would give us an idea of how much is being absorbed by the comrades and contacts. By this I mean what types of questions are generally used on an exam. Direct questions? Multiple choice? True or false? etc.
 - d. As to the phase of education we consider most urgent, we have discussed this in the branch at length but have not reached any unanimous decision. On the basis of the greater experience of the Educational Staff, we would like directives dealing with these matters.

Comradely yours,

Charles Reading

A Letter from Boston

August 2, 1944

Dear Comrade:

The writer of this communication, F. Daniels, is the Branch Educational Director.

At the present time, and for several months to come, our education has consisted of a detailed study of the Bolsheviki and Bolshevism. We have gone far back to the origin of the Party to the emancipation of labor groups. Beginning there, we have studied in turn, Lenin's early struggle with the Russian revisionists; the 1905 Revolution; The Period 1905-1914; The War and the Peace Movement; The Revolution; The Civil War; and War Communism. At present we are studying Kronstadt and The N.E.P. We plan to round out this program with the study of post-Leninism, Stalinist Degeneration, and the rise of Trotskyism.

At the conclusion of this series of classes we hope to be able to inaugurate a class on Marxist Economics, using Lewis Corey's "Decline of American Capitalism" as a base. We are running two other classes. Before our branch meeting we have a half-hour lecture on material taken from the "Arsenal of Marxism." The other class is a "beginners" class, which studies the A.B.C.'s and elementary Marxist economics.

We should like any and all outlines, and reading lists on the post-Leninist period that you have available.

The coordination of Party Education and the issuance of an Educational Bulletin would be very helpful.

One of our shortcomings has been the absence of Current Events talks which we shall try to remedy. Marxist economics, is of course, our most urgent task.

Comradely yours,

F. Daniels

A Letter from Ft. Wayne

July 13, 1944

Dear Comrade:

We are very glad to hear that you plan to establish an Educational Department to assist the branches in educational work.

We members-at-large in Fort Wayne wish to be prepared to conduct classes whenever the need for them may arise. We are interested in lecture outlines, reading lists, etc., on all phases of educational work. Please send us a list of material available, so that we may put in an order immediately.

Fraternally,

D. Curtis

* * *

A Letter from Philadelphia

July 15, 1944

Dear Comrade:

In reference to your request about our educational work, the following is our report.

Comrade Glesson is Branch Educational Director. At present no educational work is being done. In the past, our difficulty had been to hold the time of the business portion of our branch meetings to reasonable limits. Secondly, members were unwilling or unable to prepare talks. Our only successful discussion series recently was on the Dialectics bulletins. This was organized for a separate night of the week. Everybody was assigned in rotation to read sections aloud and then we would have general discussion.

For the immediate future we are planning to have a "question box" period after branch meetings.

For the fall we would like to have a series of discussions for contacts as well as members on the Economic basis of Marxism; Imperialism & War; Russian Revolution; History of the Internationals; Marxian interpretation of American History. These are to be separate from business meetings.

Of course, we hardly expect to be able to prepare for all of these at once or without help.

We would like the National Office to prepare outlines and bibliographies on these topics, suggest other topics and inform us of what is being done in other branches.

Though some of our members have been in the Party for quite a long time, we still feel that careful study of the fundamentals of Marxian science is our most important task.

Comradely,

Oliver, Organizer

* * *

Report of the New York City Educational Committee

July 5, 1944

Dear Comrade;

Our Educational Committee was glad to hear that a National Educational Department is being established. Until now we functioned on our own, but in cooperation with the National Educational Department, we are sure the work will improve.

For the last period our educational work has consisted of Branch Educationals after the business part of every meeting; branch classes, city-wide classes and a few open forums.

It is encouraging to report that all through the spring and early summer months, the educational work was going on undiminished despite the strenuous Sub-Campaign, CRDC work, etc. It is a tribute to our membership that they found time to study our Marxist classics with great avidity. However, the educational work was conducted for the most part internally, with few outsiders participating.

It should be noted that in the past, classes and Branch Educationals were conducted here largely by NC members. The pressure of party work made this impossible. During the recent period, with few exceptions, the work has been carried on by the ranks of the New York membership.

At present we are conducting four weekly classes: "State and Revolution," city-wide; "History of the Russian Revolution," daytime class, city-wide; "Germany - What Next," branch class; "Fascism and Big Business," branch class.

The daytime class was organized especially for those members who come and go, for a few night workers and sympathizers.

In all the classes the discussion rather than the lecture method is used. We have limited the number of students for every class so that all students accept reading assignments and make reports. We have started the discussion classes with the "History of the Russian Revolution" in the beginning of the year. Most comrades prefer this method.

The Branch Educationals are conducted as follows: Comrades are assigned topics 4 to 6 weeks in advance by the City Educational Committee. The reporters are given thirty to forty minutes for presentation, which is followed by discussion. We have had the following topics:

- April: Union Reports; Review of pamphlet, "State and Revolution."
- May: Trade Unions in War-time, "experiences"; Jewish Thesis; The Italian Revolution; Post-war plans and Labor; Book Review (Bonsals; "Immediately after Armistice").
- June: Steel Workers Convention; What is Zionism; Brewster stay-in; Question Box.
- July: Native Fascism, (Two lectures); British Fusion; Three Years of the CRDC; Current Events; Question Box.
- August: March on Washington; Socialism & Religion; Ten Years of the F.I.; Ship Yards report; Zig-Zag of the CPUSA; Soviet Defensism; Imperialism.

The last meeting of the City Educational Committee recommended that the branches start reviewing pamphlets like "Socialism - Utopian and Scientific"; "What's to be done"; "Socialism & Religion"; "Imperialism" and others. The purpose of this is two-fold; the training of members to make reports; acquainting our newer members, of whom there is quite a number, with the classics as well as with current publications.

The "Question Box" was also used with some success in the branches from time to time.

I regret to report that not enough women comrades have come forward as leaders of educationals in the Branch Educationals. We hope to correct this in the future. In the classes, on the other hand, the women comrades participated very actively. They accepted assignments, made reports and so on. The women comrades were in the majority in all the classes.

In the fall we are planning to expand our educational work. We hope to resume our public Sunday Forums. We also aim to have weekly lectures that would help attract some of our new Militant readers. This will be geared with the call-back campaign. We also hope to interest some of the new readers in our classes.

We are planning the following classes and lectures:

Weekly classes: Marxian Economics.

History of the Russian Revolution -
(a continuation).

The development of Socialist Parties.

The History of American Trotskyism -
(as soon as Comrade Cannon's book is out).

American labor history.

Basic Training.

Lectures: Capitalism and World War II - five lectures.

Democratic Centralism, (party members only) -
(two lectures).

Current topics.

The National Educational Department will naturally be of great assistance. Outlines and reading lists on all the topics mentioned would undoubtedly be helpful to all branches. The majority of our members need a circular on how to find material; how to do research generally, and how to make an outline. A Monthly Bulletin commenting on magazines, articles, and books that are not dealt with in the Militant and Fourth International would be of great educational value to the party.

Some of the questions in your letter will be answered by the branch educational directors. They have been asked to do so by the City Educational Committee.

With best wishes for Marxist education,

S. Stein
New York City Educational Committee