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SDL

OUR IMMEDIATE WORK

PROGRAM

Adopted by
the Central Executive Committee
of the Workers Party of America



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Program of Action

Adopted Unanimously by the Central Executive Committee

The Program as a Whole

In March the Central Executive Committee issued a statement entitled "Activities of the Workers Party," in which was pointed out the necessity for a balanced program of action for the Party. At that time attention was called to the tendency of various groups in the Party to unduly stress certain activities of the Party and neglect others. The consequence of this course naturally leads to a lopsided development of the Party and to the growth of unnecessary factionalism. The Central Executive Committee stressed the necessity of so organizing its program of work that the tasks of building the Party, educating its membership, and utilizing it in the class struggle would go ahead simultaneously and in such manner as to give the PaPrty a thoroughly rounded character. The present Program of Action, herewith outlined, is the putting into effect of the principles enlarged upon in the statement, "Activities of the Workers Party."

The Program of Action contains several points: 1) Labor Party and election policy; 2) Trade Union and industrial work; 3) Party membership campaign; 4) Educational work; 5) Reorganization of

See above

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the Party on the shop nuclei basis; 6) Unemployment policy; 7) Daily Worker subscription campaign. These propositions cover most of the main activities of the Party and consist of the matters to which the Party must direct its concentrated attention. This does not mean, however, that other activities of the Party shall be neglected. On the contrary, they, too, shall be pushed with redoubled energy.

In order that the Program of Action may be put into effect systematically, energetically and uniformly throughout the organization, and all these activities carried on continuously in the sense of their comparative importance, a certain amount of specialization and organization will have to take place around each policy. This will develop from the top to the bottom of the Party. In the Central Executive Committee individual members will be commissioned to devote special attention to the various phases of the Program of Action, this specialization not to interfere with the proper centralization of the Party. The District Executive Committees will also carry out the same principle, organizing the necessary committees to specialize upon each of the points of the program. Likewise the City Central Committees and local branches will create the necessary specialization so that they can be brought systematically and effectively into the work of putting the whole Program of Action into operation.

In addition to creating the necessary committees around each phase of the Program of Action, a fundamental necessity is to require that all of these responsible individuals and committees submit regular reports as to what is being accomplished in the line of activity directly under their supervision. Thus the Central Executive Committee will require regular reports from those of its members commissioned to carry out these activities. Likewise,

the Central Executive Committee will receive similar reports from all District Organizers explaining in detail what is being done in their respective territories relative to all the points on the Program of Action. So far as practical the District Executive Committees, City Central Committee, and local branches should put the same principle into effect. Only in this manner, by creating the necessary specialized machinery and then seeing to it that this machinery functions effectively, will it be possible to achieve the highly beneficial effects possible under this program.

The following statement of policies and the manner of their application deals in the main with general principles. Detailed instructions on each policy will be sent to the Party units.

Our Election Campaign and the Farmer-Labor Party

In June, 1922, our Party declared, in a manifesto dealing with the application of the United Front policy in the United States, that the problem of the United Front politically was the problem of the formation of a Labor Party.

Since that time the Party has carried on a consistent United Front campaign with the end in view of uniting those workers and farmers who were ready to break with the capitalist parties in a mass Farmer-Labor Party with which the Workers Party would be affiliated. This campaign has been the major political campaign of our Party.

We have during this campaign advanced the cause of independent working class action and made the Farmer-Labor Party an issue in the American labor movement. We can also say, without danger of the statement being challenged, that our Party had made the greatest gains for itself through this campaign for the Labor Party. It is through this Farmer-Labor Party campaign that our Party

has established itself as a political force in the United States. It is through this campaign that it has established its prestige and its leadership among the masses of workers and farmers. Nothing has contributed so much to develop our Party from a sectarian group to a recognized political force in the life of the labor movement of this country than our manouvers in relation to the Farmer-Labor Party.

The Central Executive Committee declares that the campaign for a Farmer-Labor Party was a correct estimation of the situation in the United States. It declares further that the campaign for the Farmer-Labor Party must be continued and will be a major campaign of the Party in the future.

We must, however, consider fundamentally the situation which our Party faces in the present election campaign. The June 17th Farmer-Labor Party was not successful in mobilizing all the Farmer-Labor forces of the United States for a Farmer-Labor campaign. The convention made tentative nominations and adopted a tentative platform and organization plan. It was considered possible that the Farmer-Labor elements which still adhered to the Conference for Progressive Political Action would break away from that Conference when it again betrayed their hopes for a Farmer-Labor Party and that an alliance with these forces would create the basis for the Farmer-Labor Party campaign in this election struggle.

The group in the Conference for Progressive Political Action which is for a Farmer-Labor Party, did not have sufficient courage to take a stand for the principle of class Farmer-Labor action in the United States. Without protest it accepted the LaFollette petty bourgeois progressive movement. The Conference for Progressive Political Action has become a petty bourgeois progressive United Front extending from LaFollette to Debs.

It is the supreme duty of our Party to raise against this petty bourgeois progressive alliance which is misleading the workers with the slogans of revolutionary class action. LaFollette is a menace to the labor movement. It is placing the workers under the leadership of the petty bourgeois class with a program in direct contradiction to the interests of the workers and liquidating their class movement. If the Farmer-Labor Party, as formed at St. Paul, represented a real United Front, unifying a mass movement of farmers and workers which would stand firm and carry on the fight against LaFolletteism and the petty bourgeois progressive alliance, unquestionably the fight against LaFolletteism should be made through the Farmer-Labor Party. This is not the situation. Part of the organizations participating in the June 17th Convention are themselves infected with LaFolletteism and will be swept along in the wake of the LaFollette petty bourgeois progressive movement.

Our Party, therefore, faces the question whether it shall participate in a Farmer-Labor Party campaign in which the Workers Party will have to bear the brunt of the work and will have to largely conduct the campaign through its organization, or whether it shall conduct a Communist campaign against LaFolletteism in the name of the Workers Party. A campaign in the name of the Farmer-Labor Party would, in the face of the Cleveland betrayal, unite only a relatively small part of the Farmer-Labor forces with the Workers Party. On the other hand, our Party would be greatly hampered in its agitation and propaganda and could not use the political campaign for the direct upbuilding of the Party, if the campaign were conducted under the name of the Farmer-Labor Party. The United Front campaign is only of value to our Party if it unites with us large groups of workers for common action. The degree to which this would be true

in the Farmer-Labor campaign is not sufficient for such a United Front campaign. The Central Executive Committee of the Party therefore has unanimously decided that the Workers Party shall enter the campaign in its own name, nominate Communist candidates and conduct a Communist campaign.

The alignment in the elections will be: The capitalist Republican and Democratic parties, the LaFollette petty bourgeois progressive alliance, and the Workers Party raising the slogan of working class action on a Communist program against the capitalists and against the petty bourgeois misleaders of the workers. This situation should nerve every member of our Party for the most aggressive and militant struggle our Party has ever made.

Our program and policy during the campaign will be the following:

1. To run candidates nationally, in the states, and locally, under the names of the Workers Party, wherever it is possible for us to put these candidates on the ballot, this to include the nomination of presidential electors in every state in which we can get on the ballot.

2. The National Executive Committee of the Farmer-Labor Party formed at St. Paul has endorsed the candidates of the Workers Party in this campaign and called upon all Farmer-Labor groups who stand for working class action to support these candidates. Our Party shall urge all local and state Farmer-Labor Party organizations to endorse the Workers Party candidates, maintaining their organization intact and using them to support the Workers Party campaign during the election struggle, thus also preparing the ground for continuance of the fight for the Farmer-Labor Party after the election campaign.

- 2-a. A campaign fund of \$100,000 shall be raised

through circulation of subscription lists and donations from sympathetic organizations.

3. Every unit of the Workers Party must at once form election campaign committees for the purpose of organizing and carrying on the work in support of the campaign of the Party.

4. The National Office will at once place in the field a corps of speakers who will be routed to every part of the country in a speaking campaign in support of our candidates and program.

5. The National Organization will issue a series of campaign leaflets which must be distributed by the Party organization in millions of copies.

6. The Party National Organization will print during the campaign a series of campaign pamphlets dealing with the issues of the campaign and with the fundamentals of the Communist movement for the purpose of education of the workers to support our movement.

7. Party papers in all languages must give special attention to the election campaign supporting the Party campaign in every way possible.

8. We must make consistent use of the election campaign for the upbuilding of our Party. No meetings must pass without inviting the workers present to join our Party. No piece of literature can be issued without containing a similar appeal.

Membership and Daily Worker Campaigns

The strengthening of our Party as an organization is essential to the future growth of the influence of the Party among the masses of the workers. Increase of the membership will furnish a wider basis for all of our activities. An increased membership will furnish both the workers and the financial support necessary to widen the scope of our work.

The activities of the Party during the past two years have created a large group of sympathizers with our movement. We have, however, failed in carrying on the organization work necessary to bring those workers who are ripe for membership in our Party into the organization. Our Party must now take up this work energetically. We must create in every unit of the Party a committee charged with the work of systematically conducting a campaign for membership. Our slogan during the election campaign must be: 10,000 new members for the Party.

The DAILY WORKER

Our Party made a splendid successful effort in the campaign for the DAILY WORKER. The fact that we were able to raise the funds to establish the DAILY WORKER with its own plant is a monument to the willingness of the members of our own Party to work for the upbuilding of the movement.

The establishment of the DAILY WORKER, however, does not complete our task. Our Party, since the DAILY WORKER has come into existence, has not given it the organized support in the effort to build up its subscriptions that must be given. A daily paper, under any circumstances, is a mountain of strength for our Party, but we can make it even of greater service if our Party gives it organized support and thus builds up its influence among the workers thru extension of the number of its readers. As part of the immediate program of activity of the Party we must carry on the organized campaign of support for the DAILY WORKER thru building the subscription of the DAILY WORKER. Just as the increase of our membership makes possible the increase of all of our activities, so the increase of the subscribers for the DAILY WORKER extends and broadens our influence and

broadens the possibilities of our actually being among the masses.

Combined Membership and Daily Worker Drive

The membership and DAILY WORKER subscription campaign will be combined as one campaign. The C. E. C. asks that every member of the Party secure one new member and a new subscription for the DAILY WORKER. The program will be the following:

1. A letter from the Central Executive Committee to each member of the Party will be furnished to the branches in such quantities as will supply every member. This letter will set forth the campaign for the DAILY WORKER and membership.
2. With this letter each member will receive an application card and a DAILY WORKER subscription card which he must use to secure one new member and one new subscriber for the DAILY.
3. Each branch will create a Membership and DAILY WORKER Campaign Committee which will keep record of every member who turns in the subscription and application card.
4. When the subscription is turned in or the application is turned in, the member of the Party turning same in will be furnished a special stamp to be placed in his dues book certifying that he has done his full Communist duty in the campaign.
5. Each branch is expected to appoint as a member of the Campaign Committee a DAILY WORKER subscription agent who will function permanently as the agent of the DAILY WORKER.
6. All Party mass meetings during the election campaign must be used for the purpose of securing new members.
7. Subscription lists of all Party papers must be systematically canvassed for new members. All

members of unions and other organizations must approach those sympathetic with our Party to bring them into the Party.

8. The Party press will carry a series of articles on the necessity for Membership and DAILY WORKER campaigns.

Educational Work

Party educational work is to be developed manifold. It must be established in all sections of the Party as an indispensable department of Party activities to be carried on in a systematic manner thruout all periods of the year alongside of special campaign of the Party. In order to insure the permanence and continuity and Communist character of the Party educational work thruout the Party, all phases of work must fall under the central direction of the C. E. C. and be developed from year to year according to a national co-ordinated scheme. For the furtherance of the educational work, the following decisions are to go into effect.

1. The C. E. C. shall establish an educational committee, which shall have full direction and supervision of the Party educational work in all of its aspects. The direct administrative responsibility of the national Party educational work shall be in the hands of the national educational director who shall be a member of the Educational Department of the C. E. C. and shall be responsible for the carrying out of its decisions. The educational committee and the national educational director shall be directly responsible to the C. E. C. for the whole educational program of the Party and must make regular and systematic reports of th progress of the work.

2. Every District Executive Committee and City Central Committee must immediately establish its educational committee and appoint its district or

local educational director. The district and local educational committees and educational directors shall be responsible for the development of systematic educational work in their respective fields. Each district and local educational director shall be in direct communication with the educational director of the C. E. C. and shall develop the district and local work according to the general plan and under the general supervision of the National Educational Committee.

3. The Educational Department of the C. E. C. shall take steps at once to set the following program of educational activity into action:

(a) Develop the circuit system of educational lectures and classes in at least one district of the Party according to the plans laid down in the educational program adopted last Fall and put into practice in the Chicago and Boston districts.

(b) Arrange for the systematic routing of Party lecturers on subjects dealing with the fundamentals of Communist principles.

(c) Begin the periodical publication of books and pamphlets of a theoretical nature and continue such publication according to a worked-out plan.

(d) Conduct a section in the Party press on educational work in order to popularize this Party activity and keep it constantly before the attention of the Party members.

(e) Work out plans for holding of a Party School in Chicago after the election campaign for the purpose of giving intensive instructions to a selected group of Party leaders from the various Districts.

(f) Work out the plans and make arrangements for the holding of special lectures by the most

prominent Party leaders on questions of Communist principle and arrange special debates with other political bodies on the same subjects.

(g) The New York Party School, which is under direct supervision of the C. E. C., must be encouraged and supported by every possible means in order that it may soon establish itself as a solid and permanent institution for the training of Party comrades in the New York District.

(h) All the comrades responsible for the educational work in every department of the Party must make special efforts to draw into this educational activity the most active members of the Young Workers League.

(i) Special means should be provided for the adequate financing of the Party educational work. The Educational Department of the C. E. C. shall prepare and submit for the approval of the C. E. C. an approximate budget for the carrying on of the activities provided for in this program. Upon approval of the budget, the C. E. C. shall directly provide the required finances.

Trade Union and Industrial Work

The effectiveness of the Communist movement everywhere depends directly upon the success it has in sinking its roots into the industrial organizations of the working class. This principle is so generally recognized that the Communist International has reiterated time and again the supreme necessity for carrying on intensive and persistent work among the trade unions in all countries. The Workers Party, following the general policy, has also repeatedly insisted upon the need for well-organized efforts among the industrial workers. But nevertheless our Party has not yet come to realize the great importance of it. The trade union and industrial

work is still in its infancy. Many units of the organization ignore it altogether. They seem to look upon the Trade Union Educational League as either some foreign organization or one capable of running along entirely upon its own resources. The consequence of this glaring neglect of trade union work is that the Party is failing to draw sustenance from the richest field of opportunity lying before it. All its activities suffer accordingly. A firm grip in the industries is the first consideration for the success of our whole movement.

The Central Executive Committee is determined that the Party shall take the industrial work much more seriously than in the past. For this purpose all the Party units will be required to make it a definite and constant feature of their activities. The present state of neglect must come to an end at once. We must aim to a condition wherein every industrial center there is a large and flourishing section of the Trade Union Educational League, and where every party of our Party is functioning vigorously industrially. The real health and growth of our Party depends upon the accomplishment of this condition. As the most vital present necessities of the industrial work, the Central Executive Committee calls upon the Party to put into effect the following general measures:

1. **Build the League.** In every industrial center where the Party has local branches there must be formed local groups of the Trade Union Educational League. In the organized Districts the District Organizers shall consider it a part of their most urgent tasks to see to it that in every industrial city or town within their Districts there is an active section of the League. They will be held responsible for the rigid fulfillment of this provision. The District Executive Committees, the City Central Com-

mittees, and local branches shall give the fullest co-operation in this matter.

2. **Industrial Registration.** A first necessity for successful work among the trade unionists and unorganized masses in the industries is a complete industrial registration of all Party members. Such a registration will be carried out by the Central Executive Committee in the near future. All Party units, including Federations, District Executive Committees, City Central Committee, and local branches, are instructed to make this a special order of business. The District Organizers are especially instructed to see to it that the industrial registration is a success in their respective Districts.

3. **Industrial Organizers.** In order to carry out the industrial work successfully, it is necessary that the various units of the Party commission industrial organizers and industrial committees to have charge of the work. The local branches shall each appoint an industrial organizer. The District Executive Committees shall specialize themselves accordingly and shall devote direct attention to the industrial work. The function of the industrial machinery of the Party shall be to bring the Party membership into the League and into the industrial work generally, in accordance with the policies of the Party.

4. **Union and League Membership.** It shall be a leading aim of the industrial work to bring all working class members of the Party into the mass trade unions. Where none exist, they must be organized. The Party members who work in industry must also join the Trade Union Educational League and take an active part in its work. The campaign to bring the members into the unions and into the League must be prosecuted vigorously throughout the Party from top to bottom.

5. **Finances.** In the near future the Trade Educational League will establish the Class Struggle Propaganda Fund. The purpose of this will be to regularize the financial support of the League. The Party units and membership everywhere shall give this Fund the most active support and look upon its maintenance as a Party duty. In addition, in order to further the industrial work, there shall be at least one picnic and one entertainment or dance organized to benefit the Trade Union Educational League each year in each important locality.

6. **The Labor Herald.** The Party shall give active support to the circulation of The Labor Herald, official organ of the Trade Union Educational League. District Organizers will undertake to systematize the circulation of the Labor Herald in their respective districts.

7. **Build the Party.** The Party membership must constantly bear in mind the fact that the prime aim of the trade union work is to build up the Workers Party into a mass Communist Party. To this end there must be a steady campaign carried on to bring all League sympathizers and members into the Workers Party. At the present time there are many workers who belong to the League but not to the Party. The welfare of the Party demands that all available workers made sympathetic through the work of the League be brought into the Party at the earliest moment and there developed into real Communists.

Shop Nuclei

From its inception the Communist International has never ceased to point out the absolute necessity of reorganizing the Communist Parties in the various countries from a territorial form of organization to one based upon shop nuclei. The territorial

form of local branches is an inheritance from the Social-Democratic Party. It is unfit for effective Communist work, which can only be carried on when the Communists are thoroughly organized in the places where they work. For many reasons this change to a shop nuclei basis is vital to the progress of the Workers Party. One of these reasons, which may be noted, is the necessity of our eventually carrying on campaigns to organize the industrial masses into trade unions. This we can accomplish only if we have established elaborate connections by the institution of shop nuclei throughout the industries. These shop nuclei are in turn united upon the territorial principle. Likewise, the effective application of the whole program of the Workers Party depends upon our gaining the close contact with the working masses which can only be had through a well developed system of shop nuclei.

All over the world the Communist Parties are now in process of changing from the territorial to shop nuclei form as the basis of the local Party organization.

The Workers Party must follow suit. Everywhere the transition is a very difficult one. Especially is this the case in the United States where the situation is greatly complicated by the language problem. Pursuant to the resolution adopted at the last convention of the Workers Party, the Central Executive Committee will now proceed directly to the formation of shop nuclei. Inasmuch as the problem is such a difficult one, the work will be done carefully and largely in an experimental way so that our Party organization will not be injured, but, on the contrary, will be strengthened from the beginning. The Central Executive Committee will instruct the District Organizers to institute certain numbers of shop nuclei in their districts and to develop these directly under the guidance of the Central Execu-

tive Committee. As soon as possible the network of shop nuclei will be extended and developed as the basis of the Party. In order to make the shop nuclei campaign a success it is absolutely essential that the industrial registration be carried out 100%. Only if the Party is fully informed of the actual places of work of its members, can it possibly organize them into nuclei. The membership generally are urged to give their active support to this beginning of the shop nuclei reorganization of the Party.

Unemployment

Within the past 30 days the growth of the unemployment crisis has taken on new impetus. There is little doubt that it will rapidly become worse. While up to the present this has resulted in activity among the unemployed, on a mass scale, only in a few centers, such as the textile towns of New England and in some mining fields, movement of the unemployed may be expected on a national scale before many months, especially if stimulated and organized by the militant unionists and Communists. In this situation it is the duty of every member and unit of the Workers Party to apply the unemployment program, making themselves thoroughly familiar with it, and to inaugurate the following immediate steps:

1. Make unemployment a leading issue in all election campaign meetings.
2. Distribute the pamphlet on unemployment to be published by the Party, giving it a wide circulation.
3. Introduce resolutions in all labor unions and other bodies, calling for action to combat unemployment, along the lines of the Workers Party program.

4. Agitate for the organization of unemployed councils in districts such as the New England textile towns.

5. Bring the unemployed into close touch with the Workers Party and recruit new members from among their ranks.

6. Organize demonstrations in localities where unemployment is acute.

7. The Research Department is to issue weekly bulletins on the unemployment situation, and all Party papers are instructed to publish same and comment editorially.

8. The program of the party is to be studied in all Party units, and popularized among the masses of workers, organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed.

The campaign against unemployment shall be carried out under the following slogans, applied in each case to the particular conditions of the locality, industry, or the circumstances of the action being taken:

Political

Government operation of non-operating industries and shops.

Inauguration of public works.

Maintenance of unemployed at union rates of wages.

Nationalization of mines, railroads, and public utilities.

Abolition of child labor.

Recognition of and trade relations with Soviet Russia.

Unemployment insurance administered by the workers.

Grants by the Government.

Industrial

Industry must be responsible for maintenance of its workers.

Equal division of work among members in each industry and shop.

Assessment of employed for relief of unemployed.

Establishment of control committees of workers to regulate production and investigate accounts.

Struggle against sabotage of employers.

Unemployment insurance supported wholly by the employers and administered wholly by the workers.

American Imperialist

by Jay Lovestone

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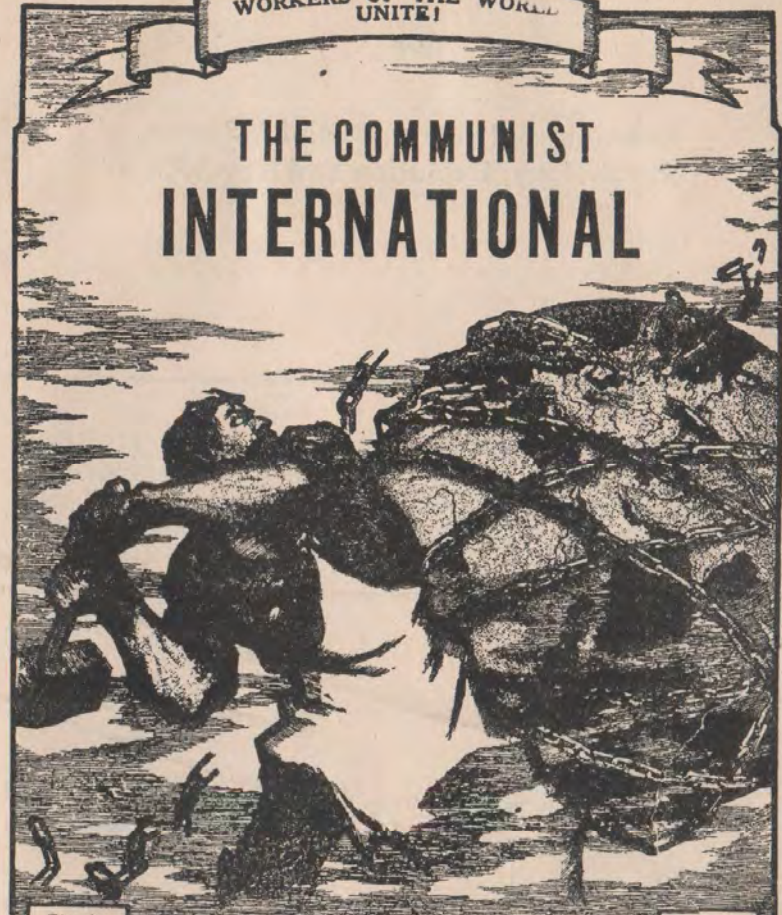
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