

THESES OF THE FOSTER-BITTELMAN MINORITY

To the Plenum of the Central Committee, on the Tasks of the Party in Present Situation

THE TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE PRESENT SITUATION THE WAR DANGER

The present, third period of post-war development of world capitalism, is the period of so-called capitalist reconstruction.

"The third period, which, in the main, is the period in which capitalist economy is exceeding the pre-war level and in which the economy of the U. S. S. R. is also almost simultaneously exceeding the pre-war level (the beginning of the so-called "reconstruction period," the further growth of the socialist forms of economy on the basis of a new technique.) For the capitalist system, this is the period of rapid development of technique and accelerated growth of cartels and trusts, and in which tendencies of development towards state capitalism are observed. At the same time, it is a period of intense development of the contradictions of world capitalism, operating in forms determined by the whole of the preceding process of the crisis of capitalism (contraction of markets, the U. S. S. R., colonial movements, growth of the inherent contradictions of imperialism.) This third period, in which the contradictions between the growth of the productive forces and the contraction of markets become particularly accentuated, is inevitably giving rise to a fresh series of imperialist wars—among the imperialist states themselves; wars of the imperialist state against the U. S. S. R.; wars of national liberation against imperialism and imperialist intervention, and to gigantic class battles. The intensification of all international antagonisms, (antagonisms between the capitalist states and the U. S. S. R., the military occupation of Northern China,—which is the beginning of the partition of China,—the mutual struggles between the imperialists, etc.), the intensification of the internal antagonisms in capitalist countries (the swing to the Left of the masses of the working class, growing acuteness of the class struggle), and the wide development of colonial movements (China, India, and Syria), which are taking place in this period, will inevitably lead,—through further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization,—to capitalist stabilization becoming still more precarious and to the severe intensification of the general crisis of capitalism." (Thesis of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern).

The highly sharpened rivalries between American and British imperialism which constitute the central point in the present world political situation, are leading inevitably to a new world war. At the same time imperialist rivalries are sharpening between the European imperialist powers, (England and France against reviving German imperialism, Europe against the United States, etc.) World imperialism continues to press for the further partition of China, generating in this process sharp conflicts between America and Japan, America and England, (Anglo-French bloc), the developing Anglo-Japanese alliance against U. S. imperialism, etc. The betrayal of the Chinese revolution by the Chinese bourgeoisie produced a temporary setback in the further development of the revolution in its present higher stage under the leadership of the Communist Party. New forces are accumulating for a fresh successful attack against the imperialists and its agents the native militarists and their bourgeoisie in China. Revolutionary struggles against colonial oppression are fast maturing in India where the oppressed masses of peasants led by the working class are coming more and more to the foreground as the main force and leaders of the revolution. Unrest among the colonial peoples of Latin America, Africa, etc. is developing at a fast rate under the heavy pressure of imperialist aggression.

At the same time world imperialism continues to sharpen its teeth against the Soviet Union whose economic growth on a Socialist basis intensifies the contradictions of imperialism. The danger of an imperialist attack against the Soviet Union is becoming increasingly more actual.

Thus the present third period of post-war capitalism ushers in a period of highly sharpened imperialist rivalries chiefly between America and England, intensified imperialist attacks upon the colonial peoples against imperialism (China, India, Latin America, etc.), intensified preparation for imperialist war against the Soviet Union and sharp class struggles of the working class and the poor peasantry against the capitalists within all the imperialist countries.

1. TOWARDS A MATURING ECONOMIC CRISIS

The Present Economic Situation in the United States

The curve of industrial development which in the middle of 1928 took a turn upward, is again beginning to show downward trends. The persistence of the present industrial depression, aggravated by the critical situation in such basic sections of economy as coal, textile, shipping, oil and agriculture, points to the maturing of an economic crisis with the consequent misery and suffering for the toiling masses.

Only a few industries have shown increasing production in recent months. These are automobiles, steel, farm machinery, and electric power and equipment. This fact and the further industrialization of the south (coal, iron, textiles) explain the slight upward turn in the last several months.

This, however, produced no notable improvement in the general depression. It prevented, however, a sharp drop and the opening of the economic crisis. The intensive application of farm machinery to agriculture is worsening the condition of the small farmer and is displacing farm labor. The growth of electric power is aggravating further the crisis in the coal industry. The continued industrialization in the south is accelerating the decline of the industries in New England. While the growth of technique, efficiency and general rationalization is further displacing labor from industry and increasing the army of "superfluous" workers.

From a record output of 91.3 per cent. of capacity in October, steel production has fallen to 79 per cent. in the third week of November. The average for November is estimated at about 82 per cent. while the output for December is for a rate of about 80 per cent. The automobile industry, which was the main buyer of steel in recent months, is itself slowing down production. The October output of automobiles shows a decline of nearly 4 per cent. from the output in September. Building permits and operations are on the decrease. The same is even more true of the industry producing agriculture machinery.

The tendencies of decline in U. S. agriculture are continuing. Its specific gravity in American capitalist economy is decreasing. At the same time the buying capacities of the masses are falling. Products of manufacture are progressively taking the place of food-stuffs and raw material in U. S. export trade. The recent intensive introduction of high modern technique into agriculture is accompanied by concentration of land and agrarian capital in the hands of big bankers and farmer capitalist, the further worsening of the conditions of the small, so-called independent farmer, and the expropriation and proletarianization of large masses of working and tenant farmers. This further undermines the home market and accelerates the maturing economic crisis.

Further expansion of some of these key and other industries or the steady maintenance of the present rate of operation, drive the capitalists to imperialist war to secure new markets and to rationalization measures to cheapen production for competition on the world market by further attacks upon the standards of the workers.

The time of a large yearly expansion of automobile sales in the U. S. "has gone forever," declared Milar V. Ayres, a prominent capitalist economist. The present producing capacity of the steel industry is about eight million tons above the present volume of home consumption plus export.

U. S. export of commodities is increasing but the rate of increase is declining showing highly intensified world imperialist rivalries. In the two years, 1925-27, European capitalism gained 10 per cent. in export trade, while American capitalism gained 5 per cent., that is, a rate of increase of 2 1/2 per cent. per year. But in the nine months of 1928 the rate of increase of U. S. exports was only 1.4 over the corresponding period of 1927.

In Latin America, United States export of capital is continually increasing, but the export of commodities is meeting the increasingly sharpening competition of European capital. Hence the intensive offensive of American capitalism against labor at home and for imperialist expansion abroad. Hence the present concentration of American imperialism to subdue and conquer Latin America.

The highly inflated speculative condition on the stock market, while reflecting a still existing surplus of credit facilities, which the federal reserve board places at the disposal of Wall Street, to maintain the show of "prosperity," and to enrich the big bankers, is greatly contributing towards the approaching economic crisis.

Credit inflation which is at the basis of the feverish speculation on the stock market, is an important characteristic of the present economic situation. This speculation which is in total disproportion to either present or prospective expansion in industry, while diverting the surplus credit from a more dangerous industrial inflation, is nevertheless one of the contributing causes of the approaching crisis.

We herewith publish the theses of the Foster-Bittelman Opposition presented to the Plenum of the Central Executive Committee Dec. 15. It was rejected by the Central Executive Committee by a vote of 28 against 7, with one abstention.

The efforts of big capital and the Federal Reserve Board controlled by it, to deflate somewhat the situation on the stock market without seriously affecting the industrial situation cannot succeed, in the face of the tremendous disproportion between the rate of accumulation of capital and the rate of industrial expansion.

The enormous accumulation of capital by the monopolies, the industrial corporations and banks, resulting from mounting profits and super profits, continues to be exported in increasing quantities. The export of capital, which is stimulating the growing aggressiveness and war preparation of U. S. imperialism, while tending to promote the expansion of armament and machine producing industries in the U. S., at the same time further undermines the home production of food, raw materials, and those industries generally which produce articles of consumption.

Thus even the capitalist economists are forced to admit the approach of a crisis. "The philosophical observer with economic history in mind knows, that a turn is ahead, and that the very fever in the present public belief in increasing prosperity is one of the instruments of a future decline," (Annalist, November 9, 1928).

Virgil Gordon, chief economist of the National Industrial Conference Board, says: "Next year will go down as a crucial one in our economic life, for in it we shall come face to face with certain new, fundamental and unsolved problems of economic control and adjustment" (New York Times, November 22, 1928). The very optimistic Harvard Economic Society declared that "it is improbable that the 1928 rate of expansion will be maintained" (Weekly Letter, November 17, 1928).

Leonard P. Ayres, a prominent Cleveland financier, says: "We appear to be leaving behind us the wonderful golden age that we have enjoyed most of the time since the depression of 1921, during which prosperity has promised to be perpetual, the old-fashioned business cycles with their recurrent booms and depressions have been in abeyance, and the trend of stock prices has been almost constantly upward." (Annalist, October 12, 1928).

While monopolist capital continues to extract tremendous profits by intensified exploitation of the masses at home and imperialist robbery abroad, the condition of the proletariat and the working farmer are progressively becoming worse. Trustification of industry, (gigantic mergers) transportation and commerce (notably, chain stores) under the domination of finance capital is proceeding at a tremendous rate. Capitalist rationalization, and the process of the organizations of Big Capital becoming grafted on to the organs of state power, which has received a fresh impetus with the election of Hoover, spells more suffering for the toiling masses.

The permanent army of several millions of "superfluous workers," displaced from industry by rationalization, is continually swelled by new rationalization drives, by the depression, and by the influx into the cities of ruined farmers. The general index of employment of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (a government agency) for September 1928, stands at 87.3 per cent., which is lower than in September, 1927 (88), while the index for average monthly employment during the first nine months of 1928 stood at 85.6, about the same as in February, 1928 (85.5) when over five million workers were unemployed. While the demand for skilled labor was somewhat larger between August and November than in previous months, the unemployment situation among the semi-skilled and unskilled has undergone very little change.

Wages of the bulk of the working class are tending downward. A small section of the organized skilled workers have maintained the 1927 rates, with slight increases occurring only in isolated instances. At the same time the wages of the unskilled and semi-skilled are continually being cut while the cost of living is tending upward. Real wages and the share of national income that goes to wages are declining. The physical condition of the masses is fast deteriorating under the terrific pressure of speed-up and rationalization.

The present depression is leading to an economic crisis. This is made inevitable not alone by the temporarily stayed cyclical crisis, the sharp outbreak of which was delayed by the growth of new industries, industrialization of the south, credit inflation, installment buying, etc., but also by the basic structural changes which are taking place in American capitalism.

These structural changes are caused by the maturing inner contradictions of U. S. capitalism such as the disproportion between production and consumption, the disproportion between the rate of expansion of productive capacity and the rate of growth of volume of production, structural unemployment, unevenness in industrial development as between separate industries and various sections of the country, the contradictions of rationalization and of capital export, polarization of wealth and poverty, etc. The very factors which have contributed to postpone the sharp outbreak of an economic crisis will considerably worsen the consequence of the crisis when it comes.

American capitalism is about to reach the apex of growth. This means that further expansion in the present period of world capitalism leads the ruling class of the U. S. to further and more drastic attacks upon the standards of life of the American masses, and to an attempt at an armed revision of the world market and the spheres of imperialist domination. In other words to rationalization and war.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAR DANGER.

2. The Present Political Situation in the United States.

American imperialism is preparing for war, chiefly against England to secure more colonies (Latin America, China, etc.) and larger spheres of imperialist domination. But the other imperialist powers mainly England, stand in the way, hence the sharpening conflict between the ruling classes of America and England, which is now the central point of world imperialist rivalries. Hence, the Anglo-French Agreement, and the revival of the Anglo-Japanese alliance countered by the large naval construction program in the U. S., Coolidge's war challenge and Kellogg's speech on Armistice Day, Coolidge's message to Congress, Hoover's imperialist mission to South America, etc. The present war conflict between Bolivia and Paraguay, engineered by U. S. and British imperialism respectively, shows the high tension of rivalry between these two imperialist powers. Ideological, political, and military preparedness are the main order of business for the capitalist government and ruling class in the U. S. The election of Hoover, the expansionist and rationalizer, symbolizes the war preparations of American imperialism.

Hostility to the Soviet Union continues an essential characteristic of U. S. imperialist policy. American imperialism participates in the efforts of world imperialism to undermine and prepare for military attack upon the Soviet Union, despite developing tendencies to enlarge economic relations with the Soviet Union, etc. This must not lead to the serious mistake of minimizing the danger of U. S. imperialism participating in attacks upon the Soviet Union. (Nearing).

U. S. imperialism is further penetrating into China. Under the cloak of favoring the unification of China, U. S. imperialism is actually laying the basis for further military intervention in and the partition of China. Together with the ex-nationalist government American imperialism is waging war upon the Chinese revolution.

At the present time U. S. imperialism is especially concentrating on crushing and subjugating Latin America, Nicaragua giving the key to its policy. As part of its war and rationalization drive U. S. imperialism intensifies the attack upon the Communist Party, the new, industrial unions and militant working class organizations generally.

CAPITALIST RATIONALIZATION AND IMPERIALIST WAR

Rationalization and imperialist war are two organically connected parts of the one central policy of American capitalism in its efforts to overcome its sharpening inner and outer contradictions in the present period. Consequently, capitalist rationalization and war preparations have become the central issues of the class struggle. This is the issue which in the present period determines class relationships and political alignments.

The analysis of the objective situation and the political line formulated in the document of the minority "The Right Danger in the American Party," has been proven correct by subsequent events. The right wing line and analysis of the majority of the Central Committee, which does not see the organic connections between the maturing inner contradictions of American imperialism and the sharpening imperialist rivalries between America and England, is now leading to a serious underestimation of the war danger and to opposition to con-

nect the struggle against the war danger with the everyday struggles of the American masses against capitalist rationalization.

CLASS RELATIONSHIPS IN THE UNITED STATES

Big monopolist capital is leading in the rationalization and war preparation offensive of American capitalism. The strong tendency among the capitalists in the U. S. for an upward revision of the tariff, which the labor bureaucracy is supporting (the Wage Earners' Protective Conference headed by Woll), is part of this offensive. This offensive is supported by the independent capitalists, who at the same time are developing friction with big capital against monopoly prices on raw materials, against credit discriminations by the Federal Reserve Board, etc. This offensive is also supported by the well-to-do city and farmer petty bourgeoisie, although hesitatingly and with much pacifist twaddle about disarmament and peace. The corrupt aristocracy and bureaucracy of labor is militantly supporting big capital in its war and rationalization offensive, attempting to transform the whole organized labor movement into an adjunct of the American imperialist war machine. (The A. F. of L. convention in New Orleans).

But the bulk of the industrial and agrarian working class, the large masses of the semi-skilled and unskilled workers, together with the working farmers and the mass of oppressed Negroes, who have nothing to gain and everything to lose from the rationalization and war offensive of U. S. capitalism, are confusedly but increasingly reacting against this whole program. As the process of radicalization proceeds further these toiling masses, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will progressively develop stronger and more conscious resistance. It is upon such a perspective of sharpened class relations and class struggles against war and capitalist rationalization that our Party must orientate its general line in the present period.

The general line of the majority of the Central Committee is based upon an underestimation of the maturing inner and outer contradictions of American Capitalism. This means an underestimation of the War Danger as well as of the radicalizing effects of capitalist rationalization upon the masses. The line of the Central Executive Committee majority does not orientate itself upon sharpening class relations (no radicalization process among the masses, no perspective of struggle). Consequently, the line of the Central Executive Committee majority makes concessions to a Social Reformist perspective and conception on the class struggle in the U. S.

POLITICAL PARTIES

The Republican and Democratic Parties—both political instruments of big capital—are proceeding full speed ahead to put into effect the war and rationalization program of big capital. The so-called progressive wing of these parties (Norris, Brookhart, LaFollette, Shipstead, Wheeler, etc.) reflecting the grievances of the smaller capitalists are in reality only helping big capital to deceive the masses and to keep them with the old parties.

The process of trustification, while creating a new stratum of petty bourgeoisie directly in the employ of big capital, is at the same time worsening the conditions of the petty manufacturers and merchants, driving sections of them into the ranks of the proletariat. These elements of the petty bourgeoisie highly dissatisfied with the domination of the trusts, will be able to develop effective resistance against big capital only by supporting the struggles of the workers led by the Communist Party.

The reactionary trade union bureaucracy (Green, Woll, Lewis, etc.) has assumed full charge of the political leadership of the corrupt aristocracy of labor. It has accepted the war and rationalization program of American imperialism and is proceeding to put it into effect by company unionizing the trade unions and through its so-called non-partisan political policy, which is, subordination to the Republican and Democratic Parties. By this means the reactionary trade union bureaucracy and the trade union machinery controlled by them are becoming ever more organic parts of the capitalist industrial and political machine, that is, organs of capitalist rationalization and war preparations.

The Socialist Party continues to decline as a political factor in the class struggle. The Socialist Party has long ceased to be a working class organization. It is doomed to become submerged in any middle class liberal movement that may arise. Its main political characteristic today is a weak brand of progressivism and pacifism, that is, support for capitalist rationalization and war in which it is hardly to be distinguished from Norris, Brookhart, etc. The Socialist Party is being continuously weakened at one end by the so-called progressives in the capitalist parties, plus the reactionaries in the trade unions, and on the other hand by the Communist Party from the proletarian elements.

Farmer Labor, and Labor Party movements, essentially federated bodies of existing labor or labor and farmer organizations, with few exceptions, have practically disappeared. This is due to the deepening gulf between the organized aristocracy of labor which is continually moving to the right and the mass of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers who though becoming radicalized are not yet organized, the general decline of the old trade union movement, the negligible organization of the working and exploited farmers, and the growing influence of the Communist Party.

The wrong conceptions of the majority of the central committee, that without a Labor Party we cannot develop mass political struggles of the American workers, that a Labor Party, or Farmer Labor Party is the only medium whereby the Communist Party can promote independent political action, that the Labor Party will be the emancipator of the working class, are chiefly responsible for the serious right wing errors committed by the Party on these questions. The Party must reject these wrong conceptions and adopt the position that its main task is to build the Communist Party as the political party of the American toiling masses by initiating and leading their every day struggles and by revolutionizing their consciousness. The Party must reject the proposition of Farmer-Labor Parties and advocate an alliance between the workers and working farmers in which the Communist Party must fight to win leadership. In Minnesota, the Dakotas, Pennsylvania, etc., where there exist Farmer-Labor, or Labor Party groupings, it shall be the policy of the Party to bring about a separation of the workers and working farmers from these organizations, and to direct the awakening political understanding of the masses into the channels of the Communist Party and the mass movements led by it.

The Labor Party slogan, in this period, can only be used in a propaganda sense and not for mass agitational campaigns. The Labor Party in the U. S. can come into existence, if it does, only as a by-product of organized economic and political mass struggles in which the Communist Party will fight for and assume leadership. Only Communist Party is a real Workers Party able to lead the toiling masses in their every day struggles and to the overthrow of capitalism.

REFORMISM AND PACIFISM

Reformism and pacifism are the main enemies of our Party in its task to mobilize the masses against the capitalist war and rationalization offensive. Hence our main fire must be directed against the agents of reformism and pacifism among the toiling masses. The attitude of the Majority of the Central Committee, which is to underestimate the basic importance of struggle against pacifism and reformism, must be rejected decisively.

Bourgeois reformism finds its expression in the capitalist ideology of "permanent prosperity," "capitalism without crisis," "abolition of classes by gradual diffusion of wealth," "employment stabilization," etc., (Carver, Tugwell, Catchings and Foster, Hoover's fake unemployment scheme, company unionism, welfare systems, etc.) It is based upon the tremendous accumulation of wealth by the ruling class secured through imperialist robbery and intensive exploitation of the masses at home, and is designed to overcome the maturing contradictions which are undermining the existing capitalist system. It strives to further corrupt materially and ideologically the aristocracy and by ideological corruption, to stem the process of radicalization and bureaucracy of labor and certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie, and organization among the semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Bourgeois reformism is at present an organic part of the rationalization and imperialist war machine of big capital.

Social reformism has adopted these illusions and movements de-

veloped by American imperialism in its rationalization and its war programs, thereby making itself more directly than ever a capitalist instrument for the exploitation and demoralization of the workers. Through the petty bourgeois and labor agents of big capital the poison of bourgeois reformism finds its way into the working class. There it appears in the garb of "class collaboration," "the higher strategy of labor," "LaFollettism, petty-bourgeois Socialism and reformism, pacifism, etc. The labor bureaucracy, the Socialist Party, the so-called liberal churchman, the liberals and progressives in the Republican and Democratic Parties, the host of bourgeois economists and efficiency experts,—all these constitute the channels through which bourgeois and petty bourgeois reformism—the servants of big capital, are attempting to break the developing resistance of the masses to capitalist rationalization and war preparations.

Pacifism and Reformism are as much organic parts of the imperialist machine for war preparation as are jingoism and open militarism. The Kellogg Treaty and the big navy proposals are but two phases of one war policy.

Hence the Party while waging a struggle against jingoism and militarism must concentrate its main attack upon exposing and defeating reformism and pacifism among the working masses.

The Party must reject the wrong view of the majority of the Central Committee that bourgeois rationalization illusions are not dangerous to the development of a revolutionary ideology among the masses (Bedacht), that because the S. P. is weak our task is to win the masses away not from reformism but from conscious support of capitalism (Lovestone), that the general C. I. line of concentrating and sharpening the struggle against reformism and pacifism does not apply to the U. S. (Pepper, Lovestone), that the condemnation by the C. I. of the open letter tactic to the S. P. did not apply to Wolfe's instruction to the California D. E. C. to send an open letter to the S. P., etc. Such views lead to an underestimation of the need of concentrated struggle against Social Democracy (in the U. S. this means struggle against the S. P., union reactionaries, pacifists, progressives in the old parties, liberal churchmen, farmer-laborism, bourgeois economist and efficiency experts, etc.) It leads to an underestimation of the war danger and to a distortion of the C. I. general line in the

THE RADICALIZATION PROCESS AMONG THE MASSES

The proceeds of radicalization among the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, the working youth, the working farmer and the Negro masses is continuing. Signalized and evidenced by such struggles and the leading role of our Party in them, as Passaic, the miners' strike, the SaccoVanzetti struggles, New Bedford, Haverhill, Perth Amboy, Colorado, Bayonne, etc., it finds its further manifestation in the foment and dissatisfaction among the automobile workers, rubber workers, steel workers, (the sporadic strikes in Flint, Cambridge, Canton, Milltown), the awakening consciousness and militancy among the Negroes, the sympathetic response of the masses to our agitation in the Presidential elections, the formation of new unions under militant leadership in the mining, textile, and garment industries, etc. It is these semi-skilled and unskilled masses who feel the brunt of rationalization, that are becoming radicalized while sections of the labor aristocracy are becoming more bourgeoisified.

This radicalization process has not yet reached the high stage of mass political support of the Communist Party. While becoming increasingly more dissatisfied with present conditions, more susceptible to Communist ideology, and ready to struggle on the more elementary economic field under our leadership, the masses are still politically dominated by petty bourgeois illusions.

This has been confirmed by the course and results of the Presidential elections. The communist vote, though considerably smaller than was possible to secure in the given situation, has grown since 1924. The S. P. vote has declined, indicating that the conclusion labor element is going to us while the petty-bourgeoisie and backward workers went to Smith, from whom Thomas was not much different. The Smith popular vote is highly significant in the following respects. Smith's task and role in the elections was to deceive the dissatisfied masses with liberal demagoguery and his fake record of a "labor friend" in order to divert the developing radicalization process among the masses into the safe channels of the Democratic Party where big capital can continue to control them. This task Smith consciously carried out at the behest and with the money of big capital.

In this Smith was successful. y deception, false pretenses, and trickery, and with the support of a large section of the labor bureaucracy Smith prevented in this election large masses of workers from accepting the leadership of the Communist Party on the political field as they already accept it on the economic field. We are leading the miners, the textile and garment workers in big economic struggles, in the organization of new militant unions, but Smith succeeded in deceiving large masses of these workers to accept his political leadership in the Presidential elections. This is seen in Smith carrying New Bedford, the whole state of Massachusetts, and receiving a large vote in the mining centers, and in carrying nearly all the big cities of the east and middle west.

Lenin wrote as follows of Roosevelt's vote in 1912:

"The American proletariat is already awakened and is on the alert. With fresh irony it confronts Roosevelt's success. 'You enlisted four million people by your promises of reform, dear charlatan, Roosevelt! Very well. Tomorrow these four million will see that your promises are deception. And besides THESE MILLIONS FOLLOW YOU JUST BECAUSE THEY FEEL—THEY CAN NO LONGER LIVE IN THE OLD WAY.' (our emphasis).

With even more emphasis, we can apply these words of Lenin to the success of Smith, and for the following reasons: 1. Millions of workers, particularly those dissatisfied with present conditions, have voted for Smith. Smith carried most of the industrial centers in the east and middle west. He received tremendous votes in the textile, mining, and garment centers; 2. Smith's fake reputation of "labor friend." Compare this with Roosevelt's open hostility to labor, his leadership of open shop drives, etc.; 3. The main body of the trade union reactionaries and so-called liberals supported Smith and successfully helped to deceive the workers into supporting Smith. Compare this with the fact that in 1912 the trade union reactionaries and main body of liberals supported Wilson and not Roosevelt; 4. In 1912 the S. P. was still a working class organization. Its candidate was Debs and not Thomas. Debs received nine hundred thousand votes at that time.

Hence, if it was correct, and it was so, for Lenin to write of the Roosevelt vote in 1912 that millions followed him because they felt that they could no longer live in the old way, then this is doubly true today of the vote of Smith. It is absolutely wrong to say, as the Daily Worker says (editorial, Nov. 8) that the workers had voted for Smith because they were satisfied with capitalism.

Tomorrow these millions of workers who voted for Smith will see that Smith and the labor fakers deceived them. The Party must now particularly concentrate its agitation among the masses who followed Smith in the elections to accelerate their disillusionment and to win support for our Party.

In order to be able to accomplish this important task, the Party must decisively reject and condemn the fatalistic, right wing analysis of the results of the elections given by the majority of the Central Committee in the Daily Worker editorial of November 8, and in the article of Comrade Pepper on November 10.

This analysis completely fails to recognize the tremendous volume of dissatisfaction behind a large section of the Smith vote which our Party must and will direct into the channels of struggle against Capitalism under Communist leadership. It fails to see Smith's true role of an agent put up by big Capital, to stem the process of radicalization. It finally pictures a perspective which excludes all possibility of mass political struggle by the workers short of a revolutionary crisis in the U. S. This conception the Party must condemn.

The Communist vote, though increased since 1924, is considerably below what it was possible to register, and reflects only a small portion of the actual dissatisfaction, and radicalization of the masses, large sections of whom are practically disfranchised. From the point of view of Party policy the main reasons for our small vote are the following: 1. Failure to connect systematically the economic struggles of the masses with our political slogans; 2. Failure to link up our struggle against the war danger with the struggle against capitalist rationalization (wage cuts, speed-up, unemployment) and the failure to make these the outstanding issues in the election struggles; 3. The mechanical and opportunist methods of getting our Party on the ballot (the Cogkind letter, the continuation of practicing the methods of that letter after the C. I. condemned it) which methods prevented us from bringing to the masses our agitation and program; 4.

Continued on Next Page

Continued from Preceding Page

The vote getting, parliamentary, and legislative features of our campaign; 5. The lilly white methods of campaigning of the Party organization in the south; 6. Failure to reach the workers in the shops due to the deplorable state of the Party organization, the almost complete disappearance of shop nuclei, etc. The Party must correct fundamentally these errors of the Central Committee.

The attitude of the farmers in the Presidential elections indicates the following: a. The farmer capitalists together with the well to do middle farmers have consciously supported Hoover and the Republican Party. This support became possible, notwithstanding the great dissatisfaction among them with Coolidge's opposition to the McNary-Haugen bill, because of the tendencies towards alliance between big capital and the farmer capitalists at the expense of the small, agricultural workers, working and poor tenant farmers; b. Because of the domination of the farmer capitalist and agents of big capital in the existing farm organizations, large sections of the small farmers have been drawn into the support of Hoover and the Republican Party in the elections; c. Lack of organization and political leadership among the large masses of small and working farmers is primarily responsible for the absence of a strong movement among them against big capital, and against the two old parties. Considerable numbers of these elements have voted for Smith in protest against the Republican Party's opposition to farm relief; d. The failure of our own Party to build the Communist Party organization on the farms by recruiting into its agricultural workers and the more conscious elements of the working and tenant farmers, and its wrong agrarian policy is some of the chief reasons for the lack of political leadership among the semi-proletarian elements and the working and tenant farmers.

The course and results of the Presidential elections show that big capital was straining all efforts to maintain the so-called two party system which has proven successful in preventing the dissatisfaction of the masses from finding mass political expression against the capitalist parties. In these efforts big capital was successful to a considerable degree inasmuch as the nomination of Smith drew into the following of the democratic party large masses of dissatisfied workers, urban petty-bourgeoisie, and considerable numbers of poor farmers. The break away of several southern states from the democratic to the republican party is significant only in this respect that it reflects the crystallization of a considerable bourgeoisie in the South, (due to the continued industrialization) which finds the republican party responding more effectively to its needs, as for instance, on the question of tariff. However, big capital is not going to abandon the strategy of the two party system. On the contrary the sharper the class relations and class struggles become, the more will big capital hang on to the two party system. Only in the face of growing dissatisfaction of the masses it will find it advisable to allow the democratic party more of a "progressive" appearance in order to be able to fulfill its role in the two party system more effectively.

THE PARTY'S CONCRETE TASKS

The concrete tasks of the Party for mobilizing the masses for the struggle against the war preparations and rationalization drive of American imperialism, are as follows:

A. To develop consistent agitation campaigns among the masses, unorganized and organized, with special concentration on the shops, on the issues of: fight against the war danger, the program of naval construction now before the senate, big navy, and war preparedness, Kellogg treaty and other pacifist maneuvers, against the military invasion and imperialist subjugation of foreign countries, for the defense of the Soviet Union, for the complete emancipation of the Negro race, and for the right of self-determination, against wage cuts, speed-up, unemployment, against the fake unemployment scheme of Hoover, against the open shop and for the organization of new unions under militant leadership, struggle against the bureaucracy in the old unions and their program of transforming the labor movement into an adjunct of the capitalist war machine, against pacifism and reformism, etc. These must be related to the central organ of the campaign which is mobilize to struggle against the war danger and against capitalist rationalization.

B. It shall be our aim to crystallize organized mass struggles and mass organization on these issues. We shall systematically develop campaigns of introducing resolutions in the shops and in labor organizations bearing on these issues. We shall aim to develop mass protests, mass street demonstrations, and strikes, always linking up the economic struggles of the masses with the broader political issues.

C. The struggle against unemployment and against Hoover's fake schemes must be made a central phase of struggle in the coming months on the basis of the Party's program. The worsening of the depression will make it necessary for the Party to resume the organization of councils of unemployed at the opportune time.

D. We must press to the foreground more than ever the struggle against American imperialism in Latin-America and for the complete unconditional independence of U. S. colonies, semi-colonies, and protectorates. A basic feature of this struggle must be constant and active support to the masses of Latin-America in their fight against American imperialism. Close collaboration with the Communist Parties of Latin-America (joint conferences, exchange of delegations, joint literature, etc.) must be maintained at all times. We must render active support to the Latin-American Trade Union Secretariat.

E. As an essential part of our struggle against the war danger, we shall systematically combat intervention in and partition of China and fight for the defense of the Chinese Revolution and colonial uprisings. We shall maintain close contact with the Communist Party of China. We must give active support to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

F. Our Party jointly with the Communist Parties of Latin-America must prosecute an energetic struggle against the demand of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy (New Orleans convention) to exclude Latin-American workers (Mexicans) from the U. S. We must initiate a campaign for the organization of the Mexican and Latin-American workers in the U. S. into trade unions and intensify the recruiting of the class conscious elements among them into the Communist Party.

G. The policy of the united front from below must be followed in all these struggles. It shall be our aim in these campaigns to develop our Party as the political Party of the American masses, to accelerate the organization of the unorganized into new unions under militant leadership, to strengthen the left wing in the old unions, to actively assist the TUEL to establish itself as the leading center of militant industrial unionism, the RILU center in the U. S., to build the conference of working women, to help build the American Negro Labor Congress, and to strengthen the I. L. D. and the W. I. R.

H. The struggles for the recognition and defense of the Soviet Union is an integral and major part of our fight against the war danger. The disarmament proposals of the Soviet government and the growth of socialism in the Soviet Union must be contrasted with the armament campaign and capitalist rationalization of U. S. imperialism. We must carry on an intensive campaign to build up the U. S. section of the "Friends of Soviet Russia."

I. Anti-militarist work among the U. S. armed forces must be made a major phase of our activity particularly among the forces in colonial service.

J. We must systematically build the U. S. section of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League into a mass organization on a broad labor and poor farmer basis.

K. It shall be our policy to initiate joint demonstrations against imperialism and the war danger with the Communist Parties of England, Canada, France, Germany, China, Latin-America, etc., close collaboration with the Communist Party of Canada in the struggle against the war danger (U. S. and England.)

L. The Party must prepare immediately to meet the developing attack of the government (as part of its war preparations) upon the legal existence of our Party by building up an effective underground apparatus, and by providing all necessary means for combining legal with illegal work.

M. The Party must carry on this basic struggle against war and capitalist rationalization along the lines of the Comintern program, i. e., under the slogans of defeat the "home" imperialist country, transform the imperialist war into civil war, to overthrow the rule of the capitalist class and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The organizational and ideological strengthening of the Party (building shop nuclei, proletarianization of Party leadership, raising of theoretical level, consistent struggle against Right danger and Trotskyism) is a basic condition for an effective struggle against the war danger and capitalist rationalization.

3. FOR A SHARP STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER AND TROTSKYISM.

In the statement of the Minority "For a Correct Bolshevik Line in the American Party against the Right Danger, and Against the Cannon-Trotskyist Opposition," (published in the Daily Worker, December 3, 1928) a correct basis for a determined struggle on two fronts against the Right Danger and Trotskyism is clearly laid down. In this statement the Minority shows the objective basis for the development of both Right and "Left" deviations and their concrete manifestations in our Party, and calls upon the Party to wage the sharpest struggle against both.

The basis for the Right Wing Danger.

In this document the Minority correctly states that the basis for the Right danger in our Party is the following:

"The maturing of the inner and outer contradictions of American capitalism, which takes place under conditions of continued upward development of U. S. imperialism, highly sharpened world imperialist rivalries and the war danger, impose upon our Party the

task of reorientating its general line to a perspective of sharpening class relations and class struggles.

"The Party must formulate a general line, on the basis of the changing objective conditions, which would enable it to mobilize most effectively and lead the masses in the forthcoming struggles. In order to achieve this end, the Party must guard both Right and Left deviations.

"Certain sections of our Party are proving to be too slow and even unwilling to reorientate the Party's general line to these changing objective conditions. This tendency gives rise to Right wing deviations and is at the bottom of the Right danger in the American Party."

This slowness and even unwillingness to reorientate the line of the Party is most clearly shown in the policies of the Political Committee majority and is primarily due to the following: 1.—The reflection in our Party of the reformist, pacifist and "prosperity" ideology so prevalent in America, especially among the labor aristocracy, and to the growing ideological and political fusion of the A. F. of L. and socialist party bureaucracy and sections of the labor aristocracy with the bourgeoisie. (The reflection in our Party of the "bourgeoisification" of the labor aristocracy). 2.—The poor social composition of the Party and of the Party's leadership (insufficient proletarian elements in the Party and its leadership, the high percentage of non-proletarian elements and highly paid skilled workers as compared with the lower percentage of the more militant unskilled and semi-skilled workers from the basic industries, the negligible number of native American workers, etc.) 3.—The low theoretical level of our Party and the lack of a sound Bolshevik leadership. These factors are the basis for Right mistakes and in the present period of war danger and sharpening class struggles, make the Right danger the main danger in our Party.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TROTSKYISM.

In the same document, we point out, that arising from the same objective conditions, the basis for the Cannon-Trotskyist Opposition is as follows:

"There are on the other hand certain elements in the Party and on its fringe who have become so pessimistic as to the possibility of developing the revolutionary class-struggle in the U. S., that they practically capitulate before the existing difficulties under cover of Left phrases. This tendency gives rise to Leftist deviations."

The Cannon-Trotskyist Opposition, in the face of the existing difficulties, having lost hope in the possibility of building a Communist movement in the United States, as well as in the possibility of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. and in the outlook for the world proletarian revolution, it goes over to Trotskyism and joins in the "Left" fight of the Trotskyists against the Comintern. As Leftists this group conducts the fight against our Party.

This estimate of the basis for the two dangers, the Right and the "Left," now confronting our Party, is correct. This analysis affords the only basis for the isolation of these dangers and for the developments of a successful struggle for the complete liquidation of both the Right danger and Trotskyism.

In the latest letter from the E. C. C. I. to the C. E. C. of our Party, the Comintern declares that the Right danger is the main danger in our Party. Speaking of the decisions of the Sixth Congress on the American question, the Comintern clearly states that:

"The Congress emphasized that the Right danger is the main danger for the American Party. The next Party Congress must investigate the objective sources of the Right Danger and the struggle against it, discussing all Party problems from the viewpoint of the struggle against the Right danger inside the Party and the social reformists' influence among the workers." (Emphasis Ours).

POLITICAL COMMITTEE REFUSES TO FIGHT RIGHT DANGER.

The Political Committee Majority refuses to accept this position. In their two statements on the Right danger and Trotskyism, the Majority fails to explain the basis for these dangers. A list of Right mistakes is presented but no effort is made to explain their causes, their nature or the responsibility for them. The Political Committee Majority sums up this list of errors by declaring that:

"Trotskyism, in its last stage of development is the summing up, is the unifying force of all these opportunist Right dangers." (D. W. 11-16-28).

In its later statement, published in the Daily Worker on Dec. 7th, the C. E. C. majority again declared that:

"Since the return of the delegation, the Party has intensified its fight against the Right danger, of which Trotskyism is today the crassest expression in the United States." (Our Emphasis).

The C. E. C. Majority thereby declares that Trotskyism is the main danger in our Party. The Majority calls upon the Minority to unite in the struggle against Trotskyism as the Right danger. This proposal is a smoke screen to cover up the present concrete Right danger, to prevent the isolation and defeat of the Right danger and to paralyze an effective struggle against both the Right danger and the Cannon-Trotsky Opposition.

TROTSKYISM—OPPORTUNISM COVERED WITH LEFT PHRASES.

It must be made clear to our entire Party, that while Trotskyism and the Right danger are both movements away from the correct Communist line towards opportunism and social democracy, each follows a different road.

The Trotskyists pretend to be more revolutionary than the Comintern. While appealing to the masses to join them in a "real revolutionary" struggle against the "opportunist" and even "Thermidorian" policies of the Russian Communist Party, actually the Trotskyists lead their followers into counter-revolutionary struggles against the Soviet Union and the Communist International.

The results of their policy is Menshevism; but they arrive at Menshevism under cover of a "left" attack against the Communist movement.

In the United States, the Cannon-Trotskyist group is fighting the Party and the Comintern on the basis of the Trotsky platform and by means of the Trotsky method. This group pretends to be to the "Left" of the Comintern and is appealing to the membership of our Party to join their "real evolutionary"—their "real Leninist" struggle against the Party. It is on this basis that Cannon has been able to deceive a number of workers and draw them outside of our Party. This Leftism must be exposed as mere empty phrases used to cover their retreat from the revolutionary class struggle into the arms of social democracy. The sharpest struggle must be waged against Trotskyism. Leading Party members and non-proletarian elements accepting Trotskyism must be dealt with organizationally, including expulsion.

The opportunism which covers itself in left phrases may deceive some ideologically weak proletarian elements (among them Americans) inside and around our Party because these elements, while sincere in their hatred of capitalism and militant in their desire to struggle against it, at the same time lack a firm Communist ideology and close familiarity with the struggle of Leninism against all varieties of opportunism, particularly against Trotskyism.

The experience of the Party with some of these valuable elements shows that they easily fall into opportunist errors in their practical mass work (those of them who stand in the foreground of our mass work) when the Party's line lends itself to such mistakes, or when the Party's line is vague and unclear. (Farmer Labor Party policy in Minnesota, mining situation in Illinois). The CEC Majority method of dealing with these elements is to cover up the defects of the main line of the Party and to throw the full weight of the responsibility for such errors on the comrades in the field instead of clearly analyzing the wrong main line as the chief source of the error, and correcting this main line, and thus helping to correct the line of these comrades.

The Cannon Trotskyist Opposition is particularly concentrating on these proletarian elements, in the belief that their lack of firm Communist ideology and their grievances against the mistakes of the C. E. C. Majority will dispose them to react sympathetically to the leftist attacks and will make them easy prey for the Trotskyist Opposition. The Party must make all efforts to save these elements for the revolutionary class struggle of our Party, by patient and persistent ideological clarification, by a consistent struggle against the Right danger and Trotskyism, by the frankest self-criticism by the Party leadership of its own responsibilities, and by the ruthless extermination of bureaucratism and dilletantism in the handling of the Party's mass work. Every effort must be made to win all proletarian elements for the Party against Trotskyism and the Right danger.

SHARP STRUGGLE AGAINST RIGHT.

But distinct from the small number who can be drawn away from the Party to opportunism by such "real revolutionary" Leftist phrases, there is a serious Right danger in our Party. This Right danger is aided by the objective conditions cited above and manifests itself in the innumerable Right mistakes made and being made in all sections of our Party. The serious mistakes brought to light by the minority and discussed in Moscow and here are only the most outstanding examples of the kind of errors which are being made in every section of the Party. In every district leading comrades and lower functionaries of all groupings are making Right mistakes, (California, Detroit, etc.) especially the supporters of the C. E. C. majority, (Pittsburgh and Boston injunction cases, District 6 on Labor Party etc.) where the minority comrades fought against these mistakes.

Except for factional reasons, no real struggle has been waged to correct these errors by the Polcom Majority. Much factional use has been made of the California "Open Letter" to the Socialist Party, and Raymond's article on the election campaign. But many other

cases effecting Majority comrades have been systematically suppressed. Comrade Wolfe, who instructed the California comrades to send the "Open Letter" to the Socialist Party, was not corrected. Instead of correcting mistakes, the Polbureau Majority continues to multiply their Right mistakes and to defend them before the Party. In our document on the "Right Danger in the American Party" we list the main mistakes of the Party since the past convention. In our document of December 3rd, the Minority enumerates these mistakes as follows:

"The growing Right danger in our Party is concretely shown by the fresh Right errors made by the Majority of the CEC in recent weeks. The following are the most outstanding mistakes: Failure of the Political Committee to direct the Party fraction to urge the National Miners Union to assume leadership in the sporadic miners' strikes (Illinois, Wyoming, Kansas); to build the new union, and to fight for the defense and improvement of the workers' conditions; resistance of the Polcom to direct the party fraction to fight for the new textile union functioning as an active factor in the silk strike in Paterson; lack of faith in the possibility of organizing a new textile union under militant leadership with the resulting failure to prepare thoroughly the National Convention; failure to help the TUEL to step forward as a leading factor in the struggles of the workers and in the organization of new unions; failure to press energetically that the Party fraction fight for one union in the needle trades; almost complete abandonment of the trade union work during the election campaign; the persistent opportunist line in the co-operatives; and failure to connect the parliamentary struggle with the economic struggles of the workers; the appointment of Scott Nearing, who has strong pacifist and non-Leninist conceptions on imperialism to a very responsible position in our anti-imperialist work, failure to connect the war danger with the effects of the economic depression and capitalist rationalization (unemployment, wage-cuts, speedup, etc.); and failure to make those the outstanding issues in the election campaign; an outright opportunist and fatalistic analysis of the result of the presidential elections, which grossly underestimates the manifested discontent of the workingclass and which develops a perspective that excludes the possibility of workingclass mass political struggles, short of a revolutionary crisis in the United States, as shown in the Daily Worker editorial of Nov. 8, and in the article of Comrade Pepper in the Daily Worker of Nov. 10, etc."

Since that was written the policy in the needle trades has been corrected by the C. I. after an appeal was made by the Minority. In all the Language sections, particularly the Jewish Fraction, a consistent Right Wing policy is being followed.

The Majority of the Polcom is stubbornly pursuing its right wing policy and resisting correction.

Prior to the VI Comintern Congress, the Majority openly resisted the decisions of the Ninth Plenum of the Comintern and the 4th R. I. L. U. Congress. Now the Majority organizes an open struggle against the Young Communist International. The Y. C. I. decision, which in agreement with the Comintern, is based upon a line of determined struggle against the Right danger, in the American Party, was held up by the Polcom Majority, and the N. E. C. of the League was refused permission to send it out to the League units, with the consent of the majority leaders of the N. E. C. (Zam, Kaplan, etc.). Finally when they were compelled to send it out, by cabled instructions from the Y. C. I., the Polcom Majority sent an accompanying letter attacking the decision and declaring that the Y. C. I. is following a line contrary to the Comintern.

RIGHT ERRORS OF THE MINORITY.

The extent and seriousness of the right danger in the American Party can be seen from the fact that no section and no group in the Party is able to escape fully the making of right errors, with the objective and social factors making for the right danger we have dealt with above. The cause of the right danger is the reformist ideology dominating the labor movement of the U. S., the reflection of the influence of the corrupt aristocracy of labor upon the workingclass within our Party, the lack of heavy proletarian composition in the Party, weak contact with the most oppressed sections of the working class, insufficient training in Leninist ideology of the Party as a whole.

The minority has discussed before the 6th World Congress of the C. I. the Right Wing errors which it has made. We refer here again to our wrong proposal to send an open letter to the S. P. which was unanimously accepted by the Polcom, which was correctly condemned by the C. I. as an opportunist error. We also refer again to our hesitation in putting into effect the R. I. L. U. and C. I. line on the question of new unions. This hesitation becomes even less excusable considering the fact that the Minority's general line was fully in accord with the need of a new orientation in all fields of Party activities including the trade union field. We also wish to point out our share of the responsibility for the Party's failure to appreciate the vital importance of the Negro question and Negro work, but must also indicate that we responded readily to the criticisms and demands for a new line that came from the C. I. and Profintern on the question.

Our own lack of clarity and consistency in the following out of the new line which we have militantly fought for immediately before and since the February, 1928, Plenum of the C. E. C. is responsible for the fact that we have participated, in a larger or lesser degree, in several of the right errors of the Majority, namely: failure to bring the T. U. E. L. into the struggles and organization campaigns of the workers, failure to press hard enough for the establishment of the local T. U. E. L. groups, the very serious failure to bring the R. I. L. U. in the foreground as the leader of militant trade unionism throughout the world (no R. I. L. U. section and other international sections, such as on Latin America in Labor Unity, etc.), acquiescence in some of the opportunist errors contained in the Party 1928 election platform, notably the agrarian section, and on the agrarian question generally, failure to fight with sufficient persistence against the Right wing line of the majority in the needle trades, lack of a clear understanding of the required strike strategy in the mining situation, lack of clarity on the need of having a definite class struggle declaration in the constitution of the new miners' union.

We must also assume our full share of responsibility for our failure to compel the C. E. C. Majority to place before the Party the question of its slow growth, the deplorable state of the Party organization as such, and concrete measures for radically improving the situation.

The minority does not wish to shirk responsibility for its failures and mistakes. On the contrary, the minority has already discussed its shortcomings before the Sixth World Congress and is now discussing them with the Party. We fully accept the mandate of the Sixth World Congress which calls for the most thorough self-criticism, the exposure of mistakes and their causes for the purpose of correcting these mistakes. The way to correct these errors is the rejection of all remnants of reformist ideology in our midst, and to be constantly on guard against the reflection in our own ranks of the ideology of the corrupt labor aristocracy.

POLCOM FIGHTS MINORITY

The Polcom Majority refuses to correct its Right line and refuses to fight against the Right danger, the Majority fights primarily against the Minority, while pretending to fight Trotskyism. In all its statements on the Right danger and Trotskyism, the Majority devotes one sentence to declaring that the Minority are not Trotskyists, and paragraphs to prove that we are. This attack is factional demagoguery carried out to conceal the Right danger in the Party. The Right danger—the carrying out of open opportunist policies—in spite of these smoke screens must be exposed as clearly in our Party as the Trotsky danger has been exposed in the Comintern. The Right danger is the main danger before the Party. It is necessary to wage a determined struggle on two fronts against the Right danger and Trotskyism and for a correct Bolshevik line.

THE COMINTERN AND THE RIGHT DANGER IN OUR PARTY

In the latest letter of the E. C. C. I. to the C. E. C., referring to the declaration of the C. E. C. majority on the American decision, the C. I. declares:

"In this declaration the C. E. C. does not put clearly before the Party membership the decision of the Comintern Congress its criticism of the Right mistakes of the American Party, and the proposals for enlarging the proletarian content of its membership. As you are aware, the chief direction to all sections, particularly the American Party, was for more self-criticism, but the statements of the C. E. C. only enumerate the right wing mistakes criticized by the Congress. It makes no attempt to give a more detailed analysis and show the Party how to overcome them. This is absolutely insufficient. Instead, the declaration contains a certain amount of unwarranted self-praise for example, quoting the decisions of the Congress as 'victory' for the Party."

The E. C. C. I. has been consistently and determinedly trying to correct the line of our Party. At the 9th Plenum of the C. I. and the R. I. L. U. Congress emphasis was placed on the organization of new unions by our Party and the T. U. E. L. In the letter of April, 1928, the E. C. C. I. emphasized the growing possibilities for struggle in the U. S. and corrected the line of our Party with regard to the socialist party, the F. L. P. and the election campaign. At the 6th Congress the Right mistakes of the Party, the social composition of the leadership were criticized and a new line laid down for Negro work. The Y. C. I. in its decision also corrected the N. E. C. and advised a critical attitude to the Right mistakes of the Party Executive. Since the Congress, the E. C. C. I. has sent a cable correcting the mistake of the Party on the needle trades convention and has now sent a letter criticizing the statement of the Polcom

Majority on the Comintern decision and their claims regarding Comintern support for their group. The Comintern is striving to correct the Right errors of our Party and is striving to bring about the crystallization of a Bolshevik proletarian leadership for our Party.

The Party must be unified in the struggle against the Right Danger and Trotskyism, for an effective struggle against the war danger and rationalization on the basis of the rejection of the Right line of the majority of the C. E. C. and the proletarianization of the Party and Party leadership.

ATTITUDE OF C. I. TO PARTY GROUPS.

Congress gave them political support and in their declaration of Oct. 2nd Majority declared:

"The minority has put forward the demand that the Congress should send an open letter of criticism to our Party and change its leadership. This demand has been rejected. THE CONGRESS REFRAINED FROM EXPRESSING ITS OPINION IN FAVOR OF ONE GROUP OR THE OTHER. ON THIS QUESTION NOWHERE IS THERE TO BE FOUND ANYTHING IN THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS." (Emphasis ours).

The E. C. C. I. corrects this false statement of the Polcom Majority as follows:

"The formulation could easily lead to the interpretation that the Congress has expressly declared its confidence in the Majority in contrast to the Minority. BUT THIS IS NOT SO. THE CONGRESS REFRAINED FROM EXPRESSING ITS OPINION IN FAVOR OF ONE GROUP OR THE OTHER. ON THIS QUESTION NOWHERE IS THERE TO BE FOUND ANYTHING IN THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS." (Emphasis ours).

This proves that the Comintern supports no group in our Party. The Comintern further declares:

"The E. C. C. I. fears that the various limitations stipulated for the discussion in your declaration, particularly in view of the present situation in your Party, could lead in practice to a false interpretation and inadmissible restriction upon freedom of discussion. The E. C. C. I. decided in its session of November 12th that:

"THERE SHOULD BE COMPLETE FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE DECISIONS OF THE COMINTERN AND THE PARTY STATUTES." (Our emphasis).

"Moreover, the E. C. C. I. deems it necessary to declare that it will defend the Minority from any organization measures directed against it during the course of the discussion.

"To ensure a sufficient period of time for discussion, the E. C. C. I. further decides:

"The Party C. E. C. is recommended to postpone the Party Congress till February, 1929, and to open the Party discussion in the beginning of December of this year."

"By postponing the Party Congress the E. C. C. I. desires to give the whole membership an ample opportunity to examine and thoroughly discuss all the problems concerning the American Party."

All of this clearly proves that the Comintern insists upon a serious political discussion of all Party problems from the point of view of the fight against the Right danger. The Minority fully endorsed this effort of the E. C. C. I. to force a full discussion of these problems as a means for a correction of the Party line.

At the 6th Comintern Congress in our document the "Right Danger in the American Party," we fully enter into the problems before our Party, the errors that have been made and the objective and subjective basis for these errors. Following out its correct analysis, the Minority arrived at the conclusion that the present leadership of our Party—the Lovestone group leadership was a Right wing leadership. On the basis of the policies carried out by the Polcom Majority since the 6th Congress, the Minority is convinced of the correctness of this estimate.

The E. C. C. I. stated in its decision that:

"The E. C. C. I. is of the opinion that the charge against the Majority of the C. E. C. of the Party of representing a Right line is unfounded. The E. C. C. I. does not want to imply hereby that some errors, among them Right errors, have not been committed by one side as well as by the other side; it thinks, however, that this, as well as other contentious questions of the Party, can be best examined and decided at the next Party Congress of the Workers Party of America."

The Comintern decided that the Right danger is the main danger in our Party, that a struggle must be carried on against the danger and that fresh proletarian elements must be drawn into the Party leadership. The E. C. C. I. urged a full discussion of all disputed problems to be taken up by the Party in the discussion and in the Party Convention.

4. TRADE UNION WORK.

The Capitalist Offensive.

The capitalist offensive in industry is being intensified. Wage cuts have been effected in many industries chiefly among the semi-skilled and unskilled (mining, textile, metal, shoe, oil, rubber, clothing, etc.). The speed up is being constantly more widely and drastically applied. Unemployment bears heavily upon the workers. An intensified campaign of class collaboration illusions is developing. Fierce attacks by the employers, fully supported by the Government, and delivered against the workers wherever they make an organized stand, (smashing of the U. M. W. A., attacks on the new unions in the mining, textile, needle industries).

Under this capitalist pressure discontent spreads among the workers, especially among the great masses of unorganized semi-skilled and unskilled, his reaches open expression in the bitter struggles in all sections of the mining industry; strikes in the textile industry (New Bedford, Paterson, Kenosha, etc.); shoe industry (Lynn); rubber industry (Mass., N. J.); auto industry (Flint); steel industry (Canton); etc. With a sharpening of the industrial depression within the coming months, bringing fresh attacks upon the workers' standards, the perspective is for a deepening and widening of the workers' discontent and an intensification of their struggles.

The A. F. of L. leaders do not and cannot organize and lead the discontented masses. The A. F. of L. leaders constitute one of the main obstacles for the organization of the unorganized. The old trade unions degenerate and crumble in the face of the employers' offensive. The recent convention of the A. F. of L., the most reactionary in its history, marked a fresh stage in the company unionization of the trade unions. Registering the breakdown of the Miners Union, and an actual decline in membership (despite contrary claims), it surrendered more than ever to American imperialism by full endorsement of the government's war program, complete acceptance of capitalist rationalization, failure to take real steps to organize the unorganized, and by intensification of the war against the left wing. In this reactionary course the Socialist trade union leaders have now become practically indistinguishable from the Green-Woll clique. The old trade unions continue their decline.

The situation characterized by a growing discontent among the workers and a total failure of the old unions to crystallize and lead this discontent, demonstrates the correctness of the line laid down for our trade union work by the last plenum of the E. C. C. I. and then by the 4th World Congress of the Profintern, that our main orientation must be based upon organizing the unskilled and semi-skilled, that this work of organization falls upon the left wing (T. U. E. L.), led by the Communists, and that for its accomplishment we must establish new unions in the unorganized and semi-organized industries, without however, slackening our work in existing mass trade unions. The launching of the new unions in the mining, textile and needle trades industries marks a new era in the American class struggle.

THE RIGHT LINE OF THE C. E. C. IN TRADE UNION WORK.

The C. E. C. majority follows a right wing line in trade union work. Because of its persistent underestimation of the discontent of the workers and their willingness to struggle, it fails to utilize the opportunities to organize and lead the workers in struggle. Concretely this right wing line expresses itself, by (a) failure to push aggressively the building of the new unions, (b) abandonment of the struggle in old unions.

In the mining industry a most serious error was the failure to answer Lewis' proposal to accept wage cuts by launching a general campaign to win away the masses from the U. M. W. A. and for the N. M. U. to assume direct leadership in the struggle for the best possible local wage settlements. The C. E. C. ignored the miners' immediate economic struggle and allowed the Lewis machine to partially reconsolidate its forces, thereby making the progress of the new union vastly more difficult. Other errors and wrong tendencies were, (a) practical abandonment of mining struggle (dilletantism) in face of present difficulties, (b) no Party building in campaign, (c) substitution of Party fractions for union committees, (d) vague organization programs, (e) failure to build real unions on dues paying basis—tendency to linger on as a sort of loose propaganda organization, (f) race factionalism, etc.

Serious shortcoming and mistakes in building the new textile union were, (a) total lack of Party nuclei and Left wing building by Boston District in New England textile centers, consequently we had to go into the New Bedford strike without organization, (b) failure to build mill committees during strike (result no real grip on masses), (c) insufficient preparation for convention (helter skelter gathering of "delegates") instead of securing a delegation on the basis of a campaign to build mill committees, (d) factionalism in selection

Continued on Next Page

Continued from Preceding Page

of union leaders, (e) resistance to bringing the T. U. E. L. forward in a leadin role.

In building the needle trades union with extreme right tendencies, supported by the C. E. C. have been developed. Among them are, (a) failure to definitely begin to build new unions right after Boston convention, (b) policy of building new unions on craft basis, opposition to amalgamation, (c) class collaboration tendencies, policy to help the employers to organize their associations, (d) failure to establish shop delegate system in new unions, (e) illusions about unity with A. F. of L. failure to split definitely with I. L. G. W. and failure to fight Schlessinger's "peace" proposals, (f) opportunist united fronts, (g) failure to build Party, (h) no organized youth and women's work, (i) extreme bureaucratic tendencies, (j) liquidation of T. U. E. L., (k) abandonment of fight in Capmakers and A. C. W., Journeymen Millers, and U. G. W. These right errors enormously handicap the building of the new union and the development of an effective struggle for the economic demands of the workers.

In the other industries nothing has been done on the work of organization. The campaigns in the automobile, rubber, and shoe industries have been dropped. That in the packing industry has not even been started. Little support is given the movement for a new union of Marine Transport workers.

In the old trade unions the work has been practically abandoned. Party fractions and T. U. E. L. groups have been almost entirely liquidated, many Party members have quit the old unions. Inactivity in the old unions was exemplified by the recent convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor, where for the first time in its history no left wing delegates were in evidence, no left wing delegates to the A. F. of L. convention. Similar conditions exist throughout the old trade union movement. The present policy of the C. E. C. constitutes a surrender of the old unions to the Green-Wall clique, which is contrary to the line of the Comintern and Profintern.

TRADE UNION TASKS OF THE PARTY.

A. The trade union work of the Party must be based primarily upon the great masses of unskilled and semi-skilled, the most sharply exploited section of the working class, without, however, neglecting the skilled workers. We must unite the exploited and discontented masses in increasingly revolutionary struggles, under the general leadership of our Party, not only against individual evils of capitalism, but also to abolish the capitalist system itself. Our immediate struggle must be conducted under slogans of against wage cuts, against the speed-up, and capitalist rationalization, against class collaboration, for defense of the Soviet Union, unifying these around the struggle against the growing war danger. In all our trade union work we must especially expose the militaristic and imperialistic role of the treacherous labor agents of American capitalism.

B. The central task confronting our Party is the organization of the unorganized, which has been repeatedly stressed by the Comintern and Profintern. Experience with the new, industrial unions in the mining, textile and needle industries demonstrates that this will have to be accomplished in the face of violent resistance—united attacks by the government, the employers, the union bureaucrats, and the socialist party. Hence, a first condition for success is that our Party attack this central problem with Communist firmness and decision. The present C. E. C. dilettantism, fatal to our success, must be liquidated at once.

C. Elementary requirements for success in organizing the unorganized are (a) systematic building of Party nuclei in key and basic industries, steel, meat packing, electrical manufacturing, etc. To lay preliminary basis for trade union organization and to give the Party a real foundation in the industries—the present anarchic system of Party organization work must be abolished, (b) thoroughgoing construction of Party fractions in all labor unions. For this purpose a campaign of fraction building shall be initiated on all fronts, Party members must be required to join the unions in their trades or industries. The national fraction apparatus shall be strengthened, (c) build the T. U. E. L. The T. U. E. L. shall begin preparations for a national conference which shall have as its central task the organization of the unorganized, and to mobilize the masses against the war danger and capitalist rationalization. The national conference shall be preceded by the building of local groups and conferences in all important centers, which shall begin immediately after the Party Convention. Unorganized workers shall be drawn into all these groups and conferences. The T. U. E. L., in accordance with Profintern decisions, shall develop its special departments and activities; international, Negro, women, youth and education, Labor Unity must be made a weekly. In the general program of Party Negro work great emphasis must be laid upon the development of a program of Negro trade union work.

D. The T. U. E. L. shall appear openly as the left wing organ for the organization of the unorganized. It has been a serious mistake not to have brought the T. U. E. L. forward under its own name, in the mining, textile, and needle industries in the struggles of these workers and the organization of the new unions. It was not sufficient to leave to such left wing formations as the Save-the-Union Committee, Progressive Committees, Textile Mill Committees, the entire open initiative in the struggles in the old unions and for the establishment of the new unions. The National T. U. E. L. should have been itself directly active in the struggle.

E. Campaigns of organization shall be worked out in the various industries, ranging from preliminary nuclei building to the formation of shop committees and unions. The campaign to build the new, industrial unions in the rubber, auto, meat packing, and shoe industries shall be revived. In the railroad industry, our orientation must be upon the perspective of an eventual formation of a new, industrial union. All available resources shall be thrown into the campaigns in the mining, textile, and needle industries. To build the National Miners Union is the major industrial task of the Party, and must be given maximum support. The organization work in all industries must center around and be based upon an active struggle to defend the workers' interest in the industries. Our campaigns in the various industries must also be developed so as to begin organization work in the South, now being industrialized.

F. In the old trade unions our Party work shall be revived and extended. We must fight to shatter the control of the labor agents of American imperialism, and to win the masses for a policy of class struggle. The expressmen's strike, the Lynn shoe strike, etc., are evidence of discontent in these unions. In craft unions in industries where we have no new unions (printing, building, etc.) our policy shall be as established; for amalgamation, organization of the unorganized, for a Labor Party, against class collaboration, and for the general revolutionizing of these unions.

G. In industries where old unions and new, industrial unions exist side by side our policy shall be as follows: first, the building of secret or open locals of the new union, (sometimes because of collaboration between the old unions and the bosses, members of the new union will have to continue to pay their dues in the old union until these can be destroyed as factors in the situation); second, the organization of T. U. E. L. left wings in the old unions.

H. The organization of locals of the new unions shall be undertaken under all circumstances. The organization of T. U. E. L. left wings in the locals of the old unions shall be undertaken in all locals which have substantial rank and file support, and which offer possibilities for the development of opposition movements against the bureaucracy.

I. In these old unions, we shall persistently and skillfully direct the work of the left wing towards building the new unions by drawing to them the masses of organized in the old unions by a process of splits, amalgamations, and by direct recruiting efforts in the old unions.

J. The formation of the new, industrial unions requires their co-ordination with the T. U. E. L. This problem shall be solved along the following lines: (a) the T. U. E. L., the R. I. L. U. center in the U. S., shall openly direct the general work of organizing the unorganized. In industries where new unions have been formed the organization work shall be the immediate task of these unions. (b) The T. U. E. L. shall build and direct left wings in all mass unions excepting those which are affiliated to the R. I. L. U. and follow the general lead of our Party, or which although not formally affiliated we control through our Party fractions and the union apparatus. However, it may become necessary to build T. U. E. L. left wing groupings, national or local also in these unions, in order to insure the carrying out of the R. I. L. U. line in these unions. This question should be decided in each instance.

K. The emergence of three new industrial unions and our general line for concentrating on the organization of the unorganized opens the perspective for the eventual crystallization of a new industrial union center. The T. U. E. L., which is at present functioning as the center of militant industrial unionism, the R. I. L. U. center in the U. S., therefore, must assume the functions of co-ordinating and directing the activities of the new industrial unions. In order to achieve this, the following measures must be carried out.

1. The executive committees of the new unions shall be urged to decide in favor of fraternal affiliation to the R. I. L. U. and to its American section, the T. U. E. L. The National Executive Committee shall initiate an agitation campaign in favor of fraternal affiliation, this proposal to be submitted to the coming conventions for action.

2. They shall send representatives to the national committee of the T. U. E. L.

3. They shall participate in the forthcoming national conference of the T. U. E. L.

4. The locals of the new unions shall affiliate directly to the local committees and groupings of the T. U. E. L.

5. In addition to the above it may also be necessary for special purposes to hold periodic conferences of the representatives of the new unions and the T. U. E. L.

6. The Needle Trades Union shall now affiliate fully with the R. I. L. U.

7. In the new unions, a consistent propaganda shall be carried on, on the basis of the decision of the N.E.C.'s popularizing the activities of the R. I. L. U. fourth congress, and the T. U. E. L. in order to strengthen R. I. L. U. influence and to secure complete affiliation to the R. I. L. U. at the opportune time.

5. FOR THE NEW LINE IN NEGRO WORK.

The long-standing social, economic, and political oppression of the Negroes has always made this section of the population a huge potential revolutionary factor in the United States. But especially in the present period our Party has greatly increased opportunities to establish itself as a leading force among the Negro masses.

Briefly these increased opportunities are due to: 1. Maturing of the inner and outer contradictions of American imperialism, which are causing a leftward drift among the masses generally, Negro and White. 2. The heavy proletarianization of tens of thousands of Negroes as a result of the migration of Negroes into both northern and southern industrial centers. 3. The rapid industrialization of the South, with the resulting further proletarianization of thousands of Negroes. 4. The mechanization of southern agriculture which must result in a further worsening of the already unbearable conditions for the great mass of the agricultural laborers, tenant and poor farmers. 5. The increasing activation of the Negro masses as indicated by their active participation in recent strikes (miners), their development of racial and national movements (Garvey movement), and by their increased interest in the past election campaign (especially in the increased support which they gave to our Party. 6. The exposure of the republican party in the South as a "lilly-white party" with the resulting disillusionment of the Negroes and 7. The strong tendency on the part of the Negroes to break away from the republican party (increased use of our campaign publicity by the Negro press, support of Smith by the "Messenger," Garvey, Pickens, and others from the N. A. A. C. P., etc.).

All this ferment among the Negroes must be utilized to intensify our work on the basis of the new and correct line. Our Party will then be able to gain its first real successes in Negro work.

THE NEW AND CORRECT COMINTERN LINE FOR OUR PARTY.

In order to make full use of these opportunities the Party must clearly recognize that the Negro question in the United States continuously tends to acquire more and more the characteristics of a National Question.

This development is due, a) to the slave background of the Negroes and to the social, economic and political relations arising out of slavery; b) the policy of American imperialism to attempt to force a strike-breaking role upon the Negroes by systematic discrimination against them in the industries, the trade unions, etc., to the continued practice of lynching, Jim Crowism, segregation, and the innumerable other forms of persecution and inequality; c) the concentration of a large portion of the Negro population in the "Black Belt" of the South, where in many sections they are a large majority of the population; d) the semi-feudal relations remaining in Southern agriculture (peonage, share cropping, landlord supervision of marketing, etc.); e) the growing tendencies on the part of the Negro bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeoisie, and intelligentsia to further nationalization by means of proposals for racial solidarity, consciousness, culture, business, schools, corporations, etc., in furtherance of their own material class interests; f) "Back to Africa" movement (Garvey); g) the growing struggle of the Negro race throughout the world against imperialism and for national independence.

All of these factors taken together lay the basis for the development on one hand of a growing lack of confidence on the part of ever larger sections of the Negro masses in the possibility of ever securing full social, economic and political equality from the whites (including the white workers) in the United States. And on the other hand these same factors will to an increasing extent lead to the development of great national liberation movements among the Negroes and will stimulate the now more or less latent desire of the Negroes to separate themselves from the whites and set up their own Negro state.

The ideological and organizational leadership of these genuine national liberation movements now rests primarily in the hands of the Negro petty-bourgeoisie. But the petty-bourgeoisie, who protest against white oppression, and who will at times support the revolutionary nationalist movements of the workers and poor farmers, cannot lead this movement itself.

The national liberation movement of the Negroes can succeed only as part of the proletarian revolution in America. Hence the Negro proletariat must struggle to assume leadership in these movements carrying on the struggle hand in hand with the white working class of the United States against American capitalism.

The Negro question in the United States must be considered in its relationship to the struggle of the Negro race, against imperialism (American, English, French, etc.) throughout the world.

The Negro race everywhere (U. S. A., Africa, South America) is a race oppressed by imperialism. Thus a common interest tends to bind together the struggle of the Negroes throughout the world. It must be the aim and purpose of our Party to aid in developing a revolutionary national liberation movement in the U. S. A., under Negro proletarian leadership, which can become the vanguard of the Negro struggle against imperialism on a world scale.

This represents a new approach to the whole Negro question, and in conformity with this new approach, our Party, while continuing to fight sharply and continuously for full social, economic, and political equality for the Negroes in the United States, must clearly put forth the slogan of "the right of self determination for the Negroes," even to the point of permitting them to set up a government of their own if they so desire.

We must prove our sincerity in our work by constantly fighting against the prevailing chauvinism among the whites, especially among the white workers, and we must draw the white workers and poor farmers actively and aggressively into the struggle for the demands of the Negroes. We must carry on at all times an educational campaign for international class solidarity. We must educate the white workers and poor farmers to the understanding that they can liberate themselves from the yoke of capitalism, only by actively supporting the revolutionary liberation movements of all races and nations oppressed by U. S. imperialism.

Our Party must carry on educational work emphasizing the right of the Negroes to separate from the whites and set up their own government; whereas our Negro comrades must fight against all bourgeois segregation tendencies, urge the necessity of the "voluntary union" (Lenin), of the cooperation of the Negroes with the white proletariat in their joint revolutionary struggle against imperialism. This is the new line which our Party must carry out in conformity with the thesis on the national and colonial question drafted by Lenin and adopted by the second Congress of the Comintern, and the decision of the Sixth World Congress.

THE WRONG LINE OF THE PARTY.

The line of our Party on Negro work has been fundamentally a Right Wing line. This is proven by the following facts: 1. Complete indifference to and underestimation of Negro work, failure to build the A. N. L. C., failure to utilize Negro comrades for Party work, or to draw white comrades into Negro work, failure to send organizers into the Negro industrial centers or into the South, failure of our fractions in non-party organizations (T. U. E. L., I. L. D., Trade Unions, etc.), to develop Negro work. Irregular publication of the Negro Champion, failure to participate in the Pullman porters' strike movement, etc. 2) Failure to fight against white chauvinism among the workers generally and in our own Party (May 1st conference in Pittsburgh, Detroit, Gary, St. Paul, etc.), failure to draw the white workers actively in the struggle in behalf of the Negro masses. 3) Tendency to place main emphasis on work in the existing Negro bourgeois and petty-bourgeois organizations, instead of putting main emphasis on the Negro industrial proletariat, the agricultural laborers, the Negro farmers of the south. 4) Failure to see the Negro question in the United States as a racial national question. The theory that the southern Negroes constitute a "reactionary mass," that only the proletarianization of this mass will bring them into struggle against imperialism, etc. (Lovestone), the opposition of leading comrades of the Party (Wolfe, Kruse, Reeves) and leading comrades of the Y. W. L. (Darcy, Zam, Kaplan) to the whole new orientation on Negro work formulated by the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern. 5) Underestimation of the importance of struggle against lynching, Jim Crowism, etc. 6) Comrade Pepper's persistence in urging the "Negro Communist should emphasize in their propaganda the establishment of a Negro Soviet Republic," instead of the correct line that the Negro Communists should emphasize the need of cooperation and joint struggle of the oppressed masses—black and white—against American imperialism. 7) The theory, (in effect white supremacy theory) prevalent among our comrades in the thought that if you win the white you win the Negro, with the resulting tendency to form separate Negro Party nuclei, opposition to the formation of Party nuclei to include all workers, white and black, tendency to ignore the Negro question, in Party propaganda, meetings, etc.

THE CONCRETE TASKS OF THE PARTY.

All these fundamental errors and basically wrong conceptions on Negro work must be completely discarded as a prerequisite of an effective application of the new line on Negro work in the U. S.

A. In our work it must be our aim to not only develop the na-

tional revolutionary struggle in the United States into the stream of the proletarian revolutionary struggle, but we must have as one of our chief aims the task of organizing the American Negroes into our Party and developing them as the vanguard of the Negro struggle throughout the world against imperialism.

B. In order to accomplish this it is necessary to clearly recognize the sharp class differentiation which has taken place among the Negro and to base ourselves primarily upon the two million industrial proletarians. It is these workers, who, under the direction of our Party, must struggle for the hegemony of all Negro liberation movements and who must be made to play a more decisive role in the class struggle against American imperialism as a basic and important part of the American working class. Every effort must be made to organize these workers into our Party and into trade unions, and to lead them in their struggle against war danger, wage cuts, speed-up, race discrimination, etc.

C. The Negro agricultural laborers and tenant farmers, however, cannot be looked upon as a "reactionary mass," as they are characterized by Comrade Lovestone, but on the contrary our Party must recognize that it is precisely they who are subjected to the most pressure from white persecution and exploitation and that therefore their objective position facilitates our activity for their transformation into a revolutionary force which, under the leadership of the proletariat, will be able to participate in the struggle of all other workers against imperialism. The winning of the Negro masses must be done primarily in the South. Here the greatest number live and here the persecution and exploitation is the greatest. Because of the position of the Negro there our Party in its work in the South must base itself primarily on the Negro and the struggle for their demands. Organizers must be sent into the South and organizations of both agricultural laborers and tenant farmers must be set up to fight for the economic, social, political and national demands of these rural workers and poor farmers. The drawing of Negroes into our Party in the South must be considered as a primary task.

D. The struggle of and with the Negroes must henceforth be given great attention on the basis of the general line worked out at the 6th World Congress of the Comintern and it must be closely linked up with all the other campaigns of the Party. In the election campaigns, trade union work, the campaigns for the organization of the unorganized, anti-imperialist work, etc., plans must be worked out designed to draw the Negroes into active participation in all of these campaigns.

E. And especially must efforts be made to break down the chauvinism of the white workers and to draw them into aggressive struggles for full social, political and economic equality and for the right of national self determination for the Negroes.

F. Every effort must be made to strengthen the American Negro Labor Congress as a medium through which we can extend the work of the Party among the Negro masses, and mobilize the Negro workers under our leadership. The Negro Champion, which in the past has appeared very irregularly, must henceforth be published weekly. Preparations must be undertaken at once for the calling of a new broad congress of the A. N. L. C.

G. The T. U. E. L. must pay greater attention to the organization of Negro workers and to the mobilization of the white workers in the trade unions to fight for the demands of the Negroes. It must become the champion of the interests of the Negroes in the old unions and it must take the lead in the organization of new unions for Negro and white workers and where necessary for the Negro workers. The Party shall prepare a special program on Negro Trade Union work. Negro workers must be drawn into all the Party and left wing trade union apparatus and groupings. The Negro Trade union work must be coordinated with that of the International Negro Workers Labor Bureau.

H. In the past too much emphasis has been placed on work in the Negro bourgeois and petty-bourgeois organizations (N. A. A. C. P., Pan African Congress, etc.) and practically none of the workers in the basic industries. In the future united front tactics must be used for the purpose of mobilizing the Negro masses and exposing the treacherous role of the petty-bourgeois leaders.

I. Henceforth the emphasis in our Negro work must be placed on the Negro proletariat, the tenant farmers, and the white workers. Special attention shall be given to the Negroes.

K. To advance this program, we must concentrate on the building up of a substantial cadre of Negro Communist Party functionaries as a main immediate task.

6. FOR A BOLSHEVIK APPROACH TO THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

The terrible condition of the farming masses is undeniable. Basically resulting from the anarchy in the industry coincident to anarchistic forms of production lagging behind capitalist development as a whole under imperialism, the wide disproportion between prices on agricultural products and prices of industrial products, leads to the severe exploitation of the agricultural workers and the ever deeper impoverishment of the small and tenant farmers. Mass misery is sharpened by total lack of class organization of the farm proletariat, 40 per cent. of the farm population. Close to this proletariat is the semi-proletariat, a mass of croppers, very poor and propertyless small tenants and those who work both as farm operators and industrial wage workers. This process of impoverishment, beginning about 1900, in spite of slight and temporary modification, remains the basic trend and constitutes, under imperialism, the permanent agrarian crisis.

This crisis has been continually aggravated in the post war period by: (a) So-called over production, sharp competition on the world market and the application of modern technic to agriculture; (b) The steady displacement from U. S. export of food-stuffs and raw material by manufactures and semi-manufactures, and (c) The policy of the ruling class to "deflate" agriculture by forcing the farming masses into bankruptcy, further dependence upon the banks, and off the land into the ranks of the proletariat.

Agriarian wage labor, always miserably paid, embracing at least 4,000,000 workers, lost most of its slight gains made during war years, and receives at most only about half the wage of industrial workers. Working unlimited hours under bitter conditions, with no class organization, increasing mechanization disemploys them and adds to the migration to the cities.

The semi-proletarian elements suffer equal and in some cases worse misery. Employing no labor, without any or with but few tools and animals, they drive themselves and their families to the hardest and most unremitting toil, only to lose, at the end, even their hopes of becoming petty-bourgeois farmers. They too join the migration to the cities, where they become part of the great army of permanent unemployed. This migration arises from a general lowering of the position of all the poor sections of the farming masses.

Farm capital (farmer capitalist and middle farmer), greatly reduced since the war, returns only one-fourth the income rate of corporation capital, which is greatly increased since the war. Finance capital's control of credit, taxation, tariff, trustified manufacture, transport and distributive industry, make a wall against agrarian capital's effort to better its income at the expense of capitalism as a whole. While big capital sometimes (Campbell and Ford) enters directly into agriculture with highly rationalized methods to exploit extensive tracts or small acreage intensively, the predominant method of the big bourgeoisie for extracting wealth from the farm population remains in the channels of banking control of mortgages and monopolized industry upon which the farmer must depend for marketing his product and securing machinery, etc.

But agrarian capital, fighting for its life, strengthening itself by attacking wage labor directly on the farms and making advances at the expense of its own lower strata, is increasingly mechanizing production, combining in corporations called "co-operatives," demanding more tariff protection, credit favors, demanding an attack on the whole working class by establishment of an internal tariff on farm products (McNary-Haugen), and tending to form a bloc with big capital against the whole proletariat and the poor farmers.

The political expression of this tendency to form a bloc with big capital, appears clearly in the decadence of the farm bloc, which together with the bodies known as "the farmers' organizations" such as the American Farm Bureau and the National Grange in the last election abandoned their struggle as a separate group, gave up their demand for the "equalization fee," (the proposition with which the McNary-Haugen Bill), and led their followers to the polls for Hoover, to a lesser degree, for Smith, dragging with them the deluded poor farmers.

But on such alliance can solve the agrarian crisis, and any amelioration for the farmer capitalists is made at the expense of all lower farm strata, intensifying the class differentiation within the agrarian population and attacking the whole proletariat. In other words, it does not remove the internal conflict of agrarian economy, but does sharpen the underlying class struggle in capitalist society as a whole.

Class Struggle on the Farms and the Party's Main Orientation. The Party has not yet made a thorough study of class divisions and relationships and struggles on the farms. For this reason the Party has no clear line on the question and tends to make serious Right errors in handling the agrarian question. This lack of analysis must be overcome in the shortest possible time.

We must clear ydistinguish between the following basic elements on the farm: (a) The farm bourgeoisie; (b) The farm petty-bourgeoisie consisting of the lower stratum of the independent middle farmer, plus the heavily mortgaged and exploited poor farmer; (c) The semi-proletarian elements on the farms—the poor tenant farmer,

the farmer who is part time wage worker, etc.; (d) The agricultural proletariat.

The Party's main orientation must be upon organizing the agrarian proletariat as part of the working class in the struggle against capitalism, organizing the semi-proletarian and lower sections of the farming petty-bourgeoisie for economic and political struggles jointly with the agricultural proletariat against the farmer capitalist and big capital, for an alliance between the semi-proletarian and poor petty bourgeois elements and the working class against American imperialism. In other words it must be the aim of our Party to develop and intensify the class struggle on the farms, economic and political, in accord with this main orientation.

The successful application of this general line demands the full knowledge of the highly important economic and social variations in various agrarian sections of the country. A study of these concrete conditions in the grain section, cotton sections, fruit growing, tobacco growing, dairying, truck farming, and the highly intensified farming in the North East—all these variations must be taken into consideration in the application of the general line of the Party on the agrarian question.

The crisis in agriculture produces a widespread unrest among the agricultural laborers and poor and tenant farmers. This expresses itself from time to time in various organized movements. The situation offers a splendid opportunity for our Party to do effective work among these discontented elements. Even bourgeois economists are compelled to recognize this deep going discontent on the farms. Mead and Ostrolenk, in their late book "Harvey Baum a Study of the Agrarian Revolution," declares: "On the American farm are materials for agrarian revolt such as are present nowhere else in the world." Our Party had failed to realize the extent of this discontent and to take advantage of it to develop the class struggle among the agrarian population along correct Communist lines.

Our main shortcoming was the tendency to base our orientation upon the friction between the agrarian bourgeoisie and big capital instead of upon the struggle of agrarian workers, the semi-proletarian elements and the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie, against the farm bourgeoisie and against big capital. Such a wrong orientation flowed directly from the view (Lovestone) stated clearly at the May 1928 Plenum that to the extent that the "backward agrarian masses" are driven off the farms and into the cities, can the Party get contact and do work among them. This view makes no differentiation inside the agrarian masses and refuses to enter the class struggle on the land itself.

From this theoretical misconception follow several serious errors. In the 1926 Party Program, not only did we demand the "basic propositions of the McNary-Haugen Bill," but we gave blanket endorsement "to other demands of the farmers' organizations." Then we demand the government give a half billion dollars to establish "Co-operative marketing organizations," so-called, and thought we had covered this opportunism by adding that the administration of this fund should be with "the farmers' organizations democratically organized and free from domination of capitalists," as though the principal existing farm organizations, even though democratically organized, which they are not, are not capitalist to the core. In addition we also wrongly advocated the "nationalization of railroads, elevators, super-power industry, power trusts, etc." and proposed only a moratorium on farm debts instead of outright cancellation.

In the election this year the opportunist error remains. By proving the republicans and democrats are bad because they did not give the "working and exploited farmers" the McNary-Haugen Bill, we declare our support of that bill. We repeat the opportunist proposals for measures of a "farm marketing nature" and increase the half billion asked in the 1926 Program to a whole billion. And we cover the whole mess by passing reference and a few kind words for the agricultural proletariat whom we continue to ignore as the leading force in the class struggle on the farm.

The Party has failed to develop a real agricultural program. It has gone along in the false belief that something was being done "for the farmer" in the United Farmers' Educational League, when the most done was to send such right wing comrades to work in that organization that it varied from playing with Farmer-Labor parties to practical endorsement of the Republican Senator Norris.

The minority proposes an end to this right wing line on the agrarian question and proposed as an outline of work the following:

The Party's Concrete Tasks.

A. Immediate steps shall be taken to begin the organization of Party units on the farms. We must carry on a systematic and continuous work of recruiting into the units of the Workers Communist Party the most conscious elements of the agrarian wage workers and semi-proletarian elements on the farms.

B. Immediate steps to begin the organization of agrarian wage labor most accessible and organizable into a new trade union on a class struggle basis. We must make a fight for the right of agricultural workers to organize and strike, and for the other partial demands in the Party's Program.

C. We must outline a plan for the intensive organization of the poor tenants, semi-proletarians and poor farmers into special organizations (tenants' leagues, etc.) on a program of partial demands to include a struggle for the reduction in rentals, outright cancellation of all mortgages on farms and equipment, abolition of taxes on all these strata of the farming population, an organized fight against monopoly prices, monopolist exploitation in the transport and distributive agencies, against the exploitation by the farmer capitalists and their organizations, against foreclosures, utilizing the general slogan of the land to its users.

D. We must pay particular attention to the organization of the Negro agricultural workers into unions, and for the organization of the Negro, the share croppers, tenant farmers, etc., into special organizations.

E. We must organize the exploited masses on the farms under the leadership of the agricultural workers to fight for the creation of a special farm relief fund, created by taxation on large incomes, to bring direct material relief to the bankrupt dispossessed farmers, and to the agrarian workers displaced from the industry by the introduction of machinery. This fund to be controlled by special committees on the farms consisting of representatives of the agrarian workers, semi-proletarian elements and poor farmers.

F. Fight against monopoly prices of farm purchased commodities as a part of a general fight against the high cost of living, with organization of consumers' co-operatives, abolition of all tariff on necessities of life, on the manufactured products purchased by farmers as necessary to farm production.

G. Exposure and struggle against the agents of big capital in supposed "farm organizations," the "farm bloc," the American Farm Bureau, National Grange, McNary-Haugen Bills, etc.

H. For sharply reduced assessed valuations and taxation on farm property, with a tax to be levied on the present non-taxable federal, state and city bonds, church property and export capital. All working farmers desiring loans for crop turn over to receive loans to the full estimated value directly from the Federal Reserve Bank, for one year without interest; crop failure or disasters of any sort cancel the debt.

I. The United Farmers Educational League shall immediately be reorganized with a view of building it up into an effective instrument for initiating the organizational work outlined above.

7. THE ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN IN THE FACTORIES.

The rapidly growing importance of women in industry in the United States must be considered in the present period in conjunction with our fight against the war danger and capitalist rationalization.

A significant change has taken place in the policy of the bourgeoisie towards working women. Emphasis upon the tradition that women's place is in the home has been almost completely replaced by a pseudo-glorification of women's new position in American industry, and the very necessary role she plays in the economic and political life of the country.

Capitalism needs women workers for war and rationalization. There are at present over eight and one-half million women gainfully employed in the United States, of whom the vast majority are proletarian elements, almost entirely unorganized. The development of industrial technique, the replacement of skilled by semi-skilled and unskilled workers, the capitalist program of lower wages—all parts of the rationalization process—has greatly increased the demand for women workers, resulting significantly in the employment of women in considerable numbers in heavy industry—iron and steel, automobile, electrical establishments, rubber, munitions, etc.—as distinct from those industries which have been traditionally her sphere of labor (textile, clothing, etc.).

The experiences during the world war demonstrated to the American bourgeoisie their dependence upon women workers for their war plans. Tens of thousands of women were employed in the manufacture of smokeless powder, shrapnel shell, cannon, machine guns, torpedoes, gas masks, aeroplanes, etc., either replacing drafted men or supplying labor power to new plants and departments established for war purposes. Tens of thousands of others filled gaps in other industries—food transportation, metal, etc.—caused by the war.

Thus an outstanding feature of the present period is the recognition by American capitalism that it cannot carry through its aims without the participation of women workers, and its utilization of every means possible to mobilize women for imperialism and rationalization.

This mobilization proceeds politically as well as industrially and

Continued on Next Page

Continued from Preceding Page

extends to the women in the home as well as in shops and mills. Numerous political organizations of women have been developed as instruments of the bourgeoisie, such as the National Women's Party, the League of Women Voters, the Federation of Women's Clubs, etc. Capitalist women's peace societies have been built which call anti-war conferences to spread pacifist illusions. Never before in the history of the capitalist political parties have they made such intensive efforts to control the women workers as during the recent presidential elections, when women's bureaus, clubs, were organized in an extensive apparatus previously unheard of.

These capitalist policies are carried out through the capitalist press, the clergy, and the reactionary bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor, which has completely ignored the women workers so that, unorganized for the most part, they become more easily a prey to capitalist rationalization and war schemes.

Thus our Party is confronted with the task of seriously undertaking to win the masses of women workers and proletarian housewives in our struggle against the war danger and capitalist rationalization.

All indications point to a developing class-consciousness and increasing militancy among women workers. Where women are organized, where they have been drawn directly into battle as workers in shops and mills, they have demonstrated their fighting spirit, their readiness to respond to organization and struggle, as a result of the increasing sharp attacks made upon the working class in the capitalist process of rationalization. The sharpening of the class struggle has also drawn into battle thousands of proletarian housewives and mothers. This has been demonstrated in mining, needle, textile and other industries.

Our Party must consider the women workers a vital element in all its campaigns. The organization of the unorganized women must become a primary task, especially in the building of new unions in industries employing women (needle, textile). Women workers must be mobilized in the campaign against imperialist war. The proletarian housewife must be drawn into active participation in industrial and political struggles.

Thus far, our Party, has seriously underestimated the importance of women's work. Under the leadership of the present C. E. C. the Women's Department, established almost a year ago, has failed to function, and to consider the women in industry a basic factor in our struggle against the war danger and capitalist rationalization. The National Women's Committee has been practically liquidated. No program of action has been formulated on the basis of the C. I. decisions and no direction has been given to the various districts from the center.

The basic task of mobilizing the women workers in the shops and mills, and organizing the unorganized women, has been completely neglected, and instead our policy has been orientated on the housewives. We failed to mobilize the women in the shops and working class women generally for miners' relief. Under the influence of the Party, Working Women's Federations were organized in several cities, but no Party apparatus for women's work was built up. In the needle trades especially, and also in textile, where women workers have played a decisive role in the development of the left wing, there has been almost a total lack of special work among women, or building up of apparatus for women's work. The Party has failed to take advantage of the textile and mining strikes for the organization of women. The leading committees for women's work have resisted the inclusion of proletarian elements, and are composed predominately of professional women and housewives.

The Party's Concrete Tasks.

The concrete tasks of the Party present themselves therefore, as follows:

A. First and foremost, the establishment of working women's delegate conferences, factory groups and circles where women are employed as a basic instrument in the campaign to organize the unorganized women and mobilize the women already organized for general economic and political struggles, such as—campaigns against imperialist wars, wage cuts, speed-up, election campaign, strike relief, defense of class war prisoners (Mooney and Billings, New Bedford cases), and other political campaigns. The Party nuclei, Party fractions, and the TUEL shall be used as a basis for this organization work, with the participation of the Working Women's Federation and women's trade union auxiliaries. As these working Women's Delegate Conferences are developed, they must become the non-Party centers for mobilizing the working women for the class struggle.

B. The development of the Federations as coordinating centers for all language and other working class housewives' organizations, in the various cities where they are organized, on a local basis, whose functions shall be to draw housewives into the various campaigns inaugurated by the Party and auxiliary organizations. We shall not organize a national Federation.

C. An energetic propaganda campaign among the Party membership to work out a clear Party attitude to the organization and carrying out of women's work.

D. A national program for women's work must be drawn up which will advance concrete working women's demands whereby the effects of rationalization on the extent and conditions of female labor and the consequences of the growing economic depression as well as the relation of the war danger to the women workers will be dealt with.

E. The establishment of a Women's Department and national women's committee in the center that will direct and supervise women's work throughout the Party. A more active direction by the Polcom of this work.

F. Proletarianization of the women's committee in the center and in the districts.

G. The publication of a central women's organ by the Party, and the issuance of pamphlets on women's work.

H. In the new unions we shall form women's sections with national and local committees to put into effect the Party programs on women's work in these respective unions. We shall form women's auxiliaries to these unions only in exceptional cases, such as mining, these to be decided in each instance. In the old unions we shall fight for the establishment of women's sections. In the women's auxiliaries to these unions we shall establish party fractions and left wings to further our women's work and to draw these auxiliaries into our women's conferences.

8. THE BUILDING UP OF A MASS COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE.

The war danger, and the decisive role which the working class youth must be made to play in the struggle against it, makes our activities among the youth of primary importance.

The changes in American industries during and after the war, the developing changes in the structure of American capitalism, rationalization, stoppage of immigration, etc., have brought forth for the first time on a large scale an army of native and Americanized unskilled young workers. This changes the pre-war composition of the mass of unskilled and semi-skilled labor, which previously was almost exclusively composed of foreign-born workers.

This development strengthens the elements of homogeneity of the working class, and gives to the young workers a historic role in the present period of serving as the connecting link and bridge between foreign-born adults and the bulk of the native working class. This new role played by the young workers has been demonstrated in the recent struggles and in the building of new unions, where the young workers play an important role in the political and organizational leadership.

The growth of the war danger and with it the general capitalist program of militarization of the population, particularly of the young workers plus their changing role in industry, explains the strenuous efforts made by the bourgeoisie to corrupt the working youth with bourgeois ideology for the purpose of weakening their fighting capacity and growing class consciousness.

The growing aggressive role of American imperialism, the actuality of the war danger, the intensification of the class struggle at home, tend to arouse the young workers and to create increasingly favorable opportunities for work among them.

The Communist Youth International in its recent letter to the American League states that:

"The growing contradictions between the U. S. and England, the sharpening of competition on the world markets will sooner deepen and broaden this depression than liquidate it. The working class youth which is involved more than ever in industry on a 'basis of equality' with the adult workers goes thru all the effects of depression, unemployment, increased exploitation, and reduced wages. Furthermore the working youth is suffering even more from depressions than the adult workers, because on the labor market of the working youth, there are always new growing reserves and competitors. Therefore, one is justified in saying, that rationalization and its effects, far from improving the conditions of the working youth, have made it considerably worse. This worsening is so considerable that it activates the American youth workers who politically were up until now completely apathetic" as was pointed out by the CYI in 1926. The worsening of the position of the working youth which became more noticeable only last year (1927) enabled us to declare 'we cannot say that the working youth of America is almost an inert mass' (from the letter of the CYI to the American League, 1927) and now when the worsening of the youth workers' conditions is becoming more evident to the largest part of the working youth, we can say today—the working youth today is no more the most

backward part of the American proletariat, and it is in many cases the most advanced and conscious part of the proletariat. The latest mining and textile strikes, etc., in which the working youth played to a great extent a leading and organizing role, can serve as a good example."

The increased role of the young workers in the class struggle, the worsening of their conditions and growing activation, the militarization of the youth, in the face of the war danger, create favorable conditions for the building of a mass Communist Youth League.

The Party must consider it one of its main tasks to build a mass proletarian Communist Youth League, which will take advantage of the present situation. Such a YCL will also serve as a reserve for the Party in recruiting new American and proletarian elements which will help to change the present poor social composition of the Party and small proportion of American proletarian elements.

The Party, not realizing the new role of the young workers in the recent struggles, paid insufficient attention to the YCL and in some cases even checking the initiative and activities of the League (Passaic, needle trades, New Bedford, mining, etc.). The Party did not give organizational help and direction in building and strengthening the YCL.

As yet the Party does not understand the role of the YCL as distinct from the Party, and many times considered it as a Youth Party as shown by opposing the raising of youth demands in working class struggles and not understanding the need of special youth methods.

The Party fails to give to the YCL real political leadership, which is to an extent responsible for the weak organization status and slow growth of the League. Real political leadership is substituted by factional leadership, the most glaring example of which was the withholding of the YCI letter from the League membership and the condemnation of it by the Polcom Majority because it (the YCI letter) disagrees with the CEC majority line, gives to the League the correct political line for League work and calls upon the League to fight the right danger in the Party.

The Majority of the N. E. C. identifies itself with the Right Wing Line of the CEC Majority. The Majority of the N. E. C. (Zam, Kaplan, etc.) began with an analysis that the "young workers are an almost inert mass," and that rationalization separates the young workers from the adult workers and removes them from the class struggle. Because of its student orientation and its acceptance and agreement with the analysis of the CEC which denies the growing activation of the working class, the Majority of the NEC has failed to reorientate the League to the changing conditions and thus take full advantage of the activation of the young workers. This failure coupled with the absolute neglect to carry on systematic persistent trade union work and the building of shop nuclei is responsible for the slow growth of the League as reflected in its poor social composition and small proportion of American elements. (37 per cent students.) The failure to reorientate the League is also responsible for the pacifist mistakes committed in every section of the League.

The NEC Majority since the world YCL congress has intensified its factional struggle against the Minority of the League, which is awake to and is fighting the right danger. The NEC did not carry on a real ideological struggle against Trotskyism, but utilized it as a factional issue against the minority. It did not abandon the right wing analysis of the CEC majority and shared in the right wing mistakes committed by the CEC since the world congresses. It refused to send out the YCI letter to the membership until again instructed by the YCI and refused to reject the slanderous non-Communist attack of the CEC majority against the YCI letter.

The absence of a core of proletarian functionaries and leadership in the League reflects the small number of American elements and the poor social composition of the League.

CONCRETE TASKS OF THE PARTY.

A. The Party must give systematic political direction to the activities of the League and assist by all means possible in the building up of a mass Communist Youth League in the U. S.

B. The Party must assist the YCL to develop its initiative in the mobilization of the Youth against the War Danger, against imperialism, and militarism and against pacifism.

C. The Party must help the League to actively participate in the organization of the unorganized young workers, the building of youth sections in the new unions, the intensification of trade union work generally, and above all the building of shop nuclei.

D. The Party must direct the League to make all efforts to root itself in the shops and in the basic industries to strengthen the proletarian and American composition of the League and to develop a core of proletarian functionaries and proletarian leadership.

E. The Party leadership in the League must assist in the development of new methods of League work in order to attract and develop politically the young workers in the League.

F. The Central Committee must educate the whole Party to the understanding that the growth of a mass Communist League in the U. S. is of decisive importance for the building up of a mass Communist Party.

G. The Party should assist the League in devoting special attention to the organization of the Negro Youth. The incoming Negroes into industries are largely of young workers. The opposition of the N. E. C. majority to the C. I. and Y. C. I. line on Negro work must be corrected.

CORRECTIONS OF GROSS RIGHT WING MISTAKES IN CO-OPERATIVE WORK

The cooperative movement offers the Party important possibilities to come into contact with masses of workers, to link up their struggles as consumers with their struggles against the capitalists as producers, to make the cooperative movement a fruitful recruiting ground for our Party and a vital organ of the workers in the class struggle. But these objectives can only be achieved by a systematic and determined application of Communist cooperative principles as laid down by the Comintern.

Our Party leads and participates in many cooperative enterprises in various sections of the country. But practically no effort has been made to give real Communist direction to this work from the center. No comprehensive reports have been taken up by the Polcom on the national cooperative work. The C. E. C. cooperative committee has been allowed to collapse. No efforts have been made to study the lessons of the movement and to correct the mistakes made.

This neglect is a serious mistake. The necessity for a careful survey of our work nationally in the cooperatives and to correct it in the sense of the Comintern program, is sharply emphasized by the gross right wing mistakes committed in the New York housing cooperatives.

(A section of the Theses, relating to this subject, is omitted here, but will be published later.)

10. A PARTY ORGANIZATION ROOTED IN THE SHOPS. The Organizational Situation in the Party.

The growing radicalization of the great mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, the Negroes, the agricultural laborers and poor farmers gives our Party increased opportunities for growth.

The principal reason for the relative weakness of our Party and its failure to grow is the Right wing political line of the Political Committee Majority. The difficulties and the protracted character of the process of crystallization of a correct line and a proletarian Bolshevik leadership have also militated against the growth of the Party. Only through overcoming the difficulties arising from this process through the inauguration of a campaign of bolshevist self-criticism and through the correction of the political line and the setting up of a proletarian leadership able to put it into effect, can our Party make real organizational progress.

The organizational situation at the present time can best be described as chaotic. Organizational work has been seriously neglected in relation to all the Party campaigns. In the biggest campaigns of the Party (miners', elections, etc.) it was very difficult to mobilize the membership to play a leading role. Only a negligible portion of the membership is organized in shop nuclei and in most cases even these nuclei are functioning in a very inefficient manner. Street nuclei are very frequently merely a continuation of the old language and territorial branches. Very little or no effort is made by these nuclei to function in their territory or to systematically build shop nuclei. In most cases our nuclei are merely ticket selling agencies and carry out no organizational or political work.

Functioning trade union fractions are almost non-existent. Fractions hold only occasional meetings to deal with specific problems, but no systematic, organized trade union work is done.

The fractions in language organizations, on the contrary, continue to function as regular units of the Party. Although language federations were supposedly liquidated in 1925 and the Party supposedly put on a shop and street nuclei basis, we still have a score of parties instead of one homogeneous Party. The language comrades, connected with these fractions, in many cases only work in the

language organizations with very little Party control over their activities. They often fail to participate in the general work of the Party and fail to introduce broad political issues into the language organizations. Discussions on Party questions take place in these fractions, Party speakers are sent, and votes are taken in the same manner as in regular Party units. Allowing for objective factors (lack of homogeneity in American working class, many languages, old traditions of "federations," etc.) which make complete centralization of the Party a difficult task, nevertheless it must be stated that these wrong policies have seriously hampered the process of establishing a single homogeneous Party in which our whole membership can be mobilized in support of the mass campaigns of the Party and the growing struggles of the workers.

Shop papers are few in number and are not put out regularly except in but few cases. Practically all are put out by the district offices and do not reflect the actual struggle of the factory workers. In the present way of handling them they have not been made to serve as a means of recruiting new members.

In the regular work of the Party, the National and District organization departments have failed to draw up organization plans to be carried out in conjunction with the general political campaigns of the Party. This failure has led to an almost complete failure to secure substantial organizational results from our campaigns.

The Party apparatus is generally in a deplorable condition. From top to the bottom, the tendency is to liquidate permanent committees and basic departments or permit them to die. The membership is being drawn to a lesser and lesser extent into Party work. Strong bureaucratic tendencies are developing which must be checked to insure the growth and political development of the Party.

Why Doesn't the Party Grow?

Our Party has failed to grow primarily because of the following reasons:

- a. The Right Wing political line of the Political Committee majority.
b. The absence of shop organization, shop contact and orientation towards the shop by the Party.
c. The sporadic campaign complex which generally prevails in the Party as a substitute for hard, continuous, systematic work.
d. Failure to follow up mass campaigns, work in auxiliaries, trade union work, etc., with systematic recruiting efforts.
e. Failure to connect political campaigns with daily struggles of the workers.
f. Failure to draw the membership, especially new members into the active political work and to carry on political educational work among them.
g. Lack of political life in our nuclei and the poisoning effect of ticket selling and other purely money raising campaigns not connected up with political struggles for which the membership has been ideologically prepared.
h. The developing bureaucratic tendencies in the Party and the introduction of purely mechanical methods of Party control.
i. The factional method and discrimination practices carried on in the Party by the Political Committee majority.

Concrete Tasks.

A. The Party must place as its major task the setting up of shop nuclei, especially in the many industries and in coordination with the concrete programs for the organization of new unions.

B. In connection with all political and trade union campaigns of the Party, the national and district organization departments must work up and send out detailed plans for systematic organizational work. These plans must cover the securing of new members, the setting up of shop nuclei, the securing of subscriptions for the Party press, and indicate the manner in which the general political instructions can be connected up with the daily struggles of the workers and thus carried into factories.

C. Great attention must be given in the section committees and in the street nuclei to the carrying out of systematic efforts to build shop nuclei in the factories in their section. In factories where we now have members, an effort must be made to recruit a sufficient number of workers to establish functioning nuclei. It is of vital importance to build up regularly functioning nuclei and section executive committees.

D. These efforts can only be successfully accomplished by the most detailed and persistent work (home visits, recruiting from auxiliaries, subscriptions for Party press, etc.). The tendency in our Party is to do only spectacular work; it must be our aim to develop more consistency and continuity in the work of the Party.

E. Every effort must be made to set up fractions in trade unions, Party auxiliaries and in language mass organizations. These fractions must be developed to the point where they are politically able to carry out the line of the Party in these organizations. In presenting instructions from higher committees to the fractions every effort must be made to explain these decisions so that the workers fully understand the reasons for the application of such policies or tactics in a given situation.

F. The nuclei of the Party must be developed politically. More explanation and clarification must be organized around the political campaigns of the Party and an effort made to explain fully all of the campaigns of the Party to the membership. By these methods the interest of the membership can be maintained and the recruiting power of the nuclei be developed.

G. In recruiting for the Party special emphasis must be placed on the drawing in of proletarian elements especially from the basic industries. The policy must be to draw these proletarian elements more and more into the leadership of all sections of the Party.

H. The circulation of the Party press must be given more serious consideration than in the past. In every principal city efforts should be made to place one full time worker in charge of the work of building the circulation of the Daily Worker, the language press, other Party publications and the press of our auxiliary organizations. Here also emphasis must be placed on the necessity for systematic follow up work (house to house canvasses, solicitation in factories, visiting members and supporters of auxiliary organizations, etc., etc.)

I. The C. E. C. must inaugurate a thorough campaign of self-criticism and open a sharp and determined struggle against all bureaucratic tendencies.

J. Especially must the Party concentrate on work among the Negroes, the unskilled and semi-skilled, farm laborers, poor farmers and women engaged in industry in its organization work.

K. The Party must establish centralized direction over the activities of the Language fractions, the language Press, with a view of making these serve as instruments for Party agitation and propaganda among the masses of their respective languages. Language comrades must systematically be drawn into general Party work through the regular Party units. Language fractions must under no circumstances become substitutes for regular Party units.

L. The Party apparatus must be made to become a living instrument for the carrying out of Party work. Party departments (Trade Union, Anti-imperialist, Negro, Women, Agit-prop, Organization, etc.) must be built up in regularly functioning bodies in the Party organizations.

M. For the process of improving the Party organization we must systematically bring forth into leading positions (unit executives, section and higher executive bodies) proletarian elements. We must systematically build a cadre of competent proletarian functionaries.

11. RAISING THE IDEOLOGICAL LEVEL OF THE PARTY.

The character of the problems and possibilities confronting our Party in the present objective situation, the nature of the tasks before us, are such as to call particular attention to the basic importance of theoretical training. It is necessary that persistent efforts be made to raise the theoretical level of our Party membership from top to bottom. Such efforts are all the more urgent because of the appearance in our Party of a serious right wing danger on the one hand and of Trotskyism on the other. A firm grasp of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism is the surest safeguard against both dangers. It is the prerequisite for correct policy.

With American imperialism playing a unique role in the capitalist world, with its inner and outer contradictions creating fissures at the very sources of its apparent strength, with a new turn in the situation plainly on the horizon, it is necessary that our Party make its own analysis of these circumstances from the standpoint of the Leninist theory. The Majority of our political committee has shrunk from this primary task, leaving the field free to bourgeois apologists. In discussing the question of Party ideology it is therefore axiomatic that the leadership of our Party must get out of the stultifying attitude characterized by Comrade Bedacht's remark at the February plenum to the effect that in capitalism "there is nothing new under the sun," and must begin to do some real theoretical work.

Moreover, there must be Leninist self-criticism of all the activities of the Party. The Polcom Majority has made a mock of self-criticism by citing (in a statement on Trotskyism) a whole series of Right wing mistakes that have been committed, without stating that the Polcom majority itself was responsible for most of those mistakes and without explaining how they came to be committed.

When we speak of raising the theoretical level of our Party, we must bear in mind the rank and file as well as the leadership. Only a party whose entire membership is imbued with an understanding of Marxist-Leninist fundamentals, only a Party whose member-

ship is able to avoid deviations in the daily work and to react at once against the deviations committed by its leadership, only such a party can develop and follow a Bolshevik line. The present Polcom resisted all attempts to educate the membership in this spirit.

The membership must be organized to study and digest all Comintern decisions, not through the confused way in which such decisions have been put before the members up to now, not through factional distortion (as in the glaring cases of the CEC's misinterpretation of the CI decisions on the American question and of the Polcom document against the YCI sent out to the YWL units together with the recent letter of the YCI) but on the basis of sincere and correct Communist education. At the present time it is vital that the membership receive detailed analysis of the important decisions of the Sixth World Congress and Fourth R. I. T. U. Congress, particularly since the decisions of the Ninth Plenum of the ECCI where the sharp fight against right wing dangers was initiated, were deliberately kept from the membership of our Party.

Insofar as the Agitprop Department of our Party has functioned at all, its activities have not been such as to raise the ideological level of the membership. Not even a beginning has been made in the sale of fundamental Marxist-Leninist literature. The Daily Worker, whose almost daily deviations are explained away by the Polcom on the ground of "unavoidable" (!) political incompetence of the staff, prints an editorial on the election of Hoover differing in point of fundamental analysis very little from the editorials of the capitalist papers. The Communist, under the editorship of Comrade Wolfe, gives itself over to compiling almost insurmountable lists of obstacles facing Communism in America, minimizing the struggles of the masses and depicting the role of our Party (recent articles by Pepper, Lovestone, Gitlow and Engdahl). Elementary Marxian education in the nuclei is neglected entirely. The courses in the district schools are totally inadequate.

A most serious example of the right wing line of the Polcom majority, as expressed in its agitprop apparatus is the Workers' School in New York. In the direction of the school there is a manifest failure to understand the difference between education work among workers generally and education of Party members to equip them for Party tasks—between general workers' education and Party education. The result is that the school satisfies neither purpose. We have today no system of Party education. The Party members attending the Workers' School make the criticism that it is a school for developing "professional students," and does not fuse with the life of the Party. Its teaching staff is recruited largely from high school teachers, dentists and other non-proletarian elements. In some instances the classes are conducted by petty-bourgeois liberals, whose ideology entirely foreign to the needs of our movement.

Another outstanding reason for the relatively low theoretical level of our Party membership lies in the fact that it is kept apart from all questions of Party leadership. In all the Party's activities there is noticeable a separation of the leadership from the rank and file. The political committee decides upon a certain campaign, and the entire membership is called upon to take it up with little or no previous ideological and political preparation of the rank and file, or even of CEC members who do not belong to the Polcom. Numerous other instances might be cited to show the extent to which the present Party leadership has separated itself from the rank and file. Unless this situation is remedied it will be impossible for our Party to become a real Bolshevik Party.

Concrete Tasks

A. Deep-going Leninist analysis by the Central Executive Committee and the Party convention, as well as by the leadership after the convention of the maturing inner and outer contradictions of American imperialism and of the process of radicalization of the masses. We must condemn the opposition of the Central Executive Committee Majority to carry on such an analysis which has been urged by the Minority.

B. Immediate establishment of a Research Department to aid such analysis and in the Party work generally.

C. More thorough and systematic discussion in all Party units on the class struggle developments and the current tasks and campaigns of the Party.

D. Full discussion by the membership of C. I. and Y. C. I. decisions.

E. Closer connection between the leadership and the rank and file of the membership. Central Executive Committee and D. E. C. plenums must be reported to and discussed by the membership. The Political Committee should so plan its work that the initiation of important campaigns shall be decided upon by Plenums of the Central Executive Committee. These campaigns shall be taken up in the district committees with a Central Executive Committee member present to report. This to be followed by meetings of functionaries or general membership meetings.

F. Reorganization of a cadre of proletarian functionaries.

G. Reorganization of the Agitprop Department, which must begin to function not only through the sending out of bulletins from the national office but as a working body organized in all the districts of the Party. Closer contact with the Comintern Agitprop.

H. Reorganization of the staff of the Daily Worker from top to bottom, with an editor competent to lead the Party's central organ and of the Party press generally.

I. Correction of the right-wing editorial line of the Communist. Radical improvement of the editorial and business management of the Communist. Real effort to be made to increase its circulation.

J. Popular distribution and popularization of the works of Lenin. Criticism of the high prices being charged by International Publishers.

K. Organization of elementary Marxian education in the Party nuclei.

L. Extension of the circuit courses in the districts.

M. Reorganization of the Workers' School as an instrument of general workers education under Party control. Proletarianization of its teaching staff and revision of its courses to study.

N. Organization of a system of Party education. Organization of a central Party School, and of district schools and unit courses—a whole educational system for Party members.

O. Election by the Party convention of a committee to prepare the Party program in accordance with the decisions of the Sixth World Congress.

500,000

COPIES

of the Anniversary Edition

JANUARY 5, 1929 FIFTH BIRTHDAY

ORDER A BUNDLE NOW for distribution on the anniversary of the only revolutionary fighting English Daily in the world. We must make this Anniversary the occasion for bringing the DAILY WORKER to thousands of workers that we have never reached before.

This edition will have additional features, special photos and will be larger many times the present size. Price, \$10 per thousand. Order a few days in advance.

Daily Worker 26 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY. Please send me... copies of The DAILY WORKER at the rate of \$10.00 per thousand. NAME... ADDRESS... CITY... STATE... To arrive not later than... I am attaching a remittance to cover same.