

FOR PARTY UNITY ON BASIS OF LINE OF SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS

For Comintern Guidance and Advice in Formulation of the Party's Line and Crystalization of Party's Leadership

The Party has completed the first phases of the convention discussion. The Party is now entering the next phase which brings us up to the national convention. It therefore becomes necessary, at this time, to draw the lessons from the discussion from the point of view of (1) The final formulation of the Party's line on the basis of the decisions of the VI World Congress, and (2) The crystalization of the Party's leadership.

The minority has placed squarely before the Party the basic question of the estimation of American imperialism. The discussion has definitely begun the process of clarification of the Party membership on this fundamental question.

It is our opinion that now, in order to solve finally the question of the Party's line and leadership, the Party Convention must have the direct guidance and advice of the C. I. This the Minority proposed to the Polcom. The motion made by the Minority on this question reads as follows:

"(1) Now, that the Party membership has discussed the disputed questions before the Party, the Polcom decides to request the C. I. (a) To guide the Party convention in the final formulation of the Party's line and tasks and in the crystalization of a broad proletarian leadership, on a non-factional basis, that can be entrusted to put the C. I. line into effect without reservations.

"(2) To postpone the Party Convention to such a date as will enable the Party to secure the guidance and advice of the C. I. for the Party convention."

This motion the Majority of the Polcom rejected. In doing so the Majority has made itself responsible for hampering the Party in receiving the help of the C. I. at a very important phase in the Party's life.

The Lessons of the Party Discussion.

The statement of the Majority published in the Party press January 18th, despite its appeal against factionalism and for Party unity, is in reality an effort to perpetuate the factional control of the Pepper-Lovestone leadership, to impede the application of the C. I. line to the U. S., and therefore to retard the process leading to real unity in the Party.

The question of Party unity is first of all a question of a correct revolutionary orientation and tactical line. It is secondly a question of the crystalization of a broad proletarian Party leadership, on a non-factional basis, of those elements in the Party which have proven to be most trustworthy and competent to put into effect the correct line. And, thirdly, it is a question of dissolving the old groupings and factions in the Party.

It is from this angle that the Party must examine the lessons of the discussion and the tasks of the Party Convention. The main lessons are the following:

(1) The question of how to crystalize a Bolshevik proletarian leadership for our Party, did not receive the correct approach or the thoroughness and frankness which it deserves. This shortcoming must be corrected.

(2) The comrades of the Majority persist in their theory of "exceptionalism," in their effort to exempt the U. S. from the application of the analysis and tactical line of the Sixth World Congress. The orientation and tactical line of the Majority continues to show the characteristics of a Right opportunist orientation (overestimation of the strength of U. S. imperialism, underestimation of the process of radicalization, etc.). The Majority also persists in the refusal to accept the correct policy of a struggle on two fronts against the Right danger (open opportunism) which is the main danger in the Party and Trotskyism (opportunism covered with left phrases).

(3) Both Majority and Minority demonstrated insufficient self-criticism. The Majority actually pursued the policy of self-praise.

(4) The basic problems of the Party's perspective and line, which the Minority raised before the Party, have already enabled the membership to gain a clearer understanding of the Party's tasks in the present period. The discussion has proven the correctness of the line of the Minority. It has also brought out certain weaknesses in some of the formulations of the position of the Minority which lent themselves to misapprehension and misinterpretation. These weaknesses arose principally out of the need of emphasizing mainly those tendencies which make for crises and sharpening class struggles in the United States in order to force the adoption of a correct line for the Party.

(5) The discussion of the really vital issues before the Party has reached a comparatively small proportion of the Party membership, due to insufficient preparation for the discussion, the injection by the ma-

jority of false issues, and the factional walls which militated against a thorough discussion of these problems.

The Majority in its statement completely ignores the lessons of the Party discussion. It refuses even at this hour to admit that there was anything wrong in its policies and that the Party convention must lay down a new orientation and line for the Party. The Majority views the Party discussion as an unfortunate accident which should be liquidated without any serious change either in the Party's line or the Party's leadership. This attitude is wrong. It nullifies the valuable lessons of the discussion.

For the Application of the Comintern Line to the U. S.

The situation that resulted from the discussion imperatively demands that the deliberations and actions of the Party convention receive the closest possible guidance of the C. I. The action of the Majority of the Polcom, which rejected the motion of the Minority to that effect, tends to deny the Party the opportunity of receiving such guidance from the C. I.

Acceptance in words of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress does not solve the problems confronting us. But this is all that the Majority proposed in its statement on Party unity. The Majority pretends not to see that the heart of the discussion was precisely the question of how to concretize the decisions of the Sixth World Congress and how to apply them in the U. S. The way the Majority "concretized" the decisions of the Sixth World Congress is in effect the way of nullifying the decisions of the Sixth World Congress as far as the U. S. was concerned. Hence, acceptance in words of these decisions, as the Majority does, does not in the least solve the problem for us. The Party has discussed these questions and now we should request the C. I. to review the various points of view and to guide the convention in the final settlement of these questions.

The Majority is once more raising a false issue, namely, the question that the Minority must subordinate itself to the Majority. The question of Party discipline is not an issue to this discussion. The Minority has always honestly abided by the principle of Party organization that the decisions of the Majority must be carried out, even when comrades disagree with the decisions. This principle the Minority will continue to abide by, and calls upon the Majority of the Polcom to show as much respect for Party decisions. At no time did the Minority overstep the proper bounds of the Party discipline as laid down by the statutes. Therefore the Majority by attempting to make the question of discipline the central question is raising false issues, the only purpose of which is to evade the real central issue which is the reorientation of the Party line.

The Majority, while speaking about unity, is waging a campaign of extermination against the Minority. Minority comrades are systematically removed from all the newly elected nuclei and section executive committees. The same policy of extermination is now being prepared for the district executive committees. The Minority was almost completely denied representation in the section conventions. Typical of this policy is the case of New York City where the Minority received about 33 per cent of the vote in the nuclei but was given only 9 per cent of the delegates to the section conventions.

For Direct CI Guidance in the Building of the Party's Leadership.

The question of the Party's leadership is not the question today of perpetuating in faction control the group led by Comrade Pepper and Lovestone. Nor is it a question of putting another group in factional control of the Party leadership. Factions and organized groupings in the Party must be liquidated. Party unity is of supreme importance, particularly in the face of the growing war danger. The Party's leadership must be unified and built out of those proletarian and experienced elements in the class struggles who can be depended upon to put most successfully into effect the CI line in the U. S.

We state to our Party that none of the existing groupings, neither the Majority nor the Minority as they are at present constituted, represent a mature Bolshevik proletarian leadership. Such a leadership our Party will eventually develop in the process of leadership in the class struggle. But the forthcoming National Convention can make a successful beginning in that direction, and this it will accomplish with the help and direction of the C. I. This is the way to the abolition of factionalism and to real Bolshevik unity in our Party.

The Minority of the Polcom.

ARONBERG.
BROWDER.
BITTELMAN.
FOSTER.