

1930

THESES and RESOLUTIONS

for the

**SEVENTH NATIONAL
CONVENTION**

of the

**Communist Party
of U. S. A.**

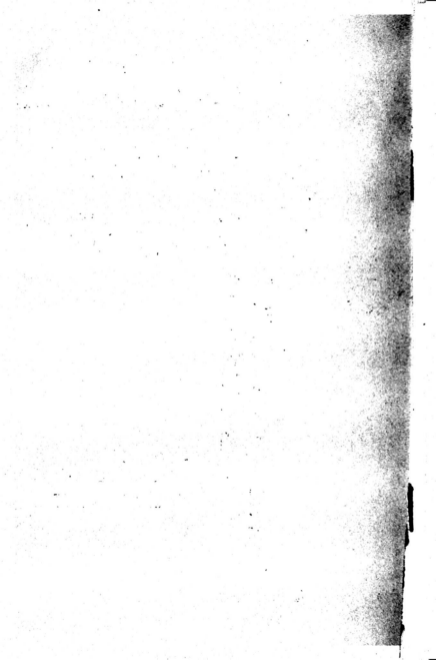
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**CENTRAL
COMMITTEE PLENUM**

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Introduction

The storm of the economic crisis in the United States blew down the house of cards of American exceptionalism and the whole system of opportunist theories and illusions that had been built upon American capitalist "prosperity." Unemployment and consequent misery of great masses of workers dissolved the mirage of the ever-full dinner pail. Speed-up, and mechanization of production tends to turn the factitious robot into a realistic personification of labor today.

These factors confront our Party with an entirely new situation and with completely new tasks. It was the purpose of the Central Committee, in the following documents, to formulate these tasks concretely, and to weld them into a program of action for our Party for the coming months. These documents represent the unanimous proposals of the leadership of our Party to the Seventh Convention.

These proposals are in complete harmony with the line of our World Party—the Communist International.

They set up for the Party the goal of a minimum of achievements toward the establishment of the leadership of our Party over a majority of the American working class. They signify a complete liquidation of the organized opportunist group of Lovestone, Gitlow, Wolfe and Company, which had endeavored to misuse the Sixth Convention of our Party for the support of an internationally crystallizing opportunist group. They are a testimonial to the healthful and invigorating influence of the Address of the Communist International to our Party.

The present Party discussion shall acquaint the Party with this program; the forthcoming Seventh Convention shall mobilize the Party for this program; and in the months following, the Party shall carry out this program as a most decisive step toward the development of our Party into a Communist mass Party of revolutionary action.

Thesis on the Economic and Political Situation and Tasks of the Party

1. **T**HE present economic crisis in the United States requires a sharp turn in the methods and tactics of our Party. This crisis has thrown millions of workers into unemployment. It is rapidly accelerating the rationalization process in industry. Its effects are broadening and deepening the counter-offensive of the exploited working masses. The capitalist class is meeting these effects by replacing its democratic pretensions with fascist practices. The economic problems of the crisis are intensifying the imperialist aggressiveness of American capital and are intensifying the war danger. In this situation the Communist Party, being the only force of proletarian leadership, confronts the task and the possibility of winning influence and leadership over a majority of the working class. This requires a decisive turn toward mass activities, a speeding-up of the Bolshevization process, a general activation of the whole Party, a rapid transformation of the street nuclei into a shop nuclei basis of the Party, the development and broadening of leading cadres, the building and leading of militant mass industrial unions.

Growth of the World Crisis

2. The Sixth World Congress of the Comintern pointed out that "the present period of the capitalist world is giving rise to a fresh series of imperialist wars; wars among imperialist States themselves; wars of the imperialist States against the U. S. S. R., wars of national liberation against imperialism, imperialist intervention and to gigantic class battles." The Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. pointed out that the accentuated external and internal contradictions of capitalism are at present accelerating the shattering of capitalist stabilization and are deepening and widening the revolutionary tide of the international labor movement.

This world crisis of capitalism, following the path of the uneven development of capitalism, spreads throughout the capitalist sys-

tem at a varying tempo and with different forms and character. If, in the United States, the crisis is already showing all the typical characteristics of a cyclical economic crisis, in other countries "it is seen in the spreading of the crisis over a wider territory (Eastern Europe, colonies, China and India, the South American countries, Japan); in a third type of country it is seen in the maturing of a general economic crisis (Germany); in a fourth it is seen in the accentuation of the chronic depression prevailing in a number of important industries (Great Britain); in a fifth it is manifested in the appearance of the first symptoms of a crisis, slowing down of production, discharge of workers, falling of stocks (France)" (E. C. C. I. Presidium Thesis).

The policy of the world bourgeoisie is to transfer the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working class. A new wave of rationalization is the outstanding manifestation of this. Politically the bourgeoisie attempts to solve its difficulties through fascism. The problem of markets it attempts to solve by forcing a re-distribution of the world; for this, it carries on a most intense war preparation.

Socialist Construction in the U.S.S.R.

3. One of the most important factors in the further intensification of the contradictions of the present period of world capitalism is the growth of Socialism in the Soviet Union. The gigantic program of the Five Year Plan of Socialist construction involving both industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, which has already been surpassed during the first year and which will be entirely accomplished in four years, is the clearest evidence for the toiling masses throughout the world of the superiority of the Socialist system of production over the capitalist anarchic exploitative system of production. Tremendous importance especially has the Socialist transformation of agriculture, the mass collectivization of the million of individual economies of the poor and middle peasants on the basis of the growth of the Socialist industry and technique, the four-day working week, on the basis of the leading role of the proletariat in its alliance with the decisive masses of the peasantry.

The turn in policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from the policy of limitation and squeezing out of the capitalist elements to the policy of the complete liquidation of the kulaks as a class, is thus destroying the last remnants of capitalist exploitation in the country, is removing the last inner class basis for the imperialist intervention and abolishing the last inner basis of restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Sharpening War Danger

4. The development of the economic crisis extremely sharpens the general contradictions of the capitalist system and brings still closer the danger of a new war. The dominating imperialist rivalry is that between American and British imperialism. All other inter-imperialist contradictions tend to align themselves with this main imperialist rivalry. In the United States, preparations for war are going forward rapidly, accompanied by open imperialist propaganda of a new advance of American capitalism toward the economic domination of the world.

The London naval conference showed clearly that the preparations for armed conflict between these two great imperialist forces is the dominating question of inter-imperialist policy. At the same time it demonstrated the utter hypocrisy of "disarmament" phrase mongering.

The open preparation for a new world blood-bath came out at this conference with cynical and frank brutality. A new imperialist war presents itself to the capitalists as an attempt to find an outlet from the economic crisis and is for them a continuation of the general policy of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, that is, the attempt of the capitalist class by means of new bloodshed to break the workers' growing counter-offensive.

In this situation the danger of an imperialist attack against the Soviet Union becomes particularly acute. A war against the Soviet Union, the fortress and outpost of the revolutionary working class of the world, is a war of the capitalist world against the realizing Socialist aim of the toiling masses, is at the same time for the capitalists an immediate outlet from the present economic crisis, giving to capitalism a new tremendous market of destruc-

ion and the hope of the reacquisition of the markets of the Soviet Union and breaking the Socialism in construction in the Soviet Union, the tremendous economic advantages of which already begin to shake the capitalist world.

Economic Crisis in U. S. A.

5. Into this general crisis of world capitalism comes as a tremendously accentuating factor the present economic crisis in America. The present economic crisis in the United States is the inevitable outgrowth of a basic contradiction of capitalism, "a growing contradiction between the tendency toward unlimited expansion of production and the restricted consumption of the masses of the proletariat (general over-production) and this resulted in periodical devastating crises and mass unemployment among the proletariat." (Program of the Communist International.) This crisis, which broke in its sharpest form upon the heels of the crash of the stock market in November, continues to deepen. While the first period of the crisis (end of 1929) showed first of all the sharp decline in heavy industry (steel, machinery, construction), in the first three months of 1930 the decline has penetrated into the industries producing for mass consumption, spreading throughout the economic life of the country. The "Analyst" index of business activity registers a general decline of about one-eighth (more than 12 per cent). Car loadings have fallen from their 1929 record (highest in history), and for 1930 are running more than 6 per cent below the five-year average of 1925-29. The Federal Reserve index of industrial production shows a decline below the highest point of last year of about 20 per cent. Commodity prices have declined approximately 10 per cent, with the trend steadily downward. Building contracts run more than 20 per cent below last year, with the gap constantly widening. Gross railroad earnings declined in the first ten weeks of 1930 by from 10 to 18 per cent below the same weeks of 1929. Bituminous coal production for February was about 20 per cent below last year. Automobile production has declined approximately one-third, with a perspective of further immediate reduction: Bank clearings are about 16 per cent below last year.

Financial factors and signs of deepening crisis are seen in reduction of the discount rate.

The present flood of stock market trading with its creation of paper value is an outgrowth of "cheap money." The accumulations of the immediate past find no market of industrial investment and flow, as "cheap money," into the field of speculation. For a while this stimulates the stock prices. But because of the crisis in industry, these prices are purely fictitious. Thus the very stock market figures, which capitalist propaganda cites as signs of an abating of the crisis, are in reality creating conditions for a new stock crash with a new downward trend of production.

Those branches of production which produce means of production, first and hardest hit by the crisis, remain at a level even lower than the general decline. Employment and wages, diminishing more rapidly by far than production itself (due to intensified rationalization) serve to deepen the crisis by further limiting the purchasing capacity of the masses.

The spreading of the economic crisis thruout the world is also seriously diminishing exports. The export figures of the month of March alone showed a decline of 26 per cent. The recent stock market crash in Japan indicates that this factor will be accentuated in the near future.

Uneven Development of Crisis

6. The growth of the crisis is not a uniform downward trend of economy as a whole, nor of its separate parts. The general decline proceeds at a varying tempo, while within the general decline occur fluctuations of specific industries and localities, with more or less sharp movements upward and downward. Particularly is this unevenness of development marked in the leading industries (steel, machinery) which, after deep plunges downward to 24 and 40 per cent capacity, make quick turns upward which, however, still leave them lower than the general level of economy. Seasonal increases are almost uniformly smaller than the average of past years (especially in leading industries), so that the widely trumpeted "improvement" noted from time to time in the capitalist press are in reality further declines, masked by the tricks of

statisticians. The leading industries are entirely unable to lead toward amelioration of the crisis, but instead lead toward a deepening and widening of the crisis. The cumulative effects of all these ups and downs is a persistent though uneven decline of economy as a whole. The unevenness of development of various branches of industry is sharpened, the stability of their relations one to another still more upset, and the crisis as a whole is intensified.

Unemployment Grows

7. The development of unemployment is not to be measured only by the development of the economic crisis. Capitalism always has its industrial reserve army, an army of unemployed. Already before the economic crisis this army was tremendously enlarged as a result of speed-up and rationalization. To this army have now been added the millions thrown upon the streets by the economic crisis and curtailment of production. On the other hand, permanent unemployment is, in turn, now being intensified to an unheard of degree by a new wave of speed-up and rationalization, which is spurred on by the economic crisis. Thus even local and temporary increases in production of certain industries (steel, auto) are not reflected in corresponding increases in employment, but are the occasion for further cutting down of labor forces by the speed-up, by an increase in permanent unemployment. Thus the struggle against unemployment is organically linked up with the struggle against capitalist rationalization; the problems of the unemployed are intertwined with those of the employed; and the workers are faced with the issues of class struggle—class against class—in all their nakedness.

Breakdown of Reformist Illusions

8. The results of the economic crisis not only destroy the reformist illusions with which the bourgeoisie attempted to deceive and pacify the workers (American prosperity and "high wages") (theory of "exceptionalism," "organized capitalism," etc.) but continually accelerates the narrowing of the very social basis of reformism. The offensive of the bourgeoisie, already begun prior to the development of the economic crisis, is now accentuated.

ated by increasing wage cuts and speed-up in the factories, affecting not only the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, but also sections of the skilled. All of these developments are rapidly giving rise to sharper and sharper class struggles. With the rapid development by the bourgeoisie of fascist repressive measures, the struggle is rapidly assuming more and more of a political character. By accelerating the process of the concentration of capital and the impoverishment of sections of the middle and petty-bourgeoisie, by increasing the proletarianization of the masses of peasantry, the economic crisis thus intensifies all the social contradictions of American capitalism. The sheer economic weight of the crisis tends to effect a political awakening of the proletarian masses. A revolutionary upsurge grips the working masses, opening the road to the Communist Party for organizing and leading these masses into struggles. The revolutionary upsurge of the working masses of the United States is evidenced by the growing unemployment demonstrations (the national response of almost a million and a quarter workers on March 6); by the growing political character of the actions of the workers in strikes and demonstrations (March 6, Haiti and Mexico demonstrations, etc.); by increasing militancy of the workers in resisting the violent suppression of strikes and demonstrations (the historical struggle in the South, centering around the Gastonia case); by the tremendous outpouring of fifty thousand workers to the funeral of Steve Katovis, killed by the police on the picket line; by the mass interest in revolutionary trade unionism, and growing movements for organization, especially in the South and in basic industries; by the rapid growth of the Communist Party in membership and influence. Under these conditions, the detailed and fundamental work of mobilizing the masses for resistance against rationalization and wage cuts and for unemployment relief campaigns, the organization of revolutionary trade unions, the strengthening and building of our Party, become the all overshadowing tasks.

Crisis in Agriculture

9. Agriculture, already in a chronic crisis since 1920, has been especially deeply affected in the last months. The vast unem-

ployment and general wage cutting for those employed has sharply curtailed the mass consumption of agricultural products. Producers of crops for the world market (cotton, wheat) are faced with the most catastrophic decline in prices. Wheat dropped one-third in price since last August. Cotton dropped 25 per cent during the past year, and 12 per cent during the last two months. At the beginning of the year already the U. S. Department of Agriculture is publicly advising the farmers to curtail their production this year by 15 per cent, which gives an indication of the extent of already visible curtailment of the market. In January it was estimated, on the basis of the then-prevailing prices, that prospective farm income for 1930 had shrunk by more than a billion dollars. The effect of this is, of course, not confined to agriculture; for industry it is equivalent in effect to the loss of the same amount in foreign markets. Agriculture is thus hard hit by the crisis and then in turn contributes heavily to the deepening of the crisis, preparing a fertile field for the extension of our Party influence and organization among the poor farmers, and the mobilization for common struggle with the revolutionary working class.

10. The past failure of the Party to do any work among the agrarian masses is the outgrowth of an indefensible underestimation of that work. The Party has failed to respond on the rapid industrialization of farming, especially fruit growing and truck farming, which has led to the transformation of the farmer migratory worker into a semi-industrial agricultural worker. The California district of our Party especially is obligated to work among these workers and to drive the roots of our Party into that category by organizing Party nuclei among them. The possibilities of such work were clearly demonstrated in the Imperial Valley strike. Similar work must be done in the sugar beet industry of Colorado and Michigan, and also in the dairy farms surrounding big cities, largely run by wage labor.

Another important agrarian base for Party work are those sections like in the metal mining regions of Northern Minnesota and Michigan, the coal mining regions of Illinois, Kansas and Indiana, and sections of the newly industrialized South, where the

connection between the industrial proletariat and the agrarian masses is very close. Especially in strikes in these territories, the organization of relief work for the strikers among the farmers of these territories can be carried on with a view of establishing a close organizational bond between the industrial workers and poor farmers.

Development of Fascism

11. In the political field, American capitalism is rapidly developing outspoken fascist methods of government. This manifests itself in three main groupings of forces: First, the direct mobilization of the heads of finance capital and their immediate class representatives in (a) super-governmental organs, imposing their will and direction from above upon the "democratic" apparatus (Hoover's National Business Council); (b) direct nomination into key governmental positions of representatives of finance capital (Hoover, Mellon, Young, Morrow, Grundy, etc.); (c) concentration of power in the hands of the executive and judiciary and the systematic undermining of the powers and prestige of Congress. Second, the mobilization of the reformist organizations and elements, some of which (A. F. of L.) are outright fascist, while others (Socialist Party, Muste group) cover their fascist activities with pseudo-radical phrases. Third, the systematic use of declassed and criminal elements, of the organized underworld, as sluggers and murderers of the working class organizers and leaders.

Rationalization and mechanization of the process of production are robbing the skilled workers of the value of their skill. The reactionary leader of this section of the workers is trying to maintain the favorable position of this aristocracy of labor by attempting to turn them into the shock troops of capitalism. That is why they turn the labor unions from instruments of struggle on behalf of the workers into instruments of rationalization against the working masses and into fascist troops of capitalism. The Socialist Party, as the representative of the petty shop keepers, is trying to counteract the transformation of the petty shop keeper into a clerk of the chain store by organizing their forces into social fascist troops of capitalism against the labor movement.

Its labor union wing, the Muste group, facilitates the fascist services of the A. F. of L. to capitalism by covering them with left phrases. From Howat over Fishwick and Farrington to the Peabody Coal Co., or from Schlesinger over the Tammany Hall Governor to the dress manufacturers of New York is not a greater distance than from Green and Woll and Lewis to the Civic Federation and to the American State and War and Navy Departments.

American Imperialism Prepares for War

12. As a result of the deepening and sharpening crisis, American imperialism is playing an increasingly aggressive role not only in Latin America, the Philippines and China, but throughout the entire colonial world. Under the pressure of the economic crisis, which sharpens tremendously all imperialist contradictions and rivalries, American imperialism not only intensifies its economic expansion, but the imperialist aggression of the United States takes on more outspoken political and military forms. American imperialism, thru its prominent spokesman, Owen D. Young, openly announces its program not only towards the colonies, but for "economic integration of the world," that is, struggle for world economic domination. Under these conditions our Party has especially the responsibility of assisting the revolutionary masses of the semi-colonial countries where U. S. imperialism is most aggressive and which are in the very center of U. S. imperialist policy (Latin America, the Caribbean area, etc.), and particularly those in U. S. colonial possessions (Philippines, Virgin Islands, etc.). This must include the utmost possible support and the joint working out with the Communist Parties of these countries of their political and tactical problems and a clear understanding of changing class relationships.

13. American imperialism to an interesting extent leads and directs the war preparations against the Soviet Union. American imperialism was the promoter in the seizure of the Chinese-Eastern Railroad by the Chinese militarists. Stimson's note of December 2nd was an open attempt to create a united front of the capitalist world for a military attack on the Soviet Union.

The very seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway was itself a strategic military maneuver against the Soviet Union. American imperialism is feverishly working to build a militarist wall around the boundaries of the Soviet Union. In trying to fit Germany more intimately into the anti-Soviet bloc, it is attempting to smoothen out the contradictions of the interests between Poland and Germany. French imperialism conducts a fierce and provocative campaign against the Soviet Union and mobilizes her vassal border states for war against the U.S.S.R. The "Labor" Government of MacDonad in Great Britain, servile lackeys of the imperialist bourgeoisie, prepares a new diplomatic break with the Soviet Union. The internationally organized campaign against the so-called persecution of religion in the Soviet Union is unprecedented in its counter-revolutionary fury, class hatred, worldwide extent and offensive forms, and is a direct ideological preparation for an armed attack against the Soviet Union by the capitalist class. The Pope, the British Arch-Bishops, Protestant churches, Jewish rabbis, the Salvation Army, all religious sects, all peddlers of religious opium, were mobilized for the defense of the Russian Kulaks, thus giving a clear example of the international imperialist united front of cross and cannon against the Soviet Union. The class content of this campaign was the defense of the kulaks and nepmen—the last trench of capitalism in the Soviet Union being destroyed by the advance of Socialism. At the same time these campaigns had the immediate strategic aim to ideologically stir up the peasantry of Poland, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia, etc., who are the bulk of the armies to be used in the war against the Soviet Union. One of the revolting details of this campaign was that aping exactly in method and content the campaign of the bourgeoisie, the Trotskyites came forward with the same campaign about the "horrors" and "murders" of the C.P.S.U., playing the miserable role of the camp-follower running after the war chariot of imperialism.

In view of this growing danger of war, the Communist Party must carry thru an intensive and continuous campaign for the popularization of Lenin's teachings on the struggle against war, propagating the slogan of the transformation of imperialist war

into civil war, the defeat of "our own" capitalist government, for the overthrow of "our own" bourgeoisie.

Political Struggles of the Workers

14. The growing difficulties of capitalism cause the American capitalist class to recognize in every workers' struggle a direct attack upon the capitalist system. Therefore, even the smallest strike of workers for decent working conditions is met with the whole State force of capitalism. Sheriffs and State troops against the Illinois miners; police, courts and State governments against the needle, the food, the shoe workers in New York; police and deputized mill thugs against the textile workers in Carolina; in short, every economic struggle is turned into a political event against which the capitalist class mobilizes its full State power. It is the foremost political task of the Party to help the workers to draw correct conclusions from this fact. The Party must in every strike formulate the political problems of the struggle into definite political slogans and demands. It must organize demonstrations, petitions, referendums, etc., for these demands. On the basis of these demands it must lead the workers into municipal, State and national elections, making the Communist Party the leader and organizer of a broad united front from below for mass political struggles. The economic demands of the workers must be related and linked up with the political campaigns of the Party in such a manner that the workers recognize in these political campaigns a struggle for the same aims for which they battle in their strikes. Especially important at this moment of rationalization and unemployment are demands for unemployment relief and for social insurance measures in general. Mass campaigns for such measures must be organized in every District. These campaigns must employ all forms of political struggle. While efforts must be made to prevent deterioration into mere parliamentary campaigns, nevertheless all of these political campaigns must lead up to mass mobilization for the coming Congressional elections. In these elections the Party must make efforts to enter candidates in every Congressional District. Every municipal election campaign must be made by the Districts into political rally-

ing centers of the workers for the struggle against police brutalities in strikes, against fascism, against capitalist corruption, etc. Propaganda for political mass strikes must be made systematically. Great political demonstrations such as May 1st, or August 1st, must be organized in the form of political mass strikes.

Question of Labor Party

15. The organization of revolutionary political action of the working masses is the most important immediate objective of the political activities of our Party. In the past our campaign to this end was centered around the slogan "For a Labor Party." This slogan no longer supplies a basis for this campaign. Any Labor Party crystallization at this moment could have only the AFL unions, the Socialist Party and other social-reformist organizations as a basis, or would be composed only of those already in sympathy with the Communist Party. A Labor Party made up of social-fascist organizations would not mean political separation of the workers from the capitalists but would mean the delivery of the workers to capitalist politics under the guise of a Labor Party. The radicalization of the working masses which leads definitely to an ideological separation of the workers from the capitalists turns the Labor Party slogan into a possible instrument with which capitalism can attempt to delay this separation.

Organizing United Front From Below

16. Our Party is suffering from a decided disproportion between its organized strength and the mass activities which it initiates and leads. The readiness of great masses of workers to follow our Party has led to a most serious underestimation of the value of organization. The reliance on spontaneous response in many instances replaces systematic organizational preparations. As a result, the Party fails in a large measure to crystallize into permanent organized strength the broad mass movements led by it.

A decisive change of these practices must be initiated at once. Reliance on the spontaneity of the masses must be replaced by

most systematic united front organization from below. (a) In the preparations for May 1st, for August 1st, for election campaigns, etc., detailed plans must be worked out by all districts for an organized mass mobilization of the workers primarily on the basis of shops. The committees thus established in the shops must be made to report their activities to the workers in the shops and to central leading bodies. The Committees of Action and special committees for May Day preparations, etc., must gradually broaden out and take on a permanent form: the basis of a trade union organization in the shops. (b) The systematic mobilization of the workers for mass movements must permit the greatest initiative and broadest participation in leadership of the best non-Party elements among the masses, thereby bringing to the forefront the most energetic, the ablest, and most militant elements among the non-Party workers who must be won for membership in the Party.

Reliance on spontaneous response is also prevalent in the non-Party mass organizations such as International Labor Defense, Workers International Relief, etc. As a result they lack organized substance. Their strength is more sentiment than material. The Party will never be able to do its duty in the new situation confronting it if the Communists will not effect an immediate and radical change in the methods of work and organization in these bodies.

Building a Mass Party

17. The recent recruiting campaign has improved considerably the social composition of the Party. With the large number of new workers taken in it is unquestionably possible to organize a number of new shop nuclei. But in spite of that the great majority of the basic units of the Party still remain as street nuclei. As long as our Party is not anchored in the industrial establishments of the country, we cannot claim to be a Bolshevik Party. Every district is therefore obligated to transform the Party base systematically into one of shop nuclei. Within the year following the convention, over 40 per cent of the Party members must be organized into shop nuclei. To achieve this aim every District Committee must work out plans for systematic

work in a number of selected shops and industries and must concentrate the Party forces on this work. The Organization Department of the C. C. must supervise and direct carefully this campaign. The Party press must be used to urge, criticize, and lead this work and to stimulate revolutionary competition between the districts. "Into the Shops" must be the guiding slogan in the Party-building campaign.

18. The recruiting campaign was the first serious test of the Party after the Communist International Address. The Party stood the test. It proved, first, that it had succeeded in thoroughly liquidating factionalism and organized opportunism; and second, that this made membership in the Party more desirable for the revolutionary workers. The CI Address was thus fully justified in its statement that the liquidation of factionalism will be a boom to the building of the Party. It has improved the social composition of the Party because 90 per cent of the new recruits are industrial workers. It has also considerably raised the percentage of Negro members in the Party since nearly 20 per cent of the new recruits are Negroes.

The recruiting campaign, however, also suffered from basic weaknesses. It was not based primarily on organized recruiting activities of the nuclei. The members were recruited in mass meetings, etc., and then assigned to the nuclei. There are shop nuclei in New York, Chicago and elsewhere that have not recruited one single new member. This weakness of the drive, if not repaired, will prevent the Party from assimilating and keeping the new members. It is therefore imperative that the political activation of the nuclei be made the first aim of all work in the districts. Inactive nuclei cannot utilize the revolutionary spirit of the new recruits but rather tend to paralyze them. Without the political activation of the nuclei, the Party cannot be transformed into one of revolutionary action.

Building a Mass Party

19. The transformation of our section of the Communist International into a mass Party of revolutionary action demands the activation of every member of the Party. Party members

who remain passive in the face of the rapidly increasing duties of the Communists in the present period are not revolutionaries and have no room in the Party. At this period of struggle, Right elements will seek to remain in the Party by concealing their Right tendencies. These elements must be uncovered not mechanically but by self-criticism. The very adaptation of the Party to its revolutionary tasks will weed out the unfit and unworthy. To this end every leading Party committee shall immediately organize a careful overhauling of the Party subdivision under its direction. The overhauling shall achieve an adjustment of the functioning of the Party in accord with the needs of revolutionary action. The following steps shall be taken:

(a) Every single member of the Party must be assigned specific work in the Party and in proletarian mass organizations. The nucleus executives shall direct and check up the work of every Party member.

(b) The functioning of every committee, committee member and Party members must be checked up continually.

(c) Ruthless political criticism of all errors and deviations must provide the base for serious and continuous self-correction.

(d) Committees and functionaries who persist in errors and deviations must be removed from the leading cadres as unfit for leadership in this period.

(e) The practice of burdening active comrades with a multiplicity of functions must be discontinued.

(f) The shortage of forces thus created must be repaired by a systematic drawing of new proletarian elements into the leading cadres of the Party.

(g) All leading Party committees are obligated to be most concrete in their plans and instructions for work to the lower units. Unclearness, ambiguity and generalization lead to misunderstanding and to delays in the carrying out of instructions. The need of the hour is clarity of instructions and promptness of execution.

The Daily Worker.

20. To succeed in the full mobilization of the Party for its tasks the Central Committee must pay special attention to the press and primarily to the Daily Worker. In order to make the Daily Worker the political leading organ of the Party and at the same time an effective mass agitator and organizer, it is necessary to take steps immediately for the political improvement of the Daily as well as for the building of a mass circulation. The Political Committee must take immediate steps to terminate the apparent political separation of the Daily from the leadership of the Party and must turn the Daily into its daily organ and mouth-piece. At the same time care must be taken to transform the Daily into a national paper. This can be done only if the District Committees and District Organizers consider in every campaign the role which the Daily has to play in it. Every campaign plan must include a specific press campaign to be carried through by the District in the Daily Worker. The District Committees are obligated to stimulate and organize systematically workers correspondents from the industrial establishments in their territories. By these methods the Daily will become truly a leader and an instrument in the national campaigns of the Party. This political preparation will also prepare the way for the organization of a mass circulation. Every District must set itself the aim of establishing a paid circulation or daily paid distribution of the Daily Worker in an amount exceeding five times the number of Party members in the district. To achieve this aim the Central Committee shall make available for the Districts the mutual experiences and methods of distribution of the different Districts. The present circulation drive is the first step in carrying out this task.

Build Revolutionary Trade Unions

21. The working masses, who are becoming increasingly revolutionary in the economic crisis, cannot be embraced organizationally by the Party alone. Labor organizations of a wider character must be set into motion by the Party. The primary organizations for this task are the revolutionary unions with their

shop committees, unemployed councils and committees of action, organized in the TUUL. The Party can win the working masses for its political leadership only by leading them in their economic struggles; and only on the basis of the Trade Union Unity League will the Party be able to assume the leadership of these economic struggles. The Party must therefore make a sharp turn in its trade union activities. A full mobilization of all Communist forces must be carried through for the organization of the unorganized masses, for the building of the Trade Union Unity League. The T.U.U.L. must be made into an organization uniting the broad masses of workers, organizing them for the struggle of their daily interests, and leading that struggle along political lines. Through these struggle for their daily interests and through the organization of the workers for that struggle, the T.U.U.L. will bring the broad masses to an understanding and acceptance of Communist line, strategy and tactics. Being a school of revolutionary struggle for the broad working masses, the T.U.U.L. becomes a lever and the main reserve for the Party. All Communists must belong to the T.U.U.L. There they must carry out the most fundamental task of the Party, that of creating and ever strengthening a wide mass base for the Party in the factories, thus developing it into a mass Party.

The leadership of the Party in the T. U. U. L. must be assumed and maintained by the Communists through their activities as the most energetic members, the best fighters and the leaders in the economic struggles of the workers.

REVOLUTIONARY STRIKE STRATEGY

22. The recent economic battles have shown that the revolutionary unions and the T. U. U. L. are as yet totally unprepared organizationally and politically to fulfill their tasks. This was especially demonstrated in the Illinois miners' strike where the weaknesses of the union, of the T. U. U. L. and of the Party showed the imperative necessity of a decisive turn in our work in this field. This turn can be accomplished only if there is clarity in the Party in regards to the tasks of the T. U. U. L. and its function in leading and organizing the economic struggles.

The Illinois strike revealed:

(a) Failure to prepare in time for the strike on the part of the union, a failure to carry on preliminary agitation and organization, a failure to set up committees of action, and of electing mass strike committees from below; therefore the union failed to draw the masses into direct participation and leadership of the struggle. Even in some cases, where pit committees had been organized spontaneously by the workers themselves, the officials of the union dissolved them.

(b) The union not only lagged behind the militant masses in the strike, but actually obstructed the spreading of it and dampened the spirit of the masses by the pessimism of its own leadership.

(c) The union failed to formulate clearly a set of concrete strike demands and to popularize them among the miners, thus showing a complete failure on the part of the union to understand its task as the leader in the economic struggles of the workers.

The T. U. U. L. on its part failed to appear as the leader of the union. It was, therefore, unable to repair the weaknesses of the union in battle. It acted primarily as a propaganda organ unable and unwilling to take the responsibility and leadership where the union failed. This was manifested outstandingly in the failure of the T. U. U. L. to supervise the union's preparation for the strike, its failure to lead the activities of the Belleville and Ziegler conferences and its failure to organize mass support for the strike among the working class.

The Party failed in this strike to mobilize all of its forces, to become the real leader and to direct its members in the struggle. The Party fractions worked haphazardly. The individual Party members were not subordinated to the direction of the Party fractions. The Party was not on the spot with sufficient forces to overcome the pessimism and obstructive activities of individual Party members (Corbishley). Although the general line of the Party was correct neither the Center nor the District gave the systematic daily attention which this struggle required.

While the Illinois struggle showed the weaknesses of the T. U. U. L., of the revolutionary unions and of the Party in the most accentuated form, the same difficulties presented themselves also in a smaller degree in the other struggles, especially in that of the Needle Trades, the shoe workers and the food workers.

STRENGTHEN THE T. U. U. L.

23. All of the above shortcomings reveal as the outstanding weaknesses:

(a) That our unions have not yet outlived their past of left wings, and have not yet adopted themselves to the role of organizers and leaders of the workers for the struggle for their immediate economic demands.

(b) Where they do appear as such, they hang on to the inheritance of the old trade union methods and tactics which are specially characteristic in the elimination of the working masses from active participation in battle:

(c) The absence of revolutionary cadres which are able to carry through the aggressive and militant struggles required at this hour. In spite of formal acceptance of the line of the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions and of the tasks assigned by the Sixth Congress and the Tenth Plenum of the Comintern, no serious attempt has, as yet, been made to carry this turn into action.

(d) Failure to carry on a sufficiently energetic struggle against opportunism in the trade unions, and to take organizational measures in good time.

24. It is the duty of the Party to take all steps necessary to bring about a change in the work and activities of the revolutionary unions and of the T. U. U. L. This is its major political task at this moment. To accomplish this task is the duty of the whole Party. A thorough survey must be made of the conditions of work of the T. U. U. L. in all sections of the Party and a detailed and concrete plan of action must be worked out, to be followed.

(a) The defunct Party fractions in the T. U. U. L. and in the revolutionary unions must be reorganized and must be continuously directed by the Party. Through these fractions the Communists must insist upon a fundamental change in the work and methods of the revolutionary unions and of the T. U. U. L. Mass self-criticism and mass control in the carrying out of the new methods must be applied.

(b) The Party press and especially the Daily Worker must be mobilized for the building and revolutionizing of the unions and of the T. U. U. L. Especially the sections of "Party life" and of "Workers Correspondence" in our Party press must be mobilized for this purpose. Special attention must be paid by the Party press to work of the Party in this field through concrete criticism and constructive suggestions. The whole Party and the Party press must ruthlessly criticize all Party sections that lag behind in their work in this field.

(c) The Party must pay major attention to the strengthening of the Party cadres in the T. U. U. L. The Party must effect a systematic redistribution of its forces in the Center and in the Districts. This redistribution must be carried through on a scale large enough to give a minimum guarantee of a serious change in the work of the T. U. U. L.

(d) In the campaign to strengthen and build the revolutionary unions and the T. U. U. L. the Party members must be the most energetic force. Through their fractions they must mobilize the complete membership of the unions for the organization campaign and must bear the brunt of the agitational and organizational tasks. The Party press and the Party apparatus must lend its full support to this campaign and must mobilize all of its departments for this purpose.

(e) The Party and its fractions must organize and train worker correspondents for "Labor Unity" to help make this paper a militant mass organ accepted by the masses of workers as its spokesman and its leader. The Party fraction is obliged to work for an immediate improvement of the leading staff of the paper.

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resolutions of the Fourth Congress of the R. I. L. U. This requires a definite campaign for a greater centralization and more firm organization of the revolutionary unions. The loose locals and the poor dues-collection system are incompatible with strong fighting organizations. The loose organizational methods now prevailing must be drastically remedied. There must be a more intimate consolidation of the revolutionary unions with the National Committee of the T. U. U. L. and the decisive strengthening of the latter's national departments. A definite turn in all plans of work in the revolutionary unions and in the T. U. U. L. must be urged and carried through by the Communists. Special efforts must be made to draw Negro workers into the leadership of the revolutionary unions. Decided efforts must be made to increase manifold the activities of the Communist fractions in the reactionary trade unions. It is necessary that the Party pass very definitely over from the period of talk to the stage of action in the accomplishment of its tasks in the organization of the unorganized masses. The progress of the Party on the road to a mass Party of revolutionary action must be measured by the growth of the organization and influence of the T. U. U. L.

WORK AMONG THE NEGRO MASSES

26. The building and the work of the Party cannot be effective without a serious change in its attitude and practices in regard to the work among the Negro masses and the transformation of passivity and underestimation into active defense and leadership of the struggles of the Negro masses. The Party must be made to express in energetic action its consciousness that a revolutionary struggle of the American workers for power is impossible without revolutionary unity of the Negro and white proletariat. To achieve this unity and to win for Communist leadership also the masses of Negro workers, the Party must root out all traces of a formal approach to Negro work. The Party program for Negro work must become a living guide for the widest activity among the Negro and white masses and participation in the struggles of the Negro masses.

The influence of white chauvinism is still felt in the Party and

has recently manifested itself in St. Louis (opposition in the fraction to a correct Bolshevik line on Negro work); Detroit (opportunist reluctance in fraction to struggle against white chauvinism); Chicago, (Lithuanian fraction). In many instances there has been opportunist failure to expose such manifestations. Also wrong, however, is the tendency, displayed by some Negro comrades (which they have since corrected more or less completely) to surrender to the propaganda of the Negro bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois intellectuals of race-hatred directed against all whites without distinction of class.

Protest against the special oppression to which Negroes are subjected must take the form of intensive political campaigns and mass organization to fight against lynching. Negro workers and farmers persecuted on the basis of race discrimination must be accepted and treated as class-struggle victims. The Party must carry on an uncompromising political struggle against all discriminatory laws, such as laws legalizing disfranchisement, segregation, laws against inter-marriage, etc.

SLOGAN OF SELF-DETERMINATION

27. The Party must organize a most intensive struggle around the demand of social and political equality for Negroes, which is still the main demand of our Party in its work among Negroes. At the same time the Party must openly and unreservedly fight for the right of Negroes for national self-determination in the South, where Negroes comprise a majority of the population. Self-determination for the Negro masses is the logical continuation and highest expression of the struggle for equal rights (social equality). As the Negro liberation movement develops it will, in the territories and states with a majority of Negro population, take more and more the form of a struggle against the rule of the white bourgeoisie, for self-determination. Therefore, in its every day struggles for the concrete issues of social equality, against lynching, against all race discriminatory laws, the Party must systematically advance the demand for the right of the Negroes for self-determination. This demand must be popularized among

the working masses of the whole country to win these workers for the support of the struggle of the Negroes.

28. Special propaganda must be carried on among the Negro masses on the question of imperialist war, making full use of the victimization of the Negro masses both in the colonies and in the United States by the imperialist war makers who only plunge the Negro masses deeper into slavery.

Unless our Negro program is concretized and energetically pushed, the work of our Party in winning the majority of the working class will be fruitless in the north as well as in the south.

WORK IN THE SOUTH

29. The industrialization of the South, the proletarianization of new masses under conditions of the most intense exploitation, turns the South into an ever more important battlefield of the class struggle in America. This field becomes doubly important because Negro oppression here reaches its most violent and extreme forms, with its widest ramifications embracing both industry and agriculture. Southern white ruling class terrorism, directed against both white and Negro workers, assumes particularly vicious forms against the Negroes. The Party has, for years, completely neglected the South and even after the important struggles in the Southern textile fields has paid insufficient attention to this section. Particularly has this been true in regard to the agricultural masses. This is a most serious shortcoming which, if not at once corrected, will be fatal to the realization of the Party objectives in this period. The Communist International has correctly pointed out that the Negro masses in the rural districts of the South are not "reserves of capitalist reaction" as conceived of by Lovestone and Pepper, but potential allies of the revolutionary proletariat.

Our Party cannot function in the increasingly frequent mass battles of the workers in the South without being rooted in the working class there. The problem of Communist leadership of mass struggles of Southern workers, therefore, is the problem of building our Party in the South, of building it in those struggles and of putting into living practice a truly Bolshevik line in regard to the Negro question.

The political bureau must approach the solution of this problem at once and systematically. Within the next six months three Party Districts shall be definitely organized. The center of these Districts shall be Birmingham, Ala., Winston-Salem, N. C., and Negro and white organizers shall be stationed immediately. Funds Negro and white organizers shall be stationed immediately. Funds shall be made available to put at the disposal of every one of these organizers, one or two agitators. Not less than half of the personnel of the leading functionaries in the south shall be Negro workers. Systematic preparation of this campaign shall insure the best possible use of these forces. The first plenary session of the Central Committee after the convention shall check up on this work.

DEVELOPMENT OF NEW FORCES

30. The influx of thousands of new workers into our Party and the rapidly extending activities of the Party raises a pressing need for capable functionaries. The sharpening class struggle, the unemployment crisis, the big struggles in every field of activity make it urgent to build up new cadres. A system of bold promotion must be instituted in the Party. Party units and committees must systematically recommend the most promising comrades to the high bodies for promotion. A wide distribution of all functions among the Party membership must assure development and discovery of comrades with abilities. Full time functionaries' courses must be organized for the fall in New York, Chicago and at least one other center. Wider application of colonization must make possible the discovery and development of capable organizers. The problem of cadres is a major problem of the Party and demands systematic attention.

AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

31. The development of new cadres, the full activization of the Party, its Bolshevization, requires a relentless struggle against the right danger. All right opportunist tendencies in the Party become in the period of revolutionary upsurge of the working class a most dangerous active force for capitalism. "The defense

of such right views which have been condemned by the Comintern as an anti-Party tendency profoundly hostile to the interests of the proletarian revolutionary movement, is incompatible with membership in the Communist Party" (Tenth Plenum resolution). Conciliatory tendencies toward right-wing opportunism are merely trying to cover up the counter-revolutionary character of the right deviations. Of these conciliators it must be demanded, "That they openly and emphatically dissociate themselves from the right deviations; that they conduct an active fight not merely in words, but in deeds against the right deviations; that they submit implicitly to all decisions of the Comintern and of its sections and actively carry them out. Failure to carry out any one of these conditions will place the culprits outside of the ranks of the Communist International." (Tenth Plenum resolution.)

The roots of opportunism were very deep in our Party, as they are deep in the American working class, and only the most conscious and stubborn struggles against every manifestation of opportunism, which is especially dangerous in the present period, can preserve the revolutionary policy of our Party and guarantee its continued healthy growth as the leader of the class struggle of the workers.

32. The Address of the Communist International to our Party in May, 1929, awakened it to a full realization of the dangerous opportunist factional situation within its ranks. The inner-Party campaign based upon this address uprooted factionalism, consolidated the Party and replaced factional clique rule by a collective leadership. It began a process of "training of the Party in the spirit of politics based upon principle, the training of cadres in the spirit of honest proletarian, uncorrupt revolutionism, free from false diplomacy and unprincipled combinations" (Stalin). The Trotsky-Cannon group and the Jilek-Brandler-Lovestone group continue their struggle against the Soviet Union, against the Communist International and the working class. But the political and economic developments in the Soviet Union and in America, as well as in the rest of the world, have so obviously proven the opportunist unprincipledness of their platforms that they can no longer successfully appeal to revolutionary workers.

Both of these groups are now integral parts of the capitalist anti-Soviet front. The Party has decisively defeated them. There is a danger, however, that our Party sees in them the sole embodiment of the right danger. This tendency is wrong. Right opportunism still manifests itself in our Party in its various fields of action, especially in a general lagging behind the developing mass movement of the working class. It raised its head in a clearly social-democratic form in Superior, where Halonen defends the thesis of class neutrality of the co-operatives with a vicious struggle against the Party. In the language press, in the language groups, remnants of federationism still supplied powerful protection to serious opportunist tendencies (Rovnost Ludu). The under-estimation of radicalization still paralyzes Party work and especially Communist activities in the trade unions. Opportunism in practice is apparent everywhere. This manifests itself in:

1. Under-estimation and neglect of trade union work.
2. Inability and unwillingness of Communists in the trade unions to get out of the rut of old trade union habits to revolutionize the forms and the tactics of the economic organizations of the workers.
3. Formal acceptance of decisions, but laxity in execution.
4. Resistance of the language fractions to centralization and to effective carrying out of Party campaigns in language mass organizations; resistance of the language press to the campaigns of the Party.

These opportunist attitudes and practices result in habitual pessimism which constantly looks for reasons why things cannot be done instead of looking for ways of how to do them.

33. Right wing under-estimations, because extensive in the Party, manifest themselves also disastrously among the comrades directly leading the work of building the revolutionary unions. In some instances these tendencies lead to passive resistance (auto workers, N. Y. needle trades workers, Paterson silk campaign), and in other active opposition (Illinois mine strikes, New York shoe strike, New York dress strike, New Bedford strike) to the

line of the Party. There are also marked tendencies not to put forward political slogans in the economic struggle (Illinois miners' strike, New York dress strike, etc.). Gross under-estimation of the radicalization of the workers was expressed by the leadership of the needle workers of Chicago. The theory that unemployment makes the organization of the revolutionary auto workers' union exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, is a definite under-estimation of the role of the Red unions in the economic crisis. The Party must liquidate the various manifestations of the right danger in the trade union work.

Effective struggle against the right danger requires a simultaneous battle against the ultra-left sectarian tendencies, which attempt to cover this opportunist unwillingness to set the masses into motion and to lead them into battles with left phrases. These tendencies are a drawback to the activities of the Party and are especially hindering the struggle against the right danger and the development of mass influence and leadership of our Party. These tendencies are particularly strong in the Young Communist League.

ORGANIZING THE YOUTH

34. Youth and children play an increasingly important role in production. Their organization and leadership in the proletarian struggles of the present crisis are, therefore, a major problem of the Party. The capitalist class is using every form of ideological political and economic pressure upon the youth to keep them out of the stream of radicalization of the working class. But the young workers feel with special sharpness the increased burdens of rationalization. They are the immediate victims of the militarization campaign (Coughlin Bill, militarization of bourgeois youth organizations, etc.)

In the face of this, revolutionary work among the youth, especially among the young workers in the shops is an indispensable part of the Party's activities to win the majority of the working class. Anti-militarist work, a step-child in the past, must be organized and carried on methodically. Neglect of this work by the districts must be considered a reformist avoidance of anti-war work.

The leading committees of the Party must help the Young Communist League in the concrete organization of the class struggle campaigns among the young workers. This help must take the form of political guidance as well as organizational support in the building of the league and in the mobilization of the young workers. Specific efforts must be made to strengthen the Party core in the League.

TO THE MASSES

35. The economic crisis in the United States has created a tremendous problem for our Party. The capacity of the working masses for mobilization, for organization and for struggle present the Party with the problem of extending and developing its own capacity accordingly. This requires, first of all, an activation of every single member of the Party. It requires a rapid Bolshevization through continuous and constructive self-criticism and self-correction; it necessitates systematic organization work to build the Party and to drive its roots into the basic industries. It demands the broadest application of the united front tactic based upon the workers in the shops and formed for definite mass struggle aims; it requires a rapid building up of revolutionary mass unions and activation of these unions as fighters for the daily interests of the workers. It demands closest attention to concrete detail work which must turn our revolutionary theory and aim into a revolutionary force against capitalism. Build the Party! Build the revolutionary unions! Mobilize the working class against rationalization, against imperialist war, against imperialism!

Resolution on Building the Trade Union Unity League

PART I.—GENERAL ANALYSIS

I. THE ROLE OF THE PARTY

THE most fundamental task of our Party in mass work is the building of the revolutionary unions of the Trade Union Unity League into broad mass organs of struggle. The recent communications of the Comintern and Profintern have again laid stress upon this elementary necessity. It is in this work that there lies the key to the development of our Party into a mass Communist Party.

The Party must develop a keen sense of responsibility for the building of the revolutionary unions. It must play the leading role in the Trade Union Unity League, not by substituting itself for the T.U.U.L. and actually taking over trade union functions but by stimulating its entire membership through the fraction system to build the revolutionary unions, to support them in their activities and to give them correct political guidance. The only way the revolutionary unions can grow into powerful mass organs is by the most complete support of the Party. In successfully building the revolutionary unions the Party lays the best basis for its own recruitment and mass leadership.

2. THE FAVORABLE OBJECTIVE SITUATION

The deepening economic crisis presents an increasingly favorable objective situation for the development of the revolutionary unions and struggle. The employers intensify their offensive against the living and working standards of the working class. Steadily the army of unemployed grows, despite all capitalist propaganda to the contrary. The employers are systematically carrying through wage cuts, particularly in the basic industries,

among the great masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. They also develop a fresh wave of rationalization, which speeds the workers ever faster and faster and throws fresh masses into the army of unemployed. Working conditions in every respect become worsened. Industrial accidents multiply. Occupational sickness is on the increase. The age limit for workers in industry steadily tends downwards. More and more the employers resort to the use of State and extra-legal fascist methods of terrorism wherever the workers attempt movements in defense of their standards or for the establishment of improved conditions.

The employers in their drive against the working class, have developed the A. F. of L. leadership into full-fledged fascists. With a narrowing down of their social base, by the whittling away of the privileged position of the labor aristocracy through mechanization, speed-up, unemployment, etc., the A. F. of L. leaders have developed into the most open champions of capitalism and the leaders in all of its violent attacks against the working class. This is exemplified afresh by innumerable developments in recent months—the Hoover-A. F. of L. "No Wage Advance" agreement, the treacherous union-management-cooperation plans in the South, the instigation of the clubbing of the unemployed workers on March 6, the open fascist propaganda of Woll-Broach, etc., and the widespread propaganda for war against the Soviet Union. It has been a mistake on our part that we did not sooner clearly analyze and characterize the open fascism of the A. F. of L.

The line of the S. P. Muste wing of the trade unions is identical with that of the A. F. of L. leadership except that they—the social-fascists—cover up their fascism with bourgeois-radicalism and left phraseology. Their especially dangerous role in the present period is to hoodwink the awakening masses and to hold them within control of the A. F. of L. leadership. The Socialist Party Musteites are linked up politically and organizationally with the most corrupt elements in the A. F. of L. This is exemplified again by the united front of these elements together with the bosses, police, etc., in the needle trades of New York and in the Illinois mining districts.

Progress in the building of the Trade Union Unity League can be accomplished only by the most relentless struggle against the A. F. of L. leadership and particularly against the insidious Musteites. This struggle must be carried on not only in the reformist trade unions, but particularly amongst the great masses of unorganized workers.

In this situation of deepening economic crisis and sharpening offensive against the workers by the employers, the State, and their fascist and social-fascist allies, which constitutes an effort of the capitalist class to throw the burden of the economic crisis upon the working class, the tempo of radicalization of the workers is greatly accentuated. Evidences of this growing radicalization are to be found in all directions—in the upheaval in the South, the strikes among the Illinois miners, needle workers, textile workers, shoe workers, etc. But the most significant manifestation of the spreading wave of radicalization was the tremendous unemployment demonstrations of March 6. The size and militancy of this great movement surprised even the most optimistic in our ranks. There is still a tendency in the Party to underestimate the radicalization of the masses, the penetration of the masses by our slogans and the organizing capacity of the Party. The same tendency also tries to limit radicalization only to the unemployed, thus forgetting that radicalization of the whole working class is caused not only by unemployment but by all contradictions of the present period, sharpened by economic crisis, unemployment, wage cuts, new speed-up, etc. The employed workers, lacking unions and organized leadership, do not find ready expression to their seething discontent. The March 6th Demonstration must be understood as a signal of the growing radicalization of not only the unemployed but of the working class generally. It was also a striking sign of the developing counter-offensive of the American working class.

The perspective confronting us is one of sharpening class struggle. Not only the unemployed but also the employed will fight against the capitalist class in increasing masses, with more militancy and with clearer political aims. The American industries will in the near future be the scene of many large and bitter

struggles. It is our historic task to give leadership in these great impending struggles. That the workers will follow our revolutionary lead when the Party, politically and organizationally, meets the obligations of the situation, was brilliantly demonstrated on March 6. But we can only secure this leadership and give maximum development to these struggles by the building of the revolutionary unions. Failure to build and to lead them effectively will sacrifice these masses to the treachery of the Musteite misleaders and will prevent the development not only of the T.U.U.L. but also of our Party. This is exemplified among the Illinois and anthracite miners, Marion, S. C.; Danville, Va., and in the Boston shoe strikes, where the Musteites captured mass leadership because of our mistakes and inactivity.

3. THE CRISIS OF GROWTH IN THE T.U.U.L.

(a) The T.U.U.L. is altogether insufficiently prepared to fulfill the great tasks now confronting it on all sides, of organizing and leading the discontented masses of workers. The growth of the organization has lagged far behind the development of radicalization amongst the workers. The T.U.U.L. has not yet been able to come forward as the real trade union organizer and leader of the broad masses in such manner as, for example, our Party secured the mass leadership on March 6. Although the T.U.U.L. enjoys great and growing prestige because of the long fight of the old Trade Union Educational League, the excellent Cleveland Convention, the March 6 demonstrations, etc., it has been unable sufficiently to crystallize this ideological influence into definite organization. Its various sections are weak numerically, are loosely organized, and have very undeveloped leading forces. The Trade Union Unity League must be definitely understood to be in a crisis which is not a crisis of organizational and political regression, but a crisis of growth, disproportion between insufficient political and especially organizational growth on the one hand, and the extremely favorable objective situation and urgent necessities of the working masses on the other hand.

The various national unions of the T.U.U.L. are not growing to correspond with the developing struggle situations in their re-

spective industries. They do not properly or rapidly enough develop as organs of struggle of the great masses. In the various localities there exist few local councils of the T.U.U.L., and for the main part these are as yet unable to do more than carry on agitation and do not actually lead local struggles of the working class. Organization of shop committees in the industries is not carried on in a systematic form. In a number of instances almost total lack of understanding of the revolutionary role of shop committees and how to organize them, is to be discerned. In all its stages, the T.U.U.L. has as yet an entirely insufficient organizational character.

The T.U.U.L. is as yet only at the beginning of its transition from an agitational minority in the old unions to the position of an authoritative directing and organizing trade union center. It is our great task to expand our present weak trade union center of organization into a powerful mass revolutionary movement capable of defending the economic interests of the workers. This is a major task for which our whole Party must be mobilized.

THE CAUSES OF THE T.U.U.L. WEAKNESS

The basic cause for the failure of the T.U.U.L. to grow more rapidly in the extremely favorable situation are: (a) Inadequate mobilization of the Party and its sympathizers for the building of the revolutionary unions; (b) failure to bring forward and train new cadres of sufficient number and ability to supply Communist leadership for our unions and meet the urgent demands made by the radicalized masses upon the T.U.U.L. for leadership; (c) serious Right opportunist errors by leading comrades in the trade union work.

(a) The Party membership, which must be the heart, brain and backbone of the T.U.U.L., has not yet been fully organized to build the revolutionary unions. This is exemplified among other manifestations by the fragmentary character of the recent District Conventions of the T.U.U.L., the failure to follow up the Cleveland Convention with an active program of organization work, the inadequate setting up of local T.U.U.L. councils, insufficient building of local shop committees, failure to utilize the

great unemployment movement to strengthen the revolutionary unions, etc.

The explanation of the inactivity of the Party membership and the close sympathizers of the Party in the building of the T.U.U.L. is to be found in a lingering underestimation of the degree of radicalization and willingness to struggle of the workers, and a minimizing of the effectiveness of strike action, and the possibility of organizing the unorganized into class struggle unions during periods of economic crisis.

(b) The lack of sufficient leading forces who follow the correct revolutionary line is one of the elementary reasons for the weakness of the T.U.U.L. The problem of new cadres is a vital problem for the T.U.U.L., its revolutionary unions and for all sections of the Red International of Labor Unions. Our leadership must be able to meet before the masses the trained cadres of the fascist A. F. of L. unions and the social-fascist who fight us with the backing of the bourgeois State and defeat them. Agitational ability is not enough. Our cadres must have Bolshevik clarity and Bolshevik ability to organize workers. The working class is making demands that we cannot supply. But there is no systematic bringing forward of new militant elements and in some cases bringing forward this major task. This is evidence of a survival of bureaucracy and the most dangerous opportunism. This must be eliminated by the most careful and energetic training of the cadres.

(c) Other serious right errors and tendencies have hindered the work. Among these were: (1) Failure to bring the unions and local leagues forward as revolutionary economic organizations fighting for the every-day demands of the workers—the tendency to confine the organizations simply to revolutionary propaganda groups; (2) failure to put forward political slogans in the economic struggle (Illinois miners' strike, New York dress strike, etc.), and thus not to broaden politically the battles of the workers; (3) systematic resistance to the development of new cadres of leaders (needle trades, etc.); (4) persistence in trade union legalism and craft practices (food, needle, shoe); (5) almost total lack of self-criticism, dilettantism in strikes and organ-

ization campaigns, gross underestimation of the radicalization of the workers (Feingold, Chicago). Theory that unemployment makes the organization of the revolutionary unions exceedingly difficult (Auto Workers' Union).

The strike strategy of the various T.U.U.L. unions has been saturated with Right errors. It has been marked by a quite general failure to apply the principles of independent leadership as laid down by the RILU. There has been almost no setting up of shop committees, and action committees to draw masses into the struggle. In some instances this failure was caused by passive resistance (Auto workers, N. Y. food workers, Paterson silk campaign) and in others, active opposition (Illinois mine strike, shoe strike, New York dress strike).

Besides all these right tendencies which constitute the main danger in the trade union work, there were various manifestations of "left" sectarianism, abandonment of work in the reformist unions, the putting forth of demands for 40-hour week and abolition of piece-work in the New York shoe strike without a mass movement to support these demands, etc.

In the New York shoe strike, the demand for the 40-hour week and abolition of piece-work, based upon the development of a mass movement to organize the unorganized, was correct. But it was incorrect that the District insisted upon these demands as strike issues after the union leadership had failed to lay the necessary basis, capitulated before the difficulties, and narrowed down the movement to a few shops.

The general result of this failure to fully mobilize our forces and of these gross opportunist mistakes in carrying out the Party line for building the revolutionary unions is the present critical position of the T.U.U.L. With a real mobilization of our forces and a more correct general line in the work, unquestionably the T.U.U.L., in spite of the fierce opposition it has to meet, would be very much more of a mass organization.

PART II—OUR CONCRETE TASKS

I. MOBILIZATION OF THE PARTY

The Party must take up immediately with all its force the task of building the Trade Union Unity League. This requires the most complete possible mobilization of the Party membership and Party sympathizers. There must be a strong ideological campaign developed to liquidate opportunistic moods regarding the trade union work and to ideologically strengthen the whole Party for the vital tasks of building the revolutionary unions. This ideological campaign must be basically a struggle against the Right deviation in the Party. It must lead not only to the education of the general membership to the necessity for trade union work, but be directed particularly against those active in the trade union work who display opportunistic tendencies. Where these leaders fail to correct their systematic errors, they shall be removed and replaced by new elements who can and will follow the Party line.

The question of greatly intensifying the Party trade union work and the building of the revolutionary unions shall be put on the first order of business in every unit and stage of the Party. Membership in the revolutionary unions shall be made compulsory for all Party members. The Party fraction shall be systematically built in the revolutionary unions and in the reformist organizations. Competent comrades shall be everywhere delegated to carry out the trade union work. Special efforts must be put forth to draw the new members into active trade union work. The building of the T.U.U.L. must be made an organic part of all the mass campaigns of the Party. There shall be prepared detailed directives for the building of the trade union fraction system and the most thoroughgoing mobilization of the Party for building the revolutionary unions.

2. DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION CADRES

Fundamental in the strengthening of the Party trade union work and the building of the T.U.U.L. is the development of our revolutionary trade union cadres. There is a crying need in all

the T.U.U.L. organizations for workers capable of organizing and leading the struggle. Not only is there a shortage of workers for leading positions, but many who are now occupying such positions display Right-wing tendencies and other lack of qualifications. The question of improving the trade union cadres must be resolutely attacked as a major problem. The recent session of the General Council of the Red International of Labor Unions laid the greatest stress upon this vital point. The mass struggles we are now carrying on are producing many new working class fighters. These, together with the developing elements already in our organizations, must be as quickly as possible drawn into the leadership. Bureaucratic tendencies to prevent the development of new worker-leaders, must be ruthlessly liquidated. Systematic courses of education in trade union tactics and organization must be established by the Party and the T.U.U.L. to develop promising proletarian elements into effective working class leaders.

The most thorough application of trade union democracy (democratic centralization and proletarian discipline), the systematic use of self-criticism in all our work, alertness to discover rank and file comrades with ability and encourage them, train them and promote them to more responsible work—building of new leaders from below—these are the best methods of strengthening our leading forces.

3. T.U.U.L. 50,000 MEMBERSHIP DRIVE

The Party membership must give the most active support to all the mass activities of the T.U.U.L.; in the first place the great drive for 50,000 new members by June 30, now being initiated by the T.U.U.L. This big recruitment campaign is pronounced by the Comintern and Profintern to be the "decisive mass task of the Party and the T.U.U.L." The realization of this goal of 50,000 new members by the end of June is entirely possible in the present favorable objective situation. While the T.U.U.L., with the full support of the Party, is organizing these new members the Party can and must absorb the ideologically most advanced elements among them into its own ranks.

The 50,000 drive, which is the present sharpest concretization

of the slogan "Organize the Unorganized," must be utilized for the strengthening of every phase of the T.U.U.L. The building of shop committees, local councils, minority groups in the reformist unions, the strengthening of the national unions, etc., must be systematically carried out in this campaign. The recruitment drive must be hooked up with and made a component part of the May First Demonstrations, the unemployment movement, the mass conventions of the miners, metal workers, shoe workers, auto workers, and marine workers' unions. The great organization drive must be concentrated upon the basic and heavy industries, especially those of a war character. This campaign offers the best means for extending the T.U.U.L. work in the South. The building of Labor Unity must be a central feature of the membership drive.

The T.U.U.L. Negro, Youth and Women's departments must be systematically developed in the course of the membership drive. These departments shall focus their attention upon this drive as their main activity.

The T.U.U.L. shall work out quotas for the respective unions and cities, together with concrete tasks for all units and committees of the organization for carrying through the membership drive. In stimulating the organization work the principle of revolutionary competition shall be systematically applied, the various organizations competing with each other in the fulfillment of their tasks. The Party shall be mobilized for the maximum support of the T.U.U.L. to put the whole organization program into effect.

The membership drive must be understood as part of the general struggle of the T.U.U.L. for leadership of the masses. This in the first place requires a basic improvement in its strike strategy. The principal conclusions to be drawn regarding our strike strategy in the present period are that we must prepare our strikes better, give them more of a mass class character, carry them out in accordance with the principles of independent leadership, and develop them in the direction of the mass political strike. The failure of our leadership in strike struggles to develop them into wider mass struggles, to mobilize greater mass support for

our political demands, to broaden our organizational base during these struggles, can be ascribed to the lack of understanding of, or resistance to in some cases, the basic line of the Red International of Labor Unions, which insists on the election of broad rank and file committees of action, rank and file strike committees—the concrete application of the united front from below. This is a dangerous error which has hampered all our work. The line of the RILU must be applied in practice, all unclarity eliminated and resistance to it sharply combatted. There must be more attention given to the question of strike strategy. There shall be prepared a special resolution on strike strategy, based upon the principles laid down at the Strassburg Conference.

4. THE UNEMPLOYMENT MOVEMENT

The proper development of the unemployed movement is of the greatest importance to the Party and the T.U.U.L. The principal weakness of the movement up to the present time is the lack of concrete organization. There is also a definite failure to sufficiently link up the struggle of the employed with the unemployed. Furthermore, the movement has not been utilized for the recruitment of members into revolutionary unions. All these weaknesses must be drastically corrected.

The National Unemployed Conference in New York on March 29-30 gave the general line for the further development of the movement. The National Unemployed Council is the national crystallization of the unemployed movement as a whole, being affiliated nationally and locally to the T.U.U.L. The National Unemployed Council will carry on an aggressive campaign for organizing the unemployed in the various industrial centers into unemployed councils and for their recruitment into the revolutionary unions. The next great steps in the mobilization of the unemployed are the May Day Demonstrations and the great National mass conventions and demonstrations in Chicago, July 4-5. It is of the most vital importance that the full forces of the Party and the T.U.U.L. be mobilized not only to make these demonstrations successful, but especially to build actual organization amongst the unemployed and to strengthen the prestige and organ-

ization of the Party and the T.U.U.L. among the masses. The unemployment question shall be made the central issue in our election campaign, with the unemployed councils supporting the Party candidates. At all coming conventions of T.U.U.L. unions there shall be delegations of the unemployed and the question of unemployment shall be placed prominently on the agenda.

Right wing opportunism manifests itself in the unemployment movement primarily by minimizing our major demands for social insurance and the 7-hour day, 5-day week, aping and voicing the treacherous "social welfare" demands of the social fascists (opening up of jails for lodging houses, etc.) by minimizing the necessity for organization of the unemployed, by attempting to confine the movement within the bounds of capitalist legalism, etc. These opportunistic tendencies which tend to liquidate the movement must be militantly fought.

The unemployment movement offers a splendid lever for carrying on the struggle against the bureaucrats in the A. F. of L. With large numbers of the reformist trade union members unemployed, it is possible and it must be our aim to draw them into our unemployed councils and to direct their attacks against their reactionary officials. The unemployment movement also offers a fruitful field for intensified work among Negroes, Women and Youth. The defense of the prisoners arrested in connection with March 6th and other demonstrations of the unemployed, must be made a central issue in the unemployed councils.

5. THE RILU FIFTH CONGRESS DELEGATION

A major aspect of our trade union work during the next three months must be the election of the T.U.U.L. delegation to the Fifth Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions. The coming RILU Congress is of tremendous importance. A great wave of radicalization develops among the workers in all of the industrial countries and the colonies. The Fifth RILU Congress will be the revolutionary organizing center for this great forward movement of world's workers. The Congress will greatly strengthen the RILU in its role of independent leadership of the workers and in solidifying its organization generally. Detailed directives

for the election of this delegation have been sent out by the T.U.U.L. and these must be rigorously supported in the various organizations.

6. INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY COMPETITION

At the Sixth Session of the General Council of the RILU revolutionary competitions were developed between the National Minority Movement of Great Britain and the T.U.U.L. and between the CGTU of France and the T.U.U.L. The terms of these competitions will be published in Labor Unity. Both of these competitions are valuable, that with the National Minority Movement for intensifying the building of the T.U.U.L. generally and also that with the CGTU for strengthening the T.U.U.L. in a phase of its activities in which it is particularly weak, the colonial work. These competitions should be militantly carried out so that at the Fifth Congress of the RILU the T.U.U.L. delegation will be able to report its tasks completely fulfilled.

7. DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION—FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

In all the mass activities of the T.U.U.L. the question of the fight against the impending imperialist war and the struggle in defense of the Soviet Union must be kept in the very foreground. The T.U.U.L. must spare no effort to popularize the achievements of the Russian workers in building socialism. The masses of unemployed and radicalized workers are inspired by the progress of the Soviet Union and are highly receptive to our propaganda against imperialist war.

Resolution on District Eight (Chicago)

1. **T**HE Plenum of the Central Committee fully endorses the line of the Party leadership in District Eight. The November Plenum of the District Committee, in full agreement with the line of the October Central Committee Plenum, correctly orientated the Party in the District on the outbreak of the economic crisis, which further accentuates the general world crisis of capitalism, on the consequences of the crisis for the workers, and on the further sharpening of the class struggle in the District. The resolution emphasized that the radicalization of the workers, already shown by various strikes and by the District-wide August 1st demonstrations, would be further deepened and broadened, and the possibility of building the Party increased, as a result of the economic crisis, the mass layoffs, wage cuts, intensified rationalization and growing fascist offensive of the bourgeoisie and their social reformist agents as well as by the growing imperialist war preparations, especially for war against the USSR. A perspective for sharp mass struggles, in which the Party would play a leading role, was clearly laid down.

2. This perspective has not only been sustained, but as the economic crisis steadily, though unevenly, deepens the capitalist offensive against the workers and the rising workers' counter offensive becomes more marked.

In the coal fields, where the coal operators, the state and the United Mine Workers of America are openly united in an economic and political offensive against the workers, the radicalization of the workers is very deep seated. This is shown not only by the bitterly fought December-January strike of 10,000 miners under the leadership of the revolutionary National Miners Union, but also by the whole series of local strikes which are breaking out daily and which invariably take the form of a struggle against the strike-breaking UMWA, as well as against the coal operators and the state.

A negative factor showing the deep-seated character of the radicalization among the Southern Illinois coal miners is the open split between Lewis and Fishwick and the setting up of a new miners' union allied with the Musteites, with a social fascist program and leadership, which has as its purpose the pacification and betrayal of the miners under cover of pseudo-radical phrases and a sham battle against Lewis. The extreme poverty and misery of the miners, now accentuated by the abnormal seasonal decline caused by the economic crisis, plus the open betrayals of both the Lewis and Fishwick unions and the growing fascist terror of the operators, the United Mine Workers of America and the State will further deepen the discontent of the miners and their determination to struggle against these intolerable conditions. By redoubling the activities of our Party in the coal fields and by energetically supporting the building up of the National Miners Union the prospective is for gigantic class battles there during the next few months, leading up to a national strike of coal miners on the expiration of the anthracite agreement in September.

The wage cuts and intense speed-up in the metal, machinery and steel industry is deepening the radicalization of these workers. The department strike of steel workers in Indiana Harbor against rationalization, the similar walkout of the Simmons Bed Company workers in Kenosha against wage cuts and rationalization are always indicators of developing struggles in the steel and metal industries which must receive the immediate and energetic attention of the Party.

The more than normal seasonal decline, accentuated by the economic crisis, now beginning in meat packing and agricultural machinery plants will be accompanied by a still sharper offensive against the workers in these industries, maturing the present deep discontent into sharp struggles.

The response of over 100,000 workers in Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Springfield, Rockford and smaller cities throughout the District to the call of the Party and the Trade Union Unity League on March 6 shows most clearly the widespread character and depth of the radicalization of the workers in the District. The March 6 demonstrations as well as the preparatory demonstrations which preceded them in Chicago and Milwaukee were

of the utmost political significance and become further factors in increasing the will of the masses to struggle. These demonstrations, however, were still primarily demonstrations of the unemployed, only a relatively few workers leaving the factories; indicating that much more work, especially organization, must be done by the Party in the District among the factory workers.

3. The fascist development which is taking place throughout the entire country as a result of the economic crisis, the sharpening class struggles and the preparations of the American bourgeoisie for war, is especially marked in the Chicago District principally due to the large concentration of basic and war industries there on which the Party has concentrated which makes the bourgeoisie particularly vicious in their efforts to crush the revolutionary workers' organizations, and to the complete interlocking of finance capital (Strong Committee, Insull Dawes, etc.) the State and city government, the racketeers, the underworld gangsters and the leadership of the American Federation of Labor unions. The use of police, sheriffs, the militia, the deputized United Mine Workers of America gangsters to break the miners strike; the raids on the headquarters of the Party and of other revolutionary organizations, with the smashing of desks, typewriters, etc., the hundreds of arrests during the past few months (since August 1st); the arrest of hundreds of comrades and unemployed workers during the preparatory unemployed demonstrations, followed by the brutal beatings in the jails; the raids on the Milwaukee headquarters by the "socialist" police, the arrest and sentencing of the leading comrades to three and to six months jail terms; the open participation in support of this terror campaign by the AFL (Durkin, Oscar Nelson,) etc., are all indications of the sharp character of the bosses' fascist offensive in the Chicago District.

4. In these situations, definite progress has been made by the Party. The general political level of the Party has been raised. The section leadership of the Party has been strengthened. The Party has been established as the leader of large mass struggles in Milwaukee and Southern Illinois, whereas previously the Party in these places was almost non-existent. The success of the Party in Milwaukee is of particular importance because of the

strong position of the Socialist Party there which our Party is now challenging for the first time. The large number of factory gate meetings, the wide distribution of leaflets and bulletins at the shops in connection with all of the recent campaigns (August 1st, TUUL convention, Party anniversary, TUUL and Party unemployment conferences, March 6, etc.) has greatly extended the influence of the Party.

The carrying through of the struggle in the coal fields against Lewis and Fishwick, the struggle against the Musteite policies of Watt, and the energetic carrying through of the December strike were very substantial achievements for the Party and were of national significance in the fight against the UMWA for the building of the National Miners Union and in the preparations for the September 1st nation-wide strike, for which the District must now also further prepare.

In Negro work, which had previously been neglected by the Party to the point where there were no active Negro members, the Party has made a substantial beginning; about 85 Negro members having been recruited and the Negro question now occupying the attention of the Party.

The recruiting drive in the district during which over 600 new recruits, mostly from the basic industries, a considerable number of which were Negroes, were brought into the Party, is a definite sign of progress. These new members, if they are developed and fully drawn into Party work, can greatly strengthen the Party's future work.

The mobilization of 50,000 workers on March 6 in Chicago, despite the police terror which partly resulted from the energetic preparatory work of the Party and which necessitated the semi legal functioning of the Party for two weeks prior to March 6 as well as the mobilization of over 50,000 more in Milwaukee and other outlying industrial towns (St. Louis, Springfield, Rockford, etc.) was a major achievement for District Eight. March 6 greatly deepened the influence of the Party among the masses and extended greatly the Party. These achievements are indications of the correct political line of the Party leadership on one hand and of the energetic carrying through of this line in practice on the other.

5. The Plenum especially notes and fully endorses the struggle which has been consistently waged with the help of the Central Committee against all manifestations of the Right danger in practical work and against the Right and conciliatory elements in the Party.

The right danger in the mass work of our Party is not only great because of the sharp turn which the Party has had to make to lead the sharpened class struggles of the third period, but this turn becomes increasingly difficult because of many bad heritages in our Party—social-democratic and syndicalist conceptions and organizational forms, opportunist conceptions carried over from the Lovestone-Pepper regime, factionalism, trade union ideology, lack of theoretical training, language separatism, lack of a clear understanding of the new line, etc. The weakness of the Enlightenment Campaign which tended to take on a purely formal character in the Chicago District, is a contributing factor, together with the past bad heritages and the sharpened class struggles, for the recent sharp Right, conciliatory and certain clique tendencies. All these factors make necessary that the entire Party be on guard against opportunism especially in the daily mass work of the Party.

The sharp struggle against the Right opportunist line followed by some comrades (Corbishley, Voizey in the coal fields and Feingold in the needle trades) was a pre-requisite for the successful carrying through of mass struggles. The removal of these comrades from their posts when they resisted the efforts of the District Polbureau to correct their line was politically correct. The theories of Feingold of "no radicalization in the needle trades," of a "genuine lockout" in the millinery strike, and his defeatist line on the possibilities of building the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, as well as the defeatist, pessimistic outlook and the stubborn retention of old trade union conceptions and methods by Corbishly, Voizey, Taylor, etc., are incompatible with the holding of leading positions in the Party or the revolutionary unions.

The sharp fight against intolerable white chauvinist manifestations in St. Louis and in the Lithuanian fraction; the beginning

of the fight against the strong Right and petty-bourgeois nationalist tendencies in the language fractions and press was correct.

The fight against the conciliatory position of Held and Cline which in the course of its development became an open Right position was equally correct and necessary. The open protection given to the Right elements by Cline, under the slogan of "no killings," etc., and the simultaneous carrying on of a struggle against the District leadership by the demagogical use of the correct slogan of "self criticism," could not be tolerated. The open effort of Held to mobilize the functionaries against the leadership with Cline's collaboration in the preparation of his speech, the failure of Cline to inform the Secretariat or Political Committee of the line Held was developing and the later boisterous, deceitful denunciation of Held while continuing the same line and carrying on the same struggle against the District leadership, shows clearly unprincipledness, the continuation of factional methods and the development of an open Right wing line and therefore the impossibility of these comrades holding leading positions in the Party.

While the District leadership in the early stages of the fight against clique tendencies and unprincipledness on the part of certain comrades (Sklar, Milgrom, Reed), made certain mistakes of wrong approach to comrades, which were recognized and corrected, the fight against the Right and conciliatory elements (Cline, Held, Feingold, Corbishly, etc.) was correctly and energetically carried through and in the course of which Cline and Held were isolated, and a definite political consolidation was achieved in the District Polcom and throughout the Party.

6. Together with the success of the District in mass work and the correct fight against Right and conciliatory elements, it is necessary to emphasize and to call the attention of the District to many weaknesses which still manifest themselves in its work, mostly of an organizational character. In the mining strike the special resolution of the Polcom already pointed out certain weaknesses (insufficient bringing forward of local demands, insufficient attention to the political preparation of the Belleville convention, lack of preparation for the strike, etc.). In the Recruit-

ing drive there was a slowness in preparing the drive and an insufficient linking up of the recruiting with the mass work of the Party, insufficient mobilization of the entire Party, insufficient follow-up to see that the drive was pushed forward on all fronts, the organization of only one shop and six mine nuclei during the drive and absolutely impermissible practice of issuing cards to new members without initiation stamps, the insufficient training and drawing the new members into the work, etc. The trade union fraction work of the Party and the building of the TUUL lags woefully behind the possibilities of this work in the present period. The unemployed work and the preparation for the March 6 demonstrations, while showing an improvement over previous demonstrations and campaigns, Haiti, Mexico, etc., suffered greatly from organizational weaknesses, especially among the employed workers. Much factory work has been done from the outside of an agitational and organizational character, but the work of the shop nuclei and the building of shop committees is still very weak. There was insufficient attention given to the Young Communist League and a certain wrong relationship was permitted to exist which must be speedily overcome.

7. The task of overcoming these weaknesses and thoroughly preparing the Party for leadership in the developing mass struggles must be taken up energetically by the District. Complete unity must be established in the leading committees and throughout the Party on the basis of the line laid down in the Central Committee Plenum. The widest possible discussions must be developed among the functionaries and in the units to consolidate the Party on the Central Committee line. All Right and conciliatory elements must be sharply fought and if they persist in their line, removed from their positions.

The Partys' shop work must be strengthened, not only to strengthen the regular units of the Party but especially to have the roots of the Party deep in the factories to meet the efforts of the bourgeoisie to drive the Party into illegality in this period of sharpened class struggles and preparation for imperialist war. Special concentration must be made on the mining, steel, machinery, meat packing industries. While still further strengthen-

ing the agitational and propaganda work, special attention must be given to the organizational phases of this work. Shop nuclei must be built and made to function in the shops. The illegal apparatus of the Party must be immediately completed. The mobilization of the Party for the Trade Union Unity League recruiting drive must be complete. This campaign involves not only the recruiting of new TUUL members, but the setting up and activizing of the Party fractions and through them the establishment of TUUL shop committees with central bodies and a functioning TUUL organization on both a city and industrial basis. In this connection much greater attention must be given to the new revolutionary unions, the National Miners Union and the National Textile Workers Industrial Union.

The unemployed councils must be strengthened and the struggle for social insurance and relief for the unemployed must be linked up with our broader political demands and energetically pushed forward. The setting up of committees of action uniting the unemployed and employed must be carried through. The convention to be held in Chicago on July 4 and 5 of the unemployed especially requires an intensification of the work of the Party among the unemployed.

The preparations for the mass political strike on May 1st must be placed as the most immediate and decisive task. The weaknesses in the March 6th preparations (failure to set up committees of action, failure to secure the organized participation of the revolutionary unions, the TUUL or other workers' mass organizations, sympathy for strike in shops, but no organization with which to pull the strikes, etc.) and the organizational weaknesses in the demonstration itself must be studied and overcome before and on May 1st.

In all the work of the Party the struggle against the fascists of the A. F. of L. and the social fascists of the Socialist Party and the Musteites must be strengthened. The broader political aspects of the work must be developed and kept in the foreground and all the work of the Party must have as its objective the preparation and carrying through of the election campaign. Candidates must be put up throughout the district in the Congressional

and local elections and the broadest possible election campaign developed on a united front from below basis.

The neglect of the Daily Worker and literature sales in the past must be overcome by immediately selecting a capable comrade as Daily Worker agent and the setting up of a Daily Worker apparatus throughout the Party. In the present Daily Worker drive, the Party in the District must be fully mobilized and the quota for new subs, factory distribution and financial assistance must be energetically carried through.

The carrying out of these tasks, the overcoming of the many weaknesses and wrong tendencies can only be accomplished on the basis of the widest development and encouragement of self-criticism in the District. The critical examination which the Polcom has made of past campaigns and the discussion before the units and functionaries meetings must be greatly extended. Self criticism must become a weapon for purging the Party of all wrong tendencies and the leadership of all looseness in work and bureaucratic tendencies.

The drawing in and training of new cadres for the work of the party and the auxiliaries must be placed in the foreground.

The Party has shown its ability in the past to mobilize masses of workers for mass meetings and demonstrations. It is now necessary to utilize the favorable sentiment which the Party has created to strengthen the Party and the revolutionary unions in the District organizationally. The gap between the Party's broad influence on the one hand and its organizational weaknesses on the other must be closed by systematically developing all phases of Party work (especially shop nuclei, trade union fractions, shop committees and TUUL). This is the principal task before the District. The carrying through of this task can be realized by overcoming the organizational looseness in the district, by completely unifying the leadership, by persistent self-criticism of all errors and weaknesses and the energetic mobilization of the whole Party for participation in mass work.

Tasks of Our Party in the South

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION

1. **T**HE situation in the South today confirms the previous estimates and perspectives laid down in the October thesis and makes clear the correctness of the thesis of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International and the Tenth Plenum in placing the greatest emphasis on the importance of basing our Party solidly in the masses of Southern workers—Negro and white.

In particular does the present situation and the work of our Party over the period of a year confirm in the clearest manner the correctness of the Comintern in instructing our Party to concentrate its efforts among the Negro masses of the South and bring forward in the sharpest manner the central demand of full social, economic and political equality for Negroes.

In this field of struggle our Party in the South has made its most pronounced advance.

2. The economic situation in the South shows all the characteristics of the national economic crisis with certain special features which must be emphasized: (a) The industrialization of the South has been accomplished by the superimposing on a semi-feudal agricultural economy the most modern type of rationalized industry and the herding into the huge industries of an army of workers recruited directly from the countryside. (b) The standard of living (and the general social status) of the Southern masses is below that of the American working class in general, a big percentage of the workers and their families in textile (rayon) chemical, tobacco, furniture manufacture, etc., actually living below the subsistence level. (d) The crisis in the South is felt with greater force in the new, highly rationalized industries and, since these are the basis of the Southern "boom," and the workers therein having had little or no experience in organization or tradition of struggle, it has been possible for the capitalists to place more of the burden of the crisis on the masses than has been the case in the North. (e) Unemployment has decidedly more of a

mass character in the South than in the North (*i. e.*, a greater proportion of the workers are unemployed or partially employed).

(f) With so great a proportion of the masses living below the subsistence level, with no accumulated savings of any kind, the Southern workers are experiencing actual starvation and pauperism to a far greater extent than the workers of the North.

3. The actual curtailment of production in almost all industries is accompanied by improved rationalization processes which continue to maintain or even increase output with few workers. The Loray Mill (Gastonia) is closed completely while at the same time the number of spindles per worker in operating mills shows a considerable increase.

workers because a machine which enables one worker to produce the output of fourteen workers has been installed. In another

The Reynolds Tobacco Company only last week discharged 900 workers because a machine which enables one worker to produce the output of fourteen workers has been installed. In another factory a wage cut of 40% has been announced.

4. The industrial crisis is accompanied by a severe agricultural crisis which deepens and sharpens it. Prices of tobacco and cotton (the two Southern staples) have dropped sharply. As in the North, curtailment of agricultural production by at least 15% is advocated by the federal department of agriculture. With the curtailment of production of the textile industry (there is an international crisis of a chronic character) and the reduction of the buying power of the masses through unemployment part-time and wage cuts, the prospect is for a still greater reduction of the living standards of the agrarian masses by the fact of small crops of cotton and tobacco accompanied by falling prices.

The acute unemployment is increased at a rapid rate by the influx of farmers, share croppers and tenant farmers into the industrial centers.

6. The Southern capitalist class and its government are conducting the most vicious offensive against the working class and our Party. Negro workers and our Negro organizers feel most severely the effects of this drive. It is directed principally against the growing unity of the Negro and white workers on the basis

of full equality for Negroes—which is the basis of all our work in the South. The intensity of the drive affords a valuable means of measuring the mass discontent and the will of the workers for struggle since it is directed mainly against our Party and the struggles which it leads, and has as its objective the complete isolation of our Party from the masses through legal and fascist methods to drive it into illegality or exterminate it. All of our organizers face many months or years in the penitentiary, jail or the chain gang.

Street meetings have been prohibited entirely by special decrees in a number of important cities, in others they are prohibited when the workers are out of the factories (Winston-Salem, morning, noon and in the early evening.)

Open fascist terrorism is planned to supplement the dozens of archaic suppressive laws which are in themselves evidence of the low social status of the Southern masses. Every legal pretext is utilized to arrest and jail our organizers and militant workers. The fascist program of the ruling class is to be seen in the permission given to the American Legion and other fascist organizations to parade and demonstrate on May Day in a number of important Southern cities.

7. The role of the American Federation of Labor and its social fascist Muste wing is that of defenders of the attacks on our Party and the masses. Its leaders appear openly as informers and provocateurs. (In Atlanta an official of the State Federation of Labor appeared as a state witness against our comrades.) In Birmingham the "Labor Advocate," official AFL organ, calls openly for fascist action against our organizers. (First page editorial headed "This Way Out," March 15th, 1930. The house of one of our comrades was bombed on March 31st in Birmingham.)

The AFL and the Muste wing received the public support of the press, pulpit and capitalists. President Green is welcomed by chambers of commerce. The fascists and social fascists appeal openly to the capitalists on the basis of hatred for Negroes.

In no other section of the country has the AFL and its Muste wing appeared more openly as the defender of capitalism. The

Socialist Party is weak in the South, but its official organ supports the Musteites and gives aid and comfort to the drive of the capitalists and their government against the working class and our Party.

8. The unbearable burdens placed upon the masses by rationalization, mass unemployment and the suppressive measures of the capitalists has created the objective conditions for big struggles and there is concrete evidence of the will of the masses for struggle for the program of our Party and under its leadership. The March 6th demonstrations which, while having many serious shortcomings, were of a mass character and very militant—Charlotte—workers coming out for demonstrations without leadership—Richmond and other cities—increase in Party membership, almost spontaneous formation of Party units by workers, influx of members into TUUL, many successful meetings of Negro and white workers, extremely favorable reception of our literature, speakers, etc.

Unemployed councils must be established in all the important centers and a huge delegation (2,000) sent to the Chicago Unemployed Convention.

9. In the present situation the importance of the role of our Party in organizing and leading mass struggles is of far greater importance than ever before. The fact that our Party has permitted a certain slowing down of our activity at various times, and that we have not yet been able to expose completely and defeat the AFL and the Musteites—the most effective instruments of the capitalists—must be ascribed to the tendency to approach the question of our work in the South in a formal way, to underestimate in practice the basic importance of work in the South—approximately one-third of the United States in territorial area, with a population of 40,000,000 whose working class produces one sixth of the total industrial output of America, working in concentrated and highly rationalized industries, containing two-thirds of the Negro population and where the struggle for social, economic and political equality takes on its sharpest form.

Evidence of this underestimation in practice is shown by the fact that this huge area with its bitterly exploited and oppressed

industrial and agrarian workers is still one District with only one Party organizer in the field, in the fact that our Southern Party papers is not yet published and that the response to the appeal for funds to found it (directed principally to the language fractions) has been shamefully inadequate; in the weakness of our forces in the South generally; in the failure to keep the Gastonia case in the center of our defense work; in constant shifting and withdrawal of forces, in our inability to secure capable organizers for the American Negro Labor Congress, the weakness in systematically developing new forces, delay in establishing the TUUL on a District scale, insufficient effort to set up functioning fractions in the National Textile Workers Union, lack of sufficient coordination of the work of our various departments.

The center of gravity of Party work in the South is the work among Negroes who are decisive strata among toiling masses in the South, as well as the weight of the burden of rationalization and unemployment in the various industries. This criterion of revolutionary strategy, and not mechanically applied consideration of relative importance of heavy and light industries, must determine the main field of Party mass activity in the South. From this point of view great importance is acquired by the Party work in the coal and marine transport industries, as well as the railroad, steel, the rayon section of the textile industry (Virginia), chemical industries as well as agriculture, in all of which Negro workers occupy a large and strategic position. Directing attention to these industries must on no account signify any slackening of work in textiles, which is the largest single industry in the South and also the present storm-center of class struggle, as well as inducing a growing body of Negro workers (Georgia), tobacco industry, etc., which must continue in the forefront of our work, for which there must be a decided strengthening of our forces.

10. Our work still suffers from the fact that our entry into the struggle in the South was made in an unplanned manner, that serious mistakes were made in Negro work, in trade union work and in our general activity in the early period. Because of this we were forced for a time to fight on battleground chosen by our class enemies and were unable to reach out of the textile industry

and broaden our base among the masses of workers in other industries.

For the same reason our earliest work was largely of an agitational and propaganda character—necessary and indispensable but insufficiently accompanied by organization.

Following the end of the Gastonia trial there was a wide gap in our activity and the continuity of our campaigns were seriously interrupted. At the same time, while emphasis was correctly placed on organization work, the elementary tasks of wide mass agitation which plays such an important role among the Southern masses, have not been carried out on a sufficiently broad basis.

Neither have we popularized sufficiently issues such as the demand for social insurance, abolition of the chain gang system, abolition of vagrancy laws, abolition of peonage, etc., full franchise for Negroes, etc., against company stores, company towns, having a direct connection with the life of the masses.

Tendencies to minimize the achievements of our Party in the initial struggle around Gastonia (expressed in the idea that Gastonia was a defeat) must be sharply combatted.

Our struggle against the AFL fascist and its social fascist *Muste* wing has suffered from the same defects. It is necessary to carry on the broadest mass agitation against and exposure of these class enemies and our whole campaign has been too narrow, especially in recent months due to lack of and weakness of forces. This has resulted in certain advances being made by those imperialist agents.

11. We must now prepare and launch an offensive of a mass character. The social basis of the AFL in the South, because of the high degree of rationalization, and the generally low social status of the masses, is narrower than in the North. It is being narrowed still further by the wage cuts and increased intensity of rationalization made possible by mass unemployment.

Our perspective must be for the defeat of the AFL and its *Muste* wing in the mass industries of the South.

12. The perspective of the TUUL and its affiliated unions must be that of having within six months a total membership far greater than that of the AFL.

Increase of forces and mobilization of the Party for this task must be secured at once and every opportunity seized upon to develop mass struggles.

13. Our Party in the South must be strengthened at once in preparation for the May Day strikes and demonstrations. They must be of a far broader and of a more definite political character than the March 6th demonstrations. They must be built around elementary popular issues combined with our main political slogans and be an integral part of our preparation for the coming elections.

Unconditional release of political prisoners, disarming of fascist bands, the right of the workers to self-defense against armed attack of their enemies, mass struggle against legal persecution of workers and their leaders centering around the main slogan of a political strike for such demands, must be popularized in the May Day actions and in the coming election campaign.

14. Our election campaign must cover the entire South. The whole forces of the Party must be drawn into the work. We must look upon the election campaign as one of the most important ways of fighting against the attempts to drive us into illegality. Native Southern workers must be put up as candidates for important office.

All auxiliaries must be instructed to mobilize their forces for our election campaign.

The big percentage of women and youth, more than 50% in all Southern industry (except steel, lumber and transport) requires leadership and more intensive work.

15. The necessity for continual struggle against the right danger as it appears in practice must be carried on more energetically. Especially is the right danger a serious menace as it appears in the conduct of trade union work. There is a tendency, because experience has shown that the Negro masses respond to our program and organizational work, to be satisfied with the organization of only Negro workers into the unions. If the white workers do not respond, or if their response is not so immediate as that of the Negro workers, there is no sufficient effort

made to continue to appeal to the white workers on the basis of full equality for the Negro workers.

This amounts to abandonment of the whole struggle against race prejudice and if carried only slightly further can result in the complete perversion of our Party program by the formation of Jim Crow unions while formally maintaining the slogan of full equality. Such tendencies must be eliminated.

They are especially dangerous since our whole experience in the South shows that difficulties of combatting white chauvinism among the masses of workers has been greatly exaggerated, that industrialization, intensive rationalization and mass unemployment, coupled with the most vicious forms of oppression, legal and extra-legal, is breaking down race prejudice to an extent some comrades fail to see.

Far more emphasis must be given to our agitation and propaganda and in our practical work to the duty of the white workers to take the initiative in the struggle for full equality for Negroes and not to place the main burden of the struggle on the Negro masses.

16. The slogan of self determination must be brought forward in all our work as an agitational and propaganda slogan. Especially must this slogan be utilized in the struggle against the Garveyites and in the work of the American Negro Labor Congress. While our Party fully recognizes the right of the Negro masses to self-determination to the point of separation, this slogan must not supercede the struggle and slogan of full social, political and economic equality and must not be permitted to degenerate into segregation—the vulgar interpretation placed on it by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements and others under their influence.

17. The ANLC must send more capable forces to the South and begin at once especially the penetration of the agrarian districts.

18. Our Party must adopt and put into effect a program of action in the rural districts. The agrarian crisis and the historically bad economic and social conditions of the Southern agrarian masses have laid the basis for our Party.

Especially must we intensify our work among the Negro masses of the countryside. A special section of our election program must be worked out for activity in this field. In our work in the Southern agrarian regions we must raise such concrete demands as abolition of taxes for tenant farmers, share croppers, moratorium for chattel mortgages, etc. A program of action and demands must be worked out for the organization of the agricultural workers. The TUUL must see that our work for organization of the agricultural workers is not separated from the work of its Agricultural League in the North. All our union fractions must guard against any tendency to separate their work in the South from that of the North.

19. The election of the Red International of Labor Unions delegates must be used to popularize the RILU among the Negro and white workers and direct attention to the international character of their struggles. At least 25% of the 50,000 new members to be recruited by the TUUL by June 30th should come from the Southern industries. Rank and file organizing committees must be elected at once. Revolutionary competition must be developed between sections. We must make special efforts to have big Southern delegations to all coming trade union conventions.

20. Our struggle for the defense of the Soviet Union and against the imperialist war danger must take on more of a popular character since the Southern bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie are the most vicious and ardent supporters of patriotism, militarism and imperialism. Socialist construction in the Soviet Union must be contrasted with the terrible conditions of the Southern masses. In the South are located extensive war industries—chemical, rayon, etc. We must concentrate our campaign among the masses in those industries.

21. Our Party and the Southern working class are meeting furious attacks having definite fascist characteristics. Workers Defense Corps must be popularized on the basis of the numerous concrete experiences of the Southern workers. Their organizations must be undertaken seriously and carried on under strict control of our Party.

22. Organizational Proposals: The building of our Party must proceed more rapidly. More forces must be sent to the South and the most intensive efforts made for the development of new forces from the ranks of the Southern workers. Our Southern paper must be established at once. Mass recruiting must be a daily part of all our work. We are extremely weak in shop nuclei and special efforts shall be begun at once to increase the number of these. A minimum of six shop bulletins within the next six weeks must be one of our objectives. They must be issued regularly in decisive centers.

A district organizer must be selected for Birmingham, a conference held, provisional directing committee elected and preparations begun for building a second District with Birmingham as its headquarters. A director for work among Negro masses shall be sent South at once. A full-time six-week Party training school shall be established in some Southern centers. A number of colonizers must be secured for the decisive industries. Additional forces for the TUUL must be secured. We must make an endeavor to put in the field a full-time manager for our Southern election campaign.

Resolution on the Organization of Factory Nuclei

1. **L**ESS than 10% of the Party membership is organized into factory nuclei. Of the present membership of approximately 15,000 only 1,189 members are in factory nuclei, the total number of which is at present 140. It goes without saying that the number of street nuclei outnumber the factory nuclei many times. The importance of the factory nuclei with regard to their participation in the campaigns of the Party is even less than the number of the factory nuclei in proportion to the total number of nuclei or the membership organized within them to the total membership. The Factory Nuclei, in the main, have been passive and have not fulfilled even the most elementary work except in isolated cases. This condition is not the same in all Districts. In such industrial Districts as Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, the number of the factory nuclei is almost equal to the street nuclei and a considerable section of the membership of these Districts is organized within them, while in such Districts as New York, California, the membership organized into the factory nuclei is less than 2%. But even in the Districts where a considerable number of the membership are in the factory nuclei these nuclei do not play a role in proportion to their membership while if they were really functioning nuclei their influence in these Districts would be decisive.

During the recent recruiting campaign only 76 factory nuclei were established and the majority of these factory nuclei were formed in but a few Districts (Boston, 14; Pittsburgh, 12; Detroit, 10; Cleveland, 8; Minnesota, 8), while such Districts as New York and Chicago succeeded in forming but a very few factory nuclei.

With regard to the activity of the factory nuclei the situation does not present a better picture. Even such an elementary task as the publication of shop papers is not carried out by the majority of the factory nuclei. Of the 90 factory papers reported

a large number are published in factories where there exist as yet no factory nuclei (in New York District there are reported 21 factory papers only three of which are published by the factory nuclei while the remaining 10 factory nuclei do not publish papers and there are 18 papers published where no factory nuclei have been formed). Of the papers published most of them are not published by the factory nuclei directly, but by the District Committees with but very little participation of the factory nuclei. There are even cases where the papers published by the District and distributed by comrades outside of the factory nucleus are unknown to the members of the nucleus until they receive a copy just like the rest of the workers.

Activity is not conducted by the factory nuclei in a systematic manner inside the factories and literature distributed is very haphazard. There is lack of understanding of regular and systematic agitation, of bringing into the factories the Party campaigns, of building TUUL shop committees, as well as very little recruiting.

We must note that very few members were recruited by the factory nuclei in the recent recruiting campaigns and that there are factory nuclei in all cities existing for many years without a single new member having been recruited directly by the nucleus from the factory. Often the work of the factory nuclei is carried on by the neighboring street nuclei and by comrades assigned by the local committees from time to time. Its work in the main is limited to occasional literature distribution, sales of the Daily Worker and the distribution of the factory paper.

At the same time we can observe that in those instances where the factory nuclei undertake systematic work on the inside to bring the campaigns and slogans of the Party to the workers in the shops, the Party has succeeded in bringing the workers to demonstrations, enroll them into the TUUL, build factory committees, sell the Party literature, secure subscriptions to the Daily Worker and raise considerably the prestige of the Party among the workers, thus clearly illustrating the fact that only through the penetration of the factories and the establishment of factory nuclei within them will the Party be able to gain the leadership over the masses of the workers.

3. We must note that in the recent recruiting campaign considerable headway was made in orientating the activity of the Party upon the factories. The main line of the Party in the recruitment campaign was upon the factories. There can be no doubt that the orientation upon the factories, seriously begun and systematically followed up during the recent recruiting campaign has already begun to make itself felt and if followed up during the coming period will be reflected in the complete reorganization of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei. The recent recruitment campaign through the recruiting of semi-skilled and unskilled workers from the basic industries, who constitute the majority of those recruited, laid the basis for the complete transformation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei. Also it must be borne in mind that the present 140 factory nuclei are in factories employing close to three-quarters of a million workers and are almost all in the basic industries (steel, auto, mining, metal, packing, etc.).

Only through the establishment of the Party rooted in the factories and on the basis of factory nuclei will the Party be able to overcome the present disproportion between the Party influence and weakness in organization, establish shop committees, build the TUUL, educate the masses to Communism and lead the workers in the struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The transformation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei, the activization of the factory nuclei and the complete orientation of the Party on work inside the factories is not a separate organizational question divorced from the main line of the Party. This is a political task of the greatest importance indissolubly bound up with the carrying out of the major task of the Party—the winning of the masses.

4. While there is no open opposition to work inside the factories and the building of factory nuclei, there exists a considerable unclarity and no less passivity in the ranks of the Party. The opposition to the building of factory nuclei usually takes the form of raising all sorts of imaginary difficulties as excuses for not proceeding more rapidly with the building of factory nuclei. This is true not only of certain sections of the membership within the

existing factory nuclei and the comrades inside the factories, but in the leading committees, sections and districts. The Party must carry on a campaign of enlightenment as to the necessity to orientate the whole work of the party on the factories and the building of factory nuclei. We must popularize the factory nucleus form of organization among the masses of the workers. This can best be done through the activization of the factory nuclei and the publication of literature, the printing of material in the factory papers explaining the work of the factory nucleus to the workers. At the same time we must expose all passivity on the part of the leading committees in orientating their activity on the factories and the failure to build factory nuclei. In all districts there must be a careful examination of this activity and detailed plans formulated and carried out leading to the transformation of the Party to a factory nucleus basis.

5. The following tasks must be carried out in order to change the present situation and to transform the Party from one of street nuclei with a sprinkling of weak factory nuclei into a Party organically connected with the masses in the factories and leading them through organized factory nuclei in which the bulk of the membership is organized.

(1) Complete orientation of the Party activity upon the factories. Every campaign—May Day, struggle for the demands of the unemployed, for the ANLC Convention in St. Louis, against imperialist war, and for the defense of the Soviet Union, building the Trade Union Unity League, the drive for the Daily Worker—all these campaigns must be centered in the factories. If this is done and the Party membership and the factory nuclei really bring these campaigns to the workers inside the shops, the Party will not only increase its influence but will recruit thousands of new workers directly from the shops, leading to the formation of new factory nuclei.

(2) The present membership must wherever possible be formed into factory nuclei. During the recent drive there have been recruited many new members working in the same factory who as yet are still scattered in the various street nuclei unknown to each other and to the leading committees. On the basis of a com-

plete registration of the membership we will be able to build a large number of factory nuclei out of the new recruits to the Party and many of the old members who also, though working in the same factories, are scattered in the street nuclei unknown to each other.

(3) The unemployed members of the Party must be organized into the factory nuclei in the place of their last employment. Only in this way will we be able to form committees of action of the employed and unemployed around the factories. At the same time we must guard against the factory nuclei becoming organizations of unemployed. This can be overcome by systematic recruiting in the shop and utilization of the unemployed who maintain their contacts with the workers in the shops, for activity inside the shops and for recruiting workers from the shop.

(4) One or two comrades not belonging to shop nuclei may be attached to a shop nucleus near their factory. (Of course such attached comrades must always be only a small fraction of the factory nucleus membership.) The factory nucleus to which such comrades are attached must assist these comrades in the activity inside their factory with a view of forming a nucleus there as soon as three comrades work in that factory. The Section Committees must give special attention to the forming of the factory nuclei in such shops where one or two comrades are employed. When three comrades have been secured in that shop, but who are unable by themselves to carry on effectively the work in that shop, the Section should assign a more experienced comrade to the newly formed nucleus.

(5) The Districts and Section Committees must approach the question of the building of the factory nuclei in an organized and systematic manner. A list of the most important factories in the basic industries must be prepared and the work of the organization centered on these factories, concentrating on a few factories at a time. Comrades must be sent into these factories where possible and the work carried on by the neighboring factory and the street nucleus, with a view of establishing factory nuclei in these shops. Special attention must be devoted to factory towns.

The fact that the existing factory nuclei show very little life and activity, places the problem before us not merely of the

mechanical reorganization of the Party and the building of new factory nuclei but the activization of the existing factory nuclei and the detail attention to the work of the factory nuclei at all times. All Party Committees and their Organization Departments must pay more attention to the activity of the factory nuclei. The "Party Organizer" must become a forum for the exchange of experiences and the solution of problems arising on the work of the factory nuclei. We must not pass over lightly the many problems that arise in the work in the factories and the work of the factory nuclei. These problems must be seriously discussed and solved.

The following are some of the problems that must be given attention:

(a) *Organization of work of shop nuclei despite persecution.* There can be no denial of the fact that work inside the factories entails certain dangers to the individual Communists. Among these are loss of job, blacklisting, government persecution, threat of deportation of non-citizens, terror of the fascist thugs, etc. This, however, can not be used as an excuse for inactivity. That must be overcome to the extent possible, minimized to the smallest degree possible, but cannot become an excuse for inactivity. It is necessary, on the other hand, to use the utmost caution possible. The Communists in the factory should not expose themselves to the bosses and their tools. The individual members must be known only to the sympathetic workers in the shop. The nucleus, however, must be known to the workers in the shop through its activity, which is carried on by the publication of the factory paper, the distribution of party literature, individual agitation, the work of building and leading the shop committees, etc. Naturally this means that the Communist nucleus is to carry on its work inside the factory as an illegal organization. At the same time, in the event that a member of the nucleus is fired for being a Communist, the nucleus without exposing its members must carry on a struggle in mobilizing the workers, for the right of every worker in the shop to belong to the Party.

(b) *Linking up the factory problems with the political campaigns of the party.* One of the problems that must receive major

attention is to link up the political campaign of the Party with the struggle for the every-day demands of the workers inside the shops. Here we must guard against two wrong tendencies:

1. The failure to take up demands and grievances of the workers in the factory, to build the shop committees, the TUUL, etc.

2. The failure to bring the Party slogans and campaigns on all questions into the factory and skillfully combining them with the struggle around the grievances arising inside the factory. Neither with abstract political slogans unrelated to the problems of the factory, nor by limiting the work of the nuclei to just shop questions will the nucleus be able to develop the masses and lead them in the struggle to Communism. By failing to give attention to the concrete problems in the shop the nucleus will isolate itself from the workers. By failing to develop the political activity the nucleus will find that while the workers will follow the Party in economic struggles, the fascists and social fascists will continue to maintain political influence.

The life of the nucleus must receive a great deal of attention. There must be systematic and planful work. The meetings must be interesting, always taking up questions that vitally concern the workers in the factory, and at the same time there must be discussion of political questions. Routine work must be reduced to a minimum through the nucleus executive taking up many of these questions and at the same time working out in advance the agenda for the nucleus meeting. There must be a real division of work, so that every member will have something to do. Special attention must be given to development of functionaries. Conferences of the nuclei officials should be called regularly. Every official of the nucleus must have an understudy, so that when the comrade is fired or transferred to another department, the remaining comrades will be able to carry on the work unhampered. The nucleus meeting must start on time and not last too long, otherwise the members who as a rule have to travel home will not attend regularly.

Technical questions, such as the regular collection of dues, regular meetings, the time and place of the meeting, are important questions upon which a great deal depends as to the normal func-

tioning of the nucleus and its ability to draw in and keep the new members. The nucleus must give special attention to the recruiting and work among women, Negro workers, the creation of nuclei of the Young Communist League, etc.

Shop committees must be given the greatest attention in the work of the factory nuclei. The nucleus is the fraction in the shop committee. As a rule the Shop Committees will be built on a departmental basis, and wherever necessary the nuclei should also be divided upon this basis. In the case where the nucleus has only one member in a given department shop committee, the nucleus executive must supervise the work of the comrade in that shop committee.

Factory papers must be published regularly by every nucleus. They must really be the organs of the nucleus in the factory and produced by the nucleus with the assistance of the workers in the shop. While the Section and District Committees must give every possible assistance to the publication of the factory papers, and also supervise the political line of the paper, the paper must not be produced in the District Office. If this is done the nucleus will not develop the independent activity which is indispensable.

With regard to the distribution of the factory paper, while it is permissible and often necessary to supplement the distribution from the outside, the paper must also be distributed from the inside by the members of the nucleus and sympathetic workers.

The nucleus must not be content with the sale of the factory paper but must solicit subscriptions to the Daily Worker, Labor Unity, the Working Woman, the Liberator, the Young Worker, etc. The building up of worker correspondents is one of the best means to create a broad basis for the work of the nucleus and the development of the workers, drawing them close to the Party.

Resolution on Party Fractions

TO carry through the basic tasks of the Party, namely, the establishment of Party influence and leadership over the majority of the working class, which is carried through in life by giving correct political and organizational leadership to the workers in all their struggles throughout everyday work in shops and through our campaigns, we must clearly establish the Party as the vanguard of the working class, and its relations with all other organizations of the working class, as the "highest form of class organization of the workers."

While the basis of our activity must be in the factories, we must also understand the great importance of organizing and building broad mass working class organizations, *particularly trade unions*, and also all forms of broad non-Party working class organizations, such as ILD, Cooperatives, Friends of the Soviet Union, WIR, Labor Sports Union, ANLC, Women's Organizations, etc., and where these already exist, the necessity of working actively inside these organizations to win the majority of these workers under the influence and leadership of the Communist Party. We must combat tendencies which express themselves, that in this period it is not necessary to build broad mass working class organizations to envelope the great mass of the radicalized workers and that the Communist Party is the only organization necessary. The necessity of really undertaking a serious campaign to build the unions of the T.U.U.L. and all non-Party mass organizations as genuine mass non-Party organizations, does not in any way underestimate the leading role of the Communist Party nor lessen the imperative necessity of consolidating organizationally the political influence of the Party by continuous recruiting as a constant feature of our work, but on the contrary, makes this task more burning.

While this correct programmatical task is generally accepted by the Party, it is not fully realized or carried out in life. This

is seen by the failure to build real non-Party organizations and *particularly by the neglect and failure of the Party District Committees to organize functioning Party fractions in the Trade Unions, ILD, FSU, WIR, Cooperatives, LSU, etc.*

This reflects two basic wrong tendencies:

1. Underestimation of the necessity of building the broad non-Party mass organizations and of working inside of those as an important method of winning influence over the majority of the working class.

2. A tendency to shrink away from the basic day to day work amongst the masses. To correct this situation and proceed immediately to a drastic rectification through organizing and activating all Party fractions in all non-Party mass organizations, is an immediate important organizational task of the Party.

1. *Establish functioning Party fractions.* In all non-Party workers' and farmers' organizations (trade unions, cooperatives, ILD, FSU, ANLC, LSU, cultural fraternal organizations, unemployment councils, at conferences and conventions in local administrative bodies, where there are at least two communists, a communist fraction must be organized.

2. *Role of Party Fractions.* The Communist fractions in non-party mass organizations have as their aim the winning of the members under their influence and leadership of the Communist Party. The more devotedly, practically and energetically they know how to pay attention to the interests of the members, the better they understand how to link up the fight for the immediate aims with the struggle for the revolutionary goal of the working class, the more easily will they succeed in gaining this influence.

The Party fraction through its activity must win the membership and the organization itself for a revolutionary class line and for the class struggle (strikes, demonstrations, campaigns, meetings, support press, etc.). At all times the fraction must be conscious that it is representing the Communist Party in the mass organization and all of the local interests of that particular organization must be subordinated to the interest of the revolutionary class struggle following a policy based on the program and activity of the Communist Party.

3. *Relation of Party to Fractions.* The Party fraction is not a basic unit of the Party. Only shop or street nuclei are basic units of the Party. The fraction does not determine the main line or policy of the Party. The policy to be pursued is determined by the Party Committee (Section, District or Central Committee) or one of its department. The fraction is the instrument of the Party in carrying out this policy. The fractions can only make decisions insofar as they refer to applying the policy in the given organization. Within the limits of the general Party directives the fraction shall deal with the question of their inner life and current work.

When general tasks and activities of the Party in a given mass organization is discussed by the departments of the Party leading committee, representatives of the fraction shall be invited. In case of serious divergence between the fraction and the departments of the Party, the Party committee shall definitely decide the matter with representative of the Party fraction present. The decision of the Party Committee must be unconditionally carried out by the fraction.

Every member of the Party fraction in the mass organization should remember that he represents before the masses the Party as a whole and thus the mistakes and errors will effect the influence and prestige of the Party before the non-Party masses. From this same point of view the Party leading committee shall pay more attention to the political line and work of the fraction in the mass organization bearing in mind and remembering that the Party District Committee is responsible for the whole work of the Party.

Candidates for all conventions, committees, etc., shall be nominated by the fraction executive and approved by the proper Party committee which has the right to eliminate or propose other candidates.

The organization department is responsible to the leading Party committee for the organization and supervision of the functioning of the fraction, the policy to be pursued is determined by the Party executive or such department as it might designate.

4. *How to Organize Fractions and Structure.* The Party shall

compile through various registration means—the list of all Party members in each organization. The Party members in each organization shall be called to a meeting and establish as the Party fraction. A complete role of all Party members eligible, shall be established. Every fraction must have a secretary. The Party fraction must meet regularly before every meeting of the organization. Where the fraction is a large one, an executive bureau shall be established for preparing the work of the fraction, etc.

Attendance and activity is a Party duty and failure to carry out fraction activity will result in Party pressure, even to disciplinary measures being taken against the comrade involved.

Fractions shall be organized in all the various divisions of all organizations, including their executive as well as all conventions. This fraction structure from top to bottom of each mass organization must not function as a separate apparatus. The fraction of each sub-division (City, Section, District or National) is subordinate to the respective Party Committee. Fractions are not subordinate to higher fractions but only to Party committee.

5. *Duties and Functions of Fractions.* Every Party fraction must carry through the Party line worked out for the specific organization. All of its work must be conducted from the viewpoint of extending the influence of the Party over wide masses of workers. All the Party campaigns must be brought by the fraction to the masses of each organization. The fraction must win the entire membership and strive to win the entire organization to participate in all mass meetings, campaigns, demonstrations, elections, support of Daily Worker, etc.

In reformist organizations the fraction must put forward a class program on which it conducts a struggle to win the membership and its support. As regards the mass organizations already under the influence of the Party it is not sufficient to be only a fluent speaker. In such organizations the Party members must show other workers that they are not only good propagandists of a correct platform or policy, but that they are able and capable on the basis of revolutionary class platform to fight for the everyday interests of the workers and defending their concrete immediate demands. The Party members organized in these

organizations must show an example of leadership in building the organization, spreading its influence, improving its functioning. While the tactics of carrying through Party policy may differ in various organizations with different conditions, it is absolutely impermissible to follow a policy of trailing behind the masses. If we have a task to pursue it is the duty of the fraction to carry through this task overcoming the prejudices which backward workers in the specific organizations might have. It is our duty to win the workers to our line and if they are not convinced the first time, that is no reason for not conducting a vigorous campaign and struggle for the particular task or policy.

SPECIFIC PHASES OF WORK OF FRACTIONS IN TRADE UNIONS

1. The most important and all embracing fractions are those in trade unions, in view of the tremendous importance of the trade unions as the economic mass organ of the working class defending the interests of the working class. Every member of the Communist Party who is eligible must belong to a trade union. There can be absolutely no exception to this decision of the Party, and failure to comply with this decision means failure to carry through Party instructions and policy.

2. Party fractions must be organized of the Party members in every union whether TUUL, AFL or independent.

3. The political line of the Party in the trade unions is established by the leading committee through the trade union department. The building, proper functioning and carrying through of this political line effectively is under the supervision of the Organization Department.

4. The organization of the Party District Trade Union Committee shall be composed of comrades in the fraction of the TUUL plus additional comrades not in the fraction who may be added to help strengthen the committee.

5. Every Party fraction, through its executive or secretary must submit regular reports to local executives, can look for guidance as far as the Party fraction of same union on a local scale, but there is to be no direct line of communication between

the Party fraction of the National Board of each union and the fraction of each local union or shop committee. Such directives will be given through Party channels and direct from National T.U.U.L.

6. While Party fractions must meet before every union meeting we must beware of a tendency to be in perpetual meeting. We must fight against a prevailing tendency in some districts that our trade union work is limited to discussion in fractions.

7. Party fractions must not take up at their meetings the discussion of political and economic events but should bring the Party attitude on all such question to the general meetings of the local union or shop committee thus explaining the Party line to those who are non-Party workers.

8. Opportunist tendencies—that it is not necessary to build Party fractions in the TUUL unions—must be sharply combatted. Only through the proper functioning of the fractions can the TUUL and its affiliated unions be built into fighting revolutionary mass unions and a revolutionary trade union center. On the district and local TUUL executive the Party fraction (with additions, if Party Committee sees fit) must function as the Party Trade Union Committee.

Fractions must take up these questions affecting specifically their trade union or its being linked into a general movement of the revolutionary working class.

9. Concentrating on building the TUUL does not mean deserting of fraction work in AFL unions. Party fractions must be established and must be engaged in active work in all AFL unions. All tendencies to neglect work in the AFL must be sharply condemned and corrected. In the AFL locals the Party fractions must win the influence of the membership away from the traditional fakers and also the "left" Muste type of misleaders. This must be done on the basis of the Party fraction putting forward fighting militant policies, to meet the bosses' offensive on the living standards of the workers, pointing out that this offensive is in agreement with the AFL leaders. The Party fraction in all the AFL unions must build up the TUUL minority groups of all the workers who respond to the TUUL program.

10. All opportunist tendencies connected with the work of the Party fractions in the mass organizations must be combatted and defeated, such as,

- (a) Tendency to subordinate the everyday local interest of the particular organization to the interest of the individual. Such tendencies lead directly to the separation of the particular organization from the proletarian class struggle and leads into a petty bourgeois degeneration of the organization (Halonen in Finnish Cooperatives).
- (b) Attitude that it is not necessary to build Party fractions in organizations under the influence of the Party. This is a sectarian tendency and leads to the replacement of the mass organization by only the Party organization and is a serious obstacle for mass activity of the Party.
- (c) Tendency to neglect work in the reformist trade unions is also a sectarian attitude and means capitulation and surrender before difficulties.

SPECIFIC PHASES OF FRACTION WORK IN AUXILIARIES

1. The general Party policy in the auxiliary organizations is worked out by the Party Committee and the Party fraction in the National Office of the auxiliary is charged with the carrying out of this policy.

2. The Organization Department of the Central Committee is responsible to the Central Committee and the Polburo to see that the Party fractions nationally carried through this policy and that the auxiliary is functioning and organizing its work correctly.

3. On a district scale the District Buro is politically responsible for the activity and growth of the various auxiliaries.

4. On the question of personnel (such as District Secretaries of each auxiliary) the Party National fraction shall propose candidates to be ratified by the District Buro where it is proposed to take the comrade from or send to.

5. The National Party fraction shall not communicate directives to local Party fractions. Directives shall be sent to each District Committee either by the Party Central Committee through

the Organization Department or by the National Party fraction providing it has been approved by the Organization Department of the Central Committee.

6. The District is held responsible for the organizing and functioning of Party fractions in every auxiliary organization.



Resolution on Language Work

WORK in the language mass organizations has considerable importance as part of the mass activity of the Party in view of the necessity to bring the immigrant proletariat closer to the revolutionary struggles of the working class of the United States and to win this important stratum of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party.

During the last period the Party has made some achievements—more centralized directives through the establishment of a Language Department; carrying through of a number of campaigns for the language fractions; more active participation of the language fractions in the general campaigns of the Party. Notwithstanding, the work on the language field still remains one of the weakest factors of the Party's mass activity. Our fractions in most of the language organizations still manifest stubborn opportunist tendencies. There are still considerable remnants of separatism and federation and "left" secretarian tendencies in the organizational structure and activity of the Party fractions in the mass organizations and in their work which is separated from the general activity of the Party and sometimes displays a tendency to displace the Party.

One of the most outstanding shortcomings and mistakes of language fractions' work is the lagging of the Party language fractions behind the masses and their readiness to fight.

Another widespread shortcoming is the inability of the Party fractions in the language field to rid themselves of nationalist ideology and of conducting a sufficiently vigorous and aggressive

campaign against the nationalism advocated by their respective bourgeoisie. An outstanding example is, first, the impermissible opportunist attitude taken by the Jewish Buro in connection with the uprising in Palestine; secondly, the prevalence of nationalist ideology in many workers' language schools for children where the tendency of "developing national culture" still prevails. This is connected with another tendency still existing in the language work, namely, *insufficient interest in the political and economic struggles of the working class in the United States.*

The Language Buros of the Central Committee did not carry through the Party campaigns amongst the workers in the mass organizations sufficiently. In the Party Recruiting Drive only a few buros manifested systematic activity. The other buros were far from doing all possible for this campaign.

Federationism still exists among the language fractions. In certain instances the language buros manifested *stubborn resistance* to the line of the Party. Such was the case with the Czecho-Slovak Buro which failed to proletarianize the editorial staff of the paper, to exercise self-criticism and to rid the paper of petty bourgeois influences. Such was also the case with the Lithuanian Buro where the papers, *Laisve* and *Vilnis*, manifested a petty bourgeois ideology and where the deviation was not promptly corrected. In many instances the Buros and the language press failed to take prompt action in fighting against right wing deviations. (Finnish Cooperative chauvinistic tendencies manifested in Chicago, Lithuanian fraction, etc.) A complete lack of action is to be noticed in the building of the Anti-Fascist organization (Italian fraction) and a failure to draw the workers coming from the colonial and semi-colonial countries under the influence of the Party. Even as yet, a distinct lack of understanding in regard to the principle of democratic centralism and communist discipline is to be noticed in several language buros, a tendency to consider themselves with authority to act without consulting the Party on major political questions, a lack of understanding that they are only instruments for carrying out the political line of the Central Committee, and not basic units, with a right of independent and separate functioning Party

self-criticism was not sufficiently applied by the language buros.

Generally speaking, the Party language papers do not carry through the Party campaigns. Some of our papers instead of being teachers of Marxism and Leninism spread petty bourgeois ideology amongst the workers. Some flagrant examples of this shortcoming are:

a. Lithuanian dailies "Laisve" and "Vilnis" while publishing material of the Party do not infiltrate the line of the Party throughout the rest of the composition of the paper.

b. Trybuna Robotniczya printed advertisements of a religious fascist literature organization as well as ads of professionals who were bourgeois candidates for office.

c. Vilnis advertised a jubilee excursion to Lithuania on occasion of the Lithuanian fascist heir (W. L. K. Wittoff).

d. Printing of Christmas greetings in many papers.

e. Publication in Rovnost Ludo of a letter from a member of the Socialist Labor Party criticising the Soviet Union without one word of comment from the editorial staff of the paper.

f. Failure of the Rovnost Ludo to connect up the question of organization of the unemployed with the problem of the general situation and the economic crisis.

g. Publication in the Toverita of an article by a Party member explaining how she denied being a Communist and said to the police that *she voted* the straight Republican ticket, when arrested on March 6th with no editorial comment from the staff.

These few examples clearly show that some of our papers do not follow the Party line; that they believe that with merely printing material sent out by the Party they have accomplished their Communist duty. This is not a Communist line. These opportunist methods must be stopped, they do not satisfy the Party or the readers who are workers, who participated in the struggles, workers who are part of the American proletariat which is developing a counter-offensive against the capitalist offensive. They misunderstood the role of the paper as a mass organizer of the Party. They have not learned to give all news, and every event in the line of Communist policy. They have as yet to open their columns to criticism from the workers in the shops.

While the main trend of the language masses is to become more and more part of the American working class, as it is expressed by the numerous struggles in the mining shoe, textile and needle trades field, in which the foreign born workers are a considerable portion. Some sections of the foreign born workers live mostly in separate communities and where is developing a peculiar local and nationalist spirit formented by the petty bourgeois press, lawyers and business men, who still have influence in many mass organizations of foreign born workers. These petty bourgeois elements who are still encouraging a nationalist feeling among the masses are, at the same time, part and parcel of the American bourgeoisie, and, therefore, spread the influence of the American bourgeoisie among the masses.

These difficulties and a remnant of nationalism still expressing itself among some sections of the foreign born workers are, however, offset by the growing radicalization of the entire working class, continually forcing the foreign born workers into the general struggle of the American working class and the growing activity of the Communist Party which serves to unite the workers of all languages.

In outlining the work of the Party among the language masses, we must be guided by the general aim of the Party, of winning *the majority of the workers for the revolutionary class struggle*. For this purpose the language department and the Language Buros must carry out the following tasks:

1. Fight against the right tendencies, against the conciliators and against any other reformist influence; the right tendencies in the language mass organizations express themselves in specific forms of nationalism, chauvinism, and particularly in connection with Negro work, strong white chauvinistic tendencies prevail.
2. Fight against the sectarian tendencies in connection with mass activity as in regards to organizational federationism.
3. Bring to the language masses the ideology of the Party and lead those masses along the line of the revolutionary class struggle, *i. e.*, the line of the Party and the Communist Internationale.
4. Carry on amongst the language masses a system of propa-

ganda work of the Party in connection with all phases of Party activity as well as in the cultural activity to bring the working masses directly into the struggle of the American working class.

5. Use the workers' mass organizations and the various schools to recruit young workers into the Pioneer and Communist Youth organizations. Organize wherever necessary English-speaking children's clubs and youth clubs in conjunction with language mass organizations as a bridge between those organizations and the Pioneer and Youth organizations.

6. Conduct a systematic campaign under the leadership of the Party against exceptional laws for foreign-born workers, such as registration, deportations, etc., as part of the capitalist attack on the working class of the United States.

7. Increase the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist campaigns and struggles among the language masses as part of international action against imperialism and fascism.

8. Use the various language organizations not as a means of separating the working masses from one another and from the American working class, but as a means of drawing them together by developing their revolutionary class consciousness.

The organizational side of the language work also calls for drastic improvements. The Language Department of the Central Committee did not function regularly, which circumstance reflected upon the whole language work. More unity must be introduced in the language work. More frequent meetings of language paper editors and language buro secretaries must be held. More strict control over the language press (11 dailies and 19 weeklies and monthlies) must be exercised. The District Language Departments must be organized and become an integral part of the District Committees, actually directing the work. No regular fraction meetings are held in many mass organizations; in many instances language fractions being entirely absent.

THE LANGUAGE FRACTIONS AND THEIR TASKS

The main task of our Communist fractions in non-Party language mass organizations is to conduct a systematic Communist

agitation, propaganda, and education to bring the foreign language speaking masses closer to the American revolutionary labor movement so that they will take active part in the class struggle in America under the leadership of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

The statutes of the C. P. U. S. A. points out that "fractions are organs of the Party within non-Party organizations. They are not independent, fully authorized organs, but are subordinate to the particular local or Party District Committee." All Party members, belonging to a specific language local branch of a non-Party language mass organization, constitute, *as a group*, the Party fraction. All leading committees, or conventions, or conferences of such organizations must organize such Party fractions.

Party fractions should be organized in all such language working class mass organizations. Members of the Party should carry out not only systematic agitational work in such organization, but particularly all forms of everyday work in these organizations to win the members for the revolutionary class struggle. The Communist fraction must also conduct systematic work to secure the affiliation of the language mass organization to such working class organizations as ILD, WIR, FSU, etc.

In those organizations where we have already won the influence of the majority of the membership they must not be mechanically transformed to mere duplicates of the Communist Party, but should retain their mass non-Party character. The complete program of the Communist Party with all its major political slogans must not be insisted upon being put into the program of these mass organizations, thus causing the acceptance or non-acceptance of all major political demands and slogans of the Communist Party—nor are they to be forwarded as mechanical conditions for the membership in such mass organizations. The Party should conduct systematic recruiting, using such language mass organizations to bring the best workers into the Party, but the organization as such must maintain its non-Party mass organization and the Party through its fraction must direct the activity of such organizations and see that they are not narrowed down to a few Party members but that they are built into mass organizations on the basis

of their specific scope of activity. The Party, through its fraction must show itself absolutely active and capable of building these non-Party mass organizations.

In their activity the fractions have to mobilize the workers' clubs for all immediate demands that the Party is fighting for. There have been tendencies to unite such workers' clubs into National Leagues or Federations. This we must try to avoid in the future. The clubs can, upon the basis of their activity grow into mass organizations, and the leading organs for their activity will be our language press for that respective group, and the PARTY through our fractions. If organized into Leagues or Federations, there will soon appear a tendency to develop this organization into a sort of new political pseudo Party.

HOW DO THE FRACTIONS WORK

Every language fraction works under the immediate leadership of the nearest Party Committee. A Communist fraction in a language organization of a local scope, working in an area of a certain section of the Party, will work under the leadership of the *Party section committee* for that locality. If a language organization or a committee of such an organization is of State or District scope, its fraction will work under the leadership of the *Central Committee*. If a national committee of a certain language organization is located in another place than the Central Committee, it may assign the nearest District Committee to lead the Communist fraction in that National Committee.

Every Communist fraction carries on activity *only* in that local organization or in that committee to which it belongs.

Every fraction should meet regularly before the meetings of the organization, committee, conference, etc., in which it is active. Not only should the questions upon the agenda of that organization be taken up in the fraction, but the fraction should consider the possibility of bringing new questions for the body, especially such items that bring campaigns of the Party or other Communist propaganda before the organization. When a fraction has made a decision, that decision is binding for all members of the fraction. A member who had spoken in the fraction or voted against the

line adopted by the fraction must clearly and unequivocally defend the decision of the fraction and while carrying out and defending the line adopted by the fraction and such members have the right to appeal to the proper Party committee.

INNER RELATIONS OF FRACTIONS

In every organization, there are leading committees, *e. g.*, a certain language organization has a leading city committee. If Communists are members of that City Committee, they constitute a fraction in that City Committee.

The local Party Committee has always authority above the fraction in respective city committees of any language non-Party organization and directives and coordination of work rests with Party Committees.

If in a language non-Party organization Communists are elected to its national leading committee, then these Communists form a fraction of that National Committee and lead all fractions in all City Committees of that organization.

This means the Communist fractions are organized in accordance with the structure of the organization in which they work, and all problems of our work in just that organization are attended to in due order by fractions of locals, lower committees and higher committees, always in direct contact and under leadership of respective Party committees, direct or through its language Buro for that special language.

LANGUAGE BUROS

In order to subordinate the work of the Party fraction it is necessary for the Party Committee to create a special apparatus, such as a language buro. Such a buro, when necessary, will work as a part of the structure of the District and Central Committee. Language Buros must only be elected by the District and Central Committee. Language buros of either the District or the Central Committee have the task of coordinating the work of the respective language fractions under the guidance of the Party Committee.

If there are five or more language buros in the District, the District Committee should appoint a District Language Department of no more than three comrades to coordinate and lead language

work of the District. The District Language Department should be directed by the District Committee and is under its supervision. At the same time, however, it has the right to communicate directly with the Language Department of the Central Committee informing the District Committee about each such communication.

Every District Language Buro must report regularly and be under the supervision of the District Committee through the Language Department of the Central Committee.

In every language paper we must particularly develop workers' correspondence, and carry out the practice of considering all such correspondence. All these workers' correspondence must be connected with the Daily Worker and necessary material to be sent in regularly to the Central Party organ, the Daily Worker.

TASKS AND LINE OF WORK TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE LANGUAGE PRESS

The Party Language Press should not only be an organ of information from the point of view of the Party, but should pay more attention to the interests and needs of the workers in the factories, creating special section for workers' correspondence in all papers.

Further the Party language press reflect the activities of the revolutionary unions, the TUUL and for this purpose should create a special section of the paper devoted to trade union activities. They must also publish the most important inner Party documents and give regularly the most important information on the inner Party life.

In order to improve the editorial work there should be organized a proper distribution of work amongst the members of the editorial staff if conditions permit, wherever possible a special comrade should be assigned to take charge of organizing the workers' correspondence, improve this correspondence, definitely answer and acknowledge receipt of all such correspondence, organize meetings of workers correspondents with the editorial staff.

Resolution on Keeping New Members

1. **T**HE recent recruiting drive, during which over six thousand new members, 85 per cent of whom are industrial workers and 15 per cent Negroes, almost exclusively from industry, was a real achievement for our Party.

Nevertheless these results are still in considerable disproportion with the political influence of the Party amongst the masses, though opening for the Party tremendous possibilities for the continued recruiting of still larger numbers of new members.

This further recruiting of revolutionary proletarian elements into the ranks of our Party must go hand in hand with the extension and development of the daily work and mass campaigns of the Party. To meet the demands being made on our Party by the daily sharpening of the class struggle, makes the further strengthening of the Party a major task and with continuous recruiting must go continuous and systematic work to *keep and develop the new members.*

2. These new members who have been and will be drawn into our Party, considered as a whole, while conscious of capitalist exploitation and with a determination to fight against capitalism, are nevertheless but little acquainted with the theory and practice of the revolutionary workers' movement. While they accept our Party as the leading force in the workers' struggles, they have little knowledge of the role of a Communist Party in its broader political aspects. Our task is to take this revolutionary material and from it develop conscious bolshevik fighters, welding them thoroughly into our Party, giving them a clear Party approach to all problems confronting the workers.

3. In this task our Party is itself hampered by social democratic remnants, inherited from the socialist party and permitted to remain and even grow under the factional, opportunist leadership of Lovestone, and which have not yet been fully overcome. Our Party is only beginning to really orientate itself on the fac-

ories and basic industries and the greater majority of the membership are not yet organized into shop nuclei. There is insufficient political discussion and inner Party political life throughout the Party. Contacts between leading committees and nuclei and membership still retain too bureaucratic a form. Circular leadership and instructions must be eliminated as far as possible and substituted by closer personal contact and leadership.

Already the effects of these and other Party weaknesses in connection with the new members is clearly evident. In nearly every District there is a great disproportion between the reported new members and the number of initiation stamps purchased from the Central Office of the Party during the Drive. Similarly the dues sales have not increased to the same ratio with the recruiting of new members. New members generally speaking are not sufficiently followed up by the sections and units. Only to a very limited extent were they drawn into Party work. Classes for new members, except Detroit, were very late in starting in all Districts, and even yet there are Districts (Pittsburgh, Anthracite, Boston, Kansas City) where absolutely no classes have been started. In the Districts where classes have been started the attendance is by no means satisfactory.

4. This confronts us with a serious problem in connection with the *keeping of the new members* recruited for the Party. It confronts us with the twofold task of overcoming the weaknesses of the Party and of giving a bolshevik training to the new members. The most determined and energetic measures must therefore be taken in the first place to change the inner life of the Party and its method of functioning.

(a) The political activation of the nuclei and their orientation on the basic industries must be made the first aim of all Districts. Regular and systematic discussion of Party problems and campaigns must be systematically conducted at all nuclei meetings, all leading comrades from the District and Section Committee should be attached to shop nuclei to give them political and organizational assistance. Reports and discussions must be so prepared as to closely link up the political aims of the Party with the daily struggles of the workers in the factories. Not long,

abstract, tiring discussions, but concrete discussions on how to bring the campaigns and activities of the Party closer to the struggles of the workers, must be developed and stimulated, especially by the new members.

(b) Every nucleus, guided by the Section and District Committee, must outline for itself concrete daily activity to carry through in the factories and in working class neighborhoods, the political and organizational tasks of the Party. At the following meeting a check-up should be made on the extent to which the work has been carried through and of the results obtained, and a further plan of work prepared. This method of planned, systematic, continuous work must henceforth receive the persistent attention of all leading committees.

(c) Improvement in the functioning of nuclei must be secured. Meetings must be held regularly and on time. The nucleus executive must always meet before the nucleus meetings, handle all technical matters, select reporters on principal questions and organize and plan the nucleus meeting. The practice of reading long communications and killing the nuclei meetings with technical routine must be stamped out. The nuclei must be turned into sources of preparation and direction of the Party members for their work among the masses.

(d) Sharp political criticism of all opportunist errors and deviations as well as neglect of work, of all Party members and of leading committees and functionaries must provide the basis for serious and continuous self-criticism. Self-criticism of our mistakes and weaknesses will convince the new members of the seriousness and earnestness of the Party more than anything else and must be fully and freely developed in a thorough, systematic way.

(e) All bureaucratic tendencies in our Party must be ruthlessly fought and overcome. The methods of mass work must be systematically developed.

5. Simultaneously with the campaign to improve the inner life and to activate the Party, the most thorough, systematic and continuous effort must be made to train and develop the new members, to overcome their lack of understanding of Communist

theory and practice as well as the many petty bourgeois prejudices instilled artificially by the bourgeoisie. The absorption and activation of the new members recruited by the Party is one of the most important phases of Party every-day work.

To accomplish our task it is necessary that:

(a) Every single member of the Party and especially the new members must be assigned specific work in the nuclei of the Party as well as in the trade unions and other proletarian mass organizations. The new members should be especially drawn into active work for the campaign of the Party, such as struggle against unemployment, building the Trade Union Unity League, Daily Worker Drive, etc., and into active work in the nuclei, giving them a direct function to fulfill according to their ability and experience. The nuclei are to guide the new members in their work, giving to them the most comradely help, guidance, cooperation in carrying through the tasks assigned to them. The fear or hesitancy manifested in any Districts to assign the new members to active work must be combatted. The practice of burdening a few active comrades with a multiplicity of functions instead of distributing the work amongst all members must be discontinued.

(b) The most developed and promising forces among the new members should be drawn into direct and in some cases leading work in the auxiliary organizations, such as ILD, WIR, FSU, Labor Sports Union, etc. In this way the Party can both develop and train the new members and diminish the lack of cadres which now exists.

(c) Systematic class work and political discussions must immediately be developed among the new members. Drawing them into work should not become a substitute for systematic theoretical training, and classes should not become a substitute for practical participation in Party work. Both must go hand in hand.

Discussion meetings and classes at which all new members must participate must be organized in every city. This must not be done in a haphazard, disconnected manner, but thoroughly and systematically building their political education step by step until they succeed in absorbing and assimilating the theoretical foundation and strategy of our movement.

This training of the new members must take several forms:

1. In connection with the campaigns of the Party, into which the new members must be fully drawn, meetings of Party members must be called at which a reporter explains in detail the political problems and objectives of the campaign and the tactical aims of the Party, etc. This form of developing the new members should be widely developed.

2. In all Districts it is necessary to systematically develop and fully carry through educational work among the members, particularly among the new members. This educational work must not have as its objective merely the "education" of the members, but rather the securing of more successful results from all Party members in mass work, the drawing in and developing of the new members and the training of new leading cadres for the Party. In addition to discussion meetings, reading circles, lectures, etc., the district agitprop committee must set up the following study classes in every District. (The new members especially must be brought into the first two classes.)

(a) Short classes, four or five weeks, primarily for new recruits, on the "*Fundamentals of Party Organization*," which will simply but clearly explain the role of the Party, the duties of Party members, the relationship of the Communist Party to other organizations (TUUL, A. F. of L., S. P., existing Negro organizations, etc.); Party structure, discipline, forms of activity in the shop and mass organizations, etc.

(b) Elementary classes in "*Marxism and Leninism*," based on the textbooks "Elements of Political Economy" by Berdnikoff and Svetloff, and the "A B C of Communism," by Bukharin and Preobrajensky. (With special reference to the particular points of the Program of the CPUSA—attitude on Negro question, agrarian question, responsibilities towards peoples of American colonies.)

(c) Classes on the "*Program of the Communist International*," which must clearly bring out the principles of the Communist movement as opposed to the Socialists and reformist organizations and make clear the strategy and tactics of our Party.

(d) *Classes on First, Second and Third International, With*

Specific Reference to the Russian Revolution and History of the American Working Class Movement, bringing out clearly the conditions which made possible, and the principles, strategy and tactics of the International Workingmen's Association of Marx and Engels, the struggle against the Anarchists and the reasons for its death and the reasons for further growth of the Socialist parties in the various countries, the establishment of the Second Socialist International, the corresponding growth of opportunism and its social base, the revolutionary Marxist wing, the collapse of the Second International in 1914 on the war issue, and the establishment of the Third International under the leadership of Lenin, after the victorious Russian Revolution, etc., also showing the development of the American working class movement, showing the origin, program and policies of difference between various workers' organizations (A. F. of L., S. P., IWW., CP., etc.), the extent to which their form, program and policies were influenced by purely American conditions as well as by European influences, etc., etc.

(e) Class on Trade Unions combatting "Economist" theories and showing clearly the various forms of Trade Unions (non-political, social-democratic, syndicalist and revolutionary unionism).

The organization and carrying through of these classes must be an immediate and one of the principal tasks of the District Agitprop Committee. Reports must immediately be made to the center on the steps taken to carry out this work.

3. One of the most effective means of conducting this permanent training work is under the direction of the Party Agitprop Department. Study groups are a guarantee of the comrades getting in at regular intervals and through joint efforts certain knowledge on the theory of Marxism and Leninism and through active Party work training themselves to become competent fighters in the class struggles and more able to fill the task as Party members. The task of training the new members and thoroughly assimilating them into the life and work of the Party is a task that will stand before us, not for a few weeks but for months. To make this period as short as possible a thorough and continuous

training must be carried on amongst the membership, concentrating on the new members until they clearly understand the basic political and tactical lines of the Party.

When organizing study groups the following points, among others, must be taken into consideration:

1. The study groups can be organized in each nucleus. They can also be organized in non-Party proletarian organizations of mass character. The study group should have at its disposal—if possible—a room (private or in a Party headquarters or in some building belonging to a sympathetic organization).
2. Do not permit the group to consist of too many members, never more than eight or ten, not less than four or five.
3. The best way for a more advanced study group is to work in close cooperation with the nearest District or Section Party school. All study groups must function under the direction of the Agitprop Department of the District or Section Committee.
4. New Party members should always be propagandized until they join one of the study groups working in the nucleus.
5. All members of a study group should be brought in closest contact with the practical work of the Party, not least in bettering and improving the programs and agenda of the nuclei meetings. The meeting of a study group should never be permitted to interfere with nuclei meetings.

There are various kinds of study groups, varying a great deal according to methods under which it is carried on, to problems that confront the students, etc. Comradeship, leadership, punctuality, discipline, should never be missing in a study group, if its work is to be successful. Every comrade who is registered in a study group must attend its every meeting and carry out the tasks assigned him by the group, these tasks being study in conjunction with practical Party work.

Some of the various types of study groups are as follows:

(a) *Reading Circle Groups.* This is a simple type of study group and is based on each member of the group reading a section of an assignment and there will then be a general discussion. The book or text to be selected from a list prepared by the Secretary of the Agitprop Department.

(b) *Discussion Study Group.* This is an extension of the reading circle type and takes up some specific daily problem of the class struggle or of the Party specifically. One member of the group is assigned to read and discuss a particular subject. This comrade should be changed from meeting to meeting.

(c) *Reporting Study Group.* This is a type of class of a more thorough and systematic method than either one of the foregoing and must have an outline of study already prepared which forms the basis of the work of the group over a period of weeks. For each point on the outline a member of the group be assigned to prepare the material and report to the course, discussion, question, etc., follow. All members of the course have read the material and have suggestions.

(d) *Lecture Study Group.* This is a type of group where one comrade prepares a series of lectures, covering four or five meetings. For each meeting the member of the group should be assigned some specific material on the same subject. After the lecture, questions and discussion follows. It is most advisable to have the series of lectures all deal with specific phases of one subject.

(e) *The Course Group.* Considered a higher development of the report group. The tasks are more definite and the self activity of the members must be more intense. Special attention should be given to the selection of a competent study leader who in this sort of course serves as a teacher. This comrade must have a broader knowledge of the subject to be studied than the other members of the group. Greater demand for home study and preparation work should be made upon the members of this type of group.

The Districts should vary this program and add specific questions according to the local situation.

4. Together with the work of training the new members must go a systematic campaign to raise the theoretical level of the entire Party membership by means of study classes, lectures, functionaries' conferences, etc., and by increasing the circulation of the Communist, Communist International magazine, Inprecor, Daily Worker, Party Organizer, as well as other Party organs and theoretical journals.

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