

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."
—Karl Marx.

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The Pan-American Federation of Labor

By J. W. JOHNSTONE.

CAPITALISM in its early stages used as its advance guard missionaries. Now, in its imperialistic stage, it sends in labor leaders. Both serve the same purpose. The former used the cloak of religion, opened and closed their meetings with prayer, and, between times, beguiled the poor heathen into accepting christian faith and exploitation. The latter use the cloak of national patriotism, urges capitalist democracy, substitutes the Communist for the devil, Communism for hell, and betrays the workers into the maws of imperialistic exploitation.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor convention held in Mexico City, Dec. 3-9, struggled for seven days, advancing the interest of American imperialism at the same time making a bold pretense of representing labor. No organization in the world of labor has been so frank in its support of imperialism, American imperialism as against British or European imperialism.

No convention of labor ever held in America has had brought before it such heart-rending stories of misery and sufferings of whole nations—of savage tortures by the rack, the whipping post, the hanging by thumbs of workers who dared to lift their voices against their oppressors. Yet, nothing was done except the usual procedure followed by every congress of this alleged labor organization—referred to the executive committee for further investigation.

The delegate from Guatemala entered a vigorous protest during the last hours of the congress. It was in reality a summary of the work of the congress and a last minute cry of protest. He said, "You have referred all resolutions which show the deplorable conditions of the Latin-American workers, who are suffering under the iron heel of American imperialism, to the executive committee for further investigation. I am sure that they will sleep soundly in the archives of this organization. Even if you could not accept the resolutions calling for the withdrawal of American troops from Latin-America, or to fight against the Platt amendment, or the other resolutions which call for action, surely you can go on record at least against the death penalty and the tortures of political prisoners.

"We are sufferers; we know the conditions; we present to you the facts; we ask for definite action, and you give us words—nothing but words. We cannot fight Yankee imperialism that way."

This intrepid delegate from Guatemala, his liberty endangered by the mere fact that he attended the congress, was the subject of a vicious attack by one of the socialist delegates from Mexico and by our own liberty-loving John P. Frey, the man who tried his best to have Tom Mooney hanged. The socialist condemned the Guatemalan delegation for asking the organization to do for them what they ought but could not do for themselves. That it was against all common sense for the delegate to ask the withdrawal of troops from any country, then invite other forces to interfere with the internal questions of Central America.

"The delegate from Guatemala," continued this Calles socialist, "evidently does not know the policies and principles of this organization. This congress is not an instrument to be used against the enemy in each country. We exert only a moral influence." He admitted that capitalism was international, but that the Pan-American federation was opposed to outside interference. Their object was to help

the labor movement of all countries morally, whatever that may be, so that they might be better able to combat the common enemy. The actual work, however, had to be done by the affiliated national unions within the boundaries of their own countries.

Frey, after accusing the delegates in English, which they did not understand and which Senator Iglesias, the official interpreter, deliberately misrepresented, that they had not appeared before the committee and presented their case, altho invited to do so—later in the day this crude juggler presented a document to the convention which he said had been submitted by the Guatemalan delegates explaining in detail the terrible conditions of the working class of that country. Then he asked the convention, with hypocritical solicitation, not to compel him to read it, or make it a part of the minutes, on the grounds that to do so would jeopardize the liberty of those who introduced it. He urged that it become a confidential informative document for the benefit of the executive committee, which of course, was the action taken.

Unquestionably, the document and the very presence of the delegates at the congress endangered their liberty. But the statement that there existed such a document was just as bad as if it had been read. In fact, the Guatemalan ambassador, thru the capitalist press of Mexico City, denied that conditions in his country were not as stated by the delegates. He did not say that he had seen the document, but it was an official warning to these delegates to return to that country at their own risk. The real motive of Frey in not wanting the document read was to keep back from the delegates the unpleasant truth that it was the United Fruit Growers' Association, and other American capitalist groups backed by the United States government, who were the cause of all the misery suffered by these unfortunate workers.

He expressed surprise that the delegate from Guatemala expected this organization to interfere with any government, and frankly admitted that it was not the purpose of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to try to compel any government to do anything that it did not want to do. That was for the unions in their own country to decide.

The Guatemalan delegate accepted this interpretation of the principles and purposes of the Pan-American federation. Altho he stated that international capital could only be fought successfully by international labor forces, he would, however, ask that the North American delegates within their own country demand the withdrawal of American troops from all Latin-American countries, that they fight for the abrogation of the Platt amendment, that they bring all their power to bear upon their government to the end that their government should not recognize any Latin-American republic that refused to grant the workers the right to organize, the right to strike, free speech, free press, and freedom of assembly. However, his appeal, logical and powerful, had no effect upon this hand-picked convention.

In order that the peacefulness of the next congress should not be disturbed in this manner, it was decided that the Central American Federation of Labor, a paper organization set up by Gompers, shall represent the five Central American republics.

The delegate from Santo Domingo, an exiled liberal and now a practicing physician in El Paso, Texas, presented numerous resolutions for

all of which substitutes were offered referring the subject matter to the executive council for further investigation. They were written in the strongest kind of language, showing that the conquest of this republic was in the interest of the sugar trust, and that the United States government had set up Harry H. Lee as military governor for the purpose of stealing the fertile valley of Taximero, the water power and the general control of industries and commerce of the country.

He pointed out that the Hughes-Payneda so-called evacuation treaty, was one of annexation and future intervention. He showed that the last so-called popular election was conducted under a reign of terror. That the president elected was a tool of American imperialism elected by United States bayonets, warships, and marines. That the conditions laid down in the Hughes-Payneda treaty made legal all military acts which of course, included the land steals. Payneda, supposed to represent the people in the signing of this treaty, is chief council to the Barrowhead Sugar company with a salary of \$12,000 per year.

The resolution pointed out that the military occupation of their country had been carried out without any declaration of war. That since the occupation, free speech, press, the right to organize and strike, had been abolished. The delegate presenting the resolution pointed out that he had served six months in prison for saying that the Hughes-Payneda treaty was one of annexation, slavery, starvation, and death, and now he is an exile from his country. He protested rather meekly about the light manner in which the committee had treated his resolution. He has yet to learn that the Pan-American Federation of Labor is part and parcel of the very forces which he is raising his voice against.

The same kind of treatment was handed the Panama delegation, with a little more special attention paid to them behind the scenes. It would have been very hard to explain, outside the United States, that one of the conditions laid down by Gompers in the subjugation of Latin-America by American capital, is that American workers in the canal zone must have a monopoly of the higher paid jobs, and that there must be a difference in favor of the American wage slave over that of the native of between 20 to 35 per cent in wages, and that the native must not be allowed to rise above the grade of laborer or messenger.

These delegates made no secret of their objection to the discrimination against them in the zone and in the republic itself. They, however, have had very little experience in the labor movement. It is difficult for them to believe that men will betray them with a smile, and with such beautiful abstract phrases as liberty, freedom, democracy, brotherhood, and good will. Their representative was appointed on the committee on officers' reports, and committee on rules. This placed him under the subtle influence of the Crown Prince Matthew Woll, with the result that they did not present their case to the convention, and what they came to fight for was planted peacefully in the "further investigation" committees' burial ground. This delegation and the Guatemala delegation were the only real working class representatives in the convention. The Panamaians were fooled. Their disillusionment will come very quickly.

Even a mild resolution presented by the A. F. of L.'s most powerful ally, the C. R. O. M., calling upon the con-

gress to go on record for an exchange of union cards between them and the United States and urging that steps be taken to bring this about, was side-tracked by the usual substitute that it be referred this time to the international unions. Everything that smacked of stepping an inch along the path of progress was squeezed. While every reactionary resolution that more firmly tied the organization to the American imperialistic machine was endorsed.

The A. F. of L. delegation quite naturally presented almost every reactionary resolution to the congress. Amongst them were ones urging the unions to petition their government for union representation in the Pan-American union, so that the countries in the western hemisphere could better solve their international problems. Thus officially offering labor's services in the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine, and in the next world's war in the interest of American imperialism. They also urged that organized labor in all American republics demand representation in the Pan-American financial conference, which is one of the technical organizations for the more thoro exploitation of Latin-America, and to demand of their government that union representatives be attached to all consulates. This is without doubt, the most brutal and complete voluntary surrender to capitalism ever recorded in the annals of labor history.

Resolutions praising so-called liberal labor governments, such as Mexico, Columbia, Nicaragua, were endorsed without referring to the further investigation committee. A liberal or a labor government in the eyes of this congress is where American capitalism has imposed its imperialistic will upon the people to the extent that a government controlled by it has been elected. A letter from Secretary of State Hughes, showing that Santa Domingo had a popular and democratic government was used by Gompers to offset the facts presented by the Dominican delegates. The only seeming purpose of this fake labor congress was to stifle the cries of the exploited and enslaved workers of Latin-America in the interest of American capital.

The congress itself was a tragic farce. The financial report only showed the United States, Mexico, and Santa Domingo affiliated. Over \$29,000 was spent since the last congress and this is the result. Three affiliations out of 22 republics. But in order to make it a little more realistic, delegates were seated that had no more right to represent the particular country they were supposed to come from than I had. As an example, two brothers Salamon and Rogerio de LaSelva represented Nicaragua. Both of them are citizens of Mexico, one has a political job in the munition factory of which Morones was head. The other, until lately, was magistrate in the city of Mexico. Both are minor leaders in the labor party of Mexico. One of them made a hurried trip to Nicaragua Communist Party, Morones, Gompers' gua at the expense of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in order that he could at least say, if questioned, that he had just come from there. Outside of Guatemala and Panama there was no delegation that was elected by the labor movement that they were supposed to represent.

The usual Communist baiting was a part of the congress' work. This was done in order to satisfy Gompers. And because of the real opposition that Morones finds in the Mexican Mexican first lieutenant, opened and closed the congress with an anti-Com-

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Thesis on the Economic and Political Situation and Strategy and Tactics of the Workers Party

Submitted by JOSEPH BRAHDY

A. The International Development.

1. National political economy shows as a basis for national imperialism the organization within each (national) state of financial capital, industrial capital and working population.

2. The latest phase of social and political development is international imperialism. The United States with half the world's gold supply and power equipment in its possession, with a world net debt of many billion dollars in its favor, is commanding directly many important colonial and semi-colonial territories: Latin America, especially the sections around the Caribbean Sea, possessions in the Pacific Ocean, and in a way also Germany.

3. England and France, owing to the United States several billion dollars, are exercising internationally the functions of national industrial capital, under the overlordship of the United States as the international finance-capitalist power. In the capitalist world outside of United States, England and France represent with their armies, navies, air force, merchant marine, mining and metallurgy more than half of these important elements of international political economy. They have under their direct influence Australia, nearly all of Africa, half of Asia, and most of Central Europe; their indirect influence goes further.

4. The colonial and semi-colonial countries represent internationally the units corresponding to the working population within the state.

5. The U. S. S. R. (Soviet Russia) breaks into this international economy as a politically independent and economically more and more self-sustaining unit of one-twelfth of the world's population upon one-sixth of the world's surface. It represents the political economy of the proletariat and its revolution, as against the one of capitalist imperialism and its reaction and counter-revolution.

6. Imperfectly but definitely we see international organizations developing as the equivalent of national political parties, with a like tendency to concentrate: a) The western allies supreme war council; the Amsterdam Trade Union International; the Second (Socialist) International; the League of Nations with the World Court. aa) The Central Powers; the 2½ International (recruited largely from these states. (The units of group aa) have merged or are merging into group a)). b) The Pan-American Conference (U. S. A.); the Pan-American Federation of Labor (A. F. of L.); the Dawes commission. c) The difficulty in the rapprochement between groups a) and b) is impeded by the fact that the capitalist center of gravity of these groups would be in group b) and the labor center in group a.) e) The U. S. S. R., the C. I. the R. I. L. U., the Peasants and Farmers International. d) The tendencies of the capitalist elements within this series to coalesce at times and to some degree, as against the labor elements, has its counter part, e. g. in American politics where we have farm blocs, the C. P. P. A., etc., of republicans and democrats; foreshadowing a realignment upon inevitable economic lines as against the original purely organizational lines.

7. The acuteness of the class struggle both on the national and international scale is driving the world forces of both, reaction and revolution, into more intense preparation for the coming conflict. The present period does not give either of the two forces a substantial net gain in the capitalist countries; it represents generally a quick succession of victory and defeat on both, the economic and political field.

B. Economic Conditions in the U. S. of A.

8. To judge our economic conditions

it would be necessary to have authentic figures on productivity, production, reserve stocks, employment, wages, standard of living, etc. So far our department of research has not been in the position to furnish such data from reliable sources. The best it could do was to reprint occasionally such data as are available in bourgeois publications.

9. Like all other information from those sources more than 90 per cent of it is pretense, bias, fraud, or mere piffle. If we are to judge by such political and international information as we can check up, we should take very little stock in these data.

10. Particularly provoking is the pseudo-scientific manner in which political statements in American Communist literature are based upon 2,000,000 unemployed, or 6,000,000 unemployed, at one time or another, as indicating normal employment, or a crisis, or what not. Not the slightest effort is made to come to an understanding what an "unemployed" in America really is. As a result even the two official theses bring contradictory data on unemployment.

11. The outstanding and undisputed factors which characterize our post-war period are the following.

12. Two years of prosperity due to fake war orders and replacement of industrial equipment; two years of consequent depression; followed by two years of normalcy.

13. Rural employment is constantly diminishing for the following reasons: a) Progressive industrialization of agriculture and mechanization of transport. b) Russia's re-entrance into the world market; the extent to which Russia will cut into American agricultural export has been somewhat obscured by the effect of the famine of 1921 and the internationally poor harvest of 1924, coupled with a \$40,000,000 of purchase of cotton in America. With its program for the raising of cotton to cover soon a substantial part of its own requirement and a grain surplus available for export to Western Europe which even in the present state of Russian agriculture a normal harvest would yield; the U. S. A. is on the way of losing much of its grain and cotton export to Europe. As it is, the agricultural crisis has already driven hundreds of thousands of farmers with their families from the farms into the cities.

C. Political Conditions in the U. S. A.

14. The following economic groups are seeking to express their interests politically:

a) Big business—is for "no politics in business"—for a big army and navy—for protection of foreign investments.

b) Little business—is "against the trusts"—for low taxes and cheap government. Both are for low wages and long hours.

c) Labor bureaucracy—is for "no politics in the union" (except such as they themselves introduce, or when they need the help of the state to put down a revolting membership)—for wages as high and hours as short as can be gotten without fighting for it.

d) Labor aristocracy—is for high wages and short hours—but they usually already have these conditions, and are on general principle opposed to change.

e) Poor farmers—are for low taxes and a low rate of interests—cheap elevator and railroad charges—high prices for their produce—low wages.

f) Wage workers—for high wages, and short hours.

15. It would be very naive to assume that there is a consistent line from right to left as would proceed from group a) down to f).

Politically the middle class, professional, industrial and rural have often furnished the most liberal and progressive elements. They are for civil liberties; and at the same time for economic slavery of the workers.

The poor employing farmers have very much in common with them;

from them leads a straight line to the poor working farmer. While they are not economically interested in exploitation, yet they are prejudiced against high wages in industry because that makes for the high cost of industrial products which they need. And, they are in favor of high prices for their own produce, which then contributes to the high cost of living of the wage workers. They are in a bad way historically.

16. Every now and then a man who is losing out in the game of big politics, like Bryan, Roosevelt or LaFollette comes along and wants to capitalize their resentment against the law of economic evolution. But politically as well as economically they are marching from one failure to another. These groups are continually declining in importance—intellectually economically, politically, organizationally and numerically.

D. The Political Parties in the U. S. A.

17. Big business wants big profits; these are procured on the economic field thru wage slavery and imperialism, and secured politically thru a pretense of democracy and the substance of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

18. The labor bureaucracy is fairly satisfied with its social position of procurers for the real masters of the country; eunuchs who have sold their manhood. It is their function to frighten their wards into the belief that they are protecting them both from the too greedy masters in the industry, as well as from the "outlaw" who would unreasonably stir up strife in the industry. The labor bureaucracy is usually satisfied with a small commission from big business; but the bigger the business the bigger the commission.

19. The labor aristocracy is potentially somewhat uneasy. They can live comfortably on the pay they make—while working; but not too well. And often the men are not working. But considering the fact that they are better off than 80 per cent of the people they prefer Coolidge to Chaos.

20. The wage worker that rests his case not with any privileged group but with his class constitutes the left wing, both economically and politically.

21. Substantially labor bureaucracy's economic interests are politically expressed thru the parties of big business. Such difference as does exist between those two groups is usually expressed in either one or both of the following ways: One the one hand they are usually with the democratic party as the smaller one of the two big parties; on the other hand they are for the "left wing" within either party.

This suffices as a popular concession; and it is quite an elastic method.

22. Small business (farmers, subcontractors, manufacturers, store and restaurant-keepers, even small bankers) are losing the economic race, so it tries to take it out of the hide of the workers. They are really taskmasters of big business, and develop all the characteristics that come from such function: cringing compliance with the imposition of their superiors, and a ferocious, cunning oppression of the workers under their immediate control. But they are still losing. And so they come to see their salvation in certain political measures that are economically reactionary, and of others, especially thru the vehicle of popular and labor parties, that are meaningless in the long run.

23. Little business is opposed to big business and its big political parties; especially to the big wings of these parties which it is fighting thru its little (left) wings; and so is labor very often. Both little business and the masses of labor feel so hopeless in a singlehanded struggle against big business that they tend toward each other in ignorance and despair.

And when both of them pull out of the big parties this is very much against the will of the labor bureaucracy who much prefer to be labor lieutenants to big business (rather than be equals of the petty bourgeoisie); with the resultant political jobs and pull.

24. Big business on one hand; and on the other hand the railroad-union leadership, their banks, buildings, insurance policies and scab mines; the investments of the printers' unions; the scab herding of the United Mine Workers international and district offices; in a less defined but very definite way the various rings of the business agents in the building trades. It is particularly the class struggle which is making of these two groups one almost inseparable whole—the interlocking directorate of reaction.

25. The labor bureaucracy is a coming power; they have finances, banks, real estate, investments and insurance organizations, besides their unions; a network of national and international connections; thousands of periodicals in editions that total millions; and a permanently functioning mass organization, well knit and strongly centralized, which lends itself very well for political purposes.

26. The petty bourgeoisie is deficient in most of the afore-mentioned facilities; besides, big labor is politically much too conservative for little business. We saw in the election campaign of 1924 how much more radical the progressives are than the labor bureaucrats upon matters that have no direct bearing upon their economics, as army, American legion, Communists, civil liberties, immigration, etc.

27. In the combination of big business with big labor in the big parties, big business is of course the one that gives the lead, no matter to what extent labor enters into the combination.

Notwithstanding its deficiencies little business dominates such remaining elements of labor as are in alliance with it (because too forcibly repelled by big business).

E. Proletarian and Revolutionary Forces in U. S. A.

28. In the U. S. A. the general proletarian and semi-proletarian forces are slowly but continually losing ground.

a) The A. F. of L. has for four years been steadily losing members, suffered wage cuts and a loss of morale, both internally and externally.

b) The I. W. W. have largely become a demoralized, desperate party-syndicalist-legalist-reformist conglomeration.

c) The Non-Partisan League and the original (1920) Farmer Labor Party have been totally merged into the LaFollette movement; the socialist party cannot stem its steady decline in membership, votes, and publications; it came out of the LaFollette movement still further deranged and demoralized.

29. The revolutionary forces have gained during this period. The left wing ideology has gained a foothold in the unions. (Good showing in union elections. Substantial and effective mass demonstration against the union bureaucracy. A consequent slackening of left wing expulsions. Certain independent unions show under Communist influence gains, organizational as well as on strike) The membership of the W. P. has grown. The party went successfully thru its first national election campaign.

F. Bolshevization.

The Comintern has chosen the term Bolshevization to describe the process which Communist Parties must undergo to prepare effectively for the revolutionary crisis. This requires on our part the following:

a) To maintain contact with every phase of the class struggle a. o. thru the establishment of a party research bureau, which, independent of bourgeois data as far as possible, has its con-

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The Discussion on Party Tasks

A Year of Party Progress

Being a Record of Difficulties Overcome, of Party Achievements, and the Part Played Therein by the C. E. C. and by the Minority.

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, JAMES P. CANNON and A. BITTELMAN.

The minority in their articles have challenged the leadership of the C. E. C. majority. The minority charged us with lack of initiative and aggressiveness. The farmer-labor opportunists of the minority are attempting to make a case against the C. E. C. majority for its alleged failure to foresee events and precipitate developments in the class struggle. This compels us to make a reply which will show the membership the real achievements of the party under the leadership of the present C. E. C.

In making our reply, we will be guided by the following considerations. First, truthfulness to facts and reality. Second, proper regard for the history of our party and for the objective conditions that were confronting our work during the past year. And, third, Leninist objectivity and mercilessness in the estimation of past performances, in admitting our own mistakes and in drawing lessons therefrom for our future work.

Dangerous Inflation.

This article deals with the term of office of the present central executive committee, i. e., the period between January and December of 1924. It was a year full of difficulties for our party and its leadership. To mention only a few of these difficulties: The collapse of the third party alliance, the big sweep to LaFollette, the breakdown of the arrangements perfected by the St. Paul convention the change in our election policy, the bitter war of the reactionaries against our membership and sympathizers in trade unions, and, last but not least, the remnants of the internal factional struggle with an organized caucus of the minority functioning thruout the country and with the main executive office of the party, the office of executive secretary in the hands of the minority opposition.

It was a difficult year for our party. The split of July 3, placed us in a state of isolation which threatened for a while to cut off most of our connections in the labor movement. Then came the LaFollette sweep which shattered badly the basis of our farmer-labor operations. On top of this, we had to change our major policy, the third party alliance, and adjust ourselves quickly to the changed situation.

In addition to all these very serious obstacles to progress in our work, we had to be constantly on guard and at war against a peculiar state of mind of our organization which, for lack of a better name, we shall call the spirit of Inflation. By this we mean disregard for objective facts and reality, dangerous self-conceit as to the strength and abilities of our party, the worship of empty phrases, and a grave lack of realism, practicability and Leninist objectivity. This inflationist spirit is the spirit of the minority.

Our party was dangerously inflated with this spirit of emptiness and fictitiousness. Conscious of this danger for quite a long time, we knew that no greater service could be rendered to our party than to deflate the party from the non-realistic, non-critical and non-Communist notions cultivated by the minority, to bring the party back to earth, making it a real, effective instrument in the class struggle. To this vital task the central executive committee devoted itself in all earnestness, and today, we claim, our party is much more realistic, much more practical and, consequently, much more effective in its work than it has ever been before. The period of wild maneuvers based exclusively upon a policy of bluff, the practice of initiating campaigns and movements having no other result than an increased production of par-

ty circulars, the theory of measuring the effectiveness of Communist policy by the amount of publicity space and by the size of headlines appearing in the capitalist press, which was so typical of the former C. E. C., the days of such leadership, we hope, are gone forever.

The Workers Party in the Elections.

As a legacy of the day of "grand maneuvers," the present central executive majority, immediately upon assuming office, found itself inextricably involved in the pursuit of an immediate political objective, which was totally beyond the power of our party to achieve under the prevailing circumstances. We mean the objective of creating a united farmer-labor party in the presidential elections and thereby defeat the LaFollette influence upon the so-called class farmer-labor movement.

The present C. E. C. did everything that was possible to achieve that objective. In doing so we were continually hampered by the minority in the C. E. C. which was bent upon putting into effect the August thesis, that is, the creation of a farmer-labor party, on the basis of the united front from above instead of a real united front from the bottom with the broad farmer-labor movement, upon the basis of an immediate program of partial demands. Beginning with the first meeting of the present C. E. C. in January and up until May, our principle political efforts were directed towards one end, a national farmer-labor ticket and party as against the third party LaFollette ticket. In this effort we were defeated thru no fault of our own.

Why? Our answer is because LaFolletteism was stronger among the masses than Communism, because petty bourgeois illusions (which mean LaFolletteism) were and still are dominating the minds of the farmer-labor movement. When the old C. E. C., in its opportunistic rush for leadership, decided that we must set up a farmer-labor party as against a third party, it set for our party an impossible task. The present C. E. C. majority did not realize the impossibility of this task until the June 17 convention. The situation became quite clear after the July 4 conference of the C. P. P. A. Then grasping the situation with initiative, we cut loose from the fiction of a farmer-labor ticket and entered the elections as the Workers Party.

This represented a profound change in tactics. The party should realize that it required courage, quick Communist thinking and much determination to make the decision and to carry it out successfully. The decision of July 8, which placed the Workers Party in the elections under its own name and with its own program and candidates, thereby extricating our party from the intolerable position of compromise and opportunism involved in supporting a fictitious farmer-labor ticket. This decision we consider one of the major accomplishments of the present C. E. C. It was carried thru in the face of bitter opposition Comrade Lovestone, minority leader, whose policy would have sacrificed the interests of the Workers Party for the fake farmer-labor party.

Were we right or wrong in putting the Workers Party in the elections under its own name? Did we or did we not manifest initiative, firmness, and correct Communist understanding when we changed our policy on July 8? The party has already given the answer. Everyone in our ranks, except the incorrigible farmer-laborites, are convinced that our party made an excellent showing in the election campaign and greatly increased its prestige among the toiling masses.

Popularizing our Program on Unemployment.

It was thru the second national conference of the T. U. E. L. and upon the initiative of our industrial department that our party made known for the first time its program and tactics for the organization of the unemployed. Sometime later the old C. E. C. (now the minority), in line with its lack of sense for reality and understanding of concrete situations, proposed to immediately begin the actual organization of councils of unemployed, thereby thru premature organizational steps, endangering the success of what is bound to become a great movement.

Luckily for our party and for its unemployment program these premature organizational steps were not taken. The present C. E. C., after adopting a complete policy on unemployment at its March meeting, proceeded to popularize the issue, our unemployment program and proposed methods of organization. By instruction of the C. E. C. majority the question of unemployment was made one of the major issues in every campaign carried on by our party on the economic and political field. In spite of all provocations of the minority, the C. E. C. refused to begin prematurely the actual organization of councils of unemployed which because the situation was not ripe, would have resulted in complete failure, thereby wasting the efforts of the W. P. and discrediting a powerful organizational slogan for future use.

Our struggle against unemployment is still in its propaganda stage. During the election campaign alone the party distributed a quarter of a million of leaflets on unemployment and sold 20,000 copies of a pamphlet written by Comrade Browder. We are effectively propagating our demands for the unemployed and slogan of organization thereby preparing the ground for organization work which we propose to start the moment conditions become ripe for it.

Teaching our Party Methods of Organization.

The present C. E. C. has devoted a great deal of its attention to problems of organization, which were neglected by the former C. E. C. We realize that policies, programs and resolutions alone, even when correct, do not themselves build a party. When we assumed office we found that the party was totally out of balance as regards the various phases of its activities, and that systematic recruiting of new members was a matter not appreciated by the minority. The conception that the old C. E. C. had of organization was mainly that of writing articles once in a while in the press.

We set to work to infiltrate into our party a few of the basic principles of Communist organization. At the March meeting of the C. E. C. we adopted a statement on party activities by Comrade Foster. It was an attempt to give our party a clear picture of a balanced program of party work, which proved very successful in educating our party to a better understanding of the principles of Communist organization.

This was followed up with the program of action finally adopted by the C. E. C. at its full meeting in July. The party is well-acquainted with the contents of this program. It was outlined and submitted to the C. E. C. by the majority, the minority contributed nothing to its make-up, and was thereupon brought to our membership in a number of joint membership meetings in every large center. This program of action, with all that it stood for, was a real achievement of our party under the leadership of the present C. E. C.

The comrades will recall the nature of the program. It included our election policy and the means of organizing the campaign in every one of its phases, political, organizational, and financial. It provided for a systematic campaign to build the Workers Party thru campaigns for new members. It outlined a program for the building and strengthening of the

DAILY WORKER. It covered in a most thorough manner our immediate tasks on the industrial field, and also the question of shop nuclei. It laid particular stress on the unemployment situation and our program for it. It contained a special section on educational work.

It was a program not only of what to do but also of how to do it. It called for the most thorough departmentalization, from the bottom up, of every unit of the party in accord with the various specialized activities contained in the program. It also provided for an effective system of check-up and control to secure the systematic carrying out of the program of action. This program is progressively being put into operation. Insofar as our party is functioning and moving forward, it is doing so under the direction of and in line with the program of action of the C. E. C.

Establishing a Real Industrial Department.

Another major accomplishment of the party during the past year was the establishment and perfection by the present C. E. C. of a real industrial department. This department is a vital organ of our party. Thru its policies, connections and machinery, our party is reaching out into the depths of the American labor movement and is establishing contact with the most elementary struggles of the organized workers. It is a real department, with subdivisions being established in every unit of the party, functioning under the direct supervision of a national committee and a national director, which in their turn are supervised and directed by the central executive committee. For the first time the D. E. C.'s and other party units are taking serious hold of the industrial work as regular work of our party.

The department is carrying on its work in accord with a definite program, the program of the Trade Union Educational League, which is the industrial program of our party. This new program of the T. U. E. L. was submitted some six months ago by Comrade Foster to the R. I. L. U. and was accepted unanimously with a few additions by Comrades Lozovsky, Johnson and Dunne. On the basis of this industrial program of the party which in many respects is a model program for the development of militant left wings in reactionary trade unions, the militants in the American unions are carrying on their work.

During the past year our comrades and sympathizers in the unions had to withstand and resist the most terrific onslaughts of the bureaucracy. In nearly every industry the left wing was compelled to carry on a bitter struggle for life, and in these struggles the industrial department of the party played a leading part. In the recent elections in the miners' union and in the carpenters' union the left wing was exceptionally well organized and carried on an intensive propaganda for the policies of the T. U. E. L. The Communist strength within these unions is constantly growing. The result of these efforts shows that the left wing in such industries as mining, garments, building, transportation, metal and food is at present more definitely crystallized, more conscious of its aims and is better organized now than ever before for continuing the struggle to revolutionize the trade unions.

In preparation for the El Paso convention of the A. F. of L. the industrial department submitted to the C. E. C. a thorough and well considered program. It dealt with every important issue in the labor movement, such as a general labor congress to consist of representatives of trade unions, workers' political parties, shop committees, the unemployed, etc., for the purpose of consolidating the ranks of labor politically and industrially and to launch a militant attack on the capitalist system; the recognition of Soviet Russia, abolition of racial discrimination against the Negroes; nationalization of the mines and railroads; amalgamation of the trade unions; organization of and re-

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The Discussion on Party Tasks

A YEAR OF PARTY PROGRESS

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lief for the unemployed; demand that all the forces in the Pan-American Federation of Labor be mobilized for a struggle against American imperialism; condemnation of imperialist schemes against China; demand that the R. I. L. U. plan for international unity be endorsed and the solidarity of labor be achieved; protest against criminal syndicalism laws, against the deportation of Oates, Mahler, Moran, and Nigra; the organization of the youth; release of Mooney, Billings, Ford, Suhr, Rangel, Kline, Sacco, Vanzetti, and other political prisoners; condemnation of the Ku Klux Klan and American Legion.

This program was designed to serve as a basis of action in the trade unions to rally the masses to the left wing. Special mention should be made of the resolution "For a labor congress," which contains a practical program of partial demands, all of which respond to immediate burning needs of the masses, and which provides for united front action by the organized labor movement in alliance with the Workers Party. It is highly significant that all the minority contributed to making up a program for the A. F. of L. convention was a motion to add the opportunist slogan "For a 'class' farmer-labor party." They violently objected to fighting in the convention for the Workers Party.

In connection with this we must mention the convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor held in Mexico City, Mexico. The party had its representative, Comrade Johnston in the field with a definite program of policy and organization designed to achieve two aims. One, to promote and unify the left wing movement in the trade unions of North, Central and South America under the leadership of the R. I. L. U. Two, to co-ordinate the activities of the Communist Parties of the United States and Mexico for common struggle against American imperialism in Latin-America. The only improvement the minority could suggest to our Pan-American program was to insert some additional commas, semicolons and incidentally an additional word.

It must be stated in passing that the minority exhibited a woeful lack of consistency and imagination when they failed to propose a Pan-American farmer-labor party as an amendment to our program. But that may come yet. It is also noteworthy that altho the C. E. C. adopted a Pan-American program, upon the report of Comrade Lovestone sometime in May, the executive secretary could find no better use for it than to put it in his files. Now, however, the C. E. C. has taken the matter into its hands and is determined to see that its program is carried into effect.

Educational Activities.

This was a field sadly neglected by the former C. E. C., who could see nothing but the farmer-labor party campaign. We realized the burning need for systematic Bolshevik education in the party and at the first opportunity established a special educational department with a responsible national director, Comrade Cannon and a committee under the supervision of the C. E. C.

Already the party is realizing the beneficial results of the activities of the educational department. There have been established party schools and classes in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston, also a large network of elementary study classes in the A. B. C. of Communism, throughout the country. There are also in operation circuit study classes in the districts of Ohio, Illinois and Pennsylvania. Provisions have been made by the educational department for the publication of a library of Communism to contain theoretical books on the fundamentals of Leninism.

We realize that this is only a beginning, but a beginning in the right

direction and with proper regard for the immediate needs of the party. The present C. E. C. intends to remain true to its conception of a balanced program of party activities in which Bolshevik education occupies an important place.

Thesis and Work on Shop Nuclei

It was the present C. E. C. that made the first earnest attempt to place the shop nuclei proposition as an immediate organizational task of the party. Thanks to our efforts, a practical way has been found to the application of the principle of shop nuclei to the specific conditions of our own party. This practical program is embodied in a special thesis recently adopted by the C. E. C. This shop nuclei thesis on the most complicated and difficult organizational question confronting our party was worked out by the majority.

Months ago we set out to begin to educate our party membership to the necessity of starting the reorganization on the shop nuclei basis. Soon afterwards the first organizational steps were actually taken by our Chicago district. At present the situation is ripe enough for similar steps in a number of other districts where there is enough concentration of our members in industry to permit such action.

Strengthening the Communist Morale and Understanding of our Membership

Another major achievement of our party during the past year was the general strengthening of the morale and Communist understanding of our membership. This was no easy task to accomplish in the face of an organized minority caucus functioning thruout the country in flagrant violation of Comintern decisions, ever since the 1923 party convention and until this very hour.

The C. E. C. majority have been working on the theory of discipline advocated by Lenin and practiced by the C. I. This theory is, that the basis of Communist discipline is confidence of the membership in the leading men and committees of the party and that this confidence can be won only in one way, namely, by the ability of the party to develop and apply correct political strategy and tactics. To win the confidence of the membership in our ability to give the party correct Communist leadership—this was the great ambition of the present C. E. C. It was for this reason that representatives of the C. E. C. frequently addressed joint membership meetings to familiarize the party with the plans and objectives of the C. E. C. And in every such instance the C. E. C. received the almost unanimous approval of the rank and file of the party.

We attempted on numerous occasions to liquidate the organized illegal opposition of the minority. It was Comrade Foster who immediately upon his return from Russia made a motion in the C. E. C. providing for a special committee, consisting of an equal number of representatives of the C. E. C. and of the minority, to remove the factional basis of our disagreements and to liquidate the organized opposition of the minority. We met the minority more than half way. We conceded them a number of important organization appointments as an indication of our willingness to work with them on the basis of mutual confidence, we submitted our program of action, a major achievement of our party, not directly to the C. E. C., but first to the minority group in order that they might identify themselves with it and thus share in the credit of initiating the program. We regret to say that the minority, altho always willing to accept our concessions, never for a moment relinquished its caucus-organization and systematic opposition. This fact, together with the additional fact that the executive secretary of the party belonged to the minority opposition, made it very difficult for the C. E. C. to put into effect more fully all its policies and decisions. The latest attempt to pacify the op-

position was initiated by Comrade Cannon on the eve of the party discussion, with the idea of removing if possible the purely factional sting from differences of opinion on policy. We proposed informal discussions with the minority of the immediate political tasks of the party in order to ascertain whether or not a common basis of policy could be found, but the minority was more intent upon discussing the make-up of the next C. E. C. and similar questions of party control than problems of policy. This made it impossible for us to proceed, because we held to the Bolshevik principle that the basis of unity in a Communist Party is agreement on policy and not the arbitrary division of organizational control. The minority, however, thought otherwise, consequently our latest attempt to liquidate the organized minority opposition came to naught. A further reason is now clear: the minority is one of the right wing tendencies in the party.

But the party as a whole, if not the minority, responded splendidly to every effort of the C. E. C. to improve the morale and understanding of the organization. The membership particularly appreciated the readiness of the C. E. C. to admit mistakes and to correct them quickly. Something that the minority never dares to do, even in the case of their pet third party alliance which was rejected by the Communist International. Till this very day the minority cannot muster the courage to say whether the Comintern was right or wrong.

In our ideological struggle against the remnants of the Two-and-a-Half International we have been making steady progress, despite the numerous tactless provocations of the minority which went as far as supplying misinformation to the C. E. C. We adhered strictly to the tactics of the C. I., applied to Serrati, Smeral, and many others, which was to defeat these Two-and-a-Half International tendencies ideologically, to prove them wrong and politically bankrupt in the eyes of the membership, to win all the proletarian elements of the party to the point of view of the C. I., and to compel the carrying out of the policies of the C. I. when necessary even by means of disciplinary measures. Together with the C. I. we realized that the Bolshevization of our party is not a one-act affair, to be accomplished overnight by means of senseless persecutions, but a process of education and merciless ideological struggle against menshevism, opportunism, and centrism. This was the policy of the C. E. C. majority carried out daily in every phase of its activities. We fought to the best of our abilities every deviation from the C. I. policies, such as, the remnants of the ideology of the Two-and-a-Half International, the right wing farmer-laborist tendency, as well as those temporary deviations of which we ourselves have been guilty. We strained all our efforts to draw into party leadership, to bring to the fore all the proletarian elements of the party, the active workers from the shops. And in contradistinction from the pseudo-intellectuals of the minority we believe that our movement is essentially a proletarian movement and that its ideology and psychology must be permeated with that of the class conscious revolutionary proletariat.

As a result of these efforts our party is now ideologically more homogeneous than ever before in its history. The attendance at branch meetings is now better, the internal life of our branches is richer and more intensive. The dues payments have never been so high as they are at present. Our party is continually growing in numbers. We are getting better organized and more closely knit together. All this makes us feel confident that our party is now on the right road to become an important factor in the everyday struggles of the American workers.

The DAILY WORKER.

A major achievement of the C. E. C. has been the management and operation of The DAILY WORKER. In-

stead of founding only our daily paper with the fund raised last year as was planned by the former C. E. C., we have purchased a building to house The DAILY WORKER and the national office of the party as well, and have established a modern and complete printing plant to take care of all the party's printing. The management of the mechanical department of this plant as well as the office end has been economical and efficient in the extreme, to the end that the deficit of The DAILY WORKER for 1924, is much lower than we had dared to hope (only \$20,000).

But it was not this phase of the work which brought the party its greatest gains. Nor have the education and propaganda values of The DAILY WORKER been its chief advantages. It has been in the field of organization that The DAILY WORKER has brought us the greatest benefits. For due to the planful organizational methods used in The DAILY WORKER, the organizing of the army of agents, we have developed a rich field for making new mass contacts. Instead a haphazard attempt at building circulation, an organized army of subscription agents is being developed who are not simply sub-hustlers, but actually rapidly developing, capable organizers for the party. The formalizing of this organization into The DAILY WORKER Builders is another step in advance which is already yielding further results.

Centralizing the Party Press.

The decentralized state of our party press which the C. E. C. inherited from its preceding administration was an outrage and a nuisance. The Weekly Worker was printed in one place and edited and managed in another. The Liberator, Labor Herald, and Soviet Russia Pictorial all had separate editorial staffs and administrations. The Party Literature Department had another. As long ago as last January the C. E. C. decided to eliminate this waste and inefficiency.

The first step was the amalgamation of the three monthly magazines into The Workers' Monthly. Thus the party has one monthly official organ instead of three and instead of three editors and two assistants, there is only one editor. The DAILY WORKER has taken charge of the management of The Workers' Monthly and with the addition of one office girl to its staff, it does the work formerly done by the three business administrations which employed from four to five persons. The resultant saving to our party in wages alone amounts to over \$12,000 a year.

But the monetary saving is not the only nor by any means the greatest achievement. The centralizing of the production of our monthly with The DAILY WORKER makes it possible to produce both a better daily and a better monthly. The centralizing of the distribution makes it easier to increase the circulation of both The DAILY WORKER and The Workers' Monthly.

The C. E. C. has now decided to centralize in a similar manner the party's Literature Department, so that beginning the first of the year, The DAILY WORKER will be charged with the administration and distribution of this important arm of our party. This will not only make new savings for the party, but also because of centralizing of the selling machinery the party will for the first time begin really to permeate the working class with Communist books and pamphlets.

Shortcomings to be Overcome.

We should not close our eyes to a number of shortcomings in our activities. Some of our language sections are not as yet sufficiently close to the party organization. Communist work among women employed in industry, among the Negro masses, and among the agricultural workers and poor farmers has hardly begun. This much, however, must be placed on record, that the present C. E. C. majority succeeded in relieving the party from several very harmful notions of the minority regarding the policies and forms of organization to be ap-

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The Discussion on Party Tasks

A Statement on 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Internationalism

By ABERN, BURMAN, BITTELMAN
BROWDER, CANNON, DUNNE
FOSTER.

In view of the present situation in the party, we find it necessary to make a statement regarding our struggle to eradicate the 2-1-2 international tendencies in our party.

In its recent decision on the Farmer-Labor party, the Comintern pointed out the existence in our party of remnants of the ideology of the 2-1-2 international, as exemplified by some of the writings of Comrade Lore. The C. I. called upon us to wage a sharp ideological struggle against these tendencies. This the C. E. C. has done and will continue to do until the entire party is completely won over to the point of view of Leninism and the C. I. These efforts of the C. E. C. to defeat ideologically the 2-1-2 international tendencies were hampered and weakened by the tactics of minority opposition.

Our tactics for combatting the remnants of the ideology of the 2-1-2 international in our party were the same as the tactics applied by the C. I. in other Communist parties, notably in the cases of Serrati in Italy and Smeral in Czecho-Slovakia. These tactics can be grouped under the following three heads: (1) to defeat ideologically and politically these tendencies, to prove them wrong in the eyes of our membership and followers. (2) to strengthen in our party the ideology and prestige of Leninism and of the C. I. (3) to compel under all circumstances full execution of every party member and every party unit of all decisions of the C. I. and

of the C. E. C., even by means of disciplinary measures. These principles have been successfully applied by the Comintern.

In pursuit of these aims the present C. E. C. took sharp issue with the remnants of the ideology of the Two-and-a-Half International when these manifested themselves in the activities of some of our comrades in the industrial field in the printers' union, in the needle trades, in the miners' union, and in several other labor organizations. In all instances the C. E. C. immediately sent its representatives to instruct and direct these comrades to the Leninist point of view. The C. E. C. took prompt action in every single instance when the Volkszeitung or any other party organ manifested deviations from the C. I. line of policy.

Thru its educational department the C. E. C. laid the basis for spreading Leninist ideology among our membership. Our party schools, study classes, and our press have been utilized in every possible way, thru articles by Comrades Zinoviev, Stalin, Kamenev, and others to strengthen the Bolshevik ideology of our party. By a recent decision of the C. E. C. the powerful speeches by Comrades Kamenev and Stalin against Trotskyism were ordered printed in pamphlet form.

It was also by a decision of the C. E. C. that Comrade Olgin wrote his series of three articles explaining the decision of the C. I. regarding the deviations of Comrade Lore. All these

efforts have contributed greatly towards the Bolshevization of our party.

In this ideological campaign we have been persistently hampered by the minority opposition. The tactics proposed by the minority always tended to crystallize the tendency of the Two-and-a-Half International and not to dissolve it or break it up. Every move of the minority strengthened the position of this tendency. The minority carried on a senseless campaign of petty personal persecution, going to the extent of furnishing misinformation to the C. E. C. on two important occasions, whose only effect was to create sympathy for and strengthen the prestige of those who have been charged by the C. I. as manifesting remnants of the ideology of the Two-and-a-Half International.

Not in a single instance did the leaders of the minority under their own names take issue publicly in the party press with any individual of this tendency inside or outside of our party. This was done, however, by members of the majority, as witness the above mentioned articles by Olgin, the debate of Foster against Nearing, Cannon's speech in the Workers' School in New York on the Bolshevization of our party which was ordered published in the Workers Monthly, and the articles by Bittelman against Salutsky and Boudin.

The minority felt no responsibility for the welfare of the party. For this reason they were continually

trying to provoke the C. E. C. to such action as would create a crisis in the party, if not an actual split, and thereby strengthen the very tendencies which it is our duty to combat. All thru the year the minority by their foolish tactics have been building up the Two-and-a-Half International tendency. Now they are strengthening the right wing of the party generally by their advocacy of an opportunistic farmer-labor party policy.

The minority showed its utter disregard for the C. I. decisions by maintaining a permanent caucus thruout the country at the very time when the C. I. was fighting militantly against such manifestations of Trotskyism in the Russian and other parties.

The inevitable result of such a reckless policy as the minority proposes would be a disastrous split, which would cost the party large numbers of valuable proletarian elements, and which would strengthen the Two-and-a-Half International tendencies. On the other hand, the policy of the C. E. C., which is the policy of the Comintern, will Bolshevize these proletarian elements and stamp out anti-Leninist deviations.

Ours is a young party, it has many unripe elements within it, and the task of Bolshevizing them is a difficult one. It can only be accomplished along the lines now being followed by the C. E. C., that is by a patient, persistent, intelligent, strategical, determined, relentless application of the principles of Leninism.

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plied by our party in its work among women, the Negroes, and the agricultural proletariat, at the same time formulating correct policies for our future work. The party is now fully equipped to proceed successfully in these comparatively new fields of activity.

United Front Activities.

One of the signs that our party is finally beginning to get the proper perspective in the estimation of events and in formulating its policies is the recent decision of the C. E. C. to establish a permanent commission on the united front. The duty of this commission, which is a subcommittee of the C. E. C. is to continually survey the field of class struggle and to formulate for the C. E. C. policies and plans of organization for united front campaigns on the basis of immediate burning issues in the life of the toiling masses.

At present we are beginning to develop such united front campaigns against child labor, and for the release of Sacco and Vanzetti. The subcommittee is preparing the outlines of policy and organization for a campaign against the so-called criminal syndicalism laws and for the release of class war prisoners. It is our intention, in accord with the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the C. I., to seize upon every burning issue in the life of the masses, for united front action against the capitalists and against their agents in the labor move-

ment. This plan to systematize the united front campaign was entirely the work of the C. E. C. majority.

The Party Discussion.

We want the party to remember that it was the present C. E. C. that created the opportunity for our membership to discuss thoroughly and express itself on our immediate tasks. The whole plan for conducting the party discussion was presented by the C. E. C. majority. We took the greatest care to so organize the discussion as to secure the maximum freedom of expression for the minority and to crystallize opinion for all views and tendencies in the party. Last year, on the contrary, when we were in the minority, we were denied by the Pepper group even the right to defend our policies in the various district conventions.

To us the party is the party membership. The success of the party depends upon the consciousness, initiative, and activity of every party member. The present C. E. C. fully realizes that the strength of a Communist Party rests mainly on the Bolshevik quality of its rank and file and leadership and upon the bonds of mutual confidence that exist between the two. We are therefore, determined to do all in our power to deepen the Bolshevik quality of our party as a whole, and to strengthen the existing bonds of mutual confidence between the party membership and the party leadership.

The minority have challenged the leadership of the C. E. C. majority. In reply we say, let the record speak. We do not propose to follow in the footsteps of the minority and to bluff the party into the belief that under our leadership the party has already conquered the world. Instead, we will ask the party membership to examine our actual achievements. The party will then see that it has been making continual progress despite all difficulties, that we have extended our influence and strengthened our organization, and that now we are making an effort to rid the party completely of the old spirit of inflation and farmer-laboristic opportunism. We are on the right road to building the Workers Party into a mass Communist Party.

WHY I SUPPORT THE MINORITY POLITICAL STRATEGY

By JOSEPH ZACK

Do We Lead the Left Wing?

YES and no! On the industrial field we do. There is no one else and the workers can see it easily enough; but on the political, we do not. And Comrade Foster ought to know that better than anyone else. For instance, the bulk of active T. U. E. L. strength in the unions are non-party members; and the overwhelming bulk of their followers are still farther away from Communism. If the T. U. E. L. were the industrial department of the party and its members were placed before the alternative of either joining the party or getting out of the groups, we would disrupt our industrial work. In fact, the influence of the age-long policy of Gompers upon the trade unionists of "no politics in the unions" (except for capitalism), has had such an effect that the left wing only began to warm up on class politics during the farmer-labor party campaign. No, the left wing does not follow us yet politically. If it did, we would be considerably nearer to our goal—the mass Communist Party.

Plainly, one of the main problems of our movement is to make this left wing politically active. The militants themselves who are not yet ready to join the Communist Party and they knowing that the masses are even more removed from the idea of joining the party than they themselves—this leads to the necessity of the use of the strategy of the farmer-labor party, in order to draw the left wing into political activity. Not only is that necessary, in order to get a mass political movement of the workers, but it is necessary in order to consolidate our position of leadership over the left wing. For should a petty-bourgeois movement gain control and influence over them politically it will undermine our influence over them industrially.

Surely if we were leading the left wing politically, Comrade Foster would have received many times the number of votes he received.

I am interested in the political united front policy mainly from the point of view of making our left wing followers politically conscious, and of

getting an ideological hold upon them politically. And as strategy, for that purpose, as well as of connecting our sympathizers and followers everywhere, politically, of keeping an organized contact with them for a number of years so as to enable us to deepen their class consciousness and thus lay the basis for a mass Communist Party—which certainly is not possible by applying the majority tactics—the minority's political strategy offers the solution.

These semi-class-conscious workers, politically confused and timid workers, who are following our slogans on the industrial field, will not join our party. Still they are nearest to us, and if we wish to build a mass Communist Party, we must have a strategy not only of pursuing the task of organizing the class-conscious revolutionists, but of reaching out organizationally and politically to those closest to us. In a country where capitalism does not yet face its downfall, it is the best strategy to reach our goal—the mass Communist Party.

Do We Want a Labor Party a la Great Britain?

I would have considered it a calamity to our movement if the bureaucracy and the petty bourgeoisie, in their maneuver against us had really gone so far as to form a petty bourgeois farmer-labor party. The hold of such parties upon the illusions of the masses would have been much greater than a progressive or liberal party. The labor party which we should organize ought to be but a transition stage to the mass Communist party.

In this period of the decay of international capitalism, all the parties to the right of the Communist Party are being driven more and more to the right. Hence we are the only logical leaders in the struggles for even mild political reforms for the benefit of the working class. In Great Britain, on the other hand, at a time when capitalism was not shaken, the reformists could lead such movements and appear to be revolutionary. It is obvious, therefore, that just in this period we are the only logical leader

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SPECIAL NOTICE!

On Back Numbers of the
DAILY WORKER

The heavy cost of handling back numbers for which there has been a steady demand necessitates the following prices:

5 CENTS PER COPY
on all issues within 30 days of
current issue.

10 CENTS PER COPY
for all issues over 30 days old.

No orders for back numbers filled
unless paid for in advance.

The Discussion on Party Tasks

WHY I SUPPORT THE MINORITY POLITICAL STRATEGY

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to initiate this farmer-labor movement. It is very likely that we will not pass thru the stage of social-democratic parties in the United States and that the development will be in the direction of a big capitalist party, a progressive-petty bourgeois party and a labor party controlled by the Communists.

Now that the grip of the trade union bureaucracy and of the petty bourgeoisie on the workers is at a low ebb, owing to the dissolution of the LaFollette movement, our strategy must again be to get a hold politically of their imagination and crystallize it into a definite organization and thus eliminate the possibility of the left wing being absorbed politically by our enemies.

Here again the minority strategy offers the possibility of maneuvering and of eliminating the labor party as a factor on the side of our enemies, while the majority delivers it to them. However, our propaganda must be conducted in such a manner and the preparations even of our own party arranged in such a manner, that the work of organizing the farmer-labor party will take place during the coming economic crisis.

Liquidating the Workers Party.

Of all the silly accusations launched against the minority, this one takes the prize. How a farmer-labor party composed of affiliated organizations and under our leadership, which means without individual leadership, can lead to the liquidation of the Workers Party, must yet be an undivulged secret in the chest of the majority, for so far they have not yet revealed it. In such a party the only way to affiliate is to join the Workers Party or by being a member of a union, society, etc. In a party of the type of the labor party of Great Britain, owned and controlled by the bureaucracy, there is far greater danger of that sort and is the main reason for the numerical weakness of the Communist Party, the left wing outside of the Communists being absorbed by the labor party. Not only would the Workers Party not be liquidated, but would become the dynamic force within it. It would make it possible for us to conduct recruiting campaigns to get individual members within these organizations on a scale never attempted by us before.

This strategy will put the Workers Party to the front in the true sense. It is flexible, while the majority's tactics would put us into a political straight jacket that would revert into opportunism on the industrial field and into sectarianism on the political field. The Workers Party will get to the fore politically in as much as it got industrially thru the united front tactics thru the left bloc united front tactics formed under the auspices of the T. U. E. L., and it will consolidate our industrial strength, and give us the medium to effectively combat the petty-bourgeois political movement wherever and whenever it may arise. Farmer-Labor Party and Opportunism.

How can we be at the head of a party with a reformist program without sinking our whole movement into the swamp of opportunism? Industrially, it seems to me, we are keeping out of that swamp by the mere skin of our teeth. We will surely sink into it unless we make our followers there politically class conscious. The coming struggles even for immediate demands will so react upon capitalism, which is in a precarious condition, that they are bound to become more and more intense. This gives the struggles a revolutionary implication and prevents them from sinking into the reformism of pre-war days.

It seems, however, that Comrade Foster conceives of the labor party only as a respectable affair, organized

by the bureaucrats. And since, in his opinion, the bureaucrats are definitely lined up for a petty-bourgeois movement in one form or other, of course, there is no room for a labor party of his conception. But labor party advocated by the minority is not a party nicely camouflaged, with us in the background trying not to capture it. On the contrary, the labor party proposed by the minority is a roughneck affair, to be organized in the stress of the struggle and whose leadership is not to be camouflaged.

The farmer-labor party slogan cannot swing any masses into action at this time, says the majority. How far would they swing even for amalgamation? Not very far. Perhaps amalgamation, as we envisage it, will never be realized, and the unions as at present constituted will go down with the present leadership, and new ones may have to be built on an industrial basis. Certainly the "labor congress" is not a slogan that appears to have a great drawing power on the masses, but conditions and our activity may make it powerful. While for the labor party many unions, international, state and city and local bodies,

went on record and a great agitation has been developed for the last three years. With the success of the British labor party dangling in front of the workers, they certainly think along the lines of a labor party to the extent that they think politically at all. And considering that they are not ready for Communism, the next economic crisis, together with our activity, will make it possible to swing them en masse into political action. It need not be a political party for parliamentary action, as the British party is, but one that will follow our lead.

Slogans are of value to the extent of the masses we can swing behind them. Yes, the politically frozen territory of the United States has yielded us sufficient not to abandon it to the mercies of the petty bourgeoisie, but on the contrary, profiting by our mistakes and misconceptions in the past we should buckle down to build a militant farmer-labor party, thru which we will reach our goal, the mass Communist Party. It will not be a respectable farmer-labor party, neither will it be created in a year or so, in a hectic, get-rich-quick manner. Nevertheless, it is the best way to reach out among the masses politically, to combat the petty bourgeois and to establish the Communist Party as a powerful body politically.

socialist party and its leaders. They were traitors in our eyes because they wouldn't stand by the fight for a labor party.

Then reaction set in, Communists and sympathizers were expelled by dozens from labor unions. Gompers reigned supreme. But did we change our trade union policy just because we suffered defeat in the first skirmish? Oh! no! That would be a crime against the working class. We were expelled but workers still remained under the influence of Wall Street lieutenants who were and still are even more conservative and a great deal more reactionary than the petty bourgeois leader, LaFollette.

Our duty as Communists was and still is to work our way back to the unions, back to the organized section of the working class! This was and is a correct policy for Communists to pursue—100 per cent correct.

Now, comrades, imagine a Communist delegate to the A. F. of L. convention. A resolution for a labor party is introduced by the Molders and A. I. T. W. U. delegates. This is the fruit of our toil and the product of our labor.

What position is a Communist going to assume under these circumstances? He cannot vote for the resolution, for he would violate party discipline and be subject to expulsion from the Workers Party, since the central executive committee is on record against the labor party and he, as a Communist, cannot ignore its decision.

On the other hand to vote against the resolution would mean only one thing and that is, surrender to Gompersism. Could he as a Communist support the arch enemies of Communism?

The answer is: Never! By abstaining from voting he would again place himself in a centrist and cowardly position, unbecoming a Communist. Do you see such a delegate would find himself between the devil and the deep sea.

All this thanks to blunders of our majority!

MAJORITY ADVOCATES POLITICAL DUALISM

By ELMER P. BOICH.

IN the December issue of DAILY WORKER we read Comrade Cannon's article in which he states that "The outstanding characteristic of the right wing always and everywhere is its political cowardice."

Now I have nothing against Comrade Cannon personally, in fact, I look upon him and Comrade Foster as two of our ablest leaders in the party.

Their ability and courage have been displayed upon more than one occasion. Their leadership in some of this country's most important strikes must be well remembered.

But their prominence cannot and will not belittle their opponents of the minority, for, in fact, it is the first time that I ever heard anybody accusing Comrade Ruthenberg with political cowardice. Comrade Ruthenberg's history is an open book with which we are very familiar. In so far as courage is concerned few are his equal.

So much for the personalities. Now I shall deal with the fundamental issue involved. We are told by our majority that the farmer-labor party is no longer in demand, therefore, we must forget all about it. What brot our majority to this conclusion is beyond my power to understand. It may be longing for good times, peaceful enjoyment of life, so that we may be relieved of that hard task and burdensome trouble of working and agitating for a labor party.

Why, look at our grandma socialist labor party. She is still "alive" in spite of herself! Then take a look at our infants of the proletarian party. They are making a lot of noise and get along so nicely. So why shouldn't we of the Workers (Communist) Party feel safe, sane and secure in our little sect? We can form a united front with somebody sometime and somewhere. That is, of course, when we get disgusted with ourselves and too lonesome. In the meantime we can go out and make great, big "revolutionary" speeches, to show to the "public" what great leftists and rebels we are.

We shall prove our revolutionary egoism by telling our audience of revolution which is coming tomorrow, and then we will ask: Are we leftist or are we not?

For a period of three long years Communists have been working for a labor party in the unions, fraternal societies, co-operatives and every

other workers' organization. After years of hard labor we met with great success everywhere. Four big labor unions endorsed the labor party idea.

Powerful international unions were forced by their own membership to act and their delegates introduced resolutions for a labor party in A. F. of L. conventions. Communists took the leadership in the fight for a labor party and amalgamation. They were feared and hated by reactionary labor leaders. We bitterly condemned the

A Communist Catechism

More Questions and Answers

By MAX BEDACHT & JAY LOVE-
STONE.

19. Question—Where does the Cannon group get the brazen effrontery to call the Marxian group in the party liquidators?

Answer—That's more of the campaign mud-slinging in which Comrade Cannon is unsurpassed and unsurpassable. That's his most effective way of meeting issues—by avoiding them and throwing sand into the eyes of the membership so that they will have to follow him blindly.

There are only two ways of liquidating a Communist party. (1) The dissolution of the organization. (2) Robbing the organizations of its functions and thus condemning it to a slow and certain death.

We, who as a group have done the bulk of the work in building the Communist movement and in organizing the Workers Party, not only do not propose to liquidate the Workers Party but are pledged to fight tooth and toenail every attempt to liquidate the Workers Party regardless of how subtle, hidden, or unconscious (at best) the scheme may be. We have in mind particularly the second method of dissolving the Workers Party. We consider that the attempt of the Cannon group to bury the farmer-labor united front slogan is an attempt in this direction. The C. I. has emphatically declared that the Workers Party has elevated itself during the last two years from a state of sectarian barrenness to one of political activities. Back to the woods! That's the majority slogan. The Cannon group is attempting to lead our party or rather mislead our party back to its sectarian days. It is try-

ing to make out of a party of action a Bolshevik party, a party of mere propaganda, a menshevik party. That is liquidation with a vengeance.

On the one hand, the Foster-Cannon group maintains that it is opposed to a farmer-labor party slogan because there is no mass demand for it. They say they would be in favor of it if there were a mass demand for it. On the other hand, the same group afflicted with a devastating dose of sterility in Marxism says that to work for the development of an F. L. P means to work for the liquidation of the party. In short, applying the yardstick of common sense and the most elementary understanding of Communism this logic leads them into the following blind alley: We the Foster-Communists are in favor of a farmer-labor party only when it can be organized to be big and strong. Then there is no danger of liquidating the Workers Party. We are opposed to the farmer-labor slogan when there is no mass demand for it and when a big farmer-labor party cannot be organized; then of course there is danger of liquidating the Workers Party. In other words these Cannon-Communists are in favor of what they choose to call a competing party when they can get a competing party, but they are opposed to one when they can't get it.

Really, who are the liquidators? Merely to pose the question is to answer it.

*Your Policy must Be
—Buy a Policy—*

Thesis on Economic' Political Situation and Party Strategy

(Continued from page 2)

nection in every important territorial, industrial, political, etc. unit of the U. S. A.

b) To place every party member into the class struggle (Enforcement of the party requirement of membership and activity in unions, etc.)

c) To educate every member thru theory and practice so that he may be able to render maximum service to the party.

d) To reconstruct our party so that it may yield the maximum result in the class struggle: Application of workers' efficiency (accounting, communications etc.); organizational centralization (printing, dues payment of language federation branches thru regular party channels just like the English branches); shop nuclei (in each instance where the conditions make their organization possible without resort to artificial makeshifts).

e) An apparatus to meet the obvious requirements of a revolutionary party.

f) To maintain strict ideological and organizational discipline, i. e. to hold every party member strictly to account for every deviation from the accepted program of the party; and to make every party functionary accountable to a responsible committee with the understanding that he is obliged to give maximum service to the party.

G. ELECTIONS 1924.

31. The overwhelming majority of the party leadership, and by appearance also of the party, favored during six months of discussion a petty bourgeois election alliance. For this stand various reasons were given:

a) It is unusual; but we are facing an extraordinary situation.

b) It is not unusual; it would represent nothing but an American solution of a problem which in like manner was solved before elsewhere; see A) the Mexican letter, B) the British labor party, C) the alliance of the Communists with the social democrats in Germany and, D) of the Bolsheviks with the mensheviks. (Likewise do we find this year the majority thesis listing the latest developments in England, France and Germany as examples of how, recently, proletarian parties are effectively decomposed on the political field by the petty bourgeoisie).

c) It was advantageous because of the violent changes which had taken place the progressive demoralization of the American bourgeoisie.

d) It was good strategy because of the violent changes which were to come: the disintegration of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

32. The C. I. reversed this decision and upheld the contention of the anti-third party group. At various times did the various groups in the party react to this decision in the following manner (the these reactions have nowhere been authoritatively been recorded so as to be committal):

a) The present minority argued that they had really been sustained in principle, and only been defeated as to its application; eventually they admitted complete defeat.

b) The present majority, while accepting the C. I. decision, did not concur with it; eventually they agreed to the correctness of the C. I. decision.

33. After both LaFollette and the C. I. had agreed with the anti-third party group that an alliance of the W. P. with LaFollette was unwise, it developed that we could not even maintain the united front of our F. L. P. campaign and were by an additional withdrawal of temporary sympathizers forced to drop our F. L. P. campaign and to place a W. P. ticket in the field. A satisfactory vote of close to 40,000 was counted for our national candidates.

34. For the first time did the wage workers show enough political unrest to make it impossible to corral nearly all of them into the camps of the traditional parties of big business. This time it required a "third party" to draw a substantial number of workers and working farmers from their intended class action upon the political field. 4,300,000 votes were counted for LaFollette, one-eighth of the total

vote, about half coming from rural districts and half from industrial districts.

H. Party Strategy for 1925.

35. Both official theses agree that there was a substantial F. L. P. movement early in 1924, and that it was diverted into the LaFollette movement. The minority thesis holds that this F. L. P. movement, as the political expression of economic conditions, cannot permanently be perverted into a petty bourgeois movement, that the economic basis of the movement must inevitably re-assert itself, and that therefore the slogan "for a farmer-labor party" must soon fall upon fertile ground.

36. The majority thesis does not deny the proletarian and semi-proletarian basis of the involved moving group of workers and working farmers; but it does deny that this basis will necessarily soon loosen from this movement the hold which the petty bourgeois party has on it. (Didn't the parties of big business have a stranglehold on them for 30-50 years? They could ask.)

37. The majority thesis considers the F. L. P. movement as having been not only absorbed but assimilated by the third party movement. The progressive defection of the F. L. P. movement passed several stages:

a) The pre-convention period with LaFollette's anathema against the W. P. (which according to Foster reduced the convention attendance by 75 per cent.)

b) The partial failure of the June 17 convention.

c) The unconditional support of LaFollette on part of the C. P. P. A. convention on July 4.

d) The final phase leading up to the withdrawal of the F. L. P. national candidates, and their replacement by W. P. candidates.

38. If there was any time at all during which the F. L. P. movement was "absorbed" by the third party movement it must have been during any one or more of these periods.

39. Let us consider the following quotation: "Since . . . June 1922 . . . the party has carried on a consistent united front campaign with the end in view of uniting those workers and farmers who were ready to break with the capitalist parties in a mass F. L. P. with which the W. P. would be affiliated. This campaign has been the major political campaign of our party. We have during this campaign advanced the cause of independent working class action and made the F. L. P. an issue in the American labor movement. We can also say, without danger of the statement being challenged, that our party had made the greatest gains for itself thruout this campaign for the labor party. It is thru this F. L. P. campaign that our party has established itself as a political force in the U. S. It is thru this campaign that it has established its prestige and its leadership among the masses of workers and farmers. Nothing has contributed so much to develop our party from a sectarian group to a recognized political force in the life of the labor movement of this country than our maneuvers in relation to the F. L. P. . . . The campaign for a F. L. P. was a correct estimation of the situation in the U. S. . . . must be continued and will be a major campaign of the party in the future."

40. This quotation is from the document entitled "Our Immediate Work, a Program of Action," issued in August by unanimous decision of the C. E. C.

41. These statements, if correct, establish the following facts:

a) It is correct to appeal to workers and farmers with a F. L. P. slogan even before a real F. L. P. movement exists among them, as long as they are "ready to break with the capitalist parties."

b) "This campaign has been the major political campaign of our party."

c) "We have . . . made the F. L. P. an issue in the American labor movement."

d) "The campaign for the F. L. P.

must be continued and will be a major campaign of the party in the future."

42. If, on the other hand, these statements are incorrect, it follows that:

a) The C. E. C., including its majority, made another mistake in appraising the political situation.

b) The C. I. shared in this mistake by not taking exception to this statement.

c) The majority of the C. E. C. failed in its duty to the party and the C. I. by not withdrawing formally and specifically what they now in their majority thesis are attacking as incorrect. (It should be noted that the quotations are not from a casual campaign document, but from one which the C. E. C. was proud to issue as a result and proof of party unity enjoyed by the C. I., and for which both comrades Foster and Ruthenberg toured the party districts, familiarizing the party membership in detail and with emphasis with this "program" in August, the majority abandoning it in November.

I. Criticism.

43. It is logical that in countries where a strong Communist Party is confronting an unusual constellation of forces it must strike out upon new ways to achieve maximum result. The various social forces in the U. S. A. are of course producing certain special problems: The leading economic and financial position of the U. S. A.; the fact that it has relatively the weakest labor movement of an industrialized country in the world with the proportionately strongest labor bureaucracy, making the labor movement topheavier than anywhere else in the world; most important of all the absence of any effective class consciousness of the workers as expressed on the political field.

44. But our party itself does not produce any particularly new problems; while we are relatively the weakest party in the C. I., this very weakness makes our party problems such as are as a rule common and known, and whose repeated solution within the C. I. is well known.

45. Another feature of our domestic reasoning is the vision of rapid changes which are supposed to be either taking place before our eyes, or else immediately pending. (See the F. L. P. absorption of the majority thesis, and the ever critical unemployment situation as the minority sees it.)

46. The majority thesis claims that the F. L. P. sentiment of the first half of 1924 has been completely absorbed and is irretrievably lost to the LaFollette movement, in this time of "immediate downward plunge of American industry, renewed crisis, unemployment, and sharpening of the class struggle."

47. Political parties seem to be permanently severed from their economic foundation and slide around upon a surface greased with political expediency.

48. Still worse "the LaFollette movement . . . will be forced to overcome . . . the contradictions of group and sectional interests . . . sufficiently to crystallize into a new political party." In this era where political parties are unable to maintain themselves without adjusting the antagonism of the various economic groups (see point 6d) it is expected that the LaFollette movement will begin to create parties out of economically incompatible groups.

J. The Elements for a Revolutionary Party.

49. It requires a violent elimination of democratic-pacifist preconceptions to identify oneself with the Communist movement even thru one's vote. One just disappointed with bourgeois politics, petty or otherwise, is as a rule not yet in the frame of mind that makes for a vote for Communism. History shows not a single instance where masses of workers change in times of comparative social security from bourgeois directly to revolutionary politics.

50. Without exception their first step after they break with bourgeois politics is working class politics—up-

on the basis of the bourgeois state. In continental Europe this lead to the broad class parties of the Second International; which were in theory in conflict with the bourgeois state, but in practice reformist parties upon the basis of the bourgeois state. In Anglo-Saxon countries we find reformism originally not so much permeating the socialist parties but forming a layer of labor parties around them.

51. An analysis of our party membership will show the largest part recruited from the S. P.; smaller parts from Y. P. S. L., the S. L. P., P. P., I. W. W. and anarchist organizations. All these sources are of course disappearing. A small influx of members, especially in Minn., was credited to our F. L. P. participation.

52. Just as in all other countries only a negligible fraction of the number and value of our party membership has come to us directly without intervention of any political or semi-political proletarian organization upon the basis of the bourgeois state. What should make us think that this unbroken national and international experience does not apply to the present situation!

53. Both official thesis beg the most contended question. The majority thesis declares, ". . . Neither are we bound to the theory of the historic inevitability of the labor party in America." The minority thesis "The inevitability of the formation of a F. L. P. is not the basis of our campaign."

54. But the inevitability—normally—of some intermediate form of political expression must be established. The majority thesis mentions casually some "labor congress, council of action etc." which together with a labor party are some of the forms which the united front on the political field might assume. This introduction of new, vague, and little known terms is no contribution to the discussion.

55. We must proclaim emphatically that we are for the united front, on the political field as anywhere else; we must have an opinion as to what the united front on the political field will most likely be. A reformist program of our own party is out of the question. It might be an election alliance; but eventually a labor party seems the logical solution.

K. The Principle of a United Front.

56. The Communist Parties the world over are making propaganda for Communist demands. They find however often groups of workers making propaganda for general everyday workers' demands. This leads to a division of the workers. The Communists are trying to convince the other workers of the superiority of the Communist demands; if they succeed they have made a direct gain for the Communist movement.

57. But if they fail, yet are unwilling to continue the division of the workers, they abide by the decision of the majority of the workers, and join in demands whose character or limitations often make them indefensible. In this they consider themselves justified because they are thereby preserving the workers' united front. The labor party is one of the forms of the united front on the parliamentary field. And yet they continue to make propaganda for the Communist demands both inside and outside of the united front, criticizing the defective united front demands and constantly pointing out the correctness of their original Communist, but by a majority defeated position. All the time however living up to the letter and spirit of their obligations arising out of the united front, and propagating and supporting with all their power the united front demands, as the best demands that get support from a substantial part of the workers.

58. If however, thru a perversion of the united front, Communists enter it with non-Communist demands (so as to conceal their own identity) and thereby incapacitate themselves for any criticism of the united front demands, both inside and outside, it is not anymore a united front. The

(Continued on page 8)

The Pan-American Federation of Labor

(Continued from Page 1.)
Communist speech. These were his only two appearances in and only contribution to the congress. In the executive committees' report, they accused the Communists of assisting the De La Huerta uprising. This in spite of the fact that Morones during the uprising denied this statement of Gompers and accused him of misusing his friendly relationship with Mexico in order to satisfy his hatred of the Communists. He even went so far as to use his influence over one of the Mexican papers to publish the reply of the Mexican Communist Party and their denial of the accusation made by Gompers. Gunitio Vargas, the Spanish-speaking secretary of the Pan-American federation, has admitted that this statement was not true and that it had only been put in the report because Gompers insisted upon it. Morones warned the delegates in the last few minutes of the congress, that if these people, (meaning the Communists) who parade as the real liberators should by any means find their way into the congress, it would be their painful duty to expel them. He assured them, however, that this did not mean that the

organizations they "mis-represented" would be expelled. They would remain, I suppose, providing they elected delegates suitable to him and his chief, Gompers.

One of the immediate reasons for this attack upon the Mexican Communist Party was the hissing of Gompers and Morones by Mexican workers on the opening day of the congress. The other immediate reason was the complete victory of the Communists over Morones' lieutenants in the convention of the Agrarian League of Communes of the state of Vera Cruz. This convention, with 400 delegates representing the most powerful agrarian league in Mexico, endorsed the Communist Party, affiliated with the Peasants' International, elected a Communist president, vice-president, and secretary, and a Communist sympathizer as treasurer. This was a blow to the Morones-Trevino-Rico group of class collaborators who had boasted that they put this organization under yellow socialist leadership.

One has to come to Latin-America to really fully understand Gompers' trickery and duplicity. Here he is Comrade Gompers, the socialist, the radical, the man who has devoted his

whole life to the liberation of the underdog. It may seem absurd to think that Gompers could be even considered a socialist or a radical anywhere. He is a little too old to adapt himself to the changed environment he finds in Mexico, however, he makes a brave attempt, and the interpreters give the socialist phraseology to his speeches. Besides, it is under this cloak that the counter-revolutionaries the world over do their most treacherous work.

Gompers and Hughes, hand in hand, are penetrating Latin-America in the interests of American imperialism. Where the democratic labor wing cannot accomplish the job, then all the forces of the army and the navy come into play. The most brilliant chapter in the history of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, says Gompers, is the part they played in helping to defeat the De La Huerta uprising. It is a frank admission that the purpose of this alleged labor organization is to assist American imperialism to defeat British imperialism in Latin-America and then to establish world domination.

We know but little of the Latin-American workers and they know little of us. These workers have very

strong revolutionary tendencies. The labor movements in many of the republics are young and inexperienced. This is an asset and not a liability. Thanks to this, they are not yet firmly orientated. They are not completely under the domination of reactionary machines such as we suffer from. They are looking for action and revolutionary leadership. Only the Communists can supply this. The Communist Parties, legal or illegal, in Latin-America have influence far beyond what their organized strength would indicate. We must not allow the invasion of Gompers to further create the impression that there are no anti-American imperialist forces in North America.

The manifesto issued by the Workers (Communist) Party, and the manifesto issued by the T. U. E. L. and the Pan-American Anti-Imperialistic League, are only the beginning of the campaign for uniting the Communist and left wing forces in North, Central, and South America, so as to strengthen them against American imperialism at home and abroad. This is a big and important task, one in which our party must play a major part.

THESIS ON ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION AND PARTY STRATEGY

(Continued from page 7)

Communists therein are then Communists in "theory" only; but in fact they became centrists.

59. The support of the F. F. L. P. came to 90 per cent from the W. P.; now the minority thesis says "Opposition on part of the Foster-Cannon group was responsible for the failure to organize the F. F. L. P." If the group charged with neglect would have added any momentum to the F. F. L. P. it would have been a W. P. affair 99 per cent. This is where the united front becomes an ingrown front, an obsession, a shibboleth, a password for a sect going down to oblivion.

L. Our Slogan: A Labor Party Controlled by Labor Organizations.

60. The economic conditions will force a labor party in the near future. Many comrades object to carry the labor party slogan for the following reason: Since we will hardly be able to act upon this slogan in the immediate future it would be a "dead" slogan.

61. It has nowhere been recognized as a principle that a slogan is "dead" just because we cannot act upon it for the time being, e. g. "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," "All Power to the Soviets," "Recognition of Soviet Russia," propaganda in colonial countries, in the army and navy, etc. No valid reasons have been advanced why this particular slogan occupies an altogether different position in this respect.

62. A united front on the economic

and the political field: Strong, unified unions "amalgamation," and a political union, "a labor party controlled by labor organizations" should always be ready to galvanize the labor movement into real life.

63. To speak of the "class F. L. P. slogan" as "the most effective agitational weapon which to deny is to deny the fundamentals of our Communist principles" shows the minority lacking all realism. But to raise the elimination of the F. L. P. slogan at the time to the central point of contention shows that the majority is underestimating all the other problems confronting us.

M. Corrections.

64. With the reactionary republican party winning hands down against a stand-pat democratic platform and candidates, without apparently any concession to any popular unrest notwithstanding the unprecedented provocation of the Teapot Dome oil scandal; with both the political and the economic organizations of the workers at their lowest ebb in the last fifteen years; with the farmers rebellious unrest adroitly diverted by a buncomb third party movement; the minority thesis declares "the capitalist class is desperately hanging on to power."

65. With the exaggerated and often downright untruthful statements concerning the F. F. L. P. having made an international laughing stock of the comrades responsible therefore, the minority thesis declares "the F. F. L. represented 600,000 workers."

Communism is represented as a hopeless one—even tho the case may be a justifiable one. In this way, the great middle class of boobery and bourgeois feel that Communism is impossible. To one with a half-way knowledge of capitalistic propaganda, the reason is plainly seen for this smearing of falsehood with a sweetness satisfying to the mediocre mental palate. Marcossion evidently has a hard time to suppress his feelings of sympathy, if artificial, but the knowledge that the Curtis Publishing company is one of the most reactionary of forces in the United States, with a far-reaching effect on the middle mass, is sufficient to curb any sympathetic break.

The Poor Boob!

Marcossion is still of the opinion that Communism and Bolshevism are upheld by fanatics of a very imaginative mental strain, who cannot see the impracticability of a Communist state. To one who has studied Marxism as applied by the Communists, this is absurd. There is nothing whatsoever romantic or adventuristic about Communism. It has the satisfaction of a reality. To the Marcossion intellects, we advise a study of Communist principles, say, a study based on "The A. B. C. of Communism." Such a study should prove profitable.

The nature of Marcossion's intellect can be grasped from this excerpt from his first article:

"Far more damning than all this is the crusade against God, because Soviet propaganda respects neither deity nor man. The youth of Russia is being reared on the idea that there is no creed but a perverted Communism. All sense of the spiritual, the saving grace of individual as well as nation, is crushed. Atheism rules. The anti-religious literature is an offense to the eye and to the mind. I have never seen anything so sacrilegious. It is this undermining of what might be called the moral influence that constitutes perhaps the worst indictment against the Bolshevik order."

Blow number one of which I shall speak a little later.

And again, in the same article, he says:

"What we term fair dealing and opportunity they denounce as tyrannous capitalism."

How Sermons Are Cooked Up.

His diatribe against the atheistic doctrine of the Bolsheviks is perhaps the most effective. The great blood-sucking class of ministers are generally numbered among the readers of the Post. In its columns they will find nothing that is apt to bruise their already hardened conscience. This blow of Marcossion's gives them the cue. From the pulpit they will preach against Sovietism because it endangers their meal ticket, they will add imagination to the already reality, and thus give the religious millions a perverted caricature of the Soviet government. And the American nation is weak, particularly in this supersti-

FAMOUS MOVIE FILM, "POLIKUSHKA," WILL RETURN TO CHICAGO

The famous story, "Polikushka," by the immortal writer, L. N. Tolstoy, which was made into a moving picture by the Moscow Art Theater, is coming back to Chicago for one evening only. The picture was shown in Chicago at the Orchestra Hall only once last winter. Thousands of workers who were unable to see the picture at its first showing are anxiously awaiting its coming back. The picture will be shown THURSDAY NIGHT, JAN. 15, at Gartner's Independent Theater, 3725 Roosevelt Road, near Independent Blvd. Mark the date on your calendar and tell your friends about it.

All friendly organizations are requested to postpone their meetings on that date.

tious strain. And the great 100 per cent American mind becomes moulded into one form, the great American eye is furnished a pair of spectacles that looks at Communism, but not into.

To the reader of Marx and to the reader of Bucharin's "A. B. C. of Communism" the statement above quoted, "What we term fair dealing and opportunity, etc." causes nothing but amusement. But to the American public, accustomed as it is to receive dishes made to the capitalistic order, it will have the semblance of truth.

And Marcossion only serves to illustrate why we must war, not only against capitalism, but at their yellow lackeys, the writers who write to order, as well.

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THE PIOUS MARCOSSION

A Review of the "After Lenin—What?" Articles in the Saturday Evening Post By JOSEPH KALAR.

THERE are several ways in which capitalism exerts an anti-Bolshevik influence on the masses. We have, first of all, the amusing and utterly impossible caricatures as dished out by the newspapers to newspaper intelligences, the second-hand influence of the artists who maintain that under Communism individuality would disappear, and lastly, the polite and urban monstrosities executed in subtle shades by the more intelligent run of lackeys. The newspaper caricatures are not usually effective, except on very immature and impressionable minds. To the intelligent mind, even tho it may be serving capitalism against Communism, such mental inventions are exceedingly humorous. The artists exert an influence only among their own set—for it is up to them to fear the displacement of a

system whereby they profit. But the real dangerous sort of anti-propaganda is found in the subtle productions of semi-intellectuals. It is within this type that Mr. Isaac Marcossion, a very willing lackey, of the Curtis Publishing company, can be classed.

Capitalist Poison Gas Factory.
His "After Lenin—What?" articles are given great prominence in the pages of the Saturday Evening Post. The Post is too polite to revert to the caricature type of anti-propaganda, so it employs a man like Mr. Marcossion to write articles from the very scene of Communism. The danger in Marcossion's articles is that occasionally they verge into something that appears intelligent. Mr. Marcossion seems to be struggling between a sympathy for the Communist cause, and the possible chance of a large check from the publishers. It is this sort of semi-sympathetic literature that gives great harm. The case for