



**TOWARD
REVOLUTIONARY
MASS WORK**



Toward Revolutionary Mass Work

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Introduction

The keynote of the 14th Plenum of the Party is "to overcome the isolation of the Party from the decisive masses of the American proletariat." This becomes an immediate necessity in face of the war which already has begun against the Chinese people, the growing war moves against the Soviet Union and the impending world war.

The 14th Plenum resolution states: "A new world war becomes an immediate danger. The greatest and most urgent task of the whole world proletariat and the toiling masses, above all the American proletariat, is to wage a most intensive, widespread, devoted and courageous struggle against the new imperialist war and in defense of the Chinese people, and build an iron wall of defense around the Soviet Union." Thus we see that the Plenum resolution gives our Party a leading role in the fight against war. If the Party is to be successful in the mobilization of the masses in the fight against imperialist war, it must bring an essential change in its methods of mass work and above all root itself in the decisive industries.

In estimating the work of the Party, in face of the fact that "capitalism of the United States has been hardest hit by the economic crisis," in face of the growing offensive of the bourgeoisie and the growing resistance of the toiling masses, in spite of a number of successes (strikes, Scottsboro, Hunger March) "the work of the Party fundamentally remains in the same groove."

What are the main reasons for the fact that the Party has not yet made the turn? What must be some of the methods whereby the Party will make the turn?

The basic reason for the Party's failure to make the turn in spite of some successes is due to the sectarian and deep-rooted formalism, the failure of the Party to merge itself with the masses through solid personal contact and through concentration on the basic industries and basic sections of the American proletariat.

The Plenum therefore raised sharply the question of a correct mass policy which places as the task of the Communists "to develop and organize the activity and initiative of the masses" and that "this calls for a most concrete application of the united front from below in accordance with the varying degree of influence of the Communists, the extent of the radicalization of the workers, the influence of the social-fascists, etc., thus applying the line of independent policy not mechanically, but on the basis of a careful analysis of the concrete conditions of work and of struggle."

"Inseparably linked up with this as a basic prerequisite of our entire mass work is persistent struggle against the fascist and social fascist leaders of the A. F. of L., against the Socialist Party, and particularly the left social fascists."

We see that as part of the question of a correct mass policy, the Plenum raised sharply the struggle against the American Federation of Labor, the struggle against social fascism. Of late we have

noticed how the Socialist Party, particularly the left social fascists, the Musteites, etc., in order to arrest the growing radicalization of the masses and the growing influence of the Party amongst them, play with left phrases and make gestures of struggle.

The development of shop work on the basis of personal detailed knowledge of the conditions in each particular shop is placed in the very center of all the Party's activities. In order to accomplish this, the lower Party organizations must really develop into leaders of mass struggle, particularly in the development of shop struggles.

The Plenum took up development of economic struggles, the building of the opposition groups in the A. F. of L., and stated that above all, the "radical improvement of the situation of the revolutionary trade unions is the key task of the Party."

From this viewpoint, the resolution of the E.C.C.I. on the lessons of strike struggles in the U.S.A., is of most decisive importance. This resolution must be studied carefully and painstakingly and become the basis for concrete application in all of our economic and strike struggles.

We are reprinting the Central Committee resolution on unemployed work which was adopted last October. This resolution was not popularized sufficiently in spite of its great importance. The 14th Plenum Resolution states "in work among the unemployed, the Party must concretize its daily work on the basis of the October resolution." In discussing the decisions of the 14th Plenum resolution and applying the line of the 14th Plenum Resolution to our work amongst the unemployed, the October resolution on the unemployed work must be taken as a guide.

We are also reprinting in this pamphlet the 11th Plenum Resolution on War. The weaknesses of our anti-war activities are to a large measure due to an insufficient Leninist understanding of our struggle against imperialist war. The 11th Plenum war resolution should be studied. We particularly urge the comrades to study the recently republished Sixth World Congress Resolution on war which in a concentrated form gives the line and directives of the C. I. in our struggle against imperialist war.

The changed situation, the growing tasks which require a quick response and thorough mobilization of the membership call for the raising of the theoretical level of the Party membership and enriching and deepening the inner political life of the Party. Particularly is this important in view of the new membership in the Party which must be assimilated through practical work, political discussions and the popularization of Marxist and Leninist ideas. This will also help a great deal in our struggle against the tremendous fluctuation which exists at the present time.

The greater the political life in the Party, the more earnest our work with regard to raising of the political level of the Party membership, the more sensitive will we become to the needs of the masses and the more quickly will we establish ourselves as the vanguard of the working class.

The Tasks of the Communist Party, U. S. A.

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE
14th CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

THE Communist Party of U. S. A. has made some improvement in its work in strikes, hunger marches, and the struggles of the Negroes. Notwithstanding this, and the increasingly favorable conditions for the fulfillment of its daily increasing tasks in the struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie, against the pronounced aggressiveness of American imperialism and the immediate perspectives of a new, imperialist world war, our Party has not yet made the essential change in its work necessary for the carrying out of its chief immediate task. This task is to overcome the isolation of the Party from the decisive masses of the American proletariat, to come before the masses as their vanguard in the struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie and against the imperialist war, and to firmly root itself in the decisive industries by means of solid personal contacts with the workers.

1. The Situation

Capitalism of the United States has been hardest hit by the economic crisis, as expressed in the unprecedented fall in production and trade, and in the growth of mass unemployment, which plunges millions and millions of workers in the cities and in the rural districts into hunger and poverty. The crisis is destroying the petty bourgeois illusions of the masses about the "American standard of living," "community of interests of labor and capital," and creates the most favorable prerequisites for the formation and strengthening of the class front of the proletariat and the working masses.

In its efforts to save the capitalist system from a further deepening of the crisis, and to find a capitalist way out of the crisis, the American bourgeoisie is carrying

on the fiercest attacks against the masses and is feverishly preparing for a war against its imperialist rivals and, above all, for intervention against the Soviet Union. Wage cut after wage cut is being forced through, millions of unemployed are subjected to hunger and poverty and the standard of living of the masses has already been forced down by more than 50 per cent through wage losses as a result of wage cuts and unemployment. The financial oligarchy with the help of the state, is daily accumulating more of the national wealth in its hands, through the unprecedented impoverishment of the workers, and at the expense of the small taxpayers, farmers and small bourgeoisie ("Reconstruction Corporation" of Hoover, increased tariffs, etc.). The offensive of the capitalists is characterized by sharpened police, fascist and semi-fascist repression and terror against the workers and their class organizations. Simultaneously, the bourgeoisie resorts widely and systematically to demagogic and "democratic" maneuvers, using more and more the social-democrats, the "Musteites" and the various pseudo-"Lefts" as a tool for confusing and disorganizing the workers.

The two main bourgeois parties (Republican and Democratic) both fully supporting the policies of finance capital, divide the roles among themselves in order to prevent the masses from breaking away from the policy of finance capital as exercised through the traditional two-party system. The Republican Party, which is the party in power, is carrying on more openly this policy of hunger, terror and war preparations. The Democratic Party, whose present function is to win the support of the toiling masses and particularly the unemployed, who are disillusioned by the Hoover government, has the same domestic and foreign policy as the Republican Party. The state governments under Democratic Party control carry on the same policy as the Hoover government. The Democratic congressmen and senators vote for all measures against the working class. But the Democratic Party, in order to fool the masses, is resorting more and more to the widespread use of demagoguery, particularly with regard to unemployment relief. The

chief candidates for the Democratic nomination for president (Roosevelt, Baker, Ritchie, etc.) are the most experienced demagogues, and in the North, for example, talk about equality for the Negro and at the same time, in the South, support lynch law and carry through fully the ruthless policy of Wall Street.

The bloc of "progressives" representing the rich farmers and certain sections of small capitalists (La Follette, Morris, etc.) is likewise fully supporting the policies of Wall Street. Its "opposition" is more cowardly than ever. These elements, who in 1924 organized the La Follette third party and who are at the moment dividing their support between Hoover and the Democratic Party, hope to enter into an election bloc with the Democrats in order to enable Wall Street to keep the masses chained to the old capitalist parties. At the same time they demagogically talk about unemployment relief (Pinchot), unemployment insurance (La Follette), about farm relief, etc.

The sharp change in the international situation is the outstanding feature of the present situation. The war for the repartitioning of the world, and in the first place, for the imperialist partitioning of China and the crushing of the Chinese revolution, is already being waged by the imperialists in the Far East.

The great imperialist powers, especially Japan and the United States, are at present more and more involved in the sharpest conflict for their share in the exploitation and division of China and concentrating their war forces (navy, air forces, war industry) for an immediate armed struggle in the Pacific. At the same time the feverish efforts of Japan, United States, England and France to come together, arising on the basis of their common hatred of the Soviet Union, their preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union, the movement of the Japanese troops to Northern Manchuria, the feverish activities of the white guards, sharply raise in this situation before the international proletariat above all the greatest danger of common intervention of the imperialist powers against the U. S. S. R., the world proletarian fatherland.

A new world war becomes an immediate danger. The greatest and most urgent task of the whole world proletariat and the toiling masses, above all, the American proletariat, is to wage a most intensive, widespread, devoted and courageous struggle against the new imperialist war and in defense of the Chinese people, and to build an iron wall of defense around the Soviet Union. The central task of the C. P. U. S. A. is to struggle against the new imperialist war and above all to work most devotedly and courageously to mobilize the working class in defense of the Soviet Union. The struggle against American imperialism, its war preparations and intervention plans must be the center of the every-day work of the Party among the masses, in the factories, trade unions, in strikes, among the unemployed, Negroes, youth and women. Only by the ability to rally and organize the masses to struggle for their immediate demands and against the war danger, as the most outstanding menace for the working class, can the Party come before the masses, and must come before them, as their revolutionary vanguard—the most conscious, most devoted and best organized elements among them.

2. The Class Struggles of the Proletariat and the Social Fascists

The further development of the crisis, the bankruptcy of the various illusions spread among the masses by the bourgeoisie, the increasing poverty and misery of the working masses and the immediate danger of war and intervention—all these factors form the basis for the increasing discontent and radicalization of the great masses of workers. The furious offensive of the bourgeoisie is met by increasing resistance on the part of the working class. This has already expressed itself recently in the increasing strike struggles (the doubling of the number of striking workers in 1931 as compared with 1930), in the increasing militancy of the unemployed (national hunger march, Scottsboro, the unemployed in Chicago and Cleveland, in the movement against the policy and leadership of the American Federation of La-

bor trade union bureaucracy (building trades, etc.), in the increase in the number of Communist votes in several important cities: San Francisco, Lawrence, Salt Lake City, mining towns, etc.) and in numerous militant mass demonstrations against war and in defense of the Soviet Union.

In this situation American social fascism (American Federation of Labor, Socialist Party, particularly the Muste wing, with the Lovestone-Cannon renegades) are greatly increasing their activity to carry out the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie, trying, by establishing the most skillful, deceptive division of work, to divert the radicalized workers from the class struggle against the offensive of the capitalists, to split the ranks of the workers and to bring about their defeat. This confronts the Communist Party with the task of increasing, sharpening and improving its fight against social-fascism, as the main enemy in the struggle for the successful mobilization of the masses in the fight against the bourgeois offensive and the war danger.

The leaders of the American Federation of Labor are collaborating most brutally and actively with the bourgeoisie in its imperialist policy, at home and abroad, to carry through wage cuts, to check the development of the strike movement, etc. They cynically declare themselves against unemployment insurance, and for the Hoover stagger plan. They actively support jim-crowism and the lynching of Negroes, and the deportation of foreign-born workers, and form a part of the apparatus for suppressing the struggle of the workers by force and violence. The leaders of the American Federation of Labor (Green, Woll and Company) are the most jingoistic tools of the imperialists, working hand in hand with the war department in the bloody oppression of the colonial peoples. The American Federation of Labor bureaucracy, together with the Civic Federation, the common policy of which is symbolized by Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and acting president of the Civic Federation) are particularly fierce in their hatred of the Soviet Union and shout loudest for attacks and intervention.

The Socialist Party which formerly worshipped at the shrine of "Hoover prosperity" and removed the phrase "class struggle" from its platform, is now resorting more and more to the use of "Left" demagoguery and socialist phraseology in order to fool the radicalized workers. It supports the American Federation of Labor in its strike-breaking policy, and the leaders of the trade unions under Socialist Party control are daily carrying through a strike-breaking policy (A. C. W., I. L. G. W. U., etc). It carries on sham propaganda for social insurance in order to keep the workers away from widespread mass struggles, which alone can win social insurance. It supports the measures and proposals of the national and local governments against the unemployed and in Reading and Milwaukee, which are under Socialist administrations, the same policy is being carried out, as in cities which are controlled by the Republican and Democratic Parties. Under cover of phrases about "nationalization of the mines," they carry on the policy of the mine operators, the government and the Lewis machine for the rationalization of the mines and to lower the standard of living of the miners, and to hold back the miners from struggle under the leadership of the National Miners Union. Under the banner of pacifism they are trying to keep the masses from fighting against war, and support the war policy of the Hoover government, League of Nations, disarmament swindle, war debts, Laval visit, etc. The Socialist Party is a bitter enemy of the Soviet Union. It openly supports the counter-revolutionary white guards (Hillquit). Under the guise of sympathy for the Soviet Union, it is attempting to undermine the increasing sympathy of the workers for the Soviet Union by presenting the American bourgeois dictatorship as a real democracy in contrast to the proletarian democracy of the Soviet Union, which it represents as a reign of dictatorship which should be "democratized," and by this they come forward as representatives of the interests of those who want the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The Muste wing of social fascism, which also includes

the various renegades, Slutsky, Lore, Cannon, Lovestone, is playing a particularly dangerous role in this situation, trying to hold back the most radicalized workers from genuine struggle against the capitalist offensive under the leadership of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions. While talking about the "deepening of the crisis and mass misery," they are trying at the same time to secure the leadership of the developing struggles of the workers in order to disorganize the workers' ranks and lead them to defeat, helping the employers to put through the most vicious wage cuts (hosiery workers). Where the workers inside the A. F. of L. are trying to organize the struggle against the capitalist offensive in spite of and over the heads of the A. F. of L. leaders (Green, Woll and Company) the Musteites with their "Left" democracy, step forward to "lead" these struggles in order to bring about the defeat of the workers, to liquidate genuine opposition movements, to strengthen the position of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and to prevent the development of class consciousness among the workers. While they weep about the misery of the unemployed workers, the Musteites stand on the same platform as the Socialist Party. They are opposed to the demands of the unemployed and in practice carry through the Hoover-Green unemployment program in the unions. In order to divert the growing class consciousness and desire for class organization shown by large sections of the working masses and sidetrack it into the camp of bourgeois ideology and influence, the Musteites are bringing the agitation for a labor party into the foreground. For the same purpose the Musteites utter meaningless demagogic phrases against Hillquit, Thomas and Company, and even speak of forming a new "genuine, realistic, militant, revolutionary left party," in an effort to prevent the movement of the masses towards the Communist Party, against which they concentrate all their struggles. The Musteites are particularly subtle in helping the capitalists in their war preparations, aimed primarily against the Soviet Union. They see the leftward move of the workers and the growing popularity

of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Therefore they are carrying on their policy of undermining its growing influence under the guise of support for the Soviet Union. Therefore, they together with Lovestone-Brandlerites and Cannon-Trotskyites, carry on their counter-revolutionary agitation against the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The attempt to prevent the mobilization of the masses against war danger by declaring that there is no such war danger and that "the sharpening of the crisis furnishes the guarantee against imperialist war and attack on the Soviet Union."

III. The Situation of the C. P. U. S. A. and Its Urgent Tasks

The radical turn towards revolutionary mass work among the basic sections of the American proletariat, which has been demanded by the E. C. C. I. in its resolutions and directives, has up till now essentially not been carried through in practice. Although the Party has recognized the necessity of this turn, and although the Party can show a number of successes in the attempt to carry out the turn in practice (strikes, Scottsboro, Hunger March), *the work of the Party fundamentally remains in the same groove.* This is to be seen in the backwardness of factory work and the building up of the lower Party organizations, in the weakness of the struggle for unemployment and social insurance, in the still extremely weak state of the revolutionary trade unions, in the extremely weak development of the work in the reformist trade unions, in the failure to carry out the required concentration on the four districts (Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Pittsburgh), in the marked decline of the circulation of the "Daily Worker"; and in the 100 per cent fluctuation of Party membership. The Party is still isolated from the masses of workers and working women. It has not yet learned how to link up its every-day work with the systematic exposure of the bourgeois state and of the policy and demagogy of the open bourgeois and social-fascist parties. A special

weakness of the Party is the absolutely inadequate fight against the social fascists, first of all, against the Muste group which, as the present strikes and the elections show, have increased their influence among the ranks of the workers. The Party has failed to bring the revolutionary way out of the crisis to the American workers, as it has also failed to popularize the victorious Socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

The Party must definitely sharpen and broaden its struggles against social fascism and carry on a persistent struggle inside the Party against the underestimation of the role of and the fight against social fascism in the United States. The increasing influence of the social fascists in the United States during the crisis in contrast to the capitalist countries of Europe is undoubtedly due to a great extent to the inadequate exposure of the social fascists by the Party. The Party must also understand that as a result of the crisis and rationalization, large numbers of workers in the A. F. of L. are in the process of radicalization, and that the characterization of the masses of workers in the A. F. of L. as "labor aristocracy" is incorrect.

The chief obstacles which stood in the way of carrying out a correct mass policy and in the further development of the Party are the following:

1. The strong *sectarian tendencies* in the entire work of the Party, as well as in the mass organizations — tendencies which are based on a deeply rooted formalism. The Party carries through the policy of the united front in a rigid and formal way. It has not yet learned how to connect itself up firmly with the broad masses of non-Party and reformist workers, work in the old unions, to work on the basis of their concrete needs (general demands) and to draw up the demands together with them. Thus, the Party appears before the masses as a Party for the workers, but not the Party of the workers.

2. The bureaucratic methods of work, which are expressed in the "circular letter" method of leadership and in an excessive number of paid functionaries at the head of the Party and the auxiliary organizations, para-

lyzes the work of the lower Party organizations, and sidetracks them from genuine mass work on to "inner" Party and routine work, and hinders the development of cadres and the initiative of the lower organizations. The Party has not yet established collective leadership or genuinely functioning apparatus in the lower organizations, and has the tendency to conduct the work only through individual organizers.

In order to overcome sectarianism which constitutes the chief obstacle in the revolutionary mass work of the Party, the Party must carry on a consistent struggle against *right opportunism* as the main danger, as well as against opportunism covered with "Left" phrases. Right opportunism was recently expressed in many places, for example, in the capitulation and conciliatory attitude towards Left social-fascists (Southern Illinois, Lawrence and Pickens).

The immediate central task of the Party is the mobilization of the masses in the struggle against the bourgeois offensive and the war danger, organizing the workers in broad united front struggles, in the preparation and carrying out of strike struggles, in movements against wage cuts and against forcing down of the living conditions of the workers, in the extension and intensification of the struggle of the unemployed for immediate relief, and for unemployment and social insurance, raising these struggles to the level of mighty class battles against U. S. imperialism.

In order that the Party be in a position to carry out these main tasks, it must give the most careful attention in all its work to the application of a correct mass policy. This correct mass policy consists in developing the mass struggle of the workers, the working women and the young workers, on the basis of their immediate economic and political needs, as they arise from their life and work, and conflicts with the employers, reformist bureaucrats, the state, etc. This means, furthermore, that these struggles must be carried through on the basis of the activities of the masses, and that the tasks of the Communists are precisely to develop and organize this activity and initiative of the masses. This calls for

the most concrete application of the united front from below in accordance with the varying degree of influence of the Communists, the extent of the radicalization of the workers, the influence of the social-fascists, etc., thus applying the line of independent policy not mechanically, but on the basis of a careful analysis of the concrete conditions of work and of struggle. This calls also for a greater activity in maneuvering against the social fascists and employers.

Inseparably linked up with and as a basic prerequisite of our entire mass work, is persistent struggle against the fascist and social-fascist leaders of the A. F. of L. and against the Socialist Party, especially their left-social-fascists (Musteites). In the A. F. of L., the Party must really start systematic and serious work to organize a widespread opposition under our leadership. The fact that the employers with the collaboration of the bureaucrats of the railroad unions could carry through a wage cut affecting one-half million railroad workers without the Party being able to develop any serious resistance, signalizes the ruinous results of our isolation from the workers in reformist unions. On the other hand, the success in the furriers' union and some of the building trades locals, etc., shows the possibility for developing mass influence in the reformist unions if we really start to work. In the press and in our meetings there must be a systematic unmasking of the proposals and transactions of the reformists.

In work among the unemployed the Party must concretize its daily work on the basis of the October resolution, and concentrate on the carrying through of the following tasks:

(a) The extension and further development of the campaign for *unemployment and social insurance*, linked up with thorough unmasking of the Hoover welfare plan, the various "relief plans" of the democrats and progressives, as well as of the socialists and Musteites.

(b) The greatest attention must be paid to strengthening and organization of the unemployed through widespread Councils of the Unemployed. Moreover, it is

necessary to develop and organize broad active and stable cadres and to build up fractions in all unemployed organizations.

(c) Much greater attention must be given in the struggle against mass dismissals and also against the stagger plan. In this connection we must take into account the various spontaneous movements (anthracite miners, etc.) for "division of work" (spreading the available jobs among more workers). It must be our task to firmly take hold of these movements, to clearly and patiently explain to these workers that such division of work only aids the bourgeoisie to place the burden of the crisis on the workers in the form of the "stagger plan." In this way we must transform these spontaneous struggles into a struggle against the policy of the employers and for a minimum day's work, a minimum guaranteed weekly wage, against dismissals and for unemployment insurance.

The radical improvement of the situation in the revolutionary trade union is the *key task* of the Party. The *red trade unions* have not yet recognized the fact that only by persistent work in the enterprises and by taking up all questions that confront the workers in connection with the offensive (reduction of wages and piece work rates, increase in working hours, discrimination against the Negro workers, worsening conditions of women and young workers, etc.) is it possible to mobilize the masses and consolidate and expand their red union organizations. They have not yet realized that this is the correct preparatory work for strike struggles and still have the tendency of "waiting for strikes." Within the red trade unions there is not yet real trade union democracy and a narrow sectarian tendency exists with regard to the acceptance of members.

We must carry on systematic work in the reformist trade unions, not only where there is no red trade union (railway brotherhoods, building trades, etc.), but also where parallel red trade unions exist (mining, textile, etc.).

The Party is responsible that the resolutions on trade union work shall not remain on paper, but that imme-

diate and effective organizational guarantees be created for carrying out this resolution and checking up on its application.

The *Daily Worker* must be made a Communist mass paper through a radical change in and improvement of its contents. This includes:

(1) Real popular presentation in detail of the living and working conditions of the workers, working women and youth in the factories and in their homes, giving a clear picture of the situation of the unemployed.

(2) Reacting to all political events and giving concrete guidance to the workers.

(3) Systematic unmasking of the workers' enemies and their plans and maneuvers.

(4) Greater popularization of the achievements of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.

(5) Building up a network of workers' correspondents.

(6) Popular make-up, pictures, attractiveness of articles, etc.

(7) All Party problems must be handled in such a way as to attract the interest of the working masses.

(8) A press commission must be established by the Central Committee consisting of employed and unemployed workers, who, in close contact with the editors, promote a live contact between the paper and the lives and fights of the workers.

The work of the *lower Party organizations* must be basically changed. Nine-tenths of all the work of the lower organizations must be concentrated directly *on the work among the masses*, and not, as at present, in countless inner meetings. The center of gravity must be shifted to the development of the lower organizations, to the sections and units. The methods of leadership, assistance and of checking up on the work of the lower organizations by the higher organs must be a method of personal guidance in accordance with the special conditions of the given field of work, of the given enterprise and not simply the sending out of circulars. In all lower organizations, committees must be formed which actually work collectively, and a stop must be

put to the state affairs in which the work is concentrated in the hands of a few comrades.

The main basis of the work and development of the lower Party organizations is the work in the factory. Up till now the Party has not found the fit methods for carrying on this work. The content of this work is not merely organizational detail routine, but is the whole struggle against the capitalist offensive and against the policy of reformists. The first essential condition for successful work in the factory is *daily contact* with the mass of workers in it and *thorough knowledge* of the position of the workers in the factory and of the concrete conditions for struggle. The Communists must firmly grasp all the countless conflicts of a minor and major character arising daily with the employers, foremen and trade union bureaucrats, spies, etc., such as disputes, incidents, demands and grievances of the workers, including the women and youth, discrimination against Negroes and foreign born, with regard to wages, hours of work, working conditions, rationalization measures, infringements of workers' rights, dismissals in case of arrests of workers, etc. It is the task of the Communists to investigate very carefully the causes of any failures in its efforts to penetrate the factories and to continue the work with renewed energy on the basis of carefully considered measures to overcome the previous shortcomings.

The Central Committee must cut down considerably its own apparatus as well as those of the District Committees and of the mass organizations, concentrating the forces thus released on the building up and further development of work in the most important industrial centers and big enterprises. The Central Committee must devote particularly careful attention to the development and proper utilization of Party cadres.

The Central Committee must take steps to carry through the directives of January, 1931, on concentration. The Central Committee must immediately give concrete form to these directives, selecting a certain number of big enterprises and locals in the respective districts and branches of industry, sending suitable

forces there and systematically checking up the work in these points in conjunction with the District Committees. In the course of the next six months, a number of well-functioning lower organizations (sections and factory nuclei) must be built up as a result of this work. In carrying out this concentration the Party must not for an instant slacken its attention from important mass struggles wherever they may develop. The Party must take special measures to combat the spy danger and for carrying on work under semi-legal and illegal conditions.

The Party must pay special attention to work among the youth and to the situation of the Young Communist League, which despite certain growth is still in a very unsatisfactory condition and isolated from the young workers. The Party has not yet begun to carry out in a practice the directives of the Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. of May, 1931, concerning the Party's execution of the Eleventh Plenum decisions on the youth. These tasks must immediately be carried out together with sharp struggles against sectarianism and Right opportunism in the League and League leadership.

The first beginnings of mass work of the Party in the struggle *for Negro rights*, for uniting white and black workers in the struggle for their needs, and for leading the liberation struggle of the Negro masses, must be further improved and broadened by (a) popularization of the full Communist program on the Negro question in connection with the partial struggles on every-day demands and events, which must be intensified; (b) thorough popularization of the solution of the national question in the U.S.S.R., Socialist construction in the autonomous Soviet Republics, mobilizing the broad Negro masses for defense of the Soviet Union; (c) broadening the recruiting of Negro workers into the Party and trade unions, making red unions the real channels of Negro work; (d) a broad campaign within the Party as well as in the mass organizations against white chauvinism and all forms of jim-crow practices, ruthlessly exterminating within the Party, not only the open, but also the half-hidden and conciliatory forms; (e) carry-

ing out some concrete measures guaranteeing the next half-year or year period for a real beginning of penetrating the Black Belt, building the Party and mass organizations (first of all, trade unions) for work among the Negroes in the Black Belt; (f) dramatization of the demand for equal rights as an outstanding issue of the election program.

The election campaign this year is of most particular significance and must be utilized for the general extension and intensification of the activity of the Party and for the intensification and widening of class struggles against the capitalist offensive and the war danger, especially against the danger of intervention against the U.S.S.R.

The main slogan for the Party election campaign must be the demand for unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers. Placing in the center of the mass election work the immediate demands of the workers and toilers in factories, bread lines, unemployed gatherings, in towns, the Party must on this basis present concretely and popularly to the broad working masses its program of the revolutionary way out of the crisis. In exposing the whole policy of the bourgeoisie, the Party must make clear to the workers that only through the revolutionary class struggle, fighting for the program and supporting the candidates of the Communist Party, can workers counteract the attacks of the bourgeoisie and protect and secure their immediate demands and prepare the ground for the further advance of the working-class interests.

Under no circumstances must the Party fail to expose and combat in the sharpest manner Hoover's hunger regime. At the same time it is necessary to thoroughly unmask the demagoguery of the democrats as well as of the republican "progressives," who are attempting to utilize for their own ends the ever-increasing mass opposition to Hoover. On the basis of concrete facts, we must show that the democrats as well as the "progressives," once in power, will do as little as Hoover to alleviate mass poverty, as can be seen already in a large number of states and municipalities and their collaboration with

the Hoover government (senate, congress, etc.). We must prove that they will force through the same degrading charity system and wage cuts, with the same terror as applied by the regular republicans.

The sharpest struggle against social fascism during the elections is of the greatest importance. Without detracting the attention to the slightest degree from the struggle against the republicans and democrats as pointed out above, the *chief attention* must be directed to unmasking and combatting the socialists and the Muste crowd. This also includes a consistent unmasking of their demagogic theory about state capitalism, gradual "transition into Socialism" through "nationalization" projects of the mines, railroads, etc.

The main slogans which the Party must put forward are:

(1) *Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers.*

(2) Against Hoover's wage-cutting policy.

(3) Emergency relief without restrictions by the government and banks for the poor farmers; exemption of poor farmers from taxes, and no forced collection of debts.

(4) Equal rights for the Negroes, and self-determination for the Black Belt.

(5) Against capitalist terror; against all forms of suppression of the political rights of the workers.

(6) Against imperialist war; for the defense of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party must concretely unmask the efforts of the bourgeoisie to find a capitalist way out of the crisis (their promise of complete employment, a new period of prosperity, etc., if wage cuts are carried out, if the banks are saved, if higher tariffs are introduced, if industry is further trustified, if the imperialist position for American capitalism is strengthened, their promises with regard to the abandonment of graft and corruption in American politics, etc.). The revolutionary way out of the crisis must be widely popularized, including a systematic and thorough exposure of the mere phrases about "Socialism" used by the socialists. The

Communist Party must fully utilize the example of victorious Socialist construction in the Soviet Union as against the capitalist countries which are going deeper and deeper into the mire of economic crisis, exposing the empty talk of planned production under capitalism. The Party must contrast the revolutionary way out, concretely, to the proposals of each bourgeois party, especially the "Left" social fascists. The revolutionary way out of the crisis must be concretized by showing the masses how a revolutionary workers' government — a United States of America — would, through the nationalization of the means of production, railroads, commerce, etc., by taking them from the hands of the big exploiters and placing them in the hands of the workers' state, immediately eliminate unemployment by starting the machinery of production at full speed, producing the commodities needed by the masses; how it can at once make available to the starving workers the full stores of foodstuffs, fuel and clothing now withheld from the workers; how it can solve the pressing problems of housing, solve the needs of the toiling farmers, guarantee full equality for the Negroes, carry out a peace policy of the proletarian state as exemplified by the Soviet Union in contrast to all imperialist powers, etc. In addition to the above, which are the main national demands, concrete demands must be put forward in every city and state corresponding to the needs of the masses.

Throughout the campaign *every statement and every proposal* of the enemy parties must be quickly answered in the Party press and in millions of leaflets. Special care must be taken to guard against and to answer surprise statements, such as forged documents, "bomb plots," etc. "Not a mass meeting during the election campaign without Communists"—must be our slogan; at all mass meetings arranged by the bourgeois parties the Communists should appear, expose the position of the enemies and make clear the position of the Party—distribute their literature; debates should be organized with the enemy candidates in order to expose their demagoguery and to reach the workers under their influ-

ence with the demands and program of the Communist Party. The Communist Party itself should organize thousands of meetings—great city-wide meetings as heretofore, neighborhood meetings, and especially small meetings in the workers' homes where our program should be explained and the workers drawn into active participation in our election campaign. Leaflets of many kinds, posters, dealing with the proposals of the enemy parties, with the conditions of the workers in the various industries, with our demands, etc., should be issued in larger quantities than ever before; pamphlets to be sold at the lowest prices.

Of particular importance at this time, due to increased activity of the social-fascists, to their propaganda for a "Labor Party," etc., is the widest use of the united front in the election campaign. Prior to the National Nominating Convention, and as a means of providing a broad mass basis for it, local united front conferences should be held of representatives from the revolutionary trade unions, the trade union opposition, workers and working women and youth from the factories, supporting A. F. of L. locals, unemployed councils and committees, workers' fraternal organizations, Negro organizations, etc., which should endorse the Communist Party election program, agree to support its candidates, elect delegates to the nominating convention, and set up a broad workers' committee for the carrying on of the campaign together with the Party organization. At still wider local conferences following the national convention, local, county and state programs and candidates of the Party should be endorsed. In specific cases militant non-Party workers, who have actively participated in the unemployed and strike struggles or otherwise shown their stand for the class struggle and against the reformists, can be accepted and endorsed as candidates by the Party fractions in these conferences with the approval of the District Committee of the Party. Care must be taken to prevent "Left" reformist elements from making use of such conferences for the struggle against the Party and its candidates.

Lessons of the Strike Struggles in the U. S. A.

RESOLUTION OF THE E. C. C. I.

UNDER the most difficult conditions of the economic crisis and tremendous mass unemployment, the American proletariat, through the growing number of strike struggles, has offered considerable resistance to the general offensive of dollar capitalism during 1931. The heroic struggle of the 40,000 miners of Pennsylvania, in which the Communists and the revolutionary trade unions played the leading role, had the greatest significance.

Since it is to be assumed that the strike movement will develop further during the course of this year, and will eventually grow, it seems to be all the more important that the C. P., U. S. A. and the revolutionary trade unions should thoroughly master the lessons of the previous strikes, especially the Pennsylvania strike.

1. *The preparatory work* for the miners' strike was very weak, not carried out in due time and not sufficiently thorough, although undoubtedly the efforts of the Party and the red trade unions to improve the work during the months previous to the outbreak of the strike played an essential role in the mobilization of the workers for the strike. But despite that, the work among the miners did not receive enough systematic attention, their militancy was underestimated, and above all, the development of the local organizations of the Party and the red trade unions in the whole district of Pennsylvania was in a weak and neglected state when the strike broke out. This was *one of the main causes for the weaknesses* which became apparent in the leadership of the strike and contributed to the fact that after twelve weeks, the strike ended with a defeat for the workers.

Because the reformist miners' organization in Pennsylvania had already previously been liquidated as a mass organization, and the workers in general had lost faith in the reformist trade union leaders, it was possible in this case to get the leadership of the mass movement into the hands of the revolutionary trade unions.

And it is to be emphasized as a *Bolshevik deed* of our American comrades, that despite all the weaknesses of their organization, they resolutely placed themselves at the head of this gigantic struggle. It must also be acknowledged that the Communist group which was at the head of the strike worked with great energy during the entire struggle and at first also achieved much success. What was especially important was not only that they succeeded in organizing the *central strike committee* out of several hundred elected representatives of the great masses of the miners, but also that they quite generally carried through the *election of local strike committees* in the individual pits.

Along with these positive achievements a number of serious mistakes and shortcomings also manifested themselves.

For the Development of Local Leadership

2. The Communists in the strike leadership were unaware of the necessity and importance of strengthening, extending and founding of *local Party and trade union organizations* and having these work regularly and most intensively during the strike and for the strike—as *the necessary and most important backbone of a successful leadership of the strike*. Since the development of the lower trade union organizations had been so very neglected before the strike, it would have been all the more necessary, at least immediately after the outbreak of the strike, to take this task in hand with the greatest energy all over the strike region. It was not a mistake in such an extraordinary case as this strike, to also bring in able Communist forces as reinforcements from other districts, as was done in agreement with the Political Bureau. But *only the higher strike apparatus* was strengthened and not the lower local revolutionary organizations. On the contrary, at the beginning, some of the local Party committees were even weakened and temporarily almost ceased to function through requisitioning their functionaries for the exclusive disposal of the central strike apparatus.

That was a very serious mistake, as it was clear be-

forehand that the Communists could not succeed in really firmly leading to the end the tremendous mass action which was taking place in the coal-fields which are very distant from one another, if they relied only upon the central strike leadership and its travelling representatives without establishing local leadership and organizations and securing their permanent work among the masses. It was an exaggeration to state that "a denial of the leading role of the Party" expressed itself in this mistake; as the Communist group in the central strike leadership wanted to loyally work according to the directives of the Party leadership, precisely to realize "the leading role of the Party" in this strike, on the instruction of the Party leadership. But it misjudged the leading role of the *local* Party organizations and denied this through its practice, and thereby a dangerous possibility was created for the later isolation of the broad masses of the strikers from the influence of the strike leadership. Only with the help of the greatest possible number of local Party and trade union committees and pit nuclei, only through their formation, strengthening and mobilization, and rousing them to untiring work among the broad masses of the strikers, would it have been possible to correctly lead the strike.

3. *Clarity was lacking on the basic line* which the Communists had to keep in mind as a rule of conduct. It was entirely necessary that during the course of the strike, the Party leadership should have criticized the Communist group which was active in the strike leadership for the above-mentioned mistake and demanded a correction of this mistake. The Political Bureau should have done this very much earlier than it did. The Political Bureau on its side did not only not understand, in this criticism (resolution of the Political Bureau of July 5, 1931) how to clearly link up the task of the development of the Party, which it correctly emphasized as urgent, with the actual and no less urgent task of doing everything possible to *win the miners' strike*. It was not made clear that a separation and counterposing of these two tasks, or the emphasis of the one *at the expense* of the other, conceals within itself the danger of

a political one-sidedness or deviation. A lack of clarity remained as to what was to be characterized as the *main object* that the Communists were to pursue in the strike struggle: that if any one wants to state the main object in *one* word, and in doing so, avoid the danger of one-sidedness, then neither the simple winning of the material results which are contained in the strike demands nor the mere utilization of the strike for the strengthening of the Party organization, should be designated as the main object, but that, on the contrary, the *revolutionization of the striking workers* should be the main object. The most important thing is that the Communists strive, through their agitation as well as through their entire participation in the strike, to give the broad masses of the strikers the experience and the firm conviction that *the Communists have advocated or carried through correct strike tactics and strike leadership*. It is, however, impossible to instill this conviction into the masses of the striking workers if the Communists do not exert all their energy in the struggle against the employers so as to win the strike.

Constant Activization of the Masses

Of course, material success is not always possible in a strike, and it is not an *absolute* prerequisite for the political success of the struggle; but it must never be forgotten that *without a most serious struggle for the material outcome, there can be no prospect of political success* in the strike. If the striking workers will not get this "experience" with regard to the participation of the Communists in the strike, then they will not become revolutionized by our revolutionary agitation and we will see ourselves being deprived of the entire *mass basis* for the successful enrollment of the workers for our revolutionary organizations in connection with the respective strike.

In this sense the basic line of Communist strike tactics should have been made clear to our own comrades, in order to avoid all one-sidedness and lack of clarity in the presentation of this question.

4. The work of the Communist groups in the strike

leadership showed serious neglect in the organization of broad cadres of strikers for the purpose of the constant activization of the masses. In the first stage of this strike there were wide spontaneous mass activities, but what was lacking was a network of sufficiently broad organs which could systematically lead and develop this activity and which would also have been in a position to assure the carrying through of the necessary tasks during the strike. The picket line duty also should have necessitated the formation of special committees through the activities of which ever new workers should have been drawn into the picket line and through the constant control of which the decrease in the number of workers on picket duty towards the end of the strike could have been prevented. Also for the organization of the collections of money and foodstuffs, in which thousands of workers participated, it would have been necessary to form the broadest possible committees in each place for the increase of this activity during the entire course of the strike. Such committees should also have been formed for the organization of the defensive struggle against the employers and the police terror, against evictions, for the organization of agitation and propaganda in the various districts, etc. A wide network of such local auxiliary organs of the strike committee would have made possible the consolidation of the broad strike cadres, of the most active workers, with the help of whom the Communist committees could have really led the big mass movement.

Our comrades overlooked the fact that even the most intensive work of the relatively small active part of the strike committee can in no way replace the necessary work of the broad strike cadres consisting not only of hundreds but of thousands of workers. Our comrades did not understand that the limitation of this big movement to a relatively small "active" created the danger of later separating the broad masses from the strike committee.

5. Shortcomings in the use of the forms of proletarian democracy. The application of the forms of proletarian democracy during the strike is one of the most essential

pre-conditions for consolidation of the fighting front and the disciplining of the broad mass of the strikers. It also certainly was of great importance in this strike that a central strike committee and pretty generally the local strike committees of the various mines were elected. But shortcomings in the use of the forms of proletarian democracy during the strike led to the fact that the strike committees could not carry through to the end the task of consolidating the strikers. The moment the strike broke out it was up to the Communists to bring up for the decision of the workers the question of the necessity of having a united leadership of the struggle in all its stages, and if, in the course of the strike, a part of the strikers were of the opinion that it was time to break off the strike, they should not do this on their own initiative, but all the strikers themselves should determine by vote whether and how the strike should be ended. Not only the active elements of the workers, but all sections of the workers, including those who had begun to hesitate, had to understand that they also have the right to have their voices heard in the strike. We should have developed such confidence among all of the workers that even the vacillating elements would turn to the leading bodies with their wishes, doubts and demands.

The use of the ballot during the strike could, of course, not replace the strongest activity of the strike committee. But this form of proletarian democracy would have been necessary as a preliminary condition for the consolidation and unification of the strike front and the activities in the most important stages of the struggle and for the maintenance and strengthening of the position of the strike committee. Especially at the moment when marked waverings began to arise among the broad masses of the strikers, as a result of starvation, terror and the influence of our opponents, the strike committee had to make an attempt to prevent the splitting up of the strikers, with the aid of a ballot on the question as to whether the strike should be carried on further or terminated, and to pull the entire mass of the strikers together for a united advance. The strike

committee should have utilized this ballot so as to win the wavering masses of the strikers for the continuation of the strike. However, had the majority of the strikers decided for the termination of the strike, despite this, then the strike committee would have had the possibility of setting out upon a unified retreat with the entire masses of the strikers.

6. *There was no determined course to mobilize every possible support from outside.* Although the significance of the local collection was correctly emphasized in such an important struggle it was of course necessary that the greatest possible attention should have been paid to the relief campaign on a national scale.

The Party, however, made entirely insufficient efforts to mobilize the masses outside of the strike region for the support of the strike and to develop a protest campaign on a national scale against the terrific terror which was being carried on against the miners. The strike committee had correctly emphasized the necessity of strengthening such support from outside, but this was certainly no justification to underestimate the immediate and most urgent (but not in any way conflicting) task of mobilizing all forces in the strike area itself and the extension of the strike to the immediate neighborhood (Fayette and Westmorland).

The convocation of the national conference of the miners was a step in the direction of extending active mobilization of supporting actions for the strike, though there was decidedly a lack of clarity in the decisions adopted at this conference. This lack of clarity consisted in the fact that in the generally correct orientation the opportunity was missed to work out concrete mobilization measures for the coal industry outside the strike region and, at the same time, this was not linked up with the strongest emphasis on the concentration upon the immediate practical tasks in the strike itself, such as, for example, the consolidation of the strike which was extending, measures against the tendencies which were beginning to arise for the resumption of work, concentration of all forces of the strike and of the conference for the extension of the strike to the sur-

rounding districts and, finally, above all, the intensification of the relief campaign on a national scale, of the solidarity actions and protest demonstration—everything that would have directly strengthened the strike and have given a firm basis for the measures towards the practical realization of a national strike. The conference contributed towards establishing a closer connection between the shortcomings of the conference was that the workers who were under the leadership of the Musteite Keeny were not represented there. A weakness on the part of the Party manifested itself in its not understanding the necessity of utilizing the influence gained through the strike to develop the movement in the other branches of industry, especially among the steel workers in the region of Pittsburgh.

7. There was no live connection between the strike committee and the broad masses of the strikers. Since the leading Communist group had failed to establish a properly functioning strike apparatus through the formation and development of broad cadres of strikers, it was also not in a position to get a clear picture of the strike situation at every moment, to quickly react to all events, to establish a systematic and very close connection with the strikers and to everywhere lead and control the daily work among the strikers. Therefore, the strike committee did not take correct measures in sufficiently good time when the first signs of wavering appeared among the striking workers. Entirely insufficient individual work was carried on among the striking workers through the lower Party and trade union organs, insufficient attention was paid to the organization of special enlightenment campaigns, to the raising of sufficient relief in the shape of food supplies and particularly the provision of special shelter (tents) and a greater extension of the relief activities. As a result of the lack of daily, direct influencing of the strikers by the strike committee, the disintegration of a part of the strikers was facilitated through the terror carried on by the employers, the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie and the social-fascists, without opportune counter-measures being taken immediately. The Communist group in the

strike committee omitted to build up mine nuclei and the lower trade union organizations with the help of which they could have developed and controlled the mass work of the lower strike committees and of the various commissions and committees. The strike committee did not guarantee this close contact because the strike committee, despite the democratic forms (elections, resolutions on all questions) was mainly a democratic body in form only, whereas in reality, important questions were very often decided upon a too narrow basis, and delegates from the strike committees were only drawn in so as to "confirm" questions or to "demonstrate" the attitude of the strikers on some question or other. In this way it was also more difficult for the wavering miners to express their moods and opinions in the strike committee. Reports of organizers which began to reflect the vacillating mood of the miners were not listened to seriously and taken into consideration, while exaggerating "optimistic" reports which coincided with the desires of the strike committee were welcomed. This lack of a direct connection between the strike committee and the strikers manifested itself most sharply in the fact that in the last stage of the strike, the strike committee did not notice that it no longer led the majority of the strikers, but only a small part of them. These mistakes of the strike leadership in not establishing a real, live contact with the entire mass of the strikers from the beginning of the strike, by means of the strike organs and a lower Party and trade union organizations, led to the fact that from a definite development of the struggle onwards the strike committees had lost the leadership over the mass of the strikers.

8. *The failure of the Communist strike leadership in the ending of the strike.* As a result of the above-mentioned neglect during the strike, the moment was not very far off when it was no longer possible to maintain the determination of the masses to continue the struggle up to the successful termination of the strike. The strike committee should have carefully estimated all the circumstances and have had a clear perspective of the development of the struggle so as to quite conscious-

ly prepare itself not only for the possibility of a victory, but also for the other possibility that a situation could arise where an orderly retreat would have to be made.

It was not a question of carrying on the strike as long as possible ("up to the last minute") but it was rather a question of using every possible means for the extension of the strike, of mobilizing all reserves, but after analyzing the situation, when it became clear that we were no longer in a position to convince the masses that the strike should be continued (at least for a few days longer), a concerted and well-ordered retreat should have been effected together with the whole mass of the strikers. Such a retreat would not have weakened, but would only have strengthened the authority of the Communists and the red trade union. The masses would not have had the impression that the Communists, without consideration for the masses, want to carry on an endless strike, but on the contrary, precisely after a well-ordered retreat, they would have realized that the Communists also know how, when there is no longer any prospect of winning the strike, when the greatest part of the masses is already exhausted, to call off the strike in a concerted and well-ordered manner. Of course it was not to be pre-supposed that all the workers wanted to end the strike at the same time. In all probability, a minority and precisely the most active and most revolutionary part of the workers would have opposed the ending of the strike. At this point, the strike committee would have been obliged to convince this minority that the immediate retreat was in the interests of the preparation for further struggles. Owing to the fact that the strike committee not only recognized the situation among the mass of the strikers too late, but also because it did not have the understanding and real Bolshevik courage to organize and carry through a well-ordered retreat at the right moment, it made a split among the workers possible, and indeed in such a way that the majority of the workers who had gone back to the mines appeared to be strike-breakers to the minority and that the employers could make use of this sit-

uation in order to victimize thousands of workers of the active minority. This bad outcome of the strike became a serious obstacle for the strengthening of the union after the strike and especially for the further development of the revolutionary work in this region.

After the ending of the strike it was necessary that the strike committee should have immediately carried on an energetic campaign among the entire mass of the workers who had participated in the strike, regarding all the lessons of the strike, but this did not take place to a sufficient extent.

Decisive Struggle Against Social Fascist Strike Breakers

9. In the Pennsylvania strike the *reformists* in the main disclosed before the masses their open *strike-breaking* position, and undisguisedly tried to help the employers to defeat the strike. On the other hand, with regard to most of the other strikes of the year, the reformist trade unions did not play such a simple and undisguised role, but, on the contrary, they participated in the strikes, led them in order to *betray* them at the opportune moment. They led the strikes in order to make them leaderless.

Against this cunning "left" reformist tactic of strike betrayal, the American Communists were sometimes rather helpless and by their tactical mistakes they, in some cases, played into the hands of the "left" reformists in their treacherous game. Wherever the Communists in their mass agitation before the strike simply asserted that the reformists would on no account take part in the strike, whereas the latter by joining the strike, were able to give the lie to this assertion, the Communists through this clumsy tactic were placed in an awkward position, where it became much more difficult for them to make the masses believe during the strike that the reformist trade union leaders were bound to betray the struggle. The Communists should have prepared the masses of the workers from the beginning for the *various* tactical subterfuges of the reformists: for open or disguised strike-breaking, as well as for an open or disguised betrayal of the strike. For instance,

the strike in Pennsylvania, the second strike in Lawrence, and the strike in Paterson, have shown three different types of the reformist tactics in this respect (open strike-breaking, open betrayal after a certain time, and disguised betrayal).

10. Our comrades in Lawrence and Paterson have tried to carry out the task of the *struggle for independent leadership of the strike* in a sectarian manner. In this struggle, however, wherever we first have minorities on our side in comparison with the reformist trade unions, we are inevitably faced with real difficulties that can be overcome only by successful work for the mobilization of the masses for independent struggles. But our comrades wanted to skip over these real difficulties and tasks of mass mobilization and for this purpose, at the beginning of the strike movement, in Lawrence and also in Paterson, they made attempts to take the leadership of the strike into their own hands without the consent of the broad masses of the workers and on this account they inevitably failed.

It was certainly not sufficient that in Lawrence where it was a question of a strike of thousands of workers (23,000) only a few general meetings were held, after which the strike was immediately declared on the initiative of one department of a factory already won over by us. This was sufficient for the development of the great strike movement, because the fighting spirit was rather general among the textile workers, but it was not sufficient for the mobilization of the masses for an autonomous struggle carried on *independently* of the reformist union. The latter was, however, much more important than that the strike should begin as quickly as possible. Before declaring the strike our comrades should have immediately brought up the most important questions of the strike for discussion by the mass of the workers in a whole series of enterprises: why the strike is necessary, what are the prospects of winning the strike, why the strike must be carried on independently of the reformist union if success is to be attained, what strike demands should be raised, when should the strike be begun, and the election of a strike committee

for the particular factory. Our comrades should have made their revolutionary standpoint on each of these questions clear to the workers of all the most important textile factories before the strike in Lawrence. In all probability this might still have not meant that before the strike we would have succeeded in putting through the election of revolutionary candidates for the strike committee in the majority of the factories (or on the whole, the election of the strike committee in all the factories). But that would at least have been a serious beginning for undermining the hegemony of the reformist union and in that case we could have successfully continued, in the course of the strike, to utilize the mass base which had already been gained.

In Paterson our comrades declared the strike for a definite date, whereupon the "left" reformists (among whom were also the Lovestoneites) responded with the declaration that the strike would begin a few days later. That was a reformist move with the obvious purpose of splitting the front of the workers with the subordinate question of the exact date of the strike and isolating the revolutionary trade union. And our comrades fell into this trap. They did not place before the masses of the workers the most *important* question of the strike and as to how our line for the strike differed from that of the reformists; they also did not take up in the factories the struggle against the reformists and the election of a single strike committee elected by all the workers (in the election of which the reformist workers would also have participated) but, on the contrary, they followed the line of least resistance and began the strike with a minority which soon became isolated from the majority of the workers. When the reformists started the strike a few days later, they did not have to carry on any special struggle for the support of this majority.

11. Especially in the Lawrence strike did our comrades carry their sectarian line further with blind consistency; instead of sending the conscious, revolutionary advance-guard of the strikers into the midst of the masses which were following the reformists in order to constantly enlighten these workers on the dangerous,

treacherous tactics of the reformist trade union leaders, our comrades on the contrary, separated the conscious advance-guard from the broad mass of the strikers, and formed out of it a small, *isolated minority front* with its own parallel strike organs. Two parallel central strike committees were functioning but there were no strike committees elected in the factories. There were two parallel picket lines and two kinds of general strike meetings were held simultaneously, and, as a rule, there were many thousands who participated in the reformist meetings while there were considerably smaller numbers in the strike meetings that were organized by our union. That made the game very easy for the reformist trade union leaders. They only had to say to the workers: "Do not go to the Communists, who weaken the general strike front through their splitting tactics. Whoever will go with the Communists will only sacrifice himself to the reprisals of the employers and will spoil the chances of terminating the strike by concluding a good wage agreement, since the employers will under no circumstances make an agreement with the Communists." This, of course, had more effect upon the majority of the workers than the slogans and appeals that our comrades addressed to the masses *from the outside*. The fact that the Communists kept on speaking about the "united front" and even named their own strike committee, which was only elected by a small minority, the "united front strike committee," could not help matters, because in actual fact, by this sectarian approach to the tactic of the united front, the reformists were aided in the demagogic charges that the Communists pursued the tactic of the *separate front*. Reformist workers replied to the appeal of the Communists for a united front by saying: "Come to us, to our meetings, that is how we will make a united front with you!" But the Communists did not come.

12. The real application of the tactic of the united front from below would have necessitated the following in Lawrence and Paterson: (1) that before the strike, as well as in the course of the strike, our comrades should have daily been in the closest living contact

with the masses of the workers who were under the influence of the reformists; (2) that they should have proposed to the masses of the workers that in the interest of a solid united front they should themselves vote in all the factories concerned as to when the strike should begin and should decide whether a united central strike committee should be elected to lead the entire strike, which workers should be delegated to the strike committee from the factories, what demands they should fight for, etc. The red trade unions should have declared themselves ready to adopt the decisions of the majority of the workers in the interest of the common struggle against the employers; (3) that in the course of the struggle our comrades had to constantly and everywhere in the midst of the masses of the workers, also in all reformist mass meetings, explain the objective conditions to the workers, the methods of the successful extension of the strike as well as the danger of a defeat which could not only arise through the actions of the employers and the police, but also through the tactics and the treacherous capitulation of the reformist trade unions. Against this danger, the Communists should in every way have led the masses forward to activity which is independent of the reformist trade union leaders and at the opportune moment, their removal from the strike leadership should have been proposed. In order to do this, however, the Communists themselves, the whole time, through their energetic and dauntless activities in the struggle against the employers, police and the gangsters, should have shown the masses that the reformists lie when they state that the Communists are not interested in the victory of the workers' struggles, but only to make use of these struggles for their "Party purposes."

Thus our comrades should have helped the masses of the striking workers to liberate themselves from the influence of the reformists and precisely that is basically the most important thing for the real, practical revolutionization of the workers. The Bolshevik tactic of the united front serves this purpose and it is inconsistent with all kinds of combinations with the reformists and

negotiations behind the scenes as well as united front proposals from above which are made by us. "The united front is not an intermediary thing between reformist and revolutionary tactics to which mistaken conception some elements in our ranks contribute, but is a combination of workers who are ready to fight against the employers." (Theses of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Council of the Red International of Labor Unions.)

Resolution on the Carrying Out of Main Resolution of the 14th Plenum

REALIZING the imperative necessity, in view of the danger of the Party soon being compelled to work under war conditions, to quickly overcome the present isolation of the Party from the decisive sections of the workers and to sink the roots of the Party firmly in the basic and war industries, as demanded by the main resolution of the Plenum, the Politburo is instructed to immediately and energetically carry through the following measures:

1. Mobilizing the entire Party for the decisive turn to mass work:

A. An enlightenment campaign is to be launched in the Party press — *The Communist, The Daily Worker*, and language press — immediately, not only further explaining the full meaning of the main Central Committee resolution, but bringing together concrete experiences and methods which will aid the districts in putting the resolution into effect.

B. A further popularization, particularly, of the resolution of the E.C.C.I. on *Lessons of the Strike Struggles in the U.S.A.*, is to be undertaken and, in the light of this resolution, the examination of the Kentucky, Needle Trades, and other more recent strikes.

C. The immediate organization of broad district "active" meetings in all principal districts, especially the concentration districts, with Central Committee re-

representatives present to report on and popularize the 14th Plenum decisions. The District Organizers are to be aided in preparing for these meetings a thorough and searching examination of the actual status of the Party in the District. At the same time at least 15 nuclei are to be selected where Politburo and Central Committee members are to personally report on the 14th Plenum.

D. These "active" meetings are to have as their objective the mobilization of the Party for serious mass work and to prepare the leading cadres for discussions in the units and for section and district conferences, the latter to be held in no case later than the end of June. In the course of these discussions, the widest self-criticism must be encouraged, the initiative of the units must be developed and the freest new elections are to be carried through in units, sections and districts, in order to bring fresh, proletarian elements, *chiefly from the factories* forward as functionaries.

2. Organizational changes to immediately turn the main direction of the Party's work toward the masses.

A. Establishment of effective collective work in the central apparatus and districts with strict individual responsibility on the part of each and every comrade for the quick and decisive carrying through of assignments, in this way overcoming the impermissible lag which frequently occurs.

B. A reduction of the central apparatus of the Party and of all auxiliaries to the maximum extent possible, in accordance with the discussions with the E. C. C. I., the reduction of the district office apparatus in the concentration districts to the necessary minimum, the majority of whom are to function chiefly as *instructors* in the sections, and in all other districts to one or two comrades, giving chief attention to mass work.

C. The selection in every district of specific concentration sections, and, in these sections, specific factories and units, for the concentrated political and organizational attention of the District Committee. The comrades released from central and district work, un-

der point "B," are to be assigned as full time functionaries in the concentration districts and sections.

D. Specific nuclei are to be selected in each district for the direct supervision and responsibility of Central Committee members and District Organizers, these nuclei to really work out the application of the main political resolution and to serve as examples to the entire Party.

E. Careful consideration is to be given immediately to the assignment to and the training of forces for the revolutionary trade unions to which concentrated attention is being given (mining, metal, marine, textile).

F. The *Daily Worker*, which must become the chief instrument for the turn to mass work, must become the direct responsibility of the Politburo, with one of the members of the Secretariat personally responsible; the staff is to be refreshed by replacing some of the present members with members from the shops and from active workers in the mass activities of the Party.

The Politburo in carrying out these directives, must bear in mind the serious shortcomings in the carrying out of past resolutions, and not permit the resolution of the 14th Plenum to remain on paper.

Directives on the Main Points for Working Out a Resolution on the New York District

THE main resolution of the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee, which is taking place at a moment of the most acute war danger, in estimating the work of the Party as a whole, emphasizes the failure of any section of the Party to really make the turn to mass work as repeatedly demanded by the E.C.C.I. The resolution states:

"Although the Party has recognized the necessity of this turn, and although the Party can show a number of successes in the attempt to carry out the turn in practice (strike, Scottsboro, Hunger March), *the work*

of the Party fundamentally remains in the same groove."

Sectarianism and a deep-rooted *formalism* in the responsible Party organs have been the chief obstacles to overcome the "inner" orientation of the Party and to achieving the task "to firmly root itself in the decisive industries by means of solid personal contact *with the workers.*"

What is true of the whole Party is *even more* true of the New York District. Although some successes have been achieved (recruiting, trade union work, a few shop nuclei and groups), *no essential change* has occurred in the content of the district mass work since the 13th Plenum.

In order that there now may be a *guarantee* that the district will completely overcome its narrow, formalistic, sectarian line, which characterizes all leading organs of the sections and district, and make the turn *to a broad mass policy*, the Central Committee proposes special measures to encourage the widest self-criticism from below, the development of the initiative of the members and nuclei, the overcoming of all bureaucratic tendencies to deaden or destroy inner Party democracy, and to refresh the leading cadres in the units, section, and district committees. The Central Committee proposes the thorough preparation and the carrying through of a serious discussion in the units and sections on the great shortcomings of the entire district to be followed by section conferences and a District Convention, the latter to be held in the middle of June. A leadership for the units, sections and district is to be elected *chiefly from the factories*, with the members and the delegates from the units given the opportunity to freely express their views on each and every candidate. Such a releasing of all the inherent forces of the Party, with the encouragement of the widest initiative in the units and the firmest collective leadership in the sections and district, will alone enable the Party in the New York District to carry through the resolution of the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee.

In carrying through this change designed to break

down the "inner orientation" of the district (innumerable inner-Party meetings, circular leadership, bureaucratic directives, etc.) the District Bureau must chiefly direct the attention of the Party to the following mass tasks:

(a) Work in the *basic and war industries* (metal, marine, chemical, etc.), particularly in New Jersey and Harlem. Concentrating on building shop nuclei and the revolutionary trade unions (also work in the A. F. of L. unions) on the basis of the closest attention to the daily interests and needs of the workers.

b) A decisive change in *unemployment work*, establishing the closest, continuous personal contact with the unemployed, fighting for their needs, building unemployed committees and councils, and particularly developing the broadest mass struggle, involving also the A. F. of L. members for *unemployment insurance*.

c) Concentrated attention to *Negro work*, particularly in Harlem, but also in the other Negro districts, winning the Negro masses especially for the Party, the revolutionary trade unions and unemployed committees, through giving the most serious attention to their needs and interests, and, at the same time, creating in the Party and mass organizations, relationship between Negro and white which will encourage the Negroes to remain by waging the most relentless struggle to clarify the Party on the Negro question, eradicating gross programmatic errors as in the last N. Y. election platform, and to overcome all open or hidden manifestations of white chauvinist tendencies.

d) Finally, "*increasing, sharpening, and improving*" the struggle against all social fascists (S. P., A. F. of L., Musteites), which is today one of the most serious shortcomings of the district.

The concentration on these basic tasks must be accompanied in all phases with adequate attention to such serious tasks as giving adequate political leadership and assistance to building the *Y. C. L.* work among *Latin-Americans*, etc.

All activities of the Party are to be carried through on the basis of the immediate daily struggles of the

workers with the particular objective of developing the greatest mass resistance to the extremely acute danger of an imperialist war, directed chiefly against the Soviet Union, and the greatest mass support for the Election Campaign.

The Polburo is to more closely supervise and aid the district in carrying through these directives.

Review of the General Line and Activities in Unemployment Work

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
ADOPTED IN OCTOBER, 1931

THE Central Committee declares that, in spite of certain success in consolidating its influence among the unemployed, the Party has so far lagged dangerously behind in the task of organizing a widespread movement of the unemployed. The fact that during more than two years of mass unemployment the Party has not organized more than 20,000 unemployed workers, is the most outstanding illustration of this fact.

If we do not exert all our forces to overcome this dangerous weakness in our work, the Communist Party of the United States of America, in the third winter of the crisis, with more than 10,000,000 fully unemployed, will not be in a position to carry out its revolutionary task of organizing millions of unemployed into a mighty militant movement.

At a time when the faith of millions of American workers in the capitalist system has been a mighty blow and is steadily on the wane, and when the militancy of the masses is increasing rapidly, this task can be carried out if we concentrate all our efforts on it. No phase of the workers' struggle (against wage cuts, against lynchings, against deportations, etc.) can be successfully waged unless the Party is able to rally the *millions* of unemployed under its leadership in the struggle for

unemployment insurance and for immediate relief and bring about a *common fighting front* of all workers, employed and unemployed, Negro and foreign-born, women and youth, for the broadest organized mass struggle, drawing the unemployed into demonstrations for insurance, etc.

The Party must immediately make a careful study of the resolution of the *Prague Conference* (Inprecorr, Nos. 49 and 50)* on the unemployment question, and the tasks set forth in this resolution must be carried out in accordance with American conditions. The Central Committee points out the chief weaknesses and the main tasks in the organization of the unemployed at the present time.

1. The present practice of carelessly and continuously reformulating slogans without any political need or justification should be discontinued, for such reformulation can only confuse the workers. The following *main slogans* are adopted as the basis for a concentrated and intensified national campaign in which *these slogans* are to be kept continuously before the workers.

a) The *central unifying slogan* should be: Immediate unemployment insurance at *full wages*, to be paid by the employers and the government to all workers; this insurance to be administered through organs elected by the workers themselves.

b) The *main national slogans*, to be used as a group, and with the unemployment insurance slogans, should be:

1. Instead of Hoover's charity proposals, immediate federal and state emergency appropriations to provide *adequate relief* to *every* unemployed worker and his family.

2. Immediate undertaking of extensive public works, particularly new houses, schools, hospitals, etc., in the working class neighborhoods; such work to be paid for at trade union wages.

3. No evictions of the unemployed; free rent, gas, light, water, etc., to all unemployed workers; reduced rates and rents for part-time workers.

* Also reprinted in the December, 1931, issue of *The Communist*.

4. Transform the huge wheat and cotton stocks held by the Farm Board into bread and clothing for immediate free distribution among the unemployed.

5. The seven-hour day, without wage reductions, and six hours for miners and young workers.

6. Payment of *full wages* to all part-time and "stagger plan" workers by the employers.

7. Prohibition of all forced labor or coercion of any kind in connection with insurance or relief for the unemployed.

c) In connection with these slogans, and as a means of developing the struggle for Negro rights and against the persecution of the foreign-born, the following slogan should be used:

No discrimination against Negro or foreign-born workers in the payment of relief or insurance, or in giving out jobs; no victimization of workers participating in the unemployed struggles!

Those slogans should be continuously popularized in the Party and the trade union press, in millions of leaflets, in pamphlets, resolutions and petitions, at mass meetings, etc., in an effort to reach the millions of unemployed workers, convincingly winning them for these demands. By constantly contrasting these slogans with the proposals of the bourgeoisie and reformists, they can become a most powerful instrument both of exposing bourgeois and reformist demagoguery and for drawing the broad masses of unemployed workers into organized mass struggle under revolutionary leadership.

The Party must incessantly compare the wealth of the rich with the poverty of the unemployed: "*In the richest land on earth there is the greatest poverty among the unemployed.*" We must denounce the policy of the American government and the American capitalists by pointing to the *example of the Soviet Union*. We must carry on a widespread *campaign against the dismissal of workers* and we must overcome the conception of dismissals and unemployment as something to be accepted as a "law of nature."

The demand for unemployment insurance must be put

forward not merely as a propaganda slogan, as has been the case until now, especially in the *Fight Against Hunger* program (*Daily Worker*, August 29, 1931), but as one of the *central slogans of action*. The struggle for social insurance, and *especially unemployment insurance at the present time*, has the greatest revolutionary significance and all tendencies to push it into the background should be decisively combatted. In the marches and demonstrations to take place on the opening of Congress, December 7, this demand for unemployment insurance at *full wages* at the expense of the employers and the government and to be administered by the workers should receive the *chief emphasis* as the most effective instrument for exposing the charity proposals of the bourgeoisie and the fake insurance proposals of the reformists and "progressives."

In addition to the *main slogans* enumerated above, it is necessary to raise *local demands* in the various localities, before state legislatures, etc. These local demands should be *carefully worked out* to conform to the needs of the unemployed workers in the given locality and should be capable of rallying the masses for struggle. They should be for specific public works in the workers' neighborhoods, for definite appropriations for local relief, for more adequate housing, food, etc., for the unemployed, against cutting off the workers from the local welfare budget (Detroit), against the widespread graft in the administration of relief (Pittsburgh, Philadelphia), etc. Such local demands, however, should in no case be used as a substitute for the main demands enumerated above; on the contrary, through *a sustained struggle* for these local demands, widely popularizing every victory gained, no matter how small, the workers must be made to see the possibility of winning the broader national demands, especially insurance, by continued mass struggle.

The unmasking of the bourgeoisie and reformists and the systematic exposure of their proposals has been one of the weakest phases of the unemployed work. All tendencies to underestimate the demoralizing influence of their continuous propaganda among the unemployed

must be decisively combatted. *There must be the closest following of the bourgeois and reformist press and all the speeches, statements and proposals of the leading bourgeois, American Federation of Labor and socialist spokesmen must be clearly and convincingly exposed—not merely denounced.* The objective must be, using our partial demands as the basis, to *expose capitalism as such*, and to win the workers for the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system. Polemical articles, leaflets and pamphlets must be the chief method in conducting this fight. Leading spokesmen of the bourgeois and reformist parties (La Follette, Thomas, Muste, Green, etc.) must be challenged to defend their proposals before great mass meetings of workers. At all meetings organized by the reformists, leaflets should be distributed, exposing their position, and Party comrades should endeavor to get the floor to put forward our demands.

2. The Party, notwithstanding the directive given by the E. C. C. I., has given entirely insufficient attention to the development of effective methods of struggle against Hoover's charity relief system which is the *chief* bourgeois instrument for demoralizing the workers, for dampening their militancy and for defeating the struggle for unemployment insurance.) The Party should not create the impression that it calls upon the distressed workers to refuse benefits even of entirely inadequate charity relief, but as against this starvation it is necessary to energetically put forward the demand for *unemployment insurance*. To make this counterposing of insurance to charity clear to the workers, the Party must, by means of *concrete facts* actually expose the complete insufficiency of charity (using the numerous recent statements of the charity organizations), the rotten food and the methods of raising funds (threat of discharge if the workers refuse to give). Unemployed committees and councils must fight for control over the income and expenditure of the charity organizers and for control in the preparation and distribution of food, clothing, soup, etc., by representatives of the unemployed.

During drives for charity funds the Unemployed Councils should call upon the workers to contribute what they are able to give to the Unemployed Councils, which should set up a fund fighting for unemployment insurance and for the other demands of the Unemployed Council.

3. Forms of struggle should be devised which have the possibility of involving the millions of unemployed workers in *common* and *sustained* struggle with the *employed* workers for their joint demands (refusal of employed workers to leave the factories at time of mass dismissals with supporting demonstrations of the unemployed outside the factory, marches of unemployed workers to factories where wage cuts are posted assuring the employed workers of their support and calling on them to strike, preparation of actions in support of the unemployed, etc.).

Demonstrations and hunger marches, in most cases inadequately prepared, have not been followed up. In Detroit, for example, when 26,000 workers were cut off the welfare budget, only one demonstration was held, and no other method was utilized to arouse the masses for further struggle against the action of the City Council and for the unemployed demands. Mass meetings (before factories, employment offices, bread lines, in the neighborhoods, and even larger meetings) should be extensively used, at which resolutions exposing the inadequacy of bourgeois relief measures and endorsing our demands should be adopted, deputations elected to present demands to city bodies, etc., with further meetings to receive the reports of the deputation, etc. Such mass meetings should especially be used to prepare and supplement demonstrations, and to *continue the struggle after demonstrations*.

The petition campaign for the Party's Unemployment Insurance Bill should be revived and widely used as a means of getting wider contacts and influence, especially now with the approach of local and national elections. The Party should also take immediate steps to make use of the initiative and referendum laws of the various states as a further means of bringing the strug-

gle for unemployment insurance before greater masses of workers.

The investigations and wide publicity to individual cases of suffering and hunger, using such investigations to expose the charity system and the inadequacy of local relief, emphasized in the directives of the Central Committee, should be taken up with great energy.

With regard to the spontaneous bread riots, raids, etc., which will inevitably develop during the coming winter, the Party must have a clearly defined attitude avoiding the "Leftist" mistakes of last winter. When these events occur the Party must unconditionally support the right of the workers to take food, clothing, etc., but at the same time must put forward that the fight for bread and clothes makes necessary broad, well-organized, mass actions on the basis of the demands of the Unemployed Councils. In cases where there are *large masses* of workers determined to fight for bread, the Party must unhesitatingly lead them in the struggle.

By the development of the most flexible and varied methods of struggle growing out of the experiences of the unemployed movement, the Party must prepare and carry through even *larger mass demonstrations*. These must be more thoroughly prepared in every sense than in the past, when they tended to be either enlarged street meetings or demonstrations which lost much of their effectiveness due to the ease with which they were dispersed.

4. The revolutionary trade unions and leagues should be encouraged and stimulated to take up more energetically the work among the unemployed. In addition to the general political and organizational guidance given by the Trade Union Unity League, the individual unions must actively participate in the building of the *unemployed branches* and councils, particularly concentrating on the workers in their industries, *at the factories*, among the part-time workers, etc., and endeavoring to utilize the unemployed and part-time workers to strengthen the present extremely weak work at the factories, the building of the revolutionary unions, the preparations of strike struggles against wage cuts,

and the broadening and strengthening of the mass demonstrations of the unemployed workers by drawing in the workers from the factories and trade unions.

The unemployed demands, together with the exposure of the trade union bureaucrats on their sabotage of the struggle against wage cuts, must be made the basis for a very great strengthening of the work in A. F. of L. unions. In all unemployed activities and action special consideration must be given to drawing the rank and file members of the A. F. of L. and through them developing the oppositional struggles against the A. F. of L. leaders.

5. The *organization* work of the Party and the revolutionary unions, particularly among the unemployed remains *impermissably weak*. This must be decisively overcome by utilizing such broad mass organizational forms as will conform to the need for a mass movement embracing millions of workers, who are ready to struggle for unemployment insurance and immediate relief. The decisions of the R.I.L.U. and of the Prague Conference on the question of unemployment clearly set forth the basic forms and methods to be applied.

In all places where the unemployed come together groups of unemployed members of the red trade unions and Party members, living near bread lines, employment offices, flop houses, etc., should be formed, and under the leadership of the nuclei, Party committees and trade union organs, which should together constitute one fraction for this, they should call meetings of unemployed workers regardless of their political and trade union affiliation at the given employment agency, soup kitchen, etc. At these meetings the initiative groups should formulate the demands of the unemployed workers and prepare that committees be elected to organize and lead the struggle of the unemployed.

The *neighborhood committees*, now receiving the chief attention of the Party, must be increased in numbers and greatly broadened. They must investigate the actual conditions of the unemployed workers in the neighborhood, expose the inadequacy of the charity relief given out, lead the fight for more and better food,

against evictions, against the shutting off of gas and light, etc. They must reflect every need of the unemployed and formulate and organize a broad mass fight for the unemployed workers' demands in the neighborhood.

Activities in the neighborhood cannot, however, become a substitute for the setting up of committees *elected by the workers* at bread lines, soup kitchens, flop houses, employment offices and other places where masses of unemployed workers gather. These committees must be set up and must likewise reflect every need of the workers and carry on the struggle for their demands. At the flop houses, soup kitchens, etc., these committees with the approval of the workers, must raise the demands for the administration of these institutions through committees chosen by the workers. The basis for such a demand should be the exposure of the bad food, the unsanitary conditions, etc.

Representatives from these committees (neighborhood, flop houses, bread lines, etc.) should set up the local unemployed councils, which should also include delegates from workers' mass organizations (trade unions, workers' fraternal bodies, etc.). These councils should lead the work on a city and section scale, consolidating the work of the various committees, uniting them in demonstrations, hunger marches, etc., for local demands, linking these up, however, with the main national demands.

In addition, it is advisable, in view of the lack of a national unemployed center, to set up a strong broad leading committee or council on a district scale to guide and strengthen the work of the local councils in and outside of the district centers, to organize and lead the struggle for state appropriations for the unemployed, and to prepare the ground for the convening of a national conference as soon as a sufficiently broad basis has been laid at which time a national center can be established.

Special attention should be given to the setting up of *special committees* in the local unemployed councils. Here the best unemployed workers should be activated

in the carrying on of the daily work of the unemployed councils. These should include a *food committee* to organize the collection of food and the feeding of children of the unemployed and workers in extreme need, an *organizational committee* to lead in the setting up of additional committees and branches and to keep in close contact with them for the organization of meetings, marches, demonstrations, picketing, defense groups, etc., a *housing committee* to organize the mass fight against evictions, for turning on of gas and light, to secure housing for evicted families, etc., a *trade union committee* to register the trade union affiliation of the unemployed, to lead in the exposure of the trade union bureaucrats of the A. F. of L., Musteites, etc., to develop the trade union opposition, etc. *Other committees* should be established to meet the needs of the movement. Through such bodies, which must be elected by the workers and always contain the most active fighters, the Party must carry on the struggle for every need of the workers.

It is advisable to *register* the members of the unemployed committees and branches. Such a registration should include not only the name and address of the workers, but his party and trade union affiliation, the factory where he worked, etc., and should be used to draw such workers into special work in the trade unions, at the factories, etc. If effectively used, such a registration can be extremely useful in establishing contacts with the employed workers, with trade union branches, etc.

It is advisable that *local united front conferences* should be called periodically by the local unemployed council, in the preparation for which energetic agitation and organizational efforts should be made to secure delegations from all workers' *mass organizations* — A. F. of L. unions, Negro organizations, workers' fraternity bodies, etc., which are ready to carry forward an energetic fight for our demands. Such conferences should be called by the local unemployed councils to organize the fight for social insurance and on *single burning local issues*, as for example, graft in the admi-

nistration of relief, cutting off workers from the list, etc. Such conferences should be used to broaden the work of the councils and not become a permanent organization. They should not be confined to talk—but must have as their objective the drawing of these organizations into the councils into concrete action, demonstrations, hunger marches, the sending of a deputation to the city council, etc.

The district unemployed councils should set up under their leadership and strict control a broad committee, which should include non-proletarian elements — (writers, doctors, lower trade union functionaries, journalists, etc.), who support fully the Party demands, to carry on the widest agitation and propaganda for *unemployment insurance*. Such committees should raise their own funds and concern themselves chiefly with circularizing local unions and their organizations, sending out resolutions for endorsement creating a press service for the labor and Negro press, and with other effective means of enrolling the broadest support for insurance and the mass struggles waged by the Party, T.U.U.L., and unemployed. It should be a *non-Party* supporter of the Party struggle justifying such support on the fact (which it must prove to the masses) that the Party alone uncompromisingly fight for social insurance. When a national center for the unemployed movement is set up, such a committee can be erected on a national scale.

It would be advisable for the National Committee of the T.U.U.L. to immediately create a secretariat to be responsible for guiding the unemployment work throughout the entire country. This should not be a national center for the unemployed movement as such but should lead the movement through the revolutionary fractions in the councils and committees pending the setting up of a national center. This T.U.U.L. secretariat on unemployment may also set up under its control and leadership a national committees similar to these proposed for the district to widen the *agitation* and *propaganda* for unemployment insurance and to be composed of both proletarian and non-proletarian ele-

ments. This committee should publish a paper devoted to the struggles of the unemployed, for insurance and relief, fully exposing the bourgeoisie and reformists, and fully supporting the actions and slogans of the Party.

The sectarian tendencies (failure to develop the initiative of and leadership from among the unemployed, setting up of Party committees as a substitute for broad mass committees elected by the unemployed workers, calling of narrow, unprepared conferences, Party groups instead of mass mobilization of workers to fight against evictions, etc.), which still predominate in the work of all districts, indicating that the E. C. C. I. decisions and the R. I. L. U. decision have not been carried out, must now be quickly overcome.

The Party. The Central Committee must energetically and quickly overcome the serious lagging behind in the work among the unemployed, devoting particular attention to the four main districts — Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit and Cleveland, in accordance with the January* directives, which until now have been weakly carried out.

In order to fulfill the gigantic tasks confronting the Party now, with the approach of the third crisis winter, it is necessary to take the following steps:

a) The assignment of a leading comrade from the Polburo to be directly responsible for this work.

b) The development of a thorough *division of work* from top to bottom in the Party which will immediately inspire the assignment of the largest number of Party members to the work of leading the struggle of the unemployed and of building the unemployed movement.

c) The building of properly functioning *single fractions which include both Party and revolutionary trade union members*, without further delay in the unemployed committees, branches and councils, with continuous guidance to these fractions by the higher Party committees and T.U.U.L. care being taken from the beginning to stamp out completely all bureaucratic and ordering

* 1931.

about practices which until now have characterized the fraction leadership of the unemployed movement where such fractions have been set up.

d) The immediate and thorough examination of the rich experiences gained by the Party in this field by means of discussions in units with representatives of the district committee present, and by discussions in district "active" meetings, with representatives present from the Central Committee, at which time the line and tasks for the coming winter, using the directives of the E. C. C. I. and the R. I. L. U. as a basis, are to be made clear and the Party fully mobilized for this work. Care should be taken, in this connection, to develop the fullest self-criticism from below, from the units and sections which afford a veritable gold mine of experience and lessons for the whole Party. Materials secured from these discussions should be used by leading comrades for articles in the "Daily Worker" thoroughly analyzing the Party's experiences, and making available to the entire Party the best methods of carrying forward the work gathered from the experiences in the various districts.

6. *The Daily Worker*. Much more attention must be given by the Central Committee to making the *Daily Worker* the mass agitator and organizer of the unemployed workers, as well as the chief instrument for clarifying the line and tasks for the Party members. The failure of the *Daily Worker* until now to carry on a sustained agitational campaign for the Party's unemployed demands, must be immediately corrected. Using our central and local demands as a basis with the demands for unemployment insurance *at full wages* as the chief instrument, there must be developed in the *Daily Worker* the most thorough exposure of the Republicans and Democrats, and especially the A. F. of L., the S. P. and Musteites.

Simultaneously with the exposure of the workers' enemies and the steady agitation for our demands, there must be regular material on the growth of the movement of the unemployed, on their struggle for unemployment insurance and immediate relief, giving direc-

tives on the broadening and building of the movement, on day-to-day experience, etc. Articles must appear frequently, examining the functioning of the Party and the unemployed movement, fearlessly pointing out the errors and weaknesses in the work and setting forth the next tasks, always bearing in mind the urgent need for steady and sustained work among the unemployed as the central task of the Party.

The Increasing Danger of War Against the U.S.S.R. and the Tasks of the Communists

RESOLUTION OF THE 11th PLENUM OF THE
E. C. C. I.

I. Preparations for Armed Intervention Against the U.S.S.R.

THE danger of armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. has become a *direct danger for the whole of the world proletariat*. The relations between the capitalist and Socialist systems have entered a new *historical phase*. The proletariat of the U.S.S.R., in the period of extreme acuteness of the post-war crisis of capitalism, relying on the peasants in the collective farms and the poor peasants in alliance with the middle peasants, with the assistance of the revolutionary proletariat of the capitalist world, is already *completing the foundations of Socialism on one-sixth of the globe*. The Leninist policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Central Committee, and the enthusiasm of the working class and of the broad masses of toiling peasants in the work of building up Socialism, have finally destroyed all the hopes of the capitalist world and the "forecasts" of the Trotskyists regarding the degeneration of Soviet economy into capitalism.

In these conditions, international imperialism again puts forward the question of solving the historical conflict between capitalism and Socialism by means of war. The successes of the *Five Year Plan* of Socialist con-

struction in town and country, which the masses of the workers contrast with the growing crisis and disintegration of capitalism, have in themselves become a danger to capitalism. The improvement in the standard of living of the workers in the U.S.S.R., on the one hand, and the unheard-of suffering, mass unemployment, want and fascist tyranny which has increased out of all proportion in capitalist countries, owing to the world economic crisis of capitalism, on the other hand, strikingly illustrate the difference between the two world systems—Socialism and capitalism. The effort of capitalism to solve the crisis at the expense of the proletariat and the working peasants of all countries is leading to a general capitalist offensive on all fronts against the toiling masses of the capitalist countries and *simultaneously* and inseparably linked up with it, to the acceleration of war preparations against the U.S.S.R.

The growing world economic crisis and the struggle among the imperialist powers for markets intensify all imperialist antagonisms and cause them to become exceptionally acute. The danger of armed conflicts between the imperialist powers is growing. But the growing antagonism of interests between the imperialists does not diminish, but, on the contrary, increases the danger of a war of intervention against the U. S. S. R.

In the conflict between these two world systems—capitalism and Socialism, which are diametrically opposed in principle—the Second and Amsterdam Internationals are definitely on the side of capitalism in the work of preparing for intervention.

The French bourgeoisie—the chief organizers of the anti-Soviet war—have already created a number of political and military alliances for the purpose of encircling the U.S.S.R. (Poland-Rumania-Finland-the States of the Little Entente). The same aim of encircling the U.S.S.R. is pursued in the Pan-Europe scheme and also in the plans for coalition of the so-called agrarian countries of Southeastern Europe, etc. (Rumania, Hungary, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, etc.). The *revision* and *supplementing* of the statutes and powers of the League of Nations also has the purpose of preparing the ground

for openly organizing a crusade against the U.S.S.R.

The feverish increase of *armaments*, the renewal and *extension of military alliances*, and the preparation of joint plans for mobilization by the French General Staff, is putting the countries on the Western border of the U.S.S.R. in a state of military preparedness. During the last five years a new war industry has been created in these countries under the hegemony of the French and British war industry; while countries of the "second line" (Czecho-Slovakia, Sweden) have been converted into regular arsenals for the anti-Soviet war.

Strategic railroad lines are feverishly being laid down (Poland, Rumania, Yugo-Slavia), and naval harbors, new lines of fortification, military bridges, are being constructed, all in accordance with the plan of the attack on the U.S.S.R. Simultaneously with the feverish growth in the numerical strength and equipment of the standing armies, an extensive system of military training of the general population is being developed through the medium of fascist sport and similar organizations. The French General Staff, and its touring generals, are drawing up plans for the united anti-Soviet operations of the armies of the States bordering on the U.S.S.R., under a single command. The remnants of the counter-revolutionary white guard armies of Kolchak, Denikin and Wrangel are continually financed by French imperialism and are maintained on a war footing so that they can be utilized—as was shown by the conflict on the Chinese-Eastern Railway—as an integral part of the interventionist armies that are to fight against the U. S. S. R. Fascist coups like those in Poland, Jugo-Slavia, Rumania and Finland are directly or indirectly the result of the influence of French and British imperialism and are closely connected with direct war preparations against the U.S.S.R.

The Moscow trial of the Industrial Party, the wrecking and espionage agency of French imperialism, glaringly exposed in the most concrete manner possible the direct military preparations against the U.S.S.R. For the purpose of drawing up plans and directing military operations against the U.S.S.R., the French General

Staff set up an International Commission, which included representatives of the British and Polish General Staffs. The supervision of wrecking and espionage work was conducted by the agents of the French General Staff. The date for military operations had already been fixed for 1930 or at least, 1931.

In the U. S. A. the plans for military intervention against the U.S.S.R. were actively supported by the influential imperialist groups of Hoover.

The Hoover group set up a special organization camouflaged by the name of the "Federal Farm Board," headed by Legge, Director of Supplies for the Allied armies during the imperialist war. This Federal Farm Board purchased stocks of provisions to the value of half a billion dollars for the purpose of supplying the interventionist armies. These supplies were purchased with extraordinary haste for delivery at the date fixed by the French General Staff for the commencement of military intervention, and were held in readiness in the ports on the Atlantic seaboard.

As part of the plan of war preparations, and as the direct preliminary to armed intervention, there has already been organized an *economic war against the U. S. S. R.* One wave of slanderous campaigns regularly succeeds another—the campaign around the alleged "abduction of General Koutepov" was followed by the campaign against the alleged "religious persecution" in the U.S.S.R.; this was followed by the campaign against "dumping" and soon after by the most stupid and infamous of all the campaigns, the campaign conducted by the exploiters of wage slaves against free Socialist labor under the pretext of combatting "forced labor" in the U. S. S. R. These despicable campaigns which were followed up with concrete measures of economic war against the U. S. S. R. in Europe and America clearly and openly pursue the aim of disrupting the *Five-Year Plan* of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. War already has been declared against Soviet exports by means of special laws prohibiting imports of Soviet goods and the license system on imports in France; the decree against "dumping" in Belgium; the decree

against the import of products of "convict labor" of the U.S.S.R. in U. S. A. and Canada. The leading capitalist groups of the principal imperialist countries (chiefly France and Great Britain) are openly proclaiming the slogan of the *international organization of this economic war*, the slogan of breaking relations with the U.S.S.R.

II. The Role of Social Democracy in the Preparation For Military Intervention Against the U. S. S. R.

In this criminal work for the organization of the economic blockade and the preparation for military intervention against the U. S. S. R., *the Second International and the Social Democratic parties play a direct and leading role for which they bear full responsibility.* These "Socialist" and Social Democratic parties, who participated in previous armed interventions against the U.S.S.R., have been completely transformed into the most important instruments of the imperialist bourgeoisie for the ideological and political preparation of the blockade and the counter-revolutionary war against the U. S. S. R. In order to deceive the masses of toilers in capitalist countries they spread the silliest legends and vilest slanders, sometimes invented by themselves and sometimes borrowed from the arsenal of the bourgeoisie, about the "collapse" of the Soviet regime in the U.S.S.R. In order to belittle in the eyes of the toiling masses of capitalist countries, the tremendous achievements of the workers and the toiling peasants in the U.S.S.R. in the work of construction, the victorious advance of Socialism in town and country, the Social Democrats invented the legend about "Red Imperialism." Singing the praises of the pacifism of the League of Nations they try to persuade the Social Democratic workers to believe that "war is threatening from the East." From time to time they tour the States bordering on the U.S.S.R. in order to stir up a campaign of slander against the proletarian government (Vandervelde, Boncour, Abramovitch, Dan, etc.).

The parties of social fascism openly take the most direct part in carrying through the policy of armaments, blockade and intervention. The strongest party of the

Second International, the *Social Democratic Party of Germany*, the partner of German militarism in concluding the Brest Peace, and in the occupation and plunder of the Ukraine, the representatives of which already in 1919 took part in leading the bands of Bermont and Von der Goltz in their attacks on the Soviet Republic, is the most active of all the parties in Germany which are organizing the anti-Soviet front. The Social-Democrats, Breitscheidt and Severing, are the initiators and the most active advocates of a bloc between imperialist Germany and the organizers of the international imperialist anti-Soviet front, reactionary military France, Poincare, Tardieu and Briand. Breitscheidt, Wels and Hilferding gave the Russian Menshevik wreckers and interventionists instructions how to prepare the ground for intervention.

The French Social Democrats are the defenders of the most aggressive anti-Soviet policy of French imperialism. Boncour, the author of the law for the militarization of the whole population of France, and Renaudel, the reporter for the Air Fleet Budget Commission in the French parliament, are the pioneers of French imperialism and militarism. The French Socialists, under the leadership of Leon Blum and Albert Thomas, systematically carried out for the French government preliminary work for preparing its vassal States on the borders of the U.S.S.R. for an anti-Soviet war, while day after day they lauded with hymns of praise the "pacifist" instigators of war against the U.S.S.R., Mons. Briand.

The leaders of the Polish Socialist Party in 1918-19 rejected the peace offers of the Soviet Government and took an active part in Pilsudski's campaigns against Vilna and Kiev. During the war against the U.S.S.R. in 1920 they, occupying leading positions in the Polish Government, supported the murderous gangs of Petlura and Balakovitch.

The Polish Socialist Party is now, as in the past, a strong support for the militarism of Pilsudski, which is directed against the U.S.S.R. This party votes for the military budgets, recruits workers for the semi-military

fascist organizations, approves of all the anti-Soviet acts of provocation of Polish fascism and takes an active part in all the anti-Soviet campaigns.

The British Labor Government, which was compelled under the pressure of the masses of the workers to stop sabotaging the resumption of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R., is now persistently pursuing the policy of British imperialism, and is establishing the closest contacts with the French Government in order to organize the encirclement of the U.S.S.R.

In Australia the Labor Government of New South Wales, represented by its "radical" Premier, Lang, takes part in its agitation for an economic war against the U.S.S.R.

The leaders of the American Federation of Labor excel the bourgeoisie in their anti-Soviet campaign, and jointly with Fish and company are openly calling for an economic blockade of the U.S.S.R. The Socialist Party of America openly supports the anti-Soviet propaganda of the American Federation of Labor and of Fish and company.

The Czecho-Slovakian Social Democrats, with greater zeal than that displayed by all other parties of Czecho-Slovakia, support the military alliance with French imperialism. This party is the most active advocate of the policy which is converting Czecho-Slovakia into the arsenal and munition dump for Poland and Rumania against the U. S. S. R.

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The trial of the Russian Mensheviks, who were working, as Vandervelde declared, in "close contact" with the Second International, and whose work the Second International was "closely watching," revealed that the Second International, jointly with the French General Staff and the Russian white guard emigrant organization in Paris (Torgprom), organized the Russian Mensheviks as an agency for wrecking work, with the aim of preparing for military intervention. The emigrant organization of the Russian Mensheviks, the so-called Foreign Delegation of the Mensheviks, is directly supported by the Second International as a wrecking agency for creating an economic crisis in, and prepar-

ing for armed intervention against the U.S.S.R. The Menshevik organization in the U.S.S.R. was closely connected with the bourgeois organization of wreckers and spies, the so-called "Industrial Party," and through the latter with the French General Staff. The trial demonstrated with great clearness that the verbal declarations made by the Second International against intervention are nothing more or less than a mask to deceive the workers and to conceal the real interventionist policy of the Second International. For, as the Mensheviks, Gromann and Sukhanov, declared: "It is impossible to prepare war against the U.S.S.R. without hiding these preparations from the proletarian masses."

III. The Tasks of the Communists in the Fight Against Preparations for Military Intervention

The fact that, in spite of the feverish preparations made by international imperialism and the Social Democratic parties of the Second International, war has not broken out, is due to the antagonism in the camp of the imperialists, and particularly to the readiness of the proletarian masses in the capitalist countries and colonial countries to support the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., and to the consistent policy of peace pursued by the Worker and Peasant Government of the U.S.S.R.

In spite of the slanderous campaigns of the bourgeoisie and the Social Democratic parties regarding the policy of the C. P. S. U., the enormous achievements of the worker and peasant masses in the U.S.S.R., more and more win the sympathy of the toiling masses of the imperialist and colonial countries towards the U. S. S. R. The number of workers and peasants who are prepared to defend the U.S.S.R. actively and revolutionarily as their only Fatherland, is undoubtedly growing and far exceeds the political sphere of influence of the Communist Parties. It is beyond doubt also that the work of the Communist International in defense of the U.S.S.R., has become a most important factor for the preservation of peace, a factor which caused the postponement of the imperialist slaughter.

Nevertheless it must be stated that the intensity of *the struggle* against the danger of war and against the danger of intervention against the U.S.S.R. does not at all correspond to the intensity with which the imperialists are preparing for war against the U.S.S.R. The agitation against the war danger is not carried on systematically, and in many cases only from campaign to campaign. The fundamental weakness of the work of the Communists is that the concrete measures being taken in preparation for war in parliamentary commissions, in the imperialist armies and in the war industry, are not sufficiently exposed to the masses. The Communist Parties have not yet learned how to explain to the masses sufficiently clearly the connection that exists between the war preparations of the imperialists and the growth of the exploitation of the oppressed masses. They have not yet learned how to expose by concrete illustrations the fact that social democracy is the support of imperialism in the preparation for counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R.

The Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. most emphatically emphasizes that the activity of the Communist Parties in capitalist countries in the struggle against the war danger, *the activity of every single Communist*, will determine whether the sympathy which the broad masses of workers, the toiling peasants and the nations oppressed by the capitalist countries feel towards the U.S.S.R., will be converted into an active revolutionary struggle against preparations for war and the danger of a war of intervention against the U.S.S.R. The duty of every Communist Party, *of every Communist*, is to *expose the Social Democrats as the agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the preparations for military intervention against the working class of the U.S.S.R., to expose their false pacifism as an organic and integral part of these war preparations, and to win the masses away from them.*

It is the duty of every Communist to expose the fact that the slogans of the bourgeoisie and social pacifists about "*Disarmament*," "*Reconciliation of Nations*," *reconciling ex-enemy nations* are not slogans for recon-

ciling nations and securing peace, *but a screen to conceal the front being organized against the U.S.S.R.*

The Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls the attention of all Sections of the C. I. to the insufficient *popularization of the teaching of Lenin on war*, and particularly to the *decisions of the Sixth Congress of the C. I. on the methods of struggle against the war danger* and the danger of military intervention against the U.S.S.R. The slogan of converting imperialist war into civil war against the bourgeoisie at home must be popularized by means of oral and written propaganda among the broad masses of the people. The slogan of converting the war against the toilers of the U.S.S.R. into a war against the bourgeoisie at home, must become the most popular slogan among the vast masses of the workers in the capitalist countries.

The Eleventh Plenum of the E. C. C. I. emphasizes the imperative necessity for a determined change in the direction of intensifying the anti-militarist work of the Communist Parties, and especially of the Communist League, as an integral part of the struggle against the danger of war and the menace of intervention.

The Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. reminds all Communists of the instructions of the Second Congress laid down by Lenin:

"The duty of spreading Communist ideas includes the special necessity of persistent systematic propaganda among the troops. Wherever this agitation is prohibited by exceptional laws, it must be carried on illegally. Refusal to carry out such work is tantamount to the betrayal of revolutionary duty and is incompatible with membership in the III International." (Thesis on the conditions of admittance into the C. I., adopted at the Second Congress of the C. I.)

The Eleventh Plenum of the E. C. C. I. calls upon all Communists, upon all the workers and toilers of all countries to fight against the danger of war and to fight against the menace of military intervention, to defend the land of the first dictatorship of the proletariat, the Fatherland of the proletariat of all countries.

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