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Weld the United Front Through the Lower Organizations

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WHAT determines the organizational tasks and the activities, of the Party? Clearly, the immediate objectives that the Party wants to reach, and the ultimate aim. If we look at the actual situation, we will see that in the last period great changes have taken place not only on an international scale, but also in the United States.

The Eighth Party Convention pointed out that the "New Deal" of Roosevelt is the aggressive effort of the bankers and trusts to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the millions of toilers. In a few words, it characterized the "New Deal" as a program of fascization, and the most intense preparation for imperialist war.

All the events since the Eighth Convention of our Party show that this analysis was correct. The effects of the "New Deal" are here in the fullest extent. On the basis of this analysis, the Eighth Party Convention decided that the central task of the Party is to organize and lead the offensive against the capitalist class, against developing fascism and the threat of imperialist war, to develop the struggle on the basis of the fight for the immediate partial demands of the workers in the general class battles for the overthrow of capitalist dictatorship and the setting up of a Soviet government.

The Open Letter to our Party, issued before the inauguration of the "New Deal", on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation, foresaw how the bourgeoisie, pressed by the crisis, would be forced to take measures to shift the burden of the crisis on to the working class and because of that, emphasized the importance of building a mass Party, able to lead the daily struggles of the working class. The Open Letter also pointed out that for the building of a mass proletarian Party it was necessary to concentrate especially among the masses of the basic industries, and in the trade unions.

Since the Open Letter, and since the Eighth Party Convention, many events have taken place on an international and national scale, events that call for the broadest struggles

of the working class against the capitalist offensive, that call energetically for the unity of the working class against the class enemy. In this respect, the uniting of broad masses on a common platform of struggle is the best vehicle for the unity of the masses. Here immediately we see the tremendous importance of the united front policy. These great changes that have taken place in the last period, and, among them, the tremendous desire of the masses for unity following their disillusionment in the reformist policies of the Social-Democratic Party, call energetically for such a policy. Certainly today, in the United States, this has been shown by the latest struggles, (Textile strike, San Francisco, Toledo), —the American working class wants unity. The pressure of the Socialist rank and file is another evident sign of this movement.

The Ultimate Aim of the Communists

One of the choice arguments of the reformists, of the class enemies, against our sincere desire to establish the united front with the Socialist Party, our desire to bring about the unity of the trade union movement, the unity of the working class, is that we want to penetrate from within, to bore from within, for the purpose of utilizing the masses for our ultimate aim.

What is the ultimate aim of the proletariat? The crushing of a system that exploits them, of building Socialism. Yet, at this particular period in the United States, the immediate task is to lead the masses to gain better conditions, to lead the masses against the effects of the N. R. A., to build the broadest united front of the masses against the rising of fascism and the war danger. While building the united front on a common platform, we show the masses the way out of the crisis, and prepare them at the same time for the not far distant struggle for power. This is the difference between the program of the Communists and that of the Socialists, who, together with other reformists, even though they may agree on a minimum program of struggle, either accept the present form of government, or stating that their aim is also to change the present system, want to bring about the change through reformist means—through the ballot, etc.

It is clear that the possibility of broadening out the united front of the masses against the capitalist offensive depends upon the extent to which the Party entrenches its position among the masses in the basic industries and in the reformist unions.

The Units and Fractions Must Reach the Socialist Workers

Organizationally, through what instrument are we operating to reach the masses, to influence them, organize them, unite them on a common platform of demands, on a na-

tional, state and city scale, on the factory basis, etc.? Obviously, through our basic Party organizations,—the units, the fractions, which are the transmission belts through which we are connected with the masses and bring the masses into motion. The problem of the united front is not a problem that is confronted only by the C.C., the District Committees of the Party, but by each nucleus, each Communist fraction. The units, on a territorial basis, knowing their territory, must know the composition of the population, of the working class in that territory, must know if Socialist workers are living there, Catholic workers, what kind of organizations exist in the territory, and, knowing the issues which confront the masses in the territory, must be able to seize every opportunity to approach these workers, discuss their problems, bring them together on a common platform of struggle for their immediate economic and political needs—neighborhood issues, city issues, taxes, and whatnot.

In the shop nuclei, knowing the workers in the factory, our comrades must find out if there are Socialists, syndicalist workers, Catholic workers, and also in this case, discuss their problems with them; see how these workers react on the immediate issues that are confronting them in the factory itself, or in the trade union in which they are organized, etc. Here, immediately we see that through the units, through the shop nuclei, we can reach Socialist workers, non-Party workers, whom we can convince of the necessity of uniting on a minimum platform of struggle, and in this way, prepare them to take up the issue of the united front in their organizations. The fractions, in the mass organizations and in the trade unions, and especially in the A. F. of L., must be the driving force, the main instrument to show to the organized masses the necessity of transforming the unions from instruments led by the reformists to serve the interests of capital, of the bosses, into an organization that will fight for the interests of the workers, in class struggle organizations.

To carry out this most important task, the most important activity of the fraction is to unite all those elements that see the necessity of the struggle, over the heads of the bureaucrats controlling the union, into a powerful opposition. This, in its turn, calls for the concentration by the fractions upon the best elements for the purpose of strengthening the fractions—in other words, the Party position inside the union. It is on the strengthening of the Party inside the union that the development of the opposition will depend. The strengthening of the Party inside the union is not only the best guarantee of building the opposition, of struggling effectively against the bureaucrats, of broadening out the united front movement, but also the best way to withstand the expulsions, the discriminations, etc.

The Socialist Leaders Cannot Prevent Unity

When we build a united front with the Socialist workers, inside the reformist unions, on the basis of inner democracy, and transform the reformist unions into organizations of class struggle, we will have a mighty wedge to force the united front in spite of the leaders. The rank-and-file Socialists want unity in the trade union field. They want a broad united front movement against war and fascism. While never ceasing our efforts to establish the united front with the Socialist Party, by approaching the leadership, it is our task—the task of the units and fractions—to reach these Socialist workers who want to fight in united struggle for the immediate economic and political needs of the working class. If we approach these Socialist workers correctly in the trade unions, in their organizations, their demands for unity will force the Socialist leadership to take a stand for or against the united front, will force them to declare whether they are for the working class or for the ruling class.

The attempt to outlaw the Communist Party, is an attempt to strike a blow against the working class. We must answer such threats with more determination in building the Party, in rooting ourselves deeper among the basic masses, in striving with all our efforts to bring about the broadest united front of the masses against the effects of the "New Deal", against fascism and war. For these reasons, the recruiting drive conducted at this time is of the utmost importance. A stronger Party, closely connected with the masses in the industries, in the trade unions, not only will stand better the attacks of the enemy, but, being connected with the broad masses, will be able to lead them in the daily struggles to the ultimate struggle.
