

masses. Just as work for the liberation of Indonesia is one of our most important tasks, contact with the Dutch workers and propaganda among them for the cause of Indonesia is a very important part of the work of our Indonesian brother Party.

To create and strengthen the alliance between the enslaved masses of Indonesia and the revolutionary workers of Holland, — such is the most important task of our two Parties, as a component part of the great strategical plan of the Communist International, the grand idea of Lenin!

Comrade GOMEZ (U. S. A.):

The guiding principle governing our approach to the colonial question is the essential unity between the revolutionary movements in the oppressed countries and the process of the proletarian world revolution. I wish to say a few words on the struggle against **American Imperialism**, from the standpoint of general strategy on an empire scale.

This requires first of all an understanding of the world role of American Imperialism, of its striving toward world hegemony and of the central feature of its policy, which is that it is a war policy. At the time of the **Nanking Massacre** the majority of our Party's political committee based its activities on the theory that the United States was Great Britain's "catpaw" in China; and only a few months ago (in its statements on the **Tsinan incident**) it declared that the United States was the tail-end to Japanese imperialism! These comrades picture American imperialism in the Far East as **playing no independent aggressive role**, being used now by British, now by Japanese imperialism, for their own brutal ends. Comrade Wolfe defended the "catpaw theory" before our Party plenum on the ground that the United States is still guided primarily by the old democratic-pacifist Open Door policy in China. He quoted statistics to show that American capitalism had very little capital invested in China and was interested in China only as a market for commodities. Comrade Wolfe and Comrade Lovestone refuse to see that in the present period **even the question of markets** is bound up with monopoly policy and domination of market areas.

British and American imperialism are the outstanding antagonists of the capitalist world. Antagonism between American and Japanese imperialism is no less sharp. Under these circumstances to indulge in such burlesque explanations of U. S. policy as our Polcom majority has done means not only to confuse the workers, not only to shirk the direct campaign against American imperialism, but might even help to create a receptive attitude among some workers for chauvinist ideas.

Within a few hundred miles from Canton are the **Philippine Islands**, America's largest colony. The dominant party in the Philippines is the so-called Nationalist Party which represents the thoroughly corrupted national bourgeoisie. It disguises its betrayal of the **struggle for Philippine independence** by empty appeals for favours from Washington. The task in the Philippines is to build a new, **revolutionary**, movement based upon the masses of workers and poor peasants; to orientate it away from appeals to Washington and towards contact with the revolutionary movement in China, as well as with the Indonesian movement. The first task, however, is the formation of a Communist cadre. **The American Party must send representatives to the Philippine Islands for this work without further loss of time.** Absolutely no effort has been made by our Political Committee to do this, despite specific instructions from the Comintern.

The strategy of the struggle against American imperialism is obliged to concern itself most particularly with the problem of destroying the primary base of American imperialism, Latin America, and of converting it into a base against imperialism.

The anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America will go forward under the slogan of the **United Latin-American anti-imperialist front**. It would be ridiculous to believe that Latin-American unity is possible in the sense of a federation of the existing states. Nevertheless, we must issue the slogan of a union of Latin-American countries against imperialism, and we must denounce bourgeois opposition to unity as sabotage of the anti-imperialist united front.

Comrade Banderas does not like all this "Latin-Americanism". He is afraid: 1. that the petty bourgeoisie may make use of it to dominate the movement; 2. that it may make the Latin-American masses turn away from the idea of unity with the workers in the United States. Well, I have no such fears.

Comrade Banderas will not find the Latin-American petty bourgeoisie so willing to fight for the union of the Latin-American countries and neither will he find the revolutionary elements in Latin America so antagonistic to alliance with the class-conscious workers in the United States. They will, and do, look with hostility upon the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labour, but that is quite another matter. By all means unity between the Latin American movement and the revolutionary proletariat in the U. S. Nevertheless it was correct for the Profintern to approve the launching of a Latin-American Federation of Labour.

Comrade Humbert Droz has indicated the general relation of class forces in the revolutionary movements throughout Latin America. We must be able to find the point of intersection of all these diverse movements, which differ widely from country to country, and unite them in a **common movement** under our leadership, together with the revolutionary proletarian movement in the United States. The form of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League is well suited to this purpose. Other subsidiary unifying forms for the struggle on a continental scale must also be developed.

Considering further the question of strategy in Latin America we must bear in mind the special position of the **Caribbean area**. We should send special forces into this region. Above all we should make it possible for the Mexican comrades to directly assist the development of Communist cadres there.

The war of American imperialism in **Nicaragua** is expressive of the whole aggressive drive of American imperialism against Latin America. In all Latin American countries support to the Nicaraguan struggle must be the focus of our anti-imperialist campaign. In the five countries making up the historical Central American nation (whose unity has been repeatedly thwarted by the manoeuvres of American imperialism) the war against Nicaragua must be denounced as a final blow at Central American national unity.

Speaking of **Mexico** I agree with Comrade Banderas that the Mexican Revolution cannot be regarded as having ended, notwithstanding the desertion of the bourgeoisie, so long as the agrarian revolution is incomplete, and large numbers of peasants are armed. Comrade Humbert Droz stated that our Mexican comrades made mistakes in the past with regard to their attitude towards the Mexican government. I wish to point out that since the murder of Obregon there are signs of a recurrence of these mistakes, in a totally changed situation which would make them far more dangerous.

Many reasons combine to make Mexico the traditional territorial centre of Latin American resistance to American imperialism, and it is in Mexico that the centre of our anti-imperialist movement throughout the Americas must be established. The present centre should be strengthened with the help of the Comintern along the lines of a proposal which is being submitted.

Before concluding I wish to set down the points of strategy for the work of our own Party in the United States, as follows:

1. Draw American workers into the general anti-imperialist struggle through, and in connection with, the struggle against the War Danger.

2. Win the semi-awakened masses away from pacifist leadership through pitiless exposure of pacifism and the Pacifists and Socialists as a prop of capitalist state power and war preparations.

3. Lead American workers along the line of active co-operation with the colonial and semi-colonial masses on the basis of the international ramifications of trustified American capitalism and the day-to-day requirements of the proletarian class struggle against it.

4. Link up the struggle of the Negroes as an oppressed minority in the United States with anti-imperialist struggles in Haiti, Santo Domingo, etc. **This includes propagation of the right of self-determination for the Negroes in the United States.**

5. Combine work in the military and naval forces with the activities among the broad masses.

6. Draw in non-proletarian elements (farmers and urban petty bourgeoisie) as allies in the workers' anti-imperialist movement under our influence.

7. Establish close contact with the Latin-Americans, Filipinos, Chinese, etc., in the United States, on the basis of their interests as especially oppressed workers in the U. S. as well as on the basis of the struggle in their home countries.

Our Party has been criticised here for inactivity with regard to the Nicaraguan war and for insufficient anti-imperialist work generally. **This criticism is fully justified.** The roots of this lie very deep and are connected with the same circumstances as those responsible for the Party's failure to do any serious work among Negroes. Everything accomplished has been without the support and against the resistance of the majority of the Political Committee. The Lovestone Group has attempted to maintain here that the Party would have done excellent anti-imperialist work if it were only not for the head of the anti-imperialist department. And yet they do not cite one wrong policy of ours. All they are able to find is a single isolated slogan, out of the hundreds of wrong slogans that our Party has put forward in its various fields of activity. Comrade Wolfe has repeated here the charge that there was created a special petty-bourgeois Red Cross organisation in the Nicaraguan campaign. This is an absolute lie, as every member of our Political Committee knows.

The truth is that the majority of our Political Committee underestimates anti-imperialist work, underestimates Negro work, underestimates our responsibility to the colonial and semi-colonial movements, underestimates the War Danger. The Lovestone group members do not attend meetings of the anti-imperialist committee. Anti-imperialist work has not even been made a point on the agenda at a single Party convention or Party plenum since the Lovestone Group came to power. Comrade Lovestone has had the nerve to boast of anti-militarist work, when the Party did not send a single man to work among the troops in Nicaragua, or in China either.

Can we organise an empire-wide strategy for the struggle against American imperialism? Only if our Party in the United States understands that it must show the way.