

The Party's Shortcomings, Mistakes and Problems

NOTE: This is the fifth installment of the report for the Political Committee made by Jay Lovestone, at the recent Fifth National Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party held in New York City. This installment deals with "The Party's Shortcomings, Mistakes and Problems."

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2. About the trade union problems: These will be dealt with at length in a subsequent report. Let me state that it is a basic problem for us to get our members to an increasing, to a larger extent into the existing unions. Our Party has had the correct position towards organizing new unions and towards the whole problem of dual unionism. Our position has been that wherever possible we must utilize the existing trade unions in the organization of the unorganized. If because of the trade union bureaucracy, if because of the opposition of the labor lieutenants of American imperialism, the existing unions refuse to do it, then our Party must not stop, but must go ahead in spite of these factors and go into campaigns, as in Passaic, and organize the unorganized. Once we have organized the workers, our primary task is to get these newly organized workers into the main stream of the organized labor movement, which today happens to be the American Federation of Labor. The conservatism, the class-collaboration schemes, the lack of militancy in the leadership of these unions, are not arguments against our bringing these masses into the unions. Bringing these masses into the unions does not mean handing them over to the labor fakers. It is necessary to bring in a new stream, a new current from the unorganized workers to tap this great reservoir of militancy in order to make more virile and revolutionize the existing unions. The Party can more easily establish leadership over those who have not been poisoned by the bourgeois agents now largely constituting the official labor leadership.

Any attitude toward the bureaucracy of viewing it as one homogeneous mass would be false. The role of the bureaucracy, it is true, is that of imperialist agents today. But in the trade union bureaucracy there are divisions. These divisions must be utilized, no matter how small they be. Every breach in the front of the bourgeoisie is an opening for the Communists. And as Communists we dare not close our eyes to them.

It is true there are defects in our campaigns of counter-attack to meet the capitalist offensive. It is true we

will be expelled, we will meet with defeat after defeat in this fight, but defeats and expulsions are no cause for pessimism. We must fight for leadership in these labor organizations. We will make mistakes; such mistakes as attempting to fight merely for the sake of holding office. Our policy must be as it has been, rather to take chances of making mistakes and being in action, than being pure, without making mistakes at the price of inactivity.

Mistakes have been made by our comrades in the needle trades. But the CEC has criticized these mistakes which were made under the greatest difficulties. Our leading comrades in the needle trades have made serious mistakes. To an extent the CEC has made mistakes, here also. All of these mistakes have been made in the face of the greatest hardships. Our CEC is of the opinion that the comrades in the needle trades, working under the most serious objective difficulties, working in the face of the spearhead of the onrushing offensive against our Party, have made costly errors. These errors have been criticized inside the Party and publicly. Our CEC is convinced that the comrades who made these mistakes are coming nearer to the Party line and we believe that every step must be taken to make these comrades efficient Communist leaders in the class struggle. These comrades who have experience in the practical tests of the class struggle are becoming much better Communists. Our CEC is convinced that no factional use should be made by any grouping in the Party of such mistakes in any field of work. Particularly in the needle trades, in view of all the forces involved, must we pursue a party and not a faction attitude.

In reference to Labor Unity—I believe we will help the left wing if we will take more steps toward broadening the paper, toward making it the real organ of the left wing non-Communist masses. The same applies to the TUEL. There is clearness and no disagreement in our Party today regarding the role of the TUEL. The CEC has made some errors in reference to its attitude toward the TUEL many months ago. These errors have been corrected. This attitude has long ago been dropped. We now feel as one and stand as one with the Comintern on this question.

The question of the Party meeting successfully the offensive against it is to be answered primarily in the possibility of our Party reacting properly in its trade union work. In this question the attitude toward the

left wing, the attitude toward the conservative unions, the attitude toward the bureaucracy—these will determine the chances of our success to meet the offensive.

3. A few words about the war danger and struggle against American imperialism. A subsequent reporter will deal at length with that. The Federal Reserve Bank of America is today the central bank of the world. In Latin America, in the last seven years, the American ruling class has invested as much as the British ruling class has invested in the last hundred years. In Nicaragua, in Mexico, American imperialism has become more and more arrogant. Coolidge's recent declaration of policy towards Central America is a declaration of more aggressiveness, showing the increasing brutality of American imperialism.

We must not forget the role of American imperialism in the Orient. American policy in the Orient revolves largely around its attitude toward China, toward Japan and the United States colonial possessions. The American Chinese policy can be divided into three main stages, here and there overlapping, yet on the whole indicating definite demarcation points of imperialist policy.

The first stage is that of the open door. It must be remembered that American imperialism was a late-comer in Chinese exploitation. In the first stage American imperialism was fighting for equality of booty—for the open door.

As American imperialist prowess was being developed, we entered the second stage of Yankee imperialist policy towards China. American capitalism was now fighting for the leading position in the exploitation of China. Because American capitalism was in a position to export capital and because American capitalism was in a position to help develop Chinese resources, our bourgeoisie favored the development of a bourgeois republican movement, of a strong bourgeois republic, of a bourgeois revolution in China.

But as these Chinese movements developed, and as the revolution in China showed increasing dangers to the bourgeoisie, dangers of its assuming a proletarian character the American imperialists greatly feared that the Chinese proletariat would soon be at the head of the agrarian masses; that together with the agrarian masses the organized workers would give a socialist character to the revolution. Then America entered the third stage in its Chinese

during the time they are engaged in construction of the haven of refuge for the seafarers. At the final curtain he is well on the road to becoming a full-fledged capitalist, reconciling his proposed exploitation of fisherman with his brand of reformism. In a very subtle manner the authors spoof the yellow socialists of all brands, but it is questionable if the audience was capable of perceiving their real intent.

The acting of the piece is far above the average Broadway production and Reginald Bach, as the rum-soaked uncle, Richard, is superb, reminiscent

policy, the stage of being frankly, aggressively imperialist, and together with Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy, to face what the imperialists called the most dangerous common enemy, the danger of a socialist revolution in China, and the danger of an alliance between revolutionary China and the Soviet Union.

Comrades, you will note that it was then America bombarded Nanking. But as soon as Chiang Kai-shek committed his act of bloody treachery, his basest betrayal of the Chinese revolution, as soon as the danger of the proletarian leadership of the Chinese revolution was thus lessened, that very moment marked America's again playing its so-called lone policy, and its withdrawal from the five-power group. Once the hopes of bourgeois domination of the Chinese struggles rose again, American imperialism returned primarily to its second stage of policy.

But the moment the danger of proletarian hegemony, of proletarian leadership again increases in China, that very moment American imperialism will become as aggressive and brutal as any imperialist power in China. With all antagonisms among the imperialist powers considered, particularly between Great Britain and the United States and those between the United States and Japan, the truth remains that the outstanding feature of the present Chinese situation is the danger of a united front of the biggest imperialist powers against the Chinese revolution and the Soviet Union.

America and Japan in my opinion will yet fight it out for domination of the Pacific. The Philippines will occupy in this struggle the role of the Achilles heel of American imperialism. It has been well said that the Philippines are America's Ireland.

(To Be Continued)

DANBURY, Sept. 15.—The dead bodies of two men and a woman lay on the floor of a tiny house in the city hamlet, upper Main Street, here all through the night while police stood guard awaiting the arrival today of the medical examiner.