

The Party's Shortcomings, Mistakes and Problems

NOTE: This is the sixth 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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Now a few words about America's relations to Europe. Here we must consider at this moment, primarily the relations between America and Great Britain. For some time there has been substantial collaboration between Great Britain and the United States despite increasing antagonisms. This has led the superficial bourgeois observers to advocate an alliance between England and America as a guarantor of world peace. This is an illusion. No alliance between imperialist powers can be an alliance for peace, whether it be an alliance of France and Germany, France and England, or America and England. An alliance between America and Great Britain today, if it were real and existed, would not be an alliance making for peace in the world, but on the contrary, making for a new world war—because it would be a war alliance against the Soviet Union and all oppressed nationalities and colonial peoples.

What are the basic facts in reference to Anglo-American relations? Recent months have been a sharpening of these relationships. Take the results of the Geneva Conference. Against whom does England need this large navy? Not against Italy. Not against Germany. Not even against the Soviet Union. It needs a big navy against the imperialist power which can have a navy as big or bigger than its own, the United States. Against whom does the United States need a big navy? The only imperialist power against which it can have real use for and of a big navy is the British imperialist power. The conflict here is a conflict for the domination of the world market today. British imperialism still has a greater annual total trade than American imperialism. But British imperialism's trend is declining, while America is expanding and they are bound to clash. They are clashing.

DESPITE this increasing conflict between America and England, de-

spite the fact that the antagonisms of America and England today in the international field play the role of the antagonisms between German and English imperialism before the war, yet the key to the international situation today is to be found in the danger of a united front of the imperialist powers against the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution.

In speaking of the role of American imperialism, we must not overlook the increasing export of American capital and its effect on the standard of living of our working class. When American imperialism exports capital to China, to Italy, India, or to any country which is less developed industrially, it is in a position to dominate the industries of those countries and to manufacture there commodities at a lower cost, at lower wages than in America. This very prowess of American imperialism which temporarily allows the bourgeoisie to have such superprofits as to give away a few crumbs to the labor aristocracy, this feature has a contradictory element in it. This contradictory element is the danger of lowering the standard of living of the great masses of American workers, because of the very increase in the export of capital.

Take the textile industry in the North and South in the United States—The textile owners in the North are moving South where they can get production at lower costs. The reduction of the standard of living and the standard of wages of the working class or of any section of the working class is always determined not by the highest but by the lowest point of wages which the bourgeoisie can force the workers to accept. Thus if the American capitalists, thru their export of capital to lesser industrially developed countries, will be able to secure cheaper labor power in European or Asiatic countries, they will either reduce their American working forces or slash the wages of these working forces at home.

Our tasks at present in this field are the following: We must not fight imperialism abstractly. There is no use of fighting American imperialism in general. We must adapt our tactics to the changing concrete conditions day by day if necessary, always keeping in mind the fundamental role, the basic characteristics

of American imperialism. We must adjust our tactics to the various changes. This applies to the Chinese campaign. This applies to our tasks in the Anglo-American alliance which may be formed. This applies to our need for mobilizing the masses for demonstrating against such a possible alliance. The need for organizing anti-war campaigns and demonstrations against American imperialism and British imperialism has been correctly met by our Party only on this basis.

4. The labor party problem. The central task of our Party today is still to develop the working class as a class politically. This means that the unifying slogan, the one unifying movement under which we can have an approach to the workers of California who strike for a 5 cent increase in wages, or to the Passaic textile workers who strike for the right to organize into a union, is in a Labor Party. We have seen the decrease in the effectiveness and the slackening of the labor party movement first, because of the objective conditions, secondly because of the change in the trend of the composition of the working class.

Let no one belittle the fact that the bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy have been corrupted to so large an extent. This is one of the basic factors for the weakening of the labor party movement. More and more the great mass of unorganized, unskilled workers have become discouraged because of the swing to the right by the labor aristocracy. The importance of the status of the organized, skilled workers thus becomes apparent. The immediate outlook for a labor party is small. The immediate outlook for a united labor ticket is not good. If the economic recession deepens into a depression, the chances for the development of a mass labor party movement will be much improved. Everywhere our labor party campaign must be organizational and not merely agitational.

(To Be Continued.)

First Negro Fire Officer.

The first Negro officer of the New York Fire Department was appointed yesterday. He is Wesley Williams, a member of Engine Company 55, Broome St.