

The Party's Shortcomings, Mistakes and Problems

NOTE: This is the seventh 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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The Labor Party movement in Minnesota is a step toward a labor party nationally. The Labor Party development in Buffalo is a step toward a labor party nationally and toward a mass movement. Also when we speak of a labor party movement, we must speak of our party's developing such issues as will rouse and mobilize masses for action against the bourgeoisie. The capitalists in their election campaign have such issues as prohibition, world court, the primaries, etc. But we who are striving to win the leadership of the working class cannot advance towards winning the leadership unless in the 1928 elections we throw out slogans such as the right to strike, no injunctions, agricultural relief, social legislation, the exposure of the strike-breaking role of the government and the imperialist war policies of the United States.

If our Party is unable to develop a big enough, genuine, mass labor party movement because of the difficult objective conditions, if we are unable to develop a mass united labor ticket movement, then our Party should examine the situation and if it is possible then we should enter, as

the Communist Party, under our own name, in the election campaign of 1928.

5. Before coming to the situation in the Party, I want to deal with the role of our Party in the united front movements. The development of successful united front movements is the road by which our Party can gain access to large masses, broad layers of non-Communist masses and draw them closer to us. In the united front our Party should fight for leadership, should fight for initiative. But sometimes it is necessary for us to give up the outward leadership. Sometimes it is necessary for us to see to it that non-Communists should outwardly be the leaders in order to assure the success of united front movements, but we never deliberately give up the right of Communists as Communists to function and participate in united front movements. We do not make a principle to which we adhere rigidly of the idea of Communists functioning openly as Communists in the united front under all conditions. Our problem is, what form of Party participation will insure the participation of the largest masses in a move toward the left. If the Party's going in under its own name will harm this move toward the left, we may make this sacrifice, though always making a fight for the right to show our Communist Party's face.

We must show the face of the Party more than in the past. Our auxiliary organizations must function as auxiliaries to the Party and enable the Party to come into closer contact

with non-Party masses.

This question of the Party's participation as a Party in the united front movements is not a splitting point with us, but in any united front where the Socialist Party is to be seated, I say the Party must fight for its right to be seated because if the Socialist Party is part of this united front as a political Party, as a centre of leadership and our Party is not, a tremendous advantage will have been gained by the Socialist Party under the circumstances.

In the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign the Party has done splendid work. The auxiliary organizations of the Party have done splendid work. Yet I think in our next steps we must show the Communist face more than we have in the past. First of all the new conditions demand it. Secondly, only the Party can insure the success of such a campaign and this is clear in face of the position of the Boston Committee and other elements.

In our inner Party work, we cannot consider the building of nuclei, the developing of the basic unit of the Party as secondary.

The force of The DAILY WORKER—We have paid insufficient attention to The DAILY WORKER. Particularly in this period when it is very difficult to develop big mass movements, must we strengthen our Party organization, must we improve our literature, raise the ideological level and make the paper a Communist paper in the true sense of the word, because if we do not do it, we will be unable to build a Communist Party.

(To Be Continued)