

Tasks of Workers (Communist) Party Analyzed by Jay Lovestone in Report

(EIGHTH INSTALLMENT.
(Continued from yesterday.)

"A few words about some mistakes and shortcomings of the Party. We have committed a number of mistakes since the last Party convention. I believe, in general, the Party press and the Daily Worker have improved since the convention, yet the Party as a whole is not taking a sufficiently vigorous interest in the press and the press does not reflect the Party life and the Party campaigns sufficiently.

"2. Immediately after the convention we made a serious error in neglecting to push vigorously factory papers.

"3. In the fight against the war danger, in a number of districts, very dangerous pacifist illusions manifested themselves.

"Opportunist errors have also been made in the last election campaign. I can cite the Bearak case in Boston which was condemned by the Secretariat, the conduct of the comrades in conducting the election campaign in Worcester, and certain very dangerous manifestations in western Pennsylvania where some of our comrades were so anxious for political participation that they even stepped into the primaries in the republican party. The Pittsburgh district committee promptly and sharply corrected this error.

"However, we made errors in the election campaign not only of a right character. We have not yet shed completely or sufficiently the remnants of our yesterday's mechanical, anti-parliamentary attitude. This we must shed if we are to participate successfully in election campaigns as a party.

"The late start in the miners' relief campaign was a costly mistake and served to weaken the whole mining campaign of the Party.

"The faction-breeding conference arrangements in the Jewish fraction must be characterized very strongly as not helping Party unity but as hurting party unity. I refer concretely to the Central Committee error in allowing two resolutions to be presented on the basis of groups after the convention decision for the abolition of groups.

"The failure of the Party center to respond quickly enough to certain situations such as Nicaragua, China and the unemployment must be mentioned as a serious mistake.

"Insufficient support in laying the basis for organizing the labor party committees was also an error. Comrades in the districts particularly

have not pushed this vital step towards the building of a labor party movement.

"This plenum should make note of such inactivity.

"Insufficient participation of certain language fractions in party campaigns and life. I speak of the mining campaign. With very few exceptions the language fractions participated vigorously in the mining campaign.

"Another error, a very costly one, was the insufficient and not quick enough orientation towards the sharpening developments in the mining campaign. Not only the districts, but the party as a whole, the party center must share in this blame. It is true we are now making big headway. I say we could have made much greater headway and been in a much safer position if we had not made this mistake.

"Briefly, what are the shortcomings of our Party? Our Party apparatus is still weak. It is our opinion that our Party apparatus today is still too weak to withstand well a severe offensive against our organization. The organization conference of the central committee must take positive steps to remedy this situation.

"We also have the weakness of Party auxiliaries. The Party auxiliaries, almost without exception, do not serve sufficiently as reservoirs for Party membership and following. "We still have some lingering factionalism and remnants of old groupings. Here we must avoid particularly any attempt as some comrades of the Polburo tend to do, at generalizing into a characteristic of policy, into a wrong estimate of basic policy, when a mistake may be made here and there.

"Insufficient basis in the trade unions, insufficient proportion of native born workers, weakness in election campaigns, weakness of the Women's Department and the Negro work, insufficient development of our theoretical level, insufficient capacity to attract working class forces in the campaign against the imperialist war danger, insufficient initiative of comrades in voluntary routine work are among our worst shortcomings. We have in our Party an insufficient response to any call for such basic, yes, so-called 'Jimmy Higgins' work. We must have much more of that throughout the Party.

"Finally, the lack of workers' correspondents is a serious shortcoming of the Party.

"To conclude: The fundamental

tasks, the outstanding problems and tasks of the Party divide themselves largely in the following six main lines:

"First of all: the problem of an adequate program for the depression period. This is the key to our Party activities. The energetic execution of our unemployment program, demands on the government, the organization of the unemployment councils, the intensification of the labor party campaign, the intensification of the fight against wage cuts, against lengthen hours with concrete activities and slogans must be pushed to the fore. For instance, the 40 hour week slogan. For instance, the popularization in an agitational sense, of the fact that in the Soviet Union we have a seven-hour day. This must be pointed out by the Party in its agitational field much more than it has been today. The question of Soviet Russian recognition, the fight against new forms of class collaboration must be emphasized. In the general propaganda and activities against capitalism as such, I think our Party has been particularly weak in this respect. Here we must work much harder.

"We attack the government very well. We expose capitalist democracy effectively but we have not centered our blows sufficiently against capitalism as an economic system. We have not pointed out sufficiently the costly losses suffered by the workers thru the capitalist system. Finally, great weight must be lent to aggressive fight for a genuine social insurance program.

"Second: The Labor Party. We have reaffirmed the unanimously adopted labor party policy as herewith given. We recognize that the sentiment for a labor party is today much bigger than its organizational strength.

"We must prepare now. Whether there will be a labor party ticket or even a united labor ticket in 1928 we must prepare now as part of the labor party campaign for the Workers Party running its own national ticket and being on the ballot in as many states as possible. This is a task which every district organizer must meet and execute most energetically. This is a task the achievement of which enables us to mobilize larger sections of our Party than any of our other tasks. We must raise a campaign fund of \$100,000, not only for the labor party and the Party election campaign, but also to build and strengthen our Party weapons and apparatus such as the Daily

Worker for this effective campaign.

"Third: The crisis in the trade unions: Let me say that the critical condition in which the trade unions find themselves set before us tremendous tasks. The masses are awakening to the danger and the slogan, 'Save the Unions' is a living slogan. We must raise this slogan and mobilize increasing masses. The organization of the unorganized, the defense of the standard of living of the working class, the question of amalgamation—these are vital questions today in facing the crisis of the trade unions. We do not utilize this slogan of the crisis in the trade unions in a manner to promote panic. We utilize the slogan of the crisis in the trade unions in order to point out to the workers that they must fight.

"In general we reaffirm the resolution as adopted by the Executive Committee of the Central Committee last May. But in view of the sharpening situation—in view of the new economic conditions, we declare that we must not allow ourselves to make a fetish of opposition to dual unionism as such in our campaigns to organize the unorganized. We must organize the unorganized and take the leadership in it at all costs. As long as there be opposition against the organization of the unorganized in the labor movement. Here the mining campaign is of basic importance. We ask the comrades in the districts who have not mobilized well enough to the demand of the Central Committee to come into this campaign without the slightest fear of splitting the miners union. The miners union is split to smithereens now and we are the only ones who can save it. Our general slogans here are clear as above indicated. And last, but not least, in the crisis in the trade unions, is the building up of the Trade Union Educational League. I did not mention this before but I want to emphasize that one of the mistakes of the Party since the convention has been insufficient response and even opposition here and there to building strong local sections of the Trade Union Educational League. This must be stopped, if we are to do all we can to meet the crisis in the trade unions.

"Fourth: the war danger: this fight is now assuming a much more than abstract character. It is our opinion that the secretariat should be empowered, under the direction of the political committee, to work out certain basic tasks. We must fight

more decisively the pacifist illusions. I might mention to the comrades in the Minnesota (huge applause by Tallentire, D.-O. 9) district that they have done very well in not failing to organize anti-war movements. It is my contention and I think it is the opinion of the central committee, that the comrades in the Minnesota district must fight more energetically certain pacifist illusions which have crept in. We must take more effective steps to organize the masses.

"I think we have fallen down in one phase of activity here. We must popularize much more extensively against pacifism the peace program given by Comrade Litvinoff for the Soviet Union at the last Geneva conference. We must also learn that we must propagandize those masses that are against war to become real opponents of war by propagandizing them for interference with war preparations and raising such slogans not as 'against war,' but as 'against imperialist war', and raising the slogan

'not a man, not a dollar for imperialist war in China,' etc.

"Fifth: The road to the development of a mass Communist party lies in the development of correct tactics, in the united front efforts of the Party. Our basic policy here is good.

"We maintain that there is increasing opportunity for the Party as a party to appear before the workers as a party in the present struggles. The Party should show its face much more to the masses as a Party and more frequently and openly. Our basic line here remains: First of all: the greatest possible mobilization of masses for struggle with a view of developing left movements amongst the non-Communist workers. Secondly, the bringing closer to the Party and under its influence non-Party masses, and thus to build and strengthen our Party organization.

"Because of the conditions of the class struggle today, the center of gravity of the united front campaigns

now tends to shift to the united front from the bottom much more than from the top. On the question of united fronts we also have our relations to the I. W. W. and the socialist party. Comrade Foster in the trade union report will elaborate our position towards the I. W. W. particularly in view of the recent developments in Colorado. Insofar as the socialist party is concerned, we have stated our opinion in the characterization of the political situation in the country.

To be continued.

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