

Lovestone Reports on U. S. Unions, Unemployment and Panken

NINTH INSTALLMENT.
(Continued from yesterday.)

"I want to say a few words about the Panken case:

"This question is not placed in the thesis. In the sub-committee going over the Panken question we agreed not to place it in the thesis because we felt that it is not a basic question, it does not deal with the tasks of the Party in the near future, and so long as we have realized the monumental achievement of being able to put forward to the Party for the first time in its history a thorough analysis of the economic and political situation and a correct appreciation of our Party's task with debates over second-rate questions of the past, we should not weaken the beneficial effects of the Party. The political committee supports the policy of the New York district in the Panken elections with these facts in mind. First of all, it was a correct policy too wrongly executed. Secondly, the district committee, particularly the district organizer, himself brought the criticism of the errors in the application of this policy. The policy in the Panken case is not a general policy, but is the exception so far as our policy towards the socialist party is concerned. The question before us briefly is this, can we make exceptions towards the policy of the Party in reference to the socialist party in election campaigns? We maintain that exceptions can be made and in the Panken case the basis for the exception was there. Above all the

Party carried out every necessary prerequisite for such a maneuver as shown in one, maintaining a sharp criticism of Panken; two, maintaining its own platform, its own speakers, its own agitation, and its own district position.

"In reference to Party unification:

"We must vigorously continue the line we have been following of executing the convention resolution. All remnants of former groupings must disband and merge with the central executive committee which is today more than ever the leader of our Party. Every Party member must promote the confidence of the membership in the central committee and enhance its authority. No reorganization, no reconstruction of former groupings. Nor is there any basis for new groups in our Party. The presentation of this thesis, unanimously adopted by the political committee, should supply whatever evidence was needed by the comrades for the support of this contention. The Party was never as homogeneous and unified in principle as it is today. We have no differences of principle or even tactics of major importance in the Party today.

"Particularly at this time even the slightest effort at factionalism or opposition to the central executive committee no matter from what source it comes is unprincipled and is to be condemned roundly as such.

"Let me also remind you of the Lenin-Ruthenberg drive and the need of building the DAILY WORK-

ER. The Lenin-Ruthenberg drive is a Party building drive and the maintenance and strengthening of the DAILY WORKER remains an acute question for our Party. No sacrifices should be spared to make the paper not only a better paper ideologically but also to place it on a sound financial basis. What is the outlook for the paper? We are now under attack by the government. This attack we must repel and save the paper."

"The workers, even in the most conservative unions, are now being forced to fight. The hegemony of the labor aristocracy will not last for a long time.

"America is becoming ever more a country exporting industrial commodities. Thus the United States is becoming increasingly dependent on the world market and is consequently more subject to all its economic fluctuations and political after-effects.

"The country is witnessing a tremendous accumulation of capital bringing with it concentration of ownership, centralization of operation, and increasing proletarianization.

"America is becoming increasingly a capital-exploiting country. Hence, it is living more and more at the expense of Europe. Parasitism and stagnation are thus growing in American capitalism.

"The chronic agricultural crisis tends to undermine one of the most powerful sources of reserve force for capitalist social reaction—the great

mass of the agricultural population. "At least ten million Negroes have been excluded from political and social rights. The great migration and industrialization of these Negro masses further robs the bourgeoisie of a tremendous reserve force of social reaction.

"The class struggle in the United States is today at a turning point. The period of retreat we are leaving behind us. A period of sharp fights is ahead of us. The intensifying contradictions of American capitalism are opening up new vistas of struggle for us. The sharpening of American imperialist policy and its resulting attacks on the trade unions and the working and living standards will arouse more proletarian opposition to capitalist reaction.

"The Party must respond to this situation. The Party must lead the workers in a block with the exploited farmers in these struggles. The course of the fight will depend, to a large degree, on the leadership of the militant workers guided and inspired by our Party. In alliance with all genuine progressive elements we must turn full face to the main body of our working class—the most exploited, the most proletarian section. Our Party must direct its major attention to the millions of unskilled and semi-skilled, the unorganized, the bulk of the working class. Thus, never before was our work in the existing trade unions more the basic work of the Party. This is closely related to our work in organizing

the unorganized and is integrally bound up with it.

"We must draw all logical consequences from this line. Organization of the unorganized thru the existing trade unions if at all possible. If this is impossible and obstacles are placed in our path, then we must go over the heads of the official leadership and organize the unorganized workers. Under no circumstances should we make a fetish of opposition to dual unionism as such. If necessary we will form new unions and always seek to join them up with the main stream of the American trade union movement.

"'Into the unions' is a living slogan today if ever it was. We must here turn the heaviest fire against the reformists and left phrase-mongers. We must convince the workers of the correctness of our program on the basis of our activities and practical work in the actual struggle. The success of our main line depends on the speed, militancy and confidence with which we proceed.

"It is true, premature crystallization must always be avoided. But today, procrastination, hesitation, and undue cautiousness would be especially dangerous and costly. Let no one underestimate the tremendous objective difficulties in our path. At the same time let no one make the fatal blunder of underestimating the readiness and capacity of the workers to struggle. We must positively avoid insufficient response to and the not quick enough pushing forward by

the Party of the workers' interests and movements. Let us also proceed to place the Party boldly before the masses.

"Never was Party unity more necessary, more imperative than today. Increasing speed, greater efforts must characterize our completion of the realization of the last Comintern Resolution on the Party unification. Further and more vigorous efforts must be made by everyone to liquidate fully the remnants of factional division.

"With this as our guiding line we shall overcome the tremendous objective difficulties in our way. Our Party has increasingly shown real capacities to lead masses and to respond to their needs as a militant, conscious force of opposition to capitalist reaction on all fronts. Witness our energetic work and achievements in the fight against American imperialism and the war danger. Note the results in the campaign for the recognition of the Soviet Union. Recall our leadership in the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign. Notice the campaigns for the building of a genuine mass left wing movement in the trade unions.

"With united ranks—and this we must have—and on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, under the leadership of the Communist International and the Central Committee, our Party will go forward towards becoming a mass Communist Party."

(End of Lovestone's report for the Political Committee.)