

Proposed National Election Platform and Candidates of the Communist Party of the United States of America

PROPOSED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C. P. U. S. A., FOR DISCUSSION, SUBJECT TO CHANGE AND FINAL ADOPTION BY THE NATIONAL NOMINATING CONVENTION TO BE HELD IN CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 28-29, 1932—ALL READERS WHO HAVE PROPOSALS FOR IMPROVING OR STRENGTHENING THE PLATFORM ARE URGED TO WRITE TO THE DAILY WORKER

IN TWO SECTIONS
(SECTION TWO)

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THE FACTORY WORKERS ABOVE ALL MUST BE WON FOR THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 28, 1932

For Working Class Unity in the Election Campaign! -- Against the Hunger and War Offensive of the Capitalists!

For the Workers' Ticket -- Candidates of the Communist Party! -- Against the Candidates of the Bosses!

For Vice-President—
JAMES W. FORD
of Alabama



PLATFORM OF IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

- 1—Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers.
- 2—Against Hoover's wage-cutting policy
- 3—Emergency relief for the poor farmers without restrictions by the government and banks; exemption of poor farmers from taxes, and from forced collection of rents or debts.
- 4—Equal rights for the Negroes and self-determination for the Black Belt.
- 5—Against capitalist terror; against all forms of suppression of the political rights of the workers.
- 6—Against imperialist war; for the defense of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union.

VOTE COMMUNIST!

For President—
WM. Z. FOSTER
of New York



Workers and Farmers, White and Negro, Men and Women:

CAN anyone deny the widespread suffering and misery prevalent today among the great mass of workers and farmers in all parts of the United States? No, this cannot be denied! The facts are too well known.

Twelve million workers, ready and anxious to work, and capable of producing the food, clothing and other goods so urgently needed by the people, are suffering enforced idleness.

Those workers who still desperately cling to their jobs have been forced to accept one drastic wage cut after another, until in some cases their wages are now 50 per cent below their former income.

Hoover's "stagger plan" has brought almost universal part-time work with great reductions in the weekly earnings of the workers. Only 15 per cent of the employed workers now have full time jobs. Eighty-five per cent of these workers are working only a few days per week.

Unemployment, part-time work and wage cuts have resulted in a lowering of the living standards of the entire working class by more than 50 per cent, bringing the American workers down to the level of the poorly paid European workers.

This is the situation confronting the toilers now in the third year of the still deepening crisis. The frequent promises of Hoover and his Republican and Democratic supporters about "returning prosperity" are completely refuted by these undeniable facts. Instead of "returning

prosperity", we find only that the suffering of the workers and farmers and of their wives and children becomes steadily worse!

This is the United States of America in 1932!

But what have the capitalist politicians—Republicans and Democrats—done about it? Warehouses are bursting with unused food and clothing. Hundreds of thousands of houses are standing empty. Idle factories are capable of producing all the goods the people need and more. Yet have these politicians taken any steps to start the factories going again, to open up the empty houses for the evicted workers, or to distribute the food and clothing now stacked up in the warehouses among the people who are starving? Not a step!

Starvation in the Midst of Plenty, this is what is presented to the workers and toiling farmers of the United States by the ruling class, by the bankers, manufacturers, lawyers, publicists, politicians and their political parties.

Capitalists Force Crisis Burdens on Workers

They remain coldly unconcerned about the suffering of the masses. They think only about the profits of the rich. Their proposed way out of the crisis is a way that will bring permanent poverty and misery to the workers and poor farmers, while the few rich bankers and manufacturers who control the country will become still richer and still more powerful.

Their way out of the crisis—the capitalist way out—firstly, proposes direct help, not to the poor, but to the rich.

Under the guise of "economy" they categor-

ically refuse unemployment insurance as demanded by the unemployed hunger marchers to Washington and to many state capitols. They refuse to appropriate money for a far-reaching public works program for relieving unemployment. They refuse to appropriate money for immediate relief for the starving workers and farmers. They refuse to pay the bonus to the ex-servicemen of the last war, most of whom are now unemployed or working only part-time.

For the hungry masses, in their opinion, the slop from restaurants and hotels and the miserable charity system is good enough. The employed workers, themselves suffering from part-time work and wage cuts, are being forced to pay for even the charity system. The abominable "block-aid", "community chest", and "Family help Family" systems, by means of forced collections in the factories and neighborhoods, are placing the burdens of charity also on the hungry masses and taking it off the rich who alone can afford to pay.

Yet the Republicans and Democrats, who control the National and State governments, despite their "economy" talk where the masses are concerned, have plenty of funds to aid the bankers and manufacturers and to provide the huge amounts for graft and corruption which serves as oil for their political machine. The last session of Congress, with Democratic control of the House and with the approval of Hoover, appropriated billions of dollars for direct aid to the rich. Hoover's "Reconstruction Corporation", alone made \$2,000,000,000 available for the big bankers. Changes in the banking, tariff and taxation laws, not only placed the burden of the huge government deficit on the middle class and chiefly on the broad masses, but paved the way for further trustification of

The Communist Party Alone Fights with the Workers in Their Every Day Struggle Against the Bosses. Support the Workers' Ticket!

industry, more firm control of the industries and railroads by the Wall Street banks, and for still greater profits by the biggest and most powerful capitalists.

The capitalists' way out of the crisis,—secondly,—embodies a further direct and brutal attack on the living standards of the toilers.

Workers' wages are being even more drastically slashed. The speed-up in the factories and mines is daily increased. More factories are shut down; more workers are thrown into the streets to join the ranks of the unemployed. The miserable charity rations are being further reduced and the burdens of the charity system are placed on the already breaking backs of the toilers. In this way the capitalists try to escape from the crisis—to maintain their bloated profits, while the workers are forced nearer and nearer to the starvation level and even below.

When the workers, by strikes and demonstrations, fight to maintain their living standards and to resist these attacks of the bosses, they meet the sharpest terror. Their political rights guaranteed by the constitution are denied them. Meetings, demonstrations and picket lines are ruthlessly smashed. Workers are clubbed and gassed by the police on the instruction of the capitalists and their political hirelings. The Negro masses are Jim Crowed and lynched. Workers are shot down and killed. This terror is not the monopoly of one capitalist, one politician or one party. The Republican, Hoover, orders the gassing and brutal clubbing of the workers in Washington. The "liberal" Republican, Pinchot, orders the clubbing and murder of the Pennsylvania coal strikers. The Democratic Mayor Cermak orders the beating, gassing and killing of Negro workers on Chicago's South Side. Ford and his "progressive" henchman, Murphy, order the murder of four workers at Dearborn. The Socialist Mayor Hoan, backed by the progressive Republican, La Follette, order the same attacks on the Milwaukee workers. All the capitalists and all their parties are determined to force through the lowering of the workers' living standard and the maintenance of their own profits by an unprecedented and growing terror.

Workers Must Militantly Resist Bosses' Attacks

Against these attacks of the employers, against these efforts of the capitalists to enrich themselves at the expense of the toilers, the workers and farmers must fight. They must rally all their forces for the most uncompromising class struggle against every effort of the capitalists to terrorize them into accepting worsened conditions, or to force them into another imperialist slaughter.

The capitalists will never voluntarily yield an inch to the workers. They will continue ever more ruthlessly to maintain and increase their own profits and wealth by forcing the workers and farmers into greater misery. They will never voluntarily relax their pressure on the masses, nor will they cease

The capitalist way out of the crisis,—thirdly,—provides for intense preparation for and the immediate launching of a new imperialist war in which the workers and farmers will be called upon to serve as the cannon fodder.

In their greedy desire for greater profits the capitalists set out to wrest new markets, from their imperialist rivals by armed force, and to rob the peoples of Latin America, of China, of the Philippines, etc., of their territory and natural resources.

In preparation for this war the terror against the workers is carried through to crush all militancy among the workers and all revolutionary workers' organizations; billions of dollars are spent for naval and military armaments, while the people starve. Efforts are made to herd the masses—workers, farmers and students—into the military and auxiliary organizations in an effort to make them the cannon fodder to be ruthlessly slaughtered on the battle fields. All this is done behind the screen of fake peace talk and fake disarmament proposals.

The imperialist war has already started in the East, on the borders of the Soviet Union, with the robber attacks of Japanese imperialism on the Chinese people in Manchuria and Shanghai, with actual warfare against the Soviet Union daily threatened.

The Hoover-Stimson tools of Wall Street are openly preparing to throw the American workers into this war, and, in the first place, into a war against the Soviet Union. The battle fleet has been concentrated in the Pacific ocean where the most gigantic and demonstrative maneuvers are being carried out. At any moment a call to arms may be sounded, followed by the forced conscription of the workers into the robber army of Wall Street.

Increased hunger and misery for the masses, terror, and war—this is the capitalist way out of the crisis. The election programs of Republicans, Democrats and Socialists, no matter how skillfully concealed, reflect only the differences between these parties on how to carry through this capitalist way out, how to get the masses to accept hunger, terror and war.

for one moment their war preparations, particularly for a bloody war to crush the Soviet Union.

There is no way out of the crisis for the workers except the way of militant class struggle. There is no way out except the way of the most stubborn fight against starvation and for the workers' immediate demands. There is no way out except the way of struggle against bankrupt capitalism and for a workers' and farmers' government which alone can feed the people. Those who say otherwise lie!

In order to carry out this struggle, the workers and poor farmers, Negro and white, must organize. They must build powerful, fighting trade unions and unemployed coun-

cils and strong organization of poor farmers. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the workers organized in such class organizations can defend their interests today, while fighting for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, for the overthrow of capitalism.

The most relentless struggle, now and throughout the election campaign, for the following demands—the demands of the Communist Party—alone offers to the workers the means of defending their interests against the bosses' attack.

1. Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the State and employers.
2. Against Hoover's wage cutting policy.

3. Emergency relief for the poor farmers without restrictions by the government and banks; exemption of poor farmers from taxes, and from forced collection of rents or debts.

4. Equal rights for the Negroes and self-determination for the Black Belt.

5. Against capitalist terror; against all forms of suppression of the political rights of the workers.

6. Against imperialist war; for the defense of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union.

Workers' and Farmers' Government Will End Misery

The Communist Party calls upon the millions of workers and farmers, Negro and white, and particularly those rank and file workers who are now misled by the leaders of the Socialist Party and the A. F. of L., to rally to the fight for these demands. The mass fight for these demands can alone develop effective resistance to the starvation and war program of the capitalists.

The fight for these demands, as proposed by the Communist Party, means even more. It is the starting point for the final victory of the toilers, for the establishment of the workers' and farmers' government in the United States. This is the workers' way—the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

The Communist Party proposes an organized mass struggle for the above immediate demands of the workers, as the first step toward the establishment of a revolutionary WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT.

Such a REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT alone can free the masses from misery and slavery, by taking over and operating the big industries, trusts, railroads and banks. Only such a government can open up every idle factory, mill and mine, and put the workers on their jobs again producing the goods which are needed for a hungry, starving population. Such a government alone can immediately seize and distribute to the hungry masses the enormous stores of food-stuffs now kept locked up in the warehouses, thus caring for the masses and creating a great demand for new production. It alone

can open up the millions of houses, now held empty by greedy private landlords, and provide comfortable housing for the millions living in cellars, sewers, the disgraceful public lodging-houses and the terrible "Hoover cities" of the homeless unemployed. It can immediately feed, clothe and house all the workers and put them busily at work reproducing all things necessary.

There is plenty and to spare for all. It is held away from the toilers by the capitalists as their private property and for their private profit. Only a revolutionary Workers' and Farmers' Government can break through this paralysis of the capitalist crisis and start economic activity going full speed for the benefit of the masses of workers and farmers.

This is proven by the experiences of the Soviet Union. There the workers seized power in the revolution of 1917. With the government in their hands the last remnants of capitalism are being uprooted, socialism is being built. The first Five Year Plan is now being successfully completed; unemployment has been completely eliminated; wages are being steadily increased; the material and cultural level of the masses is being raised; no crisis such as in capitalist countries has affected their programs; the second Five Year Plan is about to begin. The Soviet Union stands out as proof that the workers can rule, not only in their own interest, but in the interest of all those who are oppressed by capitalism



Set Up Election Committees in Your Factory or Mine. Win Your Fellow Workers for the Communist Platform and Candidates!

Workers!—Send a Shopmate to Represent YOU at the Local Communist Election Conference Where Delegates Will Be Chosen for Chicago

Old Parties Serve Capitalists

The capitalist parties—Republican, Democratic and Socialist—together with their A. F. of L. henchmen—will each appear in this election campaign in different garb; each will pretend to offer a way out of the crisis beneficial to the masses; each will freely promise jobs and plenty to the workers if elected. But behind all their false promises and all of their apparent differences, the workers must see their reactionary actions while in office, their brutal attacks on the workers and their protection of the rich. The workers must see that these parties have been and are now the defenders of the capitalists and the bitter enemies of the workers.

Leading the attack against the workers is the Hoover government, with its bi-partisan coalition of Republican-Democratic parties. Composed of rapacious profit-seekers, loyal agents of Wall Street, corporation promoters, and the biggest capitalists themselves (Mellon-Hoover-Smith-Raskob-Young et al), these partners in the robbery of the masses seek in the coming elections to again ensnare the masses in the age-old swindle of "turning out the Republican rascals" only to replace them with their Democratic twin brothers.

In order to trick those workers and farmers who are no longer fooled by two-party fakery, NEW demagoguery and promises are being indulged in to make the masses choose between "Progressives" and "Reactionaries" within the two open capitalist parties.

But this is merely the division of labor between two parts of the same gang of swindlers, who are working together on one platform, which is the capitalist way out of the crisis.

The so-called Progressives have exactly the same reactionary program, as Hoover, the program to lower the living standards of the masses in order to raise the profits of the capitalists. The "progressive Republican", Pinchot, as governor of Pennsylvania, drives through the wage-cuts against miners, steel workers and all others, with the same ruthlessness as Hoover does nationally; his state troopers kill strikers and unemployed workers and smash labor unions just as effectively as his "reactionary" brothers. The "progressive Democrats", Roosevelt and Ritchie,

starve the unemployed and club strikers, smile upon the lynching of Negroes and dispossession of bankrupt farmers, the same as any "reactionary".

The difference between Progressive and Reactionary is merely on the surface, for purposes of demagoguery, to hide the same basic program of the capitalist way out of the crisis.

Openly supporting the Hoover program, is the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor. It fights against the workers and for the capitalists on every essential point. It fights against Unemployment Insurance, against the bonus for the ex-soldiers, it prevents strikes and signs agreements for broad wage-cuts, it fights for huge grants of money to the corporations and taxation of the masses, it supports new laws to help build greater giant monopolies, it helps prepare imperialist wars, especially the war against the Soviet Union. Through its deceitful "non-partisan" policy of "reward friends and punish enemies", it delivers the workers gagged and bound to the Republicans and Democrats, "progressives" and reactionaries, in order to further confuse and divide the working class. It decks itself out in "victories" like the so-called anti-injunction law, which fastens injunctions and "yellow dog contracts" ever more firmly upon the workers than ever before.

The reactionary officialdom of the American Federation of Labor is an agency of capitalism among the workers for putting over the capitalist way out of the crisis.

The Socialist Party, together with its self-styled "left wing"—the Muste group—is the little brother of the American Federation of Labor. Its special task is to cover up the same program with the mask of Socialist phrases, and thus to prevent the awakening workers from organizing for a really effective struggle. It supports capitalist monopoly and trustification under the hypocritical slogans of "nationalization of banks, railroads and mines" through the capitalist "nation". It covers the worst capitalist robberies as "steps toward socialism". It fights against the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill, and puts forth its own demagogical emasculated proposals to keep the workers from fighting for their

own bill. Its leaders in the trade unions help sign wage-cutting agreements, and break the strikes of workers who resist.

The Socialist Party and the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota carry through the same policies in America, as their brother party, the Labor Party in England, which launched the wage-cutting campaign, cut down the unemployed insurance, raised high tariffs and taxes on the masses, and carried through inflation. They support and operate on the same principle as their brother party in Germany,

the Social Democracy, which is in coalition with the Monarchist Hindenburg and supports his emergency decrees which cut wages, destroyed social services, halved unemployment relief, and threw the burden of taxation upon the masses, carrying through the fascist suppression of the working class and preparation for the open fascist government. They support the pacifist swindle of the League of Nations and especially help prepare war on the Soviet Union, one of their principal occupations being daily slander against the Workers' Republic.

Rally Against Starvation and War

Against all these parties which openly or hiddenly attempt to force through the capitalist way out of the crisis, the Communist Party calls upon the workers and farmers of America, white and Negro to rally for the struggle against starvation and war, for the immediate demands stated above, for the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

These measures represent what a large majority of workers and farmers WISH TO HAVE NOW. These things can only be gotten by fighting for them. They cut across the capitalist way out of the crisis, because they do not take into account capitalist profits, for which the capitalists and their lieutenants will fight to the death.

It was the Communist Party alone which forewarned the workers of the approaching crisis long before the crisis began; it was the Communist Party which has persistently warned the workers of the war plans of the imperialists; it was the Communist Party which alone raised the banner of mass struggle against unemployment, lynching, police terror, wage cuts and imperialist war.

The great hunger marches and demonstrations of the unemployed in hundreds of cities; the strikes of the miners in Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio, West Virginia and Kentucky; the textile strikes in Paterson, Lawrence and many other cities; the mass mobilization against terror in Chicago, Detroit, Harlan, etc.; the strong fight against lynching, for the defense of the Scottsboro boys—all these, in which the Communist Party played the leading role, are the best proof that the Communist Party alone deserves the confidence of the workers.

The Socialist Party and its "left" ally, the Muste group, especially has tried in the past and tries now to break up the workers fight for the program put forward by the Communists, by bringing forward its own substitute of "something just as good", by making its fake program look as much as possible "like the Communists", by talking "revolutionary", by arguing for a choice of "the lesser evil", by putting themselves forth as "the same thing only more practical".

But all their demagogic claims are given the lie by the capitalist class itself, which takes the Socialist Party and its leaders, especially its darlings, Norman Thomas, the

respectable churchman, and Morris Hillquit, the millionaire lawyer, to its heart.

The Socialist Party is openly recognized by the capitalist press as the Third Capitalist Party, which more and more becomes equally respectable in capitalist society with the other parties, as the capitalists more and more need it to fool and trick the awakening workers.

Even to force concessions NOW from the three capitalist parties, there is no weapon so powerful as a vote for Communism and participation in the daily struggles led by the Communist Party.

Every concession, even the smallest, has only one powerful argument in its support which is listened to by every capitalist politician; that is the argument that it is necessary in order to "keep the masses from turning to Communism". The capitalists will grant nothing to "keep the masses from the Socialist Party". They, on the contrary, help drive the masses to the Socialist Party as soon as the masses begin to break away from the Republicans and Democrats.

In the election campaign of the Communist Party, there is room for the organized participation and support of every worker in America, man and woman, white and Negro, without regard to whether he is a member of the Communist Party or not.

Every worker and workers' organization which is ready to fight for the immediate demands is invited to be represented in the Communist Campaign Committees which will organize and conduct this campaign.

Support the Communist Election Campaign. Rally behind its platform and candidates. Make this the starting point of a gigantic mass movement against starvation, terror and war. Resist with all your energy and strength the brutal attack of the capitalists. Fight for unemployment insurance, against wage cuts, for relief for the farmers, for equality for the Negroes, against the murderous capitalist terror and against the plans for a new bloody imperialist war. Resist the carrying through of the capitalist way out of the crisis. Fight for the workers' way—for the revolutionary way out of the crisis—for the United States of Soviet America.

VOTE FOR THE WORKERS' CANDIDATES — THE COMMUNIST CANDIDATES!
VOTE COMMUNIST!



Send Non-Party Workers from Factories to the National Nominating Convention to be Held in Chicago, Illinois, May 28-29

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Resolution of the Fourteenth

THE Communist Party of U.S.A. has made some improvement of its work in strikes, hunger marches and the struggles of the Negroes. Notwithstanding this, and the increasingly favorable conditions for the fulfillment of its daily increasing task in the struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie, against the pronounced aggressiveness of American imperialism and the immediate perspective of a new, imperialist world

war, our Party has not yet made the essential change in its work necessary for the carrying out of its chief immediate task. This task is to overcome the isolation of the Party from the decisive masses of the American proletariat, to come before the masses as their vanguard in the struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie and against imperialist war, and to firmly root itself in the decisive industries by means of solid personal contacts with workers.

and France to come together, arising on the basis of their common hatred of the Soviet Union, their preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union, the movement of the Japanese troops to Northern Manchuria, the feverish activities of the white guards, sharply raise in this situation before the international proletariat above all the greatest danger of common intervention of the imperialist powers against the U. S. S. R., the world proletarian fatherland.

I. THE SITUATION

Capitalism in the United States has been hardest hit by the economic crisis, as expressed in the unprecedented fall in production and trade, and in the growth of mass unemployment, which plunges millions and millions of workers in the cities and in the rural districts into hunger and poverty. The crisis is destroying the petty bourgeois illusions of the masses about the "American standard of living," "community of interests of labor and capital," and creates the most favorable prerequisites for the formation and strengthening of the class front of the proletariat and the working masses.

In its effort to save the capitalist system from further deepening of the crisis, and to find a capitalist way out of the crisis, the American bourgeoisie is carrying on the fiercest attacks against the masses and is feverishly preparing for a war against the imperialist rivals and, above all, for intervention against the Soviet Union. Wage cut after wage cut is being forced through, millions of unemployed are subjected to hunger and poverty and the standard of living of the masses has already been forced down by more than 50 per cent through wage losses as a result of wage cuts and unemployment. The financial oligarchy with the help of the state, is daily accumulating more of the national wealth in its hands, through the unprecedented impoverishment of the workers, and at the expense of the small taxpayers, farmers and small bourgeoisie ("Reconstruction Corporation" of Hoover, increased tariffs, etc.). The offensive of the capitalists is characterized by sharpened police fascist and semi-fascist repression and terror against the workers and their class organizations. Simultaneously, the bourgeoisie resorts widely and systematically to demagogic and "democratic" maneuvers, using more and more the social-democrats, the "Musteites" and the various pseudo-"Lefts" as a tool for confusing and disorganizing the workers.

The two main bourgeois parties (Republican and Democratic) both fully supporting the policies of finance capital, divide the roles among themselves in order to prevent the masses from breaking away from the policy of finance capital as exercised through the traditional two-party system. The Republican party, which is the party in power, is carrying on more openly this policy of hunger, terror and war preparations. The Democratic party, whose present function is to win the support of the toiling masses and particularly the unemployed, who are disillusioned by the Hoover government, has the same domestic and foreign policy as the Republican party. The state governments under Democratic party control carry on the same policy as the Hoover government. The Democratic Congressmen and Senators vote for all measures against the working class. But the Democratic party, in order to fool the masses, is resorting more and more to the widespread use of demagoguery, particularly with regard to unemployment relief. The chief candidates for the democratic nomination for President (Roosevelt, Baker, Ritchie, etc.) are the most experienced demagogues, and in the North, for example, talk about equality for the Negro and at the same time, in the South, support lynch law and carry through fully the ruthless policy of Wall Street.

The bloc of "progressives" representing the rich farmers and certain sections of small capitalists (La Follette, Morris, etc.) is likewise fully supporting the policies of Wall Street. Its opposition is more cowardly than ever. These elements, who in 1924 organized the La Follette third party and who are at the moment dividing their support between Hoover and the Democratic party, hope to enter into an election bloc with

the Democrats in order to enable Wall Street to keep the masses chained to the old capitalist parties. At the same time they demagogically talk about Unemployment Relief (Pinchot), unemployment insurance (La Follette), about farm relief, etc.

The sharp change in the international situation is the outstanding feature in the present situation. The war for the repartitioning of the world, and in the first place, for the imperialist partitioning of China and the crushing of the Chinese revolution, is already being waged by the imperialists in the Far East.

The great imperialist powers, especially Japan and the United States, are at present more and more involved in the sharpest conflict for their share in the exploitation and division of China and concentrating their war forces (navy, air forces, war industry) for an immediate armed struggle in the Pacific. At the same time the feverish efforts of Japan, United States, England

II. THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE SOCIAL FASCISTS

The further development of the crisis, the bankruptcy of the various illusions spread among the masses by the bourgeoisie, the increasing poverty and misery of the working masses and the immediate danger of war and intervention—all these factors form the basis of the increasing discontent and radicalization of the great masses of workers. The furious offensive of the bourgeoisie is met by the increasing resistance on the part of the working class. This has already expressed itself recently in the increasing strike struggles (the doubling of the number of striking workers in 1931 as compared with 1930), in the increasing militancy of the unemployed (National Hunger March, Scottsboro, the unemployed in Chicago and Cleveland, in the movement against the policy and leadership of the American Federation of Labor, trade union bureaucracy (building trades, etc.), in the increase in the number of Communist votes in several important cities: San Francisco, Lawrence, Salt Lake City, mining towns, etc.) and in numerous militant mass demonstrations against war and the defense of the Soviet Union.

In this situation American social fascism (American Federation of Labor, Socialist party, particularly the Muste wing, with the Lovestone-Cannon renegades) are greatly increasing their activity to carry out the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie, trying, by establishing the most skillful, deceptive division of work, to divert the radicalized workers from the class struggle against the offensive of the capitalists, to split the ranks of the workers and to bring about their defeat. This confronts the Communist Party with the task of increasing, sharpening and improving its fight against social-fascism, as the main enemy in the struggle for the successful mobilization of the masses in the fight against the bourgeois offensive and the war danger.

The leaders of the American Federation of Labor are collaborating most brutally and actively with the bourgeoisie in its imperialist policy, at home and abroad, to carry through wage-cuts, to check the development of the strike movement, etc. They cynically declare themselves against unemployment insurance, and for the Hoover stagger plan. They actively support jim-crowism and lynching of Negroes, and the deportation of foreign-born workers, and form a part of the

A new world war becomes an immediate danger.

The greatest and most urgent task of the whole world proletariat and the toiling masses, above all, the American proletariat, is to wage a most intensive, widespread, devoted and courageous struggle against the new imperialist war and in defense of the Chinese people, and to build an iron wall of defense around the Soviet Union. The central task of the C. P. U. S. A. is to struggle against the new imperialist war and above all to work most devotedly and courageously to mobilize the working class in defense of the Soviet Union. The struggle against American imperialism, its war preparations and intervention plans must be the center of the every-day work of the Party among the masses; in the factories, trade unions, in strikes, among the unemployed, Negroes, youth and women. Only by the ability to rally and organize the masses to struggle for their immediate demands and against the war danger, as the most outstanding menace for the working class, can the Party come before the masses, and must come before them, as their revolutionary vanguard—the most conscious, most devoted and best organized elements among them.

apparatus for suppressing the struggle of the workers by force and violence. The leaders of the American Federation of Labor (Green, Woll and Company) are the most jingoistic tools of the imperialists, working hand and hand with the war department in the bloody oppression of the colonial peoples. The American Federation of Labor bureaucracy, together with the Civic Federation, the common policy of which is symbolized by Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and acting president of the Civic Federation are particularly fierce in their hatred of the Soviet Union and shout loudest for attacks and intervention.

The Socialist party which formerly worshipped at the shrine of "Hoover prosperity" and removed the phrase "class struggle" from its platform, is now resorting more and more to the use of "Left" demagoguery and socialist phraseology in order to fool the radicalized workers. It supports the American Federation of Labor in its strike-breaking policy, and the leaders of the trade unions under the S. P. control are daily carrying through a strike-breaking policy (A. C. W., I. L. G. W. U., etc.). It carries on sham propaganda for social insurance in order to keep the workers away from the widespread mass struggles, which alone can win social insurance. It supports the measures and proposals of the national and local governments against the unemployed and in Reading and Milwaukee, which are under Socialist administrations, the same policy is being carried out, as in cities which are controlled by the Republican and Democratic parties. Under the cover of phrases about "nationalization of the mines," they carry on the policy of the mine operators, the government and the Lewis machine for the rationalization of the mines and to lower the standard of living of the miners, and to hold back the miners from struggle under the leadership of the National Miners Union. Under the banner of pacifism they are trying to keep the masses from fighting against war, and support the war policy of the Hoover government, League of Nations, disarmament swindle, war debts, Laval visit, etc. The Socialist party is the bitter enemy of the Soviet Union, it is attempting to undermine the increasing sympathy of the workers for the Soviet Union by presenting the American bourgeois dictatorship as a real democracy in contrast

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A.

Central Committee Plenum

to the proletarian democracy of the Soviet Union, which it represents as a reign of dictatorship which should be "democratized" and by this they come forward as representatives of the interests of those who want the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The Muste wing of social fascism, which also includes the various renegades, Slutsky, Lore, Cannon, Lovestone, is playing a particularly dangerous role in this situation, trying to hold back the most radicalized workers from genuine struggle against the capitalist offensive under the leadership of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions. While talking about the "deepening of the crisis and mass misery" they are trying at the same time to secure the leadership of the developing struggles of the workers in order to disorganize the workers' ranks and lead them to defeat, helping the employers to put through the most vicious wage-cuts (hosiery workers). Where the workers inside the A. F. of L. are trying to organize the struggle against the capitalist offensive in spite of and over the heads of the A. F. of L. leaders (Green, Woll and Company) the Musteites with their "Left" demagogy, step forward to "lead" these struggles in order to bring about the defeat of the workers, to liquidate genuine opposition movements, to strengthen the position of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and to prevent the development of class consciousness among the workers. While they weep about the misery of the unemployed workers, the Musteites stand on the same platform as the Socialist party. They are opposed to the demands of the unemployed and in practice carry through the Hoover-Green unemployment program in the unions. In order to divert the growing class consciousness and desire for class organization shown by large

sections of the working masses and sidetrack it into the camp of bourgeois ideology and influence, the Musteites are bringing the agitation for a labor party into the foreground. For the same purpose the Musteites utter meaningless demagogic phrases against Hillquit, Thomas and Company, and even speak of forming of a new "genuine, realistic, militant, revolutionary left party," in an effort to prevent the movement of the masses towards the Communist Party, against which they concentrate all their struggles. The Musteites are particularly subtle in helping the capitalists in their war preparations, aimed primarily against the Soviet Union. They see the leftward

move of the workers and the growing popularity of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Therefore they are carrying on their policy of undermining the growing influence under the guise of support for the Soviet Union. Therefore, they together with Lovestone-Brandlerites and Cannon-Trotskyites, carry on their counter-revolutionary agitation against the policy of the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They attempt to prevent the mobilization of the masses against the war danger by declaring that there is no such war danger and that "the sharpening of the crisis furnishes the guarantee against imperialist war and attack on the Soviet Union."

III. THE SITUATION OF THE C. P. U. S. A. AND ITS URGENT TASKS

The radical turn towards revolutionary mass work among the basic sections of the American proletariat, which has been demanded by the E. C. C. I. in its resolutions and directives, has up till now essentially not been carried through in practice. Although the Party has recognized the necessity of this turn, and although the Party can show a number of successes in the attempt to carry out the turn in practice (strikes, Scottsboro, Hunger March), the work of the Party fundamentally remains in the same groove. This is to be seen in the backwardness of factory work and in the building up of the lower Party organizations, in the weakness of the struggle for unemployment and social insurance, in the still extremely weak state of the revolutionary trade unions, in the extremely weak development of the work in the reformist trade unions, in the failure to carry out the required concentration on the

four districts (Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Pittsburgh), in the marked decline of the circulation of the *Daily Worker*; and in 100 per cent fluctuation of Party membership. The Party is still isolated from the masses of workers and working women. It has not yet learned how to link up its every-day work with the systematic exposure of the bourgeois state and of the policy and demagogy of the open bourgeois and social fascist parties. A special weakness of the Party is the absolutely inadequate fight against the social fascists, first of all, against the Muste group which, as the present strikes and the elections show, have increased their influence among the ranks of the workers. The Party has failed to bring the revolutionary way out of the crisis to the American workers, as it also failed to popularize the victorious Socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

The Party must definitely sharpen and broaden its struggles against social-fascism and carry on a persistent struggle inside the Party against the underestimation of the role of and the fight against social fascism in the United States. The increasing influence of the social-fascists in the United States during the crisis in contrast to the capitalist countries of Europe is undoubtedly due to a great extent to the inadequate exposure of the social fascists by the Party. The Party must also understand that as a result of the crisis and rationalization large numbers of workers in the A. F. of L. are in the process of radicalization, and that the characterization of the masses of workers in the A. F. of L. as "labor aristocracy" is incorrect.

The chief obstacles which stood in the way of carrying out a correct mass policy and in the further development of the Party are the following:

1. The strong sectarian tendencies in the entire work of the Party, as well as in the mass organizations—tendencies which are based on a deeply rooted formalism. The Party carries through the policy of the united front in a rigid and formal way. It has not yet learned how to connect itself up firmly with the broad masses of non-Party and reformist workers, work in the old unions, to work on the basis of their concrete needs (general demands) and to draw up the demands together with them. Thus, the Party appears before the masses as a Party for the workers, but not the Party of the workers.

2. The bureaucratic methods of work, which are expressed in the "circular letter" method of leadership and in an excessive number of paid functionaries at the head of the Party and the auxiliary organizations, paralyzes the work in the lower Party organizations, and sidetracks them from genuine mass work on to "inner Party and routine work, and hinders the development of cadres and the initiative of the lower organizations. The Party has not yet established collective leadership of genuinely functioning apparatus in the lower organizations, and has the tendency to conduct the work only through individual organizers.

In order to overcome sectarianism which con-



Learn to Know the Workers' Most Intimate Needs and Desires Through Close Personal Contact; Make OUR Party a Party OF the Workers!

stitutes the chief obstacle in the revolutionary mass work of the Party, the Party must carry on a consistent struggle against **right opportunism** as the main danger as well as against opportunism covered with "Left" phrases. Right opportunism was recently expressed in many places, for example, in the capitulation and conciliatory attitude towards Left social-fascists (Southern Illinois, Lawrence and Pickens).

The immediate central task of the Party is the mobilization of the masses in the struggle against the bourgeois offensive and the war danger, organizing the workers in broad united front struggles, in the preparation and carrying out of strike struggles, in movements against wage cuts and against forcing down of the living conditions of the workers, in the extension and intensification of the struggle of the unemployed for immediate relief, and for unemployment and social insurance, raising these struggles to the level of mighty class battles against U. S. imperialism.

In order that the Party be in a position to carry out these main tasks, it must give the most careful attention in all its work to the application of a correct mass policy. This correct mass policy consists in developing the mass struggle of the workers, the working women and the young workers, on the basis of their immediate economic and political needs, as they arise from their life and work, and conflicts with the employers, reformist bureaucrats, the state, etc. This means, furthermore, that these struggles must be carried through on the basis of the activities of the masses, and that the tasks of the Communists are precisely to develop and organize this activity and initiative of the masses. This calls for the most concrete application of the united front from below in accordance with the varying degree of influence of the Communists, the extent of the radicalization of the workers, the influence of the social-fascists, etc., thus applying the line of independent policy not mechanically, but on the basis of a careful analysis of the concrete conditions of work and of struggle. This calls also for a greater activity in maneuvering against the social fascists and employers.

Inseparably linked up with and as a basic prerequisite of our entire mass work, is persistent struggle against the fascist and social-fascist leaders of the A. F. of L. and against the Socialist Party, especially their left social-fascists (Musteites). In the A. F. of L., the Party must really start systematic and serious work to organize a widespread opposition under our leadership. The fact that the employers with the collaboration of the bureaucrats of the railroad unions could carry through a wage cut affecting one-half million railroad workers without the Party being able to develop any serious resistance, signalizes the ruinous results of our isolation from the workers in reformist unions. On the other hand, the success in the furriers' union and some of the building trades locals, etc., shows the possibility for developing mass influence in the reformist unions if we really start to work. In the press and in our meetings there must be a systematic unmasking of the proposals and transactions of the reformists.

In work among the unemployed

the Party must concretize its daily work on the basis of the October resolution, and concentrate on the carrying through of the following tasks:

(a) The extension and further development of the campaign for **unemployment and social insurance**, linked up with thorough unmasking of the Hoover welfare plan, the various "relief plans" of the democrats and progressives, as well as of the socialists and Musteites.

(b) The greatest attention must be paid to strengthening and organization of the unemployed through widespread Councils of the Unemployed. Moreover, it is necessary to develop and organize broad, active and stable cadres and to build up fractions in all unemployed organizations.

(c) Much greater attention must be given in the struggle against mass dismissals and also against the stagger plan. In this connection we must take into account the various spontaneous movements (anthracite miners, etc.) for "division of work" (spreading the available jobs among more workers). It must be our task to firmly take hold of these movements, to clearly and patiently explain to these workers that such division of work only aids the bourgeoisie to place the burden of the crisis on the workers in the form of the "stagger plan." In this way we must transform these spontaneous struggles into a struggle against the policy of the employers and for a minimum day's work, a minimum guaranteed weekly wage, against dismissals and for unemployment insurance.

The radical improvement of the situation in the revolutionary trade union is the **key task** of the Party. The **red trade unions** have not yet recognized the fact that only by persistent work in the enterprises and by taking up all questions that confront the workers in connection with the offensive (reduction of wages and piece-work rates, increase in working hours, discrimination against the Negro workers, worsening conditions of women and young workers, etc.) is it possible to mobilize the masses and consolidate and expand their red union organizations. They have not yet realized that this is the correct preparatory work for strike struggles and still have the tendency of "waiting for strikes." Within the red trade unions there is not yet real trade union democracy and a narrow sectarian tendency exists with regard to the acceptance of members.

We must carry on systematic work in the reformist trade unions, not only where there is no red trade union (railway brotherhoods, building trades, etc.), but also where parallel red trade unions exist (mining, textile, etc.).

The Party is responsible that the resolutions on trade union work shall not remain on paper, but that immediate and effective organizational guarantees be created for carrying out this resolution and checking up on its application.

The **Daily Worker** must be made a Communist mass paper through a radical change in and improvement of its contents. This includes:

(1) Real popular presentation in detail of the living and working conditions of the workers, working women and youth in the factories and in their homes, giving a clear picture of the situation of the

unemployed.

(2) Reacting to all political events and giving concrete guidance to the workers.

(3) Systematic unmasking of the workers' enemies and their plans and maneuvers.

(4) Greater popularization of the achievements of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R.

(5) Building up a network of workers' correspondents.

(6) Popular make-up, pictures, attractiveness of articles, etc.

(7) All Party problems must be handled in such a way as to attract the interest of the working masses.

(8) A press commission must be established by the Central Committee consisting of employed and unemployed workers, who, in close contact with the editors, promote a live contact between the paper and the lives and fights of the workers.

The work of the **lower Party organizations** must be basically changed. Nine-tenths of all the work of the lower organizations must be concentrated directly on **the work among the masses**, and not, as at present, in countless inner meetings. The center of gravity must be shifted to the development of the lower organizations, to the sections and units. The methods of leadership, assistance and of checking up on the work of the lower organizations by the higher organs must be a method of personal guidance in accordance with the special conditions of the given field of work, of the given enterprise and not simply the sending out of circulars. In all lower organizations, committees must be formed which actually work collectively, and a stop must be put to the state of affairs in which the work is concentrated in the hands of a few comrades.

The main basis of the work and development of the lower Party organizations is the **work in the factory**. Up till now the Party has not found the fit methods for carrying on this work. The content of this work is not merely organizational detail routine, but is the whole struggle against the capitalist offensive and against the policy of reformists. The first essential condition for successful work in the factory is **daily contact** with the mass of workers in it and **thorough knowledge** of the position of the workers in the factory and of the concrete conditions for struggle. The Communists must firmly grasp all the countless conflicts of a minor and major character arising daily with the employers, foremen and trade union bureaucrats, spies, etc., such as disputes, incidents, demands and grievances of the workers, including the women and youth, discrimination against Negroes and foreign born, with regard to wages, hours of work, working conditions, rationalization measures, infringements of workers' rights, dismissals in case of arrests of workers, etc. It is the task of the Communists to investigate very carefully the causes of any failures in its efforts to penetrate the factories and to continue the work with renewed energy on the basis of carefully considered measures to overcome the previous shortcomings.

The Central Committee must cut down considerably its own apparatus as well as those of the District Committees and of the mass organizations, concentrating the

forces thus released on the building up and further development of work in the most important industrial centers and big enterprises. The Central Committee must devote particularly careful attention to the development and proper utilization of Party cadres.

The Central Committee must take steps to carry through the directives of January, 1931, on concentration. The Central Committee must immediately give concrete form to these directives, selecting a certain number of big enterprises and locals in the respective districts and branches of industry, sending suitable forces there and systematically checking up the work in these points in conjunction with the District Committees. In the course of the next six months, a number of well-functioning lower organizations (sections and factory nuclei) must be built up as a result of this work. In carrying out this concentration the Party must not for an instant slacken its attention from important mass struggles wherever they may develop. The Party must take special measures to combat the spy danger and for carrying on work under semi-legal and illegal conditions.

The Party must pay special attention to work among the youth and to the situation of the Young Communist League, which despite certain growth is still in a very unsatisfactory condition and isolated from the young workers. The Party has not yet begun to carry out in practice the directives of the Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. of May, 1931, concerning the Party's execution of the Eleventh Plenum decisions on the youth. These tasks must immediately be carried out together with sharp struggles against sectarianism and Right opportunism in the League and League leadership.

The first beginnings of mass work of the Party in the struggle for **Negro rights**, for uniting white and black workers in the struggle for their needs, and for leading the liberation struggle of the Negro masses, must be further improved and broadened by (a) popularization of the full Communist program on the Negro question in connection with the partial struggles on every-day demands and events, which must be intensified; (b) thorough popularization of the solution of the national question in the U. S. S. R., Socialist construction in the autonomous Soviet Republics, mobilizing the broad Negro masses for defense of the Soviet Union; (c) broadening the recruiting of Negro workers into the Party and trade unions, making red unions the real channels of Negro work; (d) a broad campaign within the Party as well as in the mass organizations against white chauvinism and all forms of jim-crow practices, ruthlessly exterminating within the Party, not only the open, but also the half-hidden and conciliatory forms; (e) carrying out some concrete measures guaranteeing the next half-year or year period for a real beginning of penetrating the Black Belt, building the Party and mass organizations (first of all, trade unions) for work among the Negroes in the Black Belt; (f) dramatization of the demand for equal rights as an outstanding issue of the election program.

Face to the Factories; Win Your Shopmates for Communism Through the Most Energetic and Tireless Struggles for Their Daily Needs

IV. TASKS OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The election campaign this year is of most particular significance and must be utilized for the general extension and intensification of the activity of the Party and for the intensification and widening of class struggles against the capitalist offensive and the war danger, especially against the danger of intervention against the U. S. S. R.

The main slogan for the Party election campaign must be the demand for unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers. Placing in the center of the mass election work the immediate demands of the workers and toilers in factories, bread lines, unemployed gatherings, in towns, the Party must on this basis present concretely and popularly to the broad working masses its program of the revolutionary way out of the crisis. In exposing the whole policy of the bourgeoisie, the Party must make clear to the workers that only through the revolutionary class struggle, fighting for the program and supporting the candidates of the Communist Party, can workers counteract the attacks of the bourgeoisie and protect and secure their immediate demands and prepare the ground for the further advance of the working class interests.

Under no circumstances must the Party fail to expose and combat in the sharpest manner Hoover's hunger regime. At the same time it is necessary to thoroughly unmask the demagogy of the democrats as well as of the republican "progressives," who are attempting to utilize for their own ends the ever-increasing mass opposition to Hoover. On the basis of concrete facts, we must show that the democrats as well as the "progressives," once in power, will do as little as Hoover to alleviate mass poverty, as can be seen already in a large number of states and municipalities, and their collaboration with the Hoover government (senate, congress, etc.). We must prove that they will force through the same degrading charity system and wage cuts, with the same terror as applied by the regular republicans.

The sharpest struggle against social fascism during the elections is of the greatest importance. Without detracting the attention to the slightest degree from the struggle against the republicans and democrats as pointed out above, the chief attention must be directed to unmasking and combatting the socialists and the Muste crowd. This also includes a consistent unmasking of their demagogic theory about state capitalism, gradual "transition into Socialism" through "nationalization" projects of the mines, railroads, etc.

The main slogans which the Party put forward are:

(1) Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers.

(2) Against Hoover's wage-cutting policy.

(3) Emergency relief for the poor farmers without restrictions by the government and banks; exemption of poor farmers from taxes, and from forced collection of rents or debts.

(4) Equal rights for the Negroes, and self-determination for the Black Belt.

(5) Against capitalist terror;

against all forms of suppression of the political rights of the workers.

(6) Against imperialist war; for the defense of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party must concretely unmask the efforts of the bourgeoisie to find a capitalist way out of the crisis (their promise of complete employment, a new period of prosperity, etc., if wage cuts are carried out, if the banks are saved, if higher tariffs are introduced, if industry is further trustified, if the imperialist positions for American capitalism are strengthened, their promises with regard to the abandonment of graft and corruption in American politics, etc.). The revolutionary way out of the crisis must be widely popularized, including a systematic and thorough exposure of the mere phrases about "Socialism" used by the socialists. The Communist Party must fully utilize the example of victorious Socialist



**Imperialist
War Menaces
Peaceful
Socialist
Construction
in the U.S.S.R.**

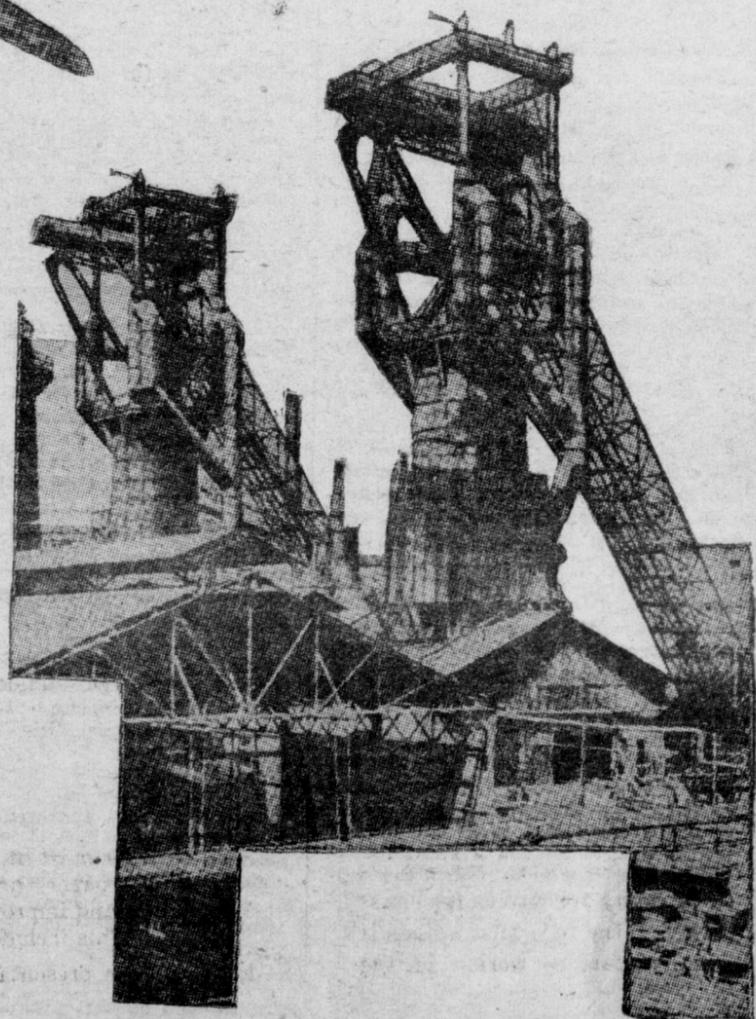
construction in the Soviet Union as against the capitalist countries which are going deeper and deeper into the mire of economic crisis, exposing the empty talk of planned production under capitalism. The Party must contrast the revolutionary way out, concretely, to the proposals of each bourgeois party, especially the "Left" social fascists. The revolutionary way out of the crisis must be concretized by showing the masses how a revolutionary workers' government—a United States of America—would, through the nationalization of the means of production, railroads, commerce, etc., by taking them from the hands of the big exploiters and placing them in the hands of the workers' state, immediately eliminate unemployment by starting the machinery of production at full speed, producing the commodities needed by the masses; how it can at once make available to the starving workers the full stores of foodstuffs, fuel and clothing now withheld from the workers; how it can solve the pressing problems of housing; solve the needs of the

toiling farmers; guarantee full equality for the Negroes, carry out a peace policy of the proletarian state as exemplified by the Soviet Union in contrast to all imperialist powers, etc. In addition to the above, which are the main national demands, concrete demands must be put forward in every city and state corresponding to the needs of the masses.

Throughout the campaign every statement and every proposal of the enemy parties must be quickly answered in the Party press and in millions of leaflets. Special care must be taken to guard against and to answer surprise statements, such as forged documents, "bomb plots," etc. "Not a mass meeting during the election campaign without Communists"—must be our slogan; at all mass meetings arranged by the bourgeois parties the Communists should appear; expose the position of the enemies and make clear the position of the Party—distribute their literature; debates should be organized with the enemy candidates in order to expose their demagogy and to reach the workers under their influence with the demands and program of the Communist Party. The Communist Party itself should organize thousands of meetings—great city-

wide meetings as heretofore, neighborhood meetings, and especially small meetings in the workers homes where our program should be explained and the workers drawn into active participation in our election campaign. Leaflets of many kinds, posters, dealing with the proposals of the enemy parties, with the conditions of the workers in the various industries, with our demands, etc., should be issued in larger quantities than ever before; pamphlets to be sold at the lowest prices.

Of particular importance at this time, due to increased activity of the social-fascists, to their propaganda for a "Labor Party," etc., is the widest use of the united front in the election campaign. Prior to the National Nominating Convention, and as a means of providing a broad mass basis for it, local united front conferences should be held of representatives from the revolutionary trade unions, the trade union opposition, workers and working women and youth from the factories, supporting A. F. of L. locals, unemployed councils and committees, workers' fraternal organizations, Negro organizations, etc., which should endorse the Communist Party election program, agree to support its candidates, elect delegates to the nominating convention, and set up a broad workers' committee for the carrying on of the campaign together with the Party organization. At still wider local conferences following the national convention, local, county and state programs and candidates of the Party should be endorsed. In specific cases militant non-Party workers, who have actively participated in the unemployed and strike struggles or otherwise shown their stand for the class struggle and against the reformists, can be accepted and endorsed as candidates by the Party fractions in these conferences with the approval of the District Committee of the Party. Care must be taken to prevent "Left" reformist elements from making use of such conferences for the struggle against the Party and its candidates.



Resolution on the Carrying Out of Main Resolution of the 14th Plenum

RECOGNIZING the imperative necessity, in view of the danger of the Party soon being compelled to work under war conditions, to quickly overcome the present isolation of the Party from the decisive sections of the workers and to sink the roots of the Party firmly in the basic and war industries, as demanded by the main resolution of the Plenum, the Politburo is instructed to immediately and energetically carry through the following measures:

1. Mobilizing the entire Party for the decisive turn to mass work:

A. An enlightenment campaign is to be launched in the Party press—the Communist, Daily Worker, and language press—immediately, not only further explaining the full meaning of the main Central Committee resolution, but bringing together concrete experiences and methods which will aid the Districts in putting the resolution into effect.

B. A further popularization, particularly, of the resolution of the E.C.C.I. on "Recent Strike Experiences in the U. S.," is to be undertaken and, in the light of this resolution, the examination of the Kentucky, Needle Trades, and other more recent strikes.

C. The immediate organization of broad district "active" meetings in all principal districts, especially the concentration districts, with C.C. representatives present to report on and popularize the 14th Plenum

decisions. The District Organizers are to be aided in preparing for these meetings a thorough and searching examination of the actual status of the Party in the District. At the same time at least 15 nuclei are to be selected where Politburo and C.C. members are to personally report on the 14th Plenum.

D. These "active" meetings to have as their objective the mobilization of the Party for serious mass work and to prepare the leading cadres for discussions in the units and for section and district conferences, the latter to be held in no case later than the end of June. In the course

of these discussions, the widest self-criticism must be encouraged, the initiative of the units must be developed and the freest new elections are to be carried through in units, sections and Districts, in order to bring fresh, proletarian elements, chiefly from the factories forward as functionaries.

2. Organizational changes to immediately turn the main direction of the Party's work toward the masses.

A. Establishment of effective collective work in the Central apparatus and districts with strict individual responsibility on the part of each and every comrade

for the quick and decisive carrying through of assignments, in this way overcoming the impermissible lag which frequently occurs.

B. A reduction of the Central apparatus of the Party and of all auxiliaries to the maximum extent possible, in accordance with the discussions with the ECCI, the reduction of the District Office apparatus in the concentration districts to the necessary minimum, the majority of whom are to function chiefly as instructors in the sections, and in all other Districts to one or two comrades, giving chief attention to mass work.

C. The selection in every district of specific concentration sections, and, in these sections, specific factories and units, for the concentrated political and organizational attention of the District Committee. The comrades released from central and district work, under point "B," are to be assigned as full time functionaries in the concentration Districts and sections.

D. Specific nuclei are to be selected in each district for the direct supervision and responsibility of C.C. members and District Organizers, these nuclei to really work out the application of the main political resolution and to serve as examples to the entire Party.

E. Careful consideration is to be given immediately to the assignment to and the training of forces for the revolutionary trade unions to which concentrated attention is being given (mining, metal, marine, textile).

F. The Daily Worker, which must become the chief instrument for the turn to mass work, must become the direct responsibility of the Politburo, with one of the members of the Secretariat personally responsible; the staff is to be refreshed by replacing some of the present members with members from the shops and from active workers in the mass activities of the Party.

The Politburo, in carrying out these directives, must bear in mind the serious shortcomings in the carrying out of past resolutions, and not permit the resolution of the 14th Plenum to remain on paper.



Directives on the Main Points for Working Out a Resolution on the New York District

The main resolution of the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee, which is taking place at a moment of the most acute war danger, in estimating the work of the Party as a whole, emphasizes the failure of any section of the Party to really make the turn to mass work as repeatedly demanded by E. C. C. I. The resolution states:

"Although the Party has recognized the necessity of this turn, and although the Party can show a number of successes in the attempt to carry out the turn in practice (strikes, Scottsboro, Hunger March), the work of the Party fundamentally remains in the same groove."

Sectarianism and a deep-rooted formalism in the responsible Party organs have been the chief obstacles to overcoming the "inner" orientation of the Party and to achieving the task "to firmly root itself in the decisive industries by means of solid personal contacts with the workers."

What is true of the whole Party is even more true of the New York District. Although some successes have been achieved (recruiting, trade union work, a few shop nuclei and groups) no essential change has occurred in the contents of the District mass work since the 13th Plenum.

In order that there now may be a guarantee that the District will completely overcome its narrow, formalistic, sectarian line, which characterizes all leading organs of the sections and district, and make the turn to a broad mass policy, the Central Committee proposes special measures to encourage the widest self-criticism from below, the development of the initiative of the members and nuclei, the overcoming of all bureaucratic tendencies to deaden or destroy inner Party democracy, and to refresh the leading cadres in the units, section, and District Committees. The C. C. proposes the thorough preparation and the carrying through of a serious discussion in the units and sections on the great shortcomings of the entire district to be followed by section Conferences and a District Convention, the latter to be held in the middle of June. A leadership for the units, sections and district is to be elected, chiefly from the factories, with the members and the delegates from the units given the opportunity to freely express their views on each and every candidate. Such a releasing of all the inherent forces of the

Party, with the encouragement of the widest initiative in the units and the firmest collective leadership in the sections and district, will alone enable the Party in the New York District to carry through the resolution of the 14th Plenum of the C. C.

In carrying through this change designed to break down the "inner orientation" of the district (innumerable inner-Party meetings, circular leadership, bureaucratic directives, etc.) the District Bureau must chiefly direct the attention of the Party to the following mass tasks:

a) Work in the basic and war industries (metal, marine, chemical, etc.), particularly in New Jersey and Harlem. Concentrating on building shop nuclei and the revolutionary trade unions (also work in the A. F. of L. unions) on the basis of the closest attention to the daily interests and needs of the workers.

b) A decisive change in unemployment work, establishing the closest, continuous personal contact with the unemployed, fighting for their needs, building unemployed committees and councils, and particularly developing the broadest mass struggle, involving also the A. F. of L. members for unemployment insurance.

c) Concentrated attention to Negro work, particularly in Harlem but also in the other Negro districts, winning the Negro masses especially for the Party, the revolutionary trade unions and unemployed committees, through giving the most serious attention to their needs and interests, and, at the same time, creating in the Party and mass organizations, relationship between Negro and white which will encourage the Negroes to remain by waging the most relentless struggle to clarify the Party on the Negro question, eradicating gross programmatic errors as in the last N. Y. election platform, and to overcome all open or hidden manifestations of white chauvinist tendencies.

d) Finally, "increasing, sharpening, and improving" the struggle against all social fascists (S. P., A. F. of L., Musteites), which is today one of the most serious shortcomings of the district.

The concentration on these basic tasks must be accompanied in all phases with adequate attention to such serious tasks as giving adequate political leadership and assistance to building the Y. C. I. work among Latin American, etc.

All activities of the Party are to be carried through on the basis of the immediate daily struggles of the workers with

the particular objective of developing the greatest mass resistance to the extremely acute danger of a imperialist war, directed chiefly against the Soviet Union, and the greatest mass support for the Election Campaign.

The Politburo is to more closely supervise and aid the district in carrying through these directives.

Results of the 14th Central Committee Plenum

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of U.S.A. met in Plenary session April 16th to the 19th, attended by 98 leading comrades of the Party from 13 districts.

Reviewing the work of the Party since the 13th Plenum (August 1931) and the tasks of the Party in the present situation of imminent war danger and constantly deepening crisis of the capitalist system, the Plenum came to unanimous decisions upon all questions before the Party.

The principal decisions of the Plenum were the following:

Adoption of the resolution entitled "The tasks of the Communist Party of the U.S.A." (printed in full in the Communist April issue).

Adoption of the resolutions of the ECCI entitled "Lessons of the recent strike struggles in the United States." (Printed in full in the Communist May issue).

Adoption of the National Election Platform to be proposed in the name of the Central Committee to the National Nominating Convention which will meet in Chicago on May 28 and 29. (Printed in full in the supplement to today's issue of the Daily Worker).

Decision to bring before the National Nominating Convention in Chicago as candidates of the Communist Party for president William Z. Foster, for Vice-President James W. Ford.

Adoption of a resolution on the methods of carrying out the main resolution of the 14th Plenum.

Adoption of directives to the New

York District for carrying through Plenum decisions on achieving the turn to firm contact with and leadership of the masses and the preparing of a resolution for the New York District convention.

Abolishing the separate existence of District Control Commissions, and the transference of their functions to the District Buros and their sub-committees.

Cooptation of four new members to the Central Committee. The four new members are Negro comrades, chosen in order to strengthen the proportion of Negroes in the highest leading bodies of the Party. One of the four comrades was also added to the Political Bureau.

The above decisions of the Plenum were taken after hearing and discussing the report of the Political Bureau, delivered by Comrade Weinstein, a report on the tasks of the Party in the election campaign by Comrade Hathaway, and a special examination of the work in the Pittsburgh district which was reported upon by Comrade Price. The Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, who participated in the Plenum with a delegation from the Canadian Party, gave a report on the situation in Canada, the most important sections of which will be published in the May issue of The Communist. The discussion was participated in by 43 comrades in addition to the reporters. Special conferences were held during the course of the Plenum on many special phases of Party work, the most important being the conference on reorganizing and extending the distribution of Party literature among the masses.