

## PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION

### Winning the Negro Masses

By HAROLD WILLIAMS

THE Seventh Party convention will assemble at a time when capitalism in America and the world is going through a severe economic crisis. On the other hand, is the growing resistance on the part of the workers and the revolutionary upsurge in the colonies. The history of our Party within the last year or so, with the elimination of factionalism, is changing its composition and is turning its face to the masses in the basic industries. In this period, when the bourgeoisie and their government are utilizing the open fascist method of attack against the workers and the oppressed Negro masses, more tightening up of our Party organization is the crying need.

In order that our Party may be able to carry out its historic mission, it must be accompanied in its growth by the growth of revolutionary trade unions and auxiliaries. Therefore, the building of the Trade Union Unity League must be one of the questions taken up most seriously by the convention, in order that our Party may be clarified on the importance of our new left wing trade unions.

The Negro work of our Party has made progress especially since the Sixth World Congress, where the Comintern has laid down a definite program of action against white chauvinism and for the recruiting of Negro workers into our own ranks and the building of the American Negro Labor Congress. Since the Party Recruiting Drive, our Party is becoming in some sections not only a Party of propagandists but is inspiring and is being looked upon by the Negro workers as the champion and leader. Our drive in the south has aroused the entire state apparatus and its lackeys, the A. F. of L. social-fascists, to the extent that several of our comrades are now facing the electric chair, because they dare to preach full political, economic, and social equality and the right to self-determination to the Negro and white masses in the South. The immediate task of our Party Negro work must be accomplished in further developing these new Negro recruits who must go out with the class-conscious sections of the white proletariat in winning the majority of the Negro workers to our Party and the revolutionary trade unions.

#### The Garvey Movement

In the Chicago District, a new phenomenon has developed in our Recruiting Drive in the bying forward of about 75 members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, commonly called the Garvey Movement, into our ranks, and with the possibility of also sending Negro and white speakers to speak at their organization and open air meetings on the Party program. While these new members accept the Party line in practice, yet on the Party theoretical discussion of the Garvey movement and Garvey himself, they reject the Party position. There are, however, exceptions to this from the more proletarian section of Negroes. Therefore, we have the task today of winning the better elements of the Garvey movement who have become disillusioned in the petty bourgeois utopian policy of Garvey as the crisis in America becomes deeper and the attempt on the part of the bosses to shift the burden more upon the shoulders of the Negroes, the most exploited and oppressed section of the workers, becomes more open.

Another event is determining more and more the solidarity on the part of the Negroes and our white Party members. Already we have seen where in St. Louis the Negro workers are

asking what has become of our white comrades in time of struggle. The following is a typical question among the new Negro workers: Don't you think, Comrade Williams, that it is difficult to get white workers to fight with the Negroes? (St. Louis). Or: Your fine speakers come to us and tell us the kind of things we just love to hear—only you tell us about how the Communist Party has white folks for members as well as black folks. But where are the whites? (St. Louis). Here then we see that the question is not, "How can we keep the Negro workers in the Communist Party?" but "How can we get the most class-conscious section of the white workers to fight with the Negro masses against capitalist oppression and for the Party program?" A similar question is being asked elsewhere, as in the case of the Party anti-lynching meeting on May 25th in Chicago, in which the Negro workers found themselves with just a handful of white comrades participating. In order to counterbalance the distrust on the part of the Negro masses, our Party must wage the sharpest struggle against manifestations of White Chauvinism, which is expressing itself more and more as the Party endeavors to do mass activity among the Negro masses.

#### The Seat of Opportunism

The American Negro Labor Congress for a number of years in the Chicago district was the seat of the most right-wing opportunism among the few Negro Party members. There was actually no guidance from the Party to such an extent that there was no mass activity in the basic industries but it was confined primarily to collaboration with the Negro ministers and other petty bourgeois elements. Last November, with the establishment of a new Negro leadership in the district, these comrades (Isbell, Henry, Doty, Griffin) openly resisted the Party line. They declared at the District Negro Committee meeting that it was impossible for the Communist Party to appeal to Negroes and if we did attract them to our meetings we could not get them to join the Party or hold them within its ranks. This was the first time, in my opinion, that I heard such an expression from Negro workers. We told them that the Party would recruit Negroes and would hold them in the Party. Seeing that we were determined to carry the Party line through, they decided to sabotage all of our Party activity on the South Side among the Negroes. But despite this tendency, a few of us were able to isolate them and we can say that, as a conservative figure, we have today no less than 200 Negro workers in the Party and the continuous Party influence among the Negroes in the district as far south as St. Louis, Indianapolis, etc., is felt.

The line of these comrades became a chronic opposition to the Party in the course of which the A.N.L.C. was liquidated. Everything which these comrades had done had to be undone, and today with the recruiting of new forces we are now building functioning branches of the A.N.L.C. under Party directive. History has placed upon our Party the task of becoming the champion and defender of the oppressed Negro masses despite the open fascist terror of the bosses and their government. The Chicago district is moving forward and will continue to be one of the most important centers for the building of our Party and auxiliaries among the Negro and white masses for the establishment of a workers' dictatorship.

## Gaining New Forces

By TRIVA  
(Indianapolis, Ind.)

IT is in place, in the pre-convention discussions, to bring out before the Party a few facts regarding the situation and our working in this locality, for this is a new fact of our present work. To begin with, it is enough to say that the present economic crisis is wide and deep-set in this city and as a result of it we have here more than 65,000 workers out of jobs. This big mass of unemployed workers are facing actual starvation, and poverty-stricken families are at that right now.

As one comes to talk with workers, it is a simple thing, actually the first thing, to find out that there are many workers and their families without bread—with no food at all. Evictions from the houses have been noticeable as far back as six months. Bread lines are numerous and it is a terrible sight to see it. Workers Show Willingness to Organize.

Workers finding themselves in such desperate situations have come together in big mass meetings and showed their willingness to organize, to fight the very system which got them in such a position. With only a few gatherings before May 1, they had enough forces to prepare for that big demonstration on May 1. On call of a comrade to sign their names for militant working class organization, hundreds of them signed up. In fact, every worker that had a chance to get a slip of paper at that very moment signed his name and gave his address.

From our literature, Daily Worker and our speakers, the workers got the idea of our revolutionary organizations, of our militant working class fighting program, and were ready to come right into our ranks and fight the enemy, the capitalist system which brings about these unbearable conditions for the workers and their families.

The mass move toward our Party's program and its ranks toward a new revolutionary union, the Trade Union Unity League, is being made in the city where we have seven or eight international of the reactionary American Federation of Labor. Right under the very nose of that bourgeois-corrupted outfit of bureaucrats, these workers are willing to step in the line of struggle of the working class! This, in itself, is self-evident that a broad radicalization is going on in the ranks of the workers here as in every place else.

Then another fact of interest to us is, that the most outstanding workers in all of these movements are ones that have been for years in the old unions of the A. F. of L., but they have found out that that organization is not of any use to them as workers.

With the forming of our Party organization in this locality it is looked upon by masses as something of urgent need that

will give to the revolting masses of workers program and leadership in coming mass struggles heading us. It will assure to the workers possibilities to organize themselves into the Trade Union Unity League, by organizing unemployed workers into councils and by forming shop committees of workers right on the job to take up an organized fight for better working conditions, more pay and shorter working hours. Workers have come to realize that it is the only way for them to organize strong unions of their own.

Above all, here we have living proof that the Party's estimation of the actual situation and applying its policy is a correct one. Workers will follow our Party for the simple reason that they see in it leadership for struggle. They are looking to our Party as the only organized power in the country with a program for the entire working class. Its demand of work or wages, social insurance for the workers, fight against imperialist war, fight against rationalization and speed-up, for the 7-hour day and 5-day week—these are the demands that concern the life of every wage worker in the country. Preparing the working class to defeat the Soviet Union, the only country of workers' rule today, against imperialist attack, is meeting with approval among the large mass of workers.

The only reason why we have not as yet succeeded in getting a bigger organization than we have now is the fact, noticed all over the country, that we lack forces. We have some organizing meant, but that is behind the actual requirements. Here in this locality we are suffering on account of that. But it will not last long, for we are developing and building our power every day.

#### Negro Workers Ready to Join

Then another fact of interest to the Party is that here at the very start we succeeded to base our Party in the midst of Negro workers. Negro workers in this locality have demonstrated by their actual participation in the movement hereto that they are ready to live up with all the rest of the working class in struggle against the capitalists' double oppression of them as workers and as a race. Already they have taken the forefront in our work at the present time. Our Party policy of organizing Negro and white together to defend the Negro workers from lynching is approved by the most advanced Negro workers in this city. We are confident that the revolutionary working class movement, the Communist Party and militant workers' unions will have its strongest base right among the Negro workers, and that our Party in the near future will have its best followers, leaders and fighters among thousands of Negro



—By QUIET.

## Sports and the Revolutionary Movement

By W. BURKE

AS a result of the economic crisis in which American capitalism finds itself at present it is intensifying its preparations for a joint imperialist attack against the Soviet Union and for an armed struggle against its foremost enemy—British imperialism. These preparations assume two forms. In the world political arena, American capitalism is struggling for the balance of power, through disarmament conferences, the Kellogg pact, naval reduction conferences, ideological preparation for an attack against the Soviet Union through the "religious persecution" campaign, Whalen forgeries, etc. Internal preparations take the form of greater attacks against the interests of the working class through rationalization, mass unemployment, attacks against militant working class organizations, militarization of the youth, placing of industries in readiness for war production and spreading of pacifist illusions among the people.

In these preparations the American bourgeoisie gives its greatest attention, and is utilizing every means, to win the young workers to its side and prepare them for war. One of the most important means which the bourgeoisie use in this work is sports. The capitalist class knows quite well the fact (which our Party and League have yet failed to grasp) that in order to win over and prepare new recruits for its army at the front, and to safeguard its rear against the "internal enemy," it must carry on the major share of its war preparations among the workers in the industries.

As a result we find today that the bourgeoisie have entered their best technical sports forces into the factories for the organization of company sports. Millions of dollars are spent each year by the industrial concerns of the country in this work. Factory stadiums, gyms and athletic fields are being built on an ever greater scale. Even special schools have been set up by the bosses for the training of company sports directors. The Y. M. C. A., the largest organization in this field, trains hundreds of these "athletic leaders" in factories each year.

Today the company sports movement counts millions of young and adult workers in its ranks. Firms like the General Motors, Westinghouse, Western Electric, Pennsylvania Railroad System, not only have sports clubs involving those that are active in sports, but all of the workers employed by them. The Hawthorne Athletic Club of the Western Electric Co. of Chicago has a membership of 30,000, inclusive of all the workers and the office staff. There is not a mine or a factory of any size in the country today that does not promote sports for its employees.

In many instances athletic games provided by the company teams form the main form of social activity in the small company towns and villages. In such cases sports serve as the best means for the bosses to promote and develop class collaboration among the workers. Their slogan is: "All are equal on the athletic field" and "there is no class division in sports."

What has our movement done to this day to struggle against this company sports movement? Practically nothing.

The Labor Sports Union of America has

workers in this city, the most oppressed workers.

The Party Convention meets at a time of great importance. It is now that our Party's new forces are being built all over the country. After throwing out of its ranks the renegade elements and clearing itself of factionalism and having become a real section of the world Party—the Comintern, the Seventh Convention, will have great meaning to all toilers of the United States of America.

not as yet taken up the struggle against the company sports movement. Yet the Labor Sports Union cannot grow into a mass workers' sports organization unless it organizes its work toward the factories and mines. Some steps are being taken by the L. S. U. to orientate its work, but the Party and the League must support its activities by placing forces into the movement. Organizing fractions within the L. S. U. and give political direction to the work of the comrades within the Labor Sports Union.

The Trade Union Unity League cannot ignore the company sports movement if it is to carry out its revolutionary role of organizing the workers in the basic industries. It is precisely in these industries that the company sports movement is the strongest. The Trade Union Unity League must give the Labor Sports Union close co-operation in the struggle against company sports and the building of workers' factory sports clubs. Sport clubs in the factories can be used as a basis for shop committees and trade unions.

Only by a united effort of all workers in the factories, members of militant working class organizations under the leadership of our Party will we be able to smash the company sports movement and its influence upon the workers and organize the workers into revolutionary unions and sport clubs.

### Some Serious Shortcomings

By JACK KLING

MOST of our Party comrades do not understand the importance of promptness. The section convention of our Party was called for six o'clock. Only about ten comrades showed up at that time. The convention opened up at 9 o'clock and lasted until 2:30 a. m. As a result, toward the closing of the meeting the comrades were tired and the comrades were left in the background. Although the district representative and the section organizer, upon reporting, stressed the importance of the League at the very beginning of the convention, the entire question of the League was left in the background. For example, when the section organizer proposed the order of business nothing was said about a League report. The League comrades had to remind the comrades that a League report must also be given.

When the various committees were proposed no League members were suggested to be placed on any of the committees. The League had to fight so that a League comrade should be placed on each of the committees. When the League delegation proposed that a certain League member be placed on a certain committee the comrades immediately raised the question: "Instead of whom do you propose the comrade?" No additional nominees were permitted. This is certainly not Communist. However, the delegates present immediately pointed out that this was the wrong procedure and must be changed.

The relationship of the League and the Party must be changed in that particular section. The new section executive committee of our Party will have to appoint a special leading comrade of the section to devote most of his activity in helping develop and build the League in the section. The question of the League was entirely left out, and it was left for the League delegation to bring it before the convention. However, despite the shortcomings, the convention has marched forward. The Party will have to pay more and much more attention in the developing of the League.

## A LETTER FROM PRISON TO THE 7th PARTY CONVENTION

June 12, 1930.

Seventh National Convention  
Communist Party, U.S.A.

Dear Comrades:

WE wish to express our full agreement with and endorsement of the thesis and resolutions presented by the Central Committee to the Convention.

The cyclical crisis which has engulfed American capitalism has not only brought the United States fully within the maelstrom of the world economic crisis, but has tremendously deepened the world crisis.

The analysis of the Comintern and of the last two plenums of the Party are fully borne out by events. The crisis is becoming deeper with accompanying attacks upon the workers and poor farmers, with international tariff wars and wage cuttings, with more aggressive imperialist attacks upon the colonies by the respective imperialist powers, with the danger of an imperialist war brought nearer by the "peace" and "naval reduction" parleys and plans, with more acute danger of a military attack upon the Soviet Union.

The masses have answered the attacks of the capitalists by a manifestation of deeper radicalization and greater readiness to struggle. The world revolutionary tide constantly rises. In Poland, Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Japan, South America, Cuba, wage cuts and radicalization, these movements becoming political in character. The masses have shown that they will not accept a worsening of conditions, without a bitter fight.

The demonstrations in the United States on March 6 and May 1, the strikes in the South, the struggles of workers in all parts of the country, many of them spontaneous, the readiness of the workers to follow the Party and T.U.U.L., indicate the growing radicalization and willingness of the workers to fight against the vicious rationalization schemes of American capitalism. Strikes in textile, mining, auto, rubber, shoe, clothing, food, building, show that discontent is rife in all industries and sections. The awakening of the white worker to fight and defend him is a sign of the breaking down of the barriers to a more militant struggle.

These phenomena have manifested themselves in face of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, the socialist party and Muskettes, whose fascist role, each in its way, is to help the capitalists in suppressing strikes and struggles, to assist in their rationalization schemes and keep the workers loyal to capitalism.

The establishment of a Soviet Government in China embracing 70,000,000 people and the revolt in India are two outstanding factors of the present situation. The growth of the Communist Party of India and the exposure of the imperialist activities of the British Labor Party and the Second International as a whole, are matters of the greatest significance to the international proletarian revolutionary movement.

Exceeding even these factors are the achievements of the Soviet Union in building Socialism. This is a victory of the Russian workers and peasants and of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., a victory that stands unchallenged and which throws into rout the Bucharinites and Trotskyites. This development affects not only the Soviet Union, but every capitalist country. The Five-Year Plan is not only an inspiration to the workers and peasants throughout the world, but a cause for fear and dismay on the part of the capitalists. The unparalleled expansion of industry and collectivization of agriculture with increasing well being for the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, contrasted with the crisis and its terrors for the workers and poor farmers in the capitalist countries, is filling the capitalists with the greatest apprehension.

The capitalists try to find their way out of the general crisis of capitalism by rationalization and war, both of which lead to disaster for capitalism. The capitalists and their social-fascist tools are feverishly preparing for war, especially against the Soviet Union.

The Comintern, having strengthened itself by the defeat of all right groups, becomes the rallying center for all the revolutionary millions the world over, notably in the colonial countries. As capitalism goes into crisis, the influence of the social-fascists over the masses diminishes and that of the Comintern increases. Our Party has decided achievements to its credit—first of all, the unification of the Party and the inner consolidation of its forces, the smashing defeat of the Lovestone right opportunist group and the initiation of a systematic struggle against the opportunist tendencies of the Party. This achievement, with the aid of the Comintern, made possible the progress of the Party. With the unification of the Party came objective analysis and self-criticism, but this is as yet inadequate and must be strengthened.

The March 6 and May 1 demonstrations, the great increase in the Party membership, the building of the T.U.U.L. in new industries, the raising of the influence of the T.U.U.L. as the revolutionary union center, the popularization of the R.I.L.U. among the American workers, are of first-rate importance as showing the general strengthening of the Party in prestige, organization and influence.

The establishment of the Party and T.U.U.L. in the South, under the hardest conditions and with meagre forces, cannot be overestimated, especially since the Party had to meet the united force of the capitalists, government, Ku Klux Klan and other fascist organizations, the A. F. of L., S.P. and Muskettes. The rallying of Negro and white workers under the banner of our Party in the South is of great significance.

The Party has weaknesses that must be speedily overcome if it is to fulfill its tasks in the coming struggles. The demonstrations led by the Party have shown its tremendous political influence and the confidence of ever larger masses of workers in the Party, but also manifested its political and organizational weakness. Strong opportunist tendencies are present especially in the trade union work and in the districts, this being amply dealt with in the Thesis. Insufficient mass work is especially notable in all districts and must be speedily remedied.

Weakness is also to be noted in the lack of cadres of live, capable, responsible functionaries who have fully "made the turn," lack of check-up and control, of ability to coordinate the various campaigns that the Party must conduct simultaneously to meet the needs of the various phases of the struggle, failure to activate and control the activities of every mem-

ber, proper distribution of work so that each member has a responsible task and no comrade is overburdened (which too often is the case at the present time), failure to train the comrades for their work, failure to hold, activate and advance new recruits to fill the posts in the Party and mass organizations—these are some of the basic weaknesses of the Party.

A fundamental weakness of our Party is its continued feebleness of the Y.C.L. This is all the more dangerous because of the tremendous and growing role of the youth in American industry and the class struggle. The Party must give decisive attention to the building of the Y.C.L.

The perspective in the United States is one of deepening crisis, as the world over, vicious wage-slashing campaigns against the workers further radicalization and mass struggle.

Especially during the coming winter will the crisis deepen and the struggle intensify. Unemployment will increase; the employers have definitely initiated a wage cutting campaign. This will throw great tasks of leadership upon our Party. The workers will fight. The entire Party must be prepared and keyed up to meet this situation, to organize the workers to struggle and to lead them in the fight.

The campaign against our Party in all sections of the country, the imprisonment of comrades for long terms, the campaign particularly against us in the South (Powers, Carr and the four other comrades), Whalen's forged documents and the Fish investigation, show the preparations the capitalist class and government are making as they develop their general attack against the workers.

To meet this situation, the basic task is to build our Party. The recruiting campaign, especially among workers in basic and war industries, must be pushed more energetically than ever. More intense work must be done among the Negro and young workers, the composition must be improved, shop nuclei must be established in all industries and be activated into functioning units leading struggles. New cadres must be developed. The struggle against right opportunism, the main danger, and also against "left" sectarianism must be intensified.

The keynote of the convention, as emphasized in the thesis, must be mass work. The convention must devote its main attention to organizing this work. While in complete agreement with the analysis and tasks laid down in the Party thesis, we desire to emphasize the following urgent tasks in the mass work:

1. Building the T.U.U.L. A good start has been made in building the T.U.U.L., both in the existing revolutionary unions and in penetrating new industries. But this is only a beginning. The 50,000 membership campaign must be the starting point for day-by-day enrollment of new members in the unions, of forming shop committees in shops, factories, mines, or railroads and ships. The R.I.L.U. 5th Congress must be emphasized. The revolutionary union papers must become mass organs. The local Councils must be built up. All our forces must much more militantly be thrown into this work.

2. Defend the Soviet Union. It's most popularize among the masses of workers and farmers of this country the achievements in building Socialism in the Soviet Union, which is an inspiration to all workers. In many sections of our Party there is a distinct underestimation of the tremendous effects of these achievements as an instrument for revolutionizing the masses of this country. The vast object lesson of the actual building of Socialism in the Soviet Union with such striking success, has tremendous power in persuading the workers of the correctness of our Communist Party program as a whole.

3. China, India, Philippines and Latin America. We must arouse and rally the workers of the United States to give actual support to the masses of these countries who are struggling against imperialism. The Comintern has repeatedly reminded us of the necessity of the Parties in the imperialist countries actively aiding the revolutionary movements in the colonies. This is a duty that must not be neglected.

4. Unemployment. The struggle against unemployment, with its center, the fight for unemployment insurance, is an elementary task. The convention on July 4-5 in Chicago must be a mass demonstration of unemployed and employed workers such as this country has never witnessed. March 6 showed us the tremendous possibilities of unemployment as an issue for developing revolutionary struggles of the masses.

5. Election Campaign. The election campaign will be, for our Party, a most important rallying period for the seething discontent among the masses of workers. We must be really alive to its possibilities. We must utilize it to strengthen the Party, the T.U.U.L. and all revolutionary organizations.

The central issue of the election campaign must be unemployment insurance. The Party Districts, Sections and Nuclei must no longer have election activities primarily upon street corner meetings and rallies, but carry on their work in the shops through united front election committees, shop bulletins, shop gates meetings, etc. This campaign must rally the greatest possible masses of workers behind the slogans of the Party.

6. Daily Worker. The campaign for the Daily Worker must no longer be a matter of emergency, but be linked up with the daily work and every campaign of the Party and revolutionary unions. The Daily Worker must become the mass organ of the American workers.

7. War Danger. Saturating all our ranks and definitely interviewed with them is the campaign against the war danger; not only anti-imperialist but particularly against the Soviet Union. The danger of war becomes ever graver and the masses must be mobilized for an intense fight against this danger.

In conclusion, we appeal through the convention to the membership of the Party to throw themselves into the work of the Party. Mass work is our slogan, the conquest of the majority of the workers our goal. We are convinced that the decisions of the convention will put our Party to work so that it may become an even worthier section of the Comintern, and better equipped to lead the workers and poor farmers of this country in revolutionary struggle for a Workers and Farmers Government of the United States.

Fraternally,  
WM. Z. FOSTER,  
ROBERT MINOR,  
ISRAEL ANTEN.