

The Important Tasks of the Workers Party at the Historical July 3rd Convention in Chicago

By JOHN PEPPER

The July 3d Farmer-Labor Party Convention is an historical event, and the Workers Party has historical tasks to accomplish there.

Two main viewpoints must motivate our Party. First, the Workers Party is going to Chicago as a **PART OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT**. Second, the Workers Party participates in the July 3d Convention as a party **INDEPENDENT** in every respect.

Two tasks result therefrom. First, keeping up and deepening the relations of the Party with the general labor movement. Second, keeping intact the integrity and independence of the Workers Party.

There still are dogmatists who believe that the Workers Party should not enter at all into a Labor Party because it will lose thereby its political virginity. Then there are other dogmatists who are so fearful lest our Party remain isolated within the labor movement, that out of pure caution, they endanger the independence of the Party's tactics. The Central Executive Committee of our Party must solve the problem in such a way as not to sacrifice the **INDEPENDENCE** of the Party, and yet, **NOT TO ISOLATE** the Party unnecessarily in the July 3d Convention. And the Central Executive Committee

will solve this problem with the support of the entire Party.

How can we **CONCRETELY** solve our tasks in the July 3d Convention?

First of all, we must not permit the formation of a Federated Farmer-Labor Party to be postponed at the July 3d Convention. It would be the greatest deception for the laboring masses if the Chicago Conference should ape the example of the Cleveland Conference.

In speaking of the Cleveland Conference at a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, on December 17, 1922, John Fitzpatrick said with bitter sarcasm: "... They become scab and dual to Sam Gompers, and the Chicago Federation of Labor will have nothing to do with such a policy. If we have to go along that reactionary path, we will be regular and go with the American Federation of Labor, but we are not weakening

in our position that there must be a definitely workers' party. We are going right ahead." We must not permit the Chicago Conference to become scab and dual to the Cleveland Conference. **IT IS THE DUTY OF THE WORKERS PARTY TO CONDUCT THE MOST ZEALOUS FIGHT FOR THE IMMEDIATE FORMATION OF A FEDERATED FARMER - LABOR PARTY.** Of course, we must not be blind to the facts. Without masses it is impossible to form the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party. But it is an actual fact today, and no longer an optimistic hypothesis, that the Chicago Convention will have a sufficiently large mass basis.

HOW should the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party be built up?

The new Federated Farmer-Labor Party cannot be a closed political party, but a **BLOC** of the various organizations, trade unions, farmer

groups and political parties. It should have as members only **ORGANIZATIONS**, and not **INDIVIDUALS**.

The new party should exercise no direct **DISCIPLINE** over individual members of the various labor organizations and political parties which belong to it, but only discipline of action over these organizations and political parties **AS A WHOLE**.

The new Party must have a **PROGRAM** in some form. This program cannot and should not be a **COMMUNIST** program. The program should go only as far as the **LEFT WING** of the American labor movement which will be represented in Chicago can accept as its common political expression. Even less than that would suffice. The program should not be a hindrance which will keep **NEW** masses, not as yet class-conscious, from joining the Feder-

ated Farmer-Labor Party. One step forward of the real mass-movement is worth more than a hundred programs.

It is a vital necessity for the new Party as well as for the Workers Party that every adhering group or political party retain its complete **FREEDOM FOR PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION**. Communists can accept no form of united front where they can have no guarantee for absolute possibility to propagate their ideas.

Notwithstanding the freedom of propaganda and agitation for all participating groups, the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party should be **CENTRALIZED** to such an extent that it will be capable of action. The National Executive Committee of the new party must therefore be elected at the Convention. Only thus can it possess sufficient authority on a national scale.

The new Party should not be only an **ELECTION COMBINATION**. Its activity must not be confined to nomination conventions and election campaigns. It must also take a stand, during the time between elections, on every important question concerning workers and farmers, and must conduct **POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS AND ACTIONS** in the interest of the masses.

The new Party must be a **CLASS PARTY** of the laboring masses. It would be harmful to the whole future of the Party if **LOWER MIDDLE-CLASS POLITICIANS** of the LaFollette group would be allowed entrance. Of course, this does not mean that the Party does not wish to attract the farmers. On the contrary, the **ALLIANCE BETWEEN INDUSTRIAL WORKERS AND EXPLOITED FARMERS** is a vital question; it is the greatest guarantee that the new Party will be a suc-

cess and that the struggle of the laboring masses in the factory and on the farm will end in victory in the United States.

To solve all these questions is the historical task of the July 3d Convention. To be the forward-driving element in the solution of these questions is the historical task of the Workers Party at the July 3d Convention.

Our Party is going to the July 3d Convention in order to fight.

We will fight there against the capitalists and the capitalist government who exploit and oppress the workers.

We will fight there against Gompers and his clique who sell out the labor movement to the old capitalist parties.

We will fight there against the Johnston clique and the Socialist Party which sabotaged the formation of a Labor Party at the Cleveland Conference.

And we will fight against all those who, at the July 3d Convention, will postpone or prevent, thru indecision and hesitation, the formation of a Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

CHICAGO WILL BE A FIELD OF BATTLE FOR US.

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