

"This same executive council (hangover from Lynch's time) that is now on strike against President Howard's policy of retrenchment, with the aid of a Wahneia president, turned over to John McArdle, a New York mailer, \$150,000 in checks of approximately \$10,000 each. No accounting has even been made as to what this immense sum was used for and the reports, if any, were destroyed by order of the executive council."

strengthening of the position of world capitalism which found expression in the growth of the productive forces in a number of great capitalist countries on the basis of capitalist rationalization with increased exploitation of the working class; and a simultaneous strengthening of the international forces hostile to capitalism, above all by the strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union and the National revolutionary movement in colonial and semi-colonial countries. This capitalist stabilization of the third period of post-war imperialism was correctly estimated by the congress as... tilting in the enormous growth of contradiction within the capitalist countries, the increasing resistance of the working class which finds expression in the movement to the left of the working masses, and in the consolidation and the growth of the influence of the Communists upon the working class.

"The World Congress correctly estimated the present world period as a period of sharpening antagonisms leading to new wars and revolutionary crises. The congress rightly put in the foreground of our immediate task the most determined struggle against imperialist war, against the traitorous pacifism of the social democracy and above all the dangerous activities of the so-called "left" social democrats. In view of the fact that we are at present in a new period of world war this congress correctly insisted upon the necessity of tightening the Bolshevik discipline of all Communist Parties, increasing their international activities; increasing internal democracy, removing fractional struggles, sharpening the fight against the right dangers, and fostering a consistent struggle for a Bolshevik line and Bolshevik unity.

"The congress was noteworthy for the attention paid to the colonial question and the broad participation of colonial and semi-colonial countries in the work of the congress. The membership meeting notes with special satisfaction the active participation of an increased number of Negro comrades and of growing Communist Parties in Latin America. The decisions of the congress will give a powerful stimulus to the intensification of our struggle to organize the Negro masses and of our struggle against American imperialism.

"The World Congress expressed the determined will of the working class of the world to defend the USSR and unanimous approval and support of the brother parties for the line and work of the heroic Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It unanimously upheld the CPSU in its struggles to uproot and destroy the social democratic line of the Trotsky opposition.

"The membership meeting of the district of Detroit pledges itself to make the decisions of the World Congress known to the broad masses and above all to carry the program of the Communist International to the workers.

"Long Live the Communist International! Long Live the World Proletarian Revolution! Long Live the Leadership of the Comintern!"

Reporting on the Sixth World Congress

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE.

THE message of the Sixth World Congress to its sections and the working class of the world may be summed up in the single sentence: "Get ready for war and gigantic struggles." The whole work of the congress centered around the growing war danger. The congress undertook to adopt a program for the struggle for Proletarian Dictatorship on a world scale, to analyse the present international situation, and since its analysis led it to the conclusion that the present international situation is one of gigantic class struggles, growing colonial revolutionary movements, sharpening conflicts between the imperialist powers, completions of preparation for an attack upon the Soviet Union, and the beginning of a new period of world war, the congress undertook to prepare the Communist International and its sections for the war situation.

Owing to the absorption of all the Party's energies in the electoral campaign and mass struggles in the mining, textile and other fields, the Party was not immediately able to undertake a sufficiently widespread campaign for the popularization of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress. Nevertheless in the midst of the election campaign, the Party undertook to begin this work by sending CEC reporters, who were World Congress delegates, to all district headquarters cities and all industrial centers where the Party has well-established organization. The reactions of the membership in these headquarters cities to the report on the World Congress, their discussion of same, and the resolutions adopted, give an interesting picture of some of the Party's characteristics.

Developing Internationalism.

The first thing to be noted in connection with these membership meetings is the big growth of internationalism and interest in the doings of the World Congress as compared with the reaction of the membership to previous congresses (the last World Congress was held four years ago when the Party was ideologically and organizationally at a much lower level than it is today).

In most cities these membership meetings were the largest membership meetings ever held to hear CEC reporters on any questions before the Party. This was markedly true in New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Seattle. The Denver meeting was average size, the meeting in Kansas City poorly attended, Minneapolis, San Francisco and Los Angeles, ditto. To Superior, Cleveland and Detroit, members came from fairly distant cities, traveling as much as sixty and seventy miles and more in order to hear the World Congress report. Comrades came to the Cleveland meeting from such distant cities as Ashtabula and Youngstown, to the Detroit meeting from cities thruout Michigan, and to the Superior meeting from the cities on the Iron Range, in the copper country and the rural districts of Northern Minnesota.

The degree of enthusiasm and response to the reports is in some respects the barometer to measure the level of development of the Party. In general it was definitely noticeable that those regions where the Party is engaged in the biggest

mass struggles, were precisely the regions in which the response was greatest.

The attitude of the various sections of the Party towards a CI Congress and its decisions is in part measurable by the vote on a general resolution introduced into all meetings summarizing the work of the Sixth World Congress and expressing approval of its decisions and a determination to carry them out with energy. To prevent controversial discussions on the inner Party question during the election campaign, all reference to the American question was deliberately omitted from the resolutions. Nevertheless, some comrades in opposition to the Central Committee and rejecting the line of the Sixth World Congress on the American question, were unwilling to vote even for such a resolution because it endorsed in general all of the decisions of the congress and proposed to execute them faithfully and energetically.

Few Reservationists.

Therefore, a limited number of comrades in most places made amendments to the resolution or statements of reservations when the vote was taken. In general, these amendments and statements of reservations declared that those adhering to them supported the decisions of the Sixth World Congress and intended to execute them, except that they had reservations concerning decisions on the American question. These statements and amendments ranged all the way from the crude remark of the lone reservationist in Detroit who declared, "I endorse the decisions of the Comintern for all other countries, but not for the United States," to the much more elaborate statement by CEC members presented in the meeting of the Polcom where the congress decisions on America were read and signed by Cannon, Aronberg and Costrell, which declared:

"In line with the position taken by the delegates representing the opposition at the World Congress, we wish to place on record our disagreement with that section of the decision of the Political Secretariat of the ECCI which says the charges that the majority of the CEC followed a right line are unfounded. It is our opinion that the right line of the majority in the period prior to the departure of the delegation has been confirmed in its course since that time.

"The section of the motion of the Political Secretariat of the ECCI, dealing with the question of factionalism, especially during the election campaign, is in full accord with our views. We demand an immediate cessation of the campaign of factional discrimination, persecution and suppression of the majority against the opposition."

But the political content of all these reservations were the same.

The mere statistics of these reservations and votes are themselves an index of the condition of various districts and attitude prevalent towards the CI and its decisions. In New York there were 19 reservations and 20 abstentions, out of a general meeting of about 1,500. In Chicago there were five reservations in a meeting of about 400, with no abstentions. In Detroit there was one reservation in a meeting of about

the same size and no abstentions. In Cleveland there were no reservations. In Minneapolis there were three. In Superior none; in Seattle none; Kansas City none; Denver none. In San Francisco there were 32 reservations and in Los Angeles 57. In San Francisco the vote was 34 for the resolution endorsing the World Congress decisions without reservations and 32 with reservations. In Los Angeles the vote was 74 for the CI without reservations, and 57 with reservations and 7 abstentions.

It is interesting to inquire why California should present more reservations than the whole rest of the country put together. The easiest explanation would be to point out that the District Organizer has been a member of the Party opposition, but this is not a correct explanation, as proved by the votes in District 10, where the DC also has been a member of the Party opposition, or the vote in Chicago, which not so many years ago was an opposition stronghold.

The results in California contrast so sharply with the results in districts where the Party is engaged in big mass struggles and overwhelmingly proletarian in character, that one is immediately compelled to examine the composition of the membership and character of the activities of the Party in the district. So, as soon as this touchstone is applied, the solution is clear.

Non-Proletarian Composition.

According to the District Organizer's report, only 40 per cent of the membership of the district are workers in industry in California. In the entire state there is only one shop nucleus and that is not functioning. The reporter's plea to prepare the Party for war by digging roots into the factories met with open resistance (and this was the only district in the country where such resistance was manifested). The reporter was even heckled on this elementary point in his report by interruptions to the effect: "There are no big factories in California." This is of course nonsense in a state which contains all the branch factories for the west coast and Pacific export trade of the biggest trusts in the country. The interruptions proved that the Party in California is still living in 1925 and not even "mentally" reorganized.

The reporter had to point out to the San Francisco membership under repeated heckling that the largest shipyards on the west coast (Vallejo), largest sugar mills (Crockett), the largest canneries (Fresno), the biggest tractor company, canneries and agricultural machinery factories (Stockton), the Pullman shops (Richmond), etc., are all within easy striking distance of San Francisco, the district headquarters, and are all part of the heavily industrial San Francisco bay region. The fact that local comrades did not even know that they were in one of the big industrial centers of America proves that the Party has not even turned its attention to the factories there.

In Los Angeles, the Party composition is much worse than in San Francisco, with a surprisingly large percentage of small business men, shop keepers, etc., and actually even a few petty employers of labor in the Party. There is not one Mexican in

the Party, altho the factory work and unskilled work generally is performed almost wholly by Mexicans in Los Angeles and the surrounding region. Negro work is almost entirely neglected and in general work among factory workers of any sort.

Attitude to Right Danger.

Another interesting matter to review was the attitude of the various districts to the report on the right danger and measures to be taken against it. The districts which have presented the greatest number of right errors and demanding the greatest amount of attention from the CEC in correcting such errors are California and Minnesota. In California, the mention of the right danger and right errors provoked resistance and hostile reaction. Thus, comrades demanded to know of the reporter why the numerous errors of the California district were reported and discussed before the Comintern. In spite of the fact that the CEC repeatedly directed the California district to have a discussion in the units of opportunist errors, such as the error made in the unemployment leaflet and in various pacifist leaflets, the reporter found that no such discussion had been held. Comrades complained that no discussion of these errors had been held, but that they were discussed over in Moscow. There was sharp resistance against any attempt to draw lessons from these errors at the membership meeting.

In Superior, the northern sub-district of Minnesota, the reaction of the comrades to the discussion of the right danger was much more wholesome. The local comrades requested the privilege of "taking leadership" in the criticism of their own errors, and made an excellent job of it. Practically all leading comrades and rank and filers as well who participated in the discussion analyzed in a Communist manner the errors that they had made in the Shipstead case, the Coolidge committee, the Farmer-Labor Party, and the republican primary fight and declared that they recognized the need of further pressure from the CEC and the Comintern and constant guidance to prevent the recurrence of right errors and to develop a Bolshevik line. The workers from the Iron Range and other parts of the district greeted this self-critical discussion with the greatest enthusiasm and the resolution endorsing the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern was adopted unanimously. A copy of the resolution adopted by the Superior, Detroit, district which is typical of the kind of resolution that was adopted in all meetings where there was a report on the Comintern Congress is printed below:

"The general membership meeting of Detroit, after listening to the report of Comrade Wolfe on the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International expresses its full agreement with all the work and decisions of the congress and pledges itself to carry out wholeheartedly the policies and instructions embodied in these decisions.

"The membership meeting greets the adoption of the program of the Communist International which is a powerful Marxist-Leninist theoretical weapon and which creates a firm basis for struggle on a world scale for the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Correct Estimation.

"The World Congress reviewed the work of the last four years of development and struggle of the International revolutionary movement and gave a correct Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present world situation. The congress noted a certain

could not hope to repeat the performance indefinitely. The time is rapidly approaching when they will join the ranks of those frustrated little merchants who have to seek jobs behind the counters of the trustified retail stores. Then they will have to console

themselves with the solemn thought that their fate had been predetermined by the capitalist god, or sink into libertarianism, where they will be skeptical of everything and consider everything as impotent as the class from which they sprang.