

Workers (Communist) Party
of America

The 4th National Convention

Held in Chicago, Ill.,
Aug. 21-30, 1925.

Published by the Daily Worker Publishing Company.

8481

WORKER
FOR DAILY

ist daily newspaper in

picture of every step
of Labor the world
does or would dare

the thinking worker,
rking class problems
a daily feature.

creasing in size, is
ing section.

U. E. L. page gives a
alon activities in this

a magazine section
gives thought to his

S
CAGO

\$2.00 Three Months

\$2.50 Three Months

ce to
orker
Chicago, Ill.

The Fourth National Convention

of the

Workers (Communist) Party of America

Report of the Central Executive
Committee to the 4th National Convention
Held in Chicago, Illinois, August 21st to 30th, 1925

Resolutions of the Parity Commission
and others.



PRICE 50 CENTS.

Published by the

DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.,
1113 W. WASHINGTON BLVD., CHICAGO, ILL.



8482

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Majority Report on Credentials.....	4
Minority Report on Credentials.....	4-5
Rules or Order of the Convention.....	5-8
Report of the Central Executive Committee.....	9-82
(a) The Farmer-Labor Party Campaign.....	9
(b) The Election Campaign.....	10
(c) The Labor Party Campaign.....	10-11
(d) United Front and Other Special Campaigns.....	10-14
(e) Trade Union, I. W. W., Ind. Unions, etc.....	14-16
(f) Agrarian, Educational, Women's, Negroes' and Anti-Imperialist Work.....	16-21
(g) Our Party Press.....	21-23
(h). Membership of Our Party.....	27-40
(i) The Party Publications, Different Languages.....	41-42
(j) Language Sections.....	43-51
(k) Financial Statement of the National Office.....	52-62
Minority Resolution on the Report of C. E. C.....	63-66
Minority Resolution on the Report of the C. E. C.....	66-70
Minority Resolution on C. I. Decision on American Question.....	70-71
Minority Resolution on C. I. Decision on American Question.....	71-72
The Present Situation and the Immediate Tasks of the Party.....	73-81
Instructions for Labor Party Campaign.....	81-86
Resolution on Bolshevization of the Party.....	87-93
Resolution on the Liquidation of Loreism.....	93-95
Motion on the Expulsion of Lore from the Party.....	95-98
The Industrial Work of the Workers (Communist) Party.....	99-108
(a) Main Tasks of the Party in the Trade Unions.....	101
(b) Necessary Organizational Measures.....	102-104
(c) Shop Committees.....	104-105
(d) Amalgamation and International.....	105-106
(e) Party Policies for Trade Union Work.....	106-107
The International Labor Defense Indorsed.....	107-108
Communist Agrarian Program and Policies.....	109-114
The American Negro and the Proletarian Revolution.....	115-123
(a) The Negro in American History.....	115-121
(b) Negro Race Movements.....	121-123
Communist Work Among Women in the United States.....	124-127
The American Communist Struggle Against Imperialism.....	128-140
Our Pledge to the Soviet Union.....	141-142
Resolution on the Young Workers League.....	143-144
Resolutions of the Appeals Committee.....	145-146
Building of the Communist Press.....	147-151
Report of the Daily Worker, Financial, etc.....	152-165
Election of the Incoming Central Executive Committee.....	167-168

Ti
(Comu
21 to
the si
questi
and th
workc
ship o

Ti
conve

F
the po
is refe
Fourt
iat) P
of the

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Essentials.....	4
Convention.....	4-5
Executive Committee.....	5-8
For Party Campaign.....	9-62
Campaign.....	9
Party Campaign.....	10-11
Other Special Campaigns.....	10-14
W. W. Ind. Unions, etc.....	14-16
National, Women's, Negroes' and Anti-.....	16-21
Our Party.....	21-23
Languages, Different Languages.....	27-40
National Office.....	41-42
Report of C. E. C.....	43-51
Report of the C. E. C.....	52-62
Decision on American Question.....	63-66
Decision on American Question.....	66-70
The Immediate Tasks of the Party.....	70-71
Party Campaign.....	71-72
Party Campaign.....	73-81
Party Campaign.....	81-86
Party Campaign.....	87-93
Party Campaign.....	93-95
Party Campaign.....	95-98
Party Campaign.....	99-105
Party Campaign.....	101
Party Campaign.....	102-104
Party Campaign.....	104-105
Party Campaign.....	105-106
Party Campaign.....	106-107
Party Campaign.....	107-108
Party Campaign.....	109-114
Party Campaign.....	115-123
Party Campaign.....	115-121
Party Campaign.....	121-122
Party Campaign.....	124-127
Party Campaign.....	122-140
Party Campaign.....	141-142
Party Campaign.....	143-144
Party Campaign.....	145-146
Party Campaign.....	147-151
Party Campaign.....	152-165
Party Campaign.....	167-168

Foreword

The Fourth National Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party was held in Chicago from August 21 to August 31, 1925. During the period of ten days the sixty-one delegates present debated the various questions of policy and tactics relating to the Party life and the development of a revolutionary movement of the workers against capitalism and the winning of the leadership of this movement by the Party.

This pamphlet contains the reports submitted to the convention and the resolutions adopted by it.

For a discussion of divisions which existed within the party and the development of its policies the reader is referred to the pamphlet "From the Third Through the Fourth National Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party" by C. E. Ruthenberg, the General Secretary of the Party.

dominantly composed of poor farmers, organizations that the Workers Party led front with the poor farmers for the war from the capitalists and the rich with the workers thru an alliance with

asis for our united front policies with the Workers Party must first of all establish a front with the poor farmers for the war from the capitalists and the rich with the workers thru an alliance with

the carrying out of these policies is program of demands for the agricultural workers. Also the establishment of a well-organized agrarian press.

actively support and fight for the workers dealing with minimum wages, food lodging, etc. The Workers Party Front action with the I. W. W. and the following demands:

cultural proletarians should be concentration of the industrial proletariat. Rural workers form the Party's firmest masses.

to maintain employment bureaus in interference with these employment. Ku Klux Klan, or any other capitalist final offense and punished accordingly.

of the state vagrancy laws in all story workers by arrests, compulsion

wise.

adults shall not be required to work. be permitted to work.

shall not be denied the rights of

develop united front action with the following demand:

onal opposition to imperialist wars, Militaristic propaganda.

port by all possible means the pro-national Peasants' Council and shall of American farmers' organizations

The convention instructs the incoming Central Executive Committee to appoint a commission to study the agricultural question to prepare a complete agrarian program.

(Adopted unanimously.)

THE AMERICAN NEGRO AND THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

The Negro in American History.

The Negro has played an important role in American history. First his labor transformed the southern wilderness into an empire. More than a score of heroic slave revolts enrich the forgotten pages of American history. The smoldering fire of slave rebellion was one of the immediate forces impelling the first centralization of the government of the capitalist republic—the adoption of the constitution and the formation of the national army.

From being a passive center of the bloody struggle of 1861, the Negro was transformed in three short years into the black shock troops which helped to turn the tide of war against the southern oligarchy. Thus the Negro toiler played also his part in the consolidation of the capitalist republic.

"Abolition," however, did not free the Negro laborer from all of the impediments of chattel slavery. The decade of "reconstruction" closed with a rapprochement between the Northern capitalist class and the defeated Southern landlords, who obtained a free hand to exploit the Negro masses to whom land was not allotted and who remained in a position of semi-slavery, politically disfranchised, victimized by super-exploitation and by exception laws.

Today the majority (about 8,000,000) of the Negro population consists of exploited farmers (mostly landless tenants) and agricultural laborers, and has a status little above serfdom. About one-third (4,000,000) of the Negro population are residents of cities, towns and industrial districts, where their occupations range from domestic and miscellaneous labor to industrial labor in the heavy industries. Practically without exception these are held by law and custom within the bounds of a labor caste, segregated, habitually terrorized, and exploited to a greater degree than any other section of the proletariat.

Nevertheless, unlike the Negro rural population, a large portion of this group, especially in northern industrial centers, has won the right to exercise the franchise. A number of them have come into the labor unions and consequently have been drawn directly into the general struggles of the American working class. From the Negro industrial workers the leadership of the American Negro mass movement must come.

The "Negro bourgeoisie" is but a petty-bourgeois section, small in number and of little significance as exploiters except insofar as they become agents of the big (white) bourgeoisie in the role of poisonous propagandists in reformist race movements or in capital-

ist political parties. With the latter exceptions the Negro petty-bourgeoisie itself as a whole suffers under racial persecution.

In chattel slavery the aspiration of the Negro was to attain the condition of "free labor"—the wage slavery of the white worker. The remaining special disabilities of the Negro—discrimination in employment, exclusion from trade unions, inequality of pay, cause great masses of Negro workers even today to regard the position of the white worker in industry as one which is still to be attained. This fact has caused much confusion and complication in the labor movement. It has created the basis of the false tradition that the Negro, even when drawn into industrial labor, is a "natural" ally and reserve of capitalism. In industry the fact that any degree of modern wage slavery has represented to the Negro an advance from his former serf-like status, taken in conjunction with the "labor-aristocratic" attitude of the trade union bureaucracy, has given birth to the false tradition that the Negro is a strike-breaker.

The basis of that tradition has been undermined in the tumultuous changes of the world war. The present is an epoch in which the industrialized Negro proletariat and also the agricultural proletariat, moves into a position with the general working class.

The Negro Industrial Worker.

The tremendous transformation among the Negro masses resulting from the world war and after-war conditions, with the heavy migration of Negro agricultural laborers and tenant farmers into the cities and industrial districts, has placed the Negro definitely in a new position in relation to the American labor movement. From being a sectional question, the Negro problem became a national question. From being a secondary factor in industrial labor, the Negro moves into position of a great mass employed in basic industries, and already in notable strikes in the coal fields, etc., he has shown himself eminently fitted for the front ranks of militant organized labor. The question of the full and unstinting admission of the Negro to the trade unions is placed more sharply than ever before at the door of the trade unions.

The constitutions of many of the trade unions exclude the Negro from the unions. In the case of these unions which have no such provisions in their constitution the Negro is nevertheless discriminated against.

The increasing pressure of the Negro worker for admittance into the trade unions is an instrument for profound revolutionary change in the labor movement. It is no accident that the "Gompers" bureaucracy opposes the entry of the newly industrialized Negro proletarians into the trade unions. As an important and growing part of the most exploited section of the proletariat which does not share in the miserable bribes with which imperialism poisons the upper section of the working class, the mass of the Negro industrial workers is objectively and potentially a part of the left wing of the labor movement. In those unions into which the Negroes are being admitted, for instance the coal mining unions, the teamsters, longshoremen,

building
strength
nation
whose
for pro
the dis
union
failure
into th
capital
black
solidar

Th
left wi
the W
foremo
the as
with th
ity of
pay.
of the
getting
by the
racial
Negro
trade
Negro
cracy
sion,
comple
and to
charac
admitt
Our de
unions
Negro
It is ti
tion of
dual u
mary I
funic

El
ant far
resem
tural
punish
force

be in debt to landlords who exercise the rights of feudal masters. A racial caste system, remaining from the chattel slave period, sharply divides the exploited masses into black and white, thus facilitating the most cruel exploitation. Political rights are practically withheld from the Negro laborer and farmer.

It is the duty of our Party to take the initiative in organizing Negro agricultural workers into labor unions together with white agricultural workers if possible, but separately if unavoidable, and to bring such unions into the general labor movement. Another supremely important duty of the Party is to promote the organization of Negro tenant-farmers, share-croppers and small farmers generally (together with white farmers of the same exploited class if possible), and to bring such organizations into cooperation as allies of the labor movement.

The Negro and the Labor Party.

The task of the Communists among the Negro workers as elsewhere is in its first stage to bring about class consciousness and to crystallize this in independent class political action against the capitalist class. The profound social changes of the war and post-war periods have already shown indications of a partial exodus of Negro masses from the republican party; and this represents a break with tradition, a visible evidence of the beginning of the end of the alliance of the Negro with the capitalist class.

The labor party slogan and campaign possesses a peculiar usefulness in the work of bringing the Negro workers into the economic as well as the political labor movement. We shall advance the idea of the Negro workers taking an initiatory and leading part in the formation of the labor party. With this in view we shall in every labor party action prominently raise the issues of discrimination against the Negro politically, industrially, and in public customs. The disfranchisement of the Negro in the southern states must be made an especially urgent reason for the political organization of the Negro workers thru collective affiliation with the labor party; and the winning of political rights for the Negro proletarians must be placed before both white and Negro workers as an immediate objective of the labor party movement and a necessity for giving the workers' political movement its full strength.

Negro Membership in the Communist Party.

It is absolutely essential that greater numbers of Negro workers capable of taking a leading part in the struggle be immediately drawn into the Workers (Communist) Party. In all of our party actions, all party units must make an especial effort to reach and enlist the most advanced Negro workers into our ranks. In order to meet our problems it is necessary to draw these comrades into responsible party work. A great significance of our work among Negroes is that it will facilitate the task of enlarging and establishing our Party in the southern states, which has become a prime necessity that can no longer be postponed.

All slogans of masses, or which aspirations for political and economic equality, at not written into li segregation in sch all schools; equal without segregatio places of public re rants, etc.) and th course of the stru experience that ti of the successful establishment of t

Our work am Negro Labor Co Party recognizes of the Negro wor composed, accord

Delegates fro Delegates fro large numbers of A few Negro of the race.

Delegates fro Representativ organizations whi and farmers.

The congress workers.

The slogans placed before the

At the cong groups throuth t workers belongin not possible, the in the hands of i

In the agric of farmers and ft

The main o centralize the pi ulate the deatre : of white worker

repeal the rights of feudal masters. A
from the chattel slave period, sharply
to black and white, thus facilitating
political rights are practically withheld
ner.

to take the initiative in organizing
labor unions together with white agri-
culturally separately if unavoidable, and to
general labor movement. Another su-
Party is to promote the organization
peppers and small farmers generally
the same exploited class if possible),
into cooperation as allies of the la-

the Labor Party.

among the Negro workers as else-
where about class consciousness and to
take political action against the cap-
italist changes of the war and post-war
conditions of a partial exodus of Negro
workers; and this represents a break with
the beginning of the end of the alli-
ance class.

the campaign possesses a peculiar useful-
ness for Negro workers into the economic
development. We shall advance the idea
of a unitary and leading part in the
struggle in this view we shall in every
case raise the issues of discrimination
industrially, and in public customs.
In the southern states must be
for the political organization of
affiliation with the labor party;
for the Negro proletarians must
organize Negro workers as an immediate
need and a necessity for giving the
strength.

the Communist Party.

greater numbers of Negro workers
in the struggle be immediately drawn
in. In all of our party actions, all
effort to reach and enlist the most
backward ranks. In order to meet our
these comrades into responsible
of our work among Negroes is
organizing and establishing our Party
is some a prime necessity that can

"Social Demands" of the Negroes.

All slogans of equality which are current among the Negro
masses, or which can be awakened among them, which express the
aspirations for equal rights and equal treatment of Negroes in po-
litical and economic life and in public customs, are placed among
the demands of the Workers (Communist) Party. Such are the de-
mands for political equality, the right to vote, social equality, "eco-
nomic" equality, abolition of jim-crow laws and also jim-crow customs
not written into law, the right to serve on juries, the abolition of
segregation in schools and the right of Negro teachers to teach in
all schools; equal rights of soldiers and sailors in army and navy
without segregation in colored regiments, the right to frequent all
places of public resort without segregation (hotels, theaters, restau-
rants, etc.) and the abolition of all anti-intermarriage laws. In the
course of the struggle with such demands we will demonstrate thru
experience that these aspirations can be realized only as a result
of the successful class struggle against capitalism and with the
establishment of the rule of the working class in the Soviet form.

American Negro Labor Congress.

Our work among the Negroes centers now around the American
Negro Labor Congress announced for Chicago, October 25. Our
Party recognizes and supports this congress as a genuine expression
of the Negro workers and farmers of the United States. It will be
composed, according to the official call, of the following:

Delegates from Negro and mixed trade unions.

Delegates from Negro workers in factories and industries where
large numbers of them are employed.

A few Negro workers who are known for their activity in behalf
of the race.

Delegates from Negro farmer organizations.

Representatives of Negro semi-intellectual and semi-bourgeois
organizations who are sympathetic to the movement of the workers
and farmers.

The congress therefore will be basically a gathering of Negro
workers.

The slogans of our Party will be incorporated in resolutions and
placed before the congress.

At the congress a permanent organization should be formed of
groups thruout the United States composed predominantly of Negro
workers belonging to unions where possible. In cities where this is
not possible, the control of the committees should nevertheless be
in the hands of actual workers.

In the agricultural communities similar committees composed
of farmers and farm laborers should be formed.

The main object of the permanent organization should be to
centralize the protests of the Negro workers and farmers, to stim-
ulate the desire for organization, to secure admission to organizations
of white workers and farmers on an equal basis and to establish

organic connection between the struggles of the Negro and white masses.

The Congress should connect the struggles of the Negro workers and farmers in the United States with the struggles of the Negro colonials in American possessions such as Haiti, etc.

It should connect the struggles of the American Negroes with those of the African masses and finally with those of all colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

It should address a manifesto to the Negroes of the world calling upon them to hold a world race congress.

The congress should strive to develop a leadership for the Negro movement of the world for which the American Negroes, by their superior industrial and political training, are the best fitted.

Our party fractions will work for the above program.

In connection with the linking of the struggle of the American Negroes with those of their African comrades, the congress should point out the error of holding up Africa as a Negro Mecca. It must be made clear that the connection between the African and American Negro liberation movement is in the common struggle against world imperialism and that such schemes as migration, etc., are simply chimeras which serve only to confuse and conceal the real issues.

The congress should strive to develop a leadership for the Negro where a workers' and farmers' government has solved successfully all racial and national problems.

Lynching and Race Riots.

It is the duty of our Party to meet the problem of lynching and race riots not merely with words of sympathy but with concrete organizational methods which can be effectively applied. The essence of the problem is to create a united class front of the working class. We shall endeavor to have established in localities where both Negroes and white industrial workers are employed, permanent interracial labor committees against lynching, against terrorization of Negro and white workers, against the Ku Klux Klan, against inequality of pay, against race discrimination in obtaining employment for the full admission of Negro workers into the unions with equality of membership rights, for the complete organization of both Negro and white workers into the same unions. It shall be our endeavor to have such interracial committees of workers serve as a medium thru which the solidarity and cooperation of the working class and all workers' organizations can be obtained in times of crisis such as strikes, race riots, attempted lynchings, etc., to prevent conflicts between the workers of the two races and to prevent lynchings.

The Negro and the Army.

With the world war and the conscription of the Negro youth, resentment of discrimination and other brutal treatment in the army and navy became a major phenomenon among Negro toilers. Out of this mass conception arise many slogans and demands which the Workers (Communist) Party must energetically champion, and which

especially the movement against discrimination against the sharp and ("24th Negro 1 against the pr Negro officers' tion, etc.

The custom gression against Mexico in 1916 among the Neg struggle in th world-awakenin world-wide cap short an under ment and their

Partly as e Negro populati partly as a re ments throuth Asia, the Phill in the United i movement first Indian working States seaports spread rapidly working class. ment Associati the half-million anti-imperialist as the demand of pay, etc., as improvement. confusedly mix the leadership pacifist concep the world cou state in Africa necessary, has exploitation of lization, who ce funds from wh Negro toilers premacy) in th ing the dream aspects of bett

the struggles of the Negro and white
the struggles of the Negro workers
with the struggles of the Negro
nations such as Haiti, etc.
struggles of the American Negroes with
and finally with those of all colonial

to the Negroes of the world calling
congress.

to develop a leadership for the Negro
from the American Negroes, by their
training, are the best fitted.
to work for the above program.

ing of the struggle of the American
Negro comrades, the congress should
to Africa as a Negro Mecca. It must
be between the African and American
the common struggle against world
imperialism as migration, etc., are simply
to confuse and conceal the real issues.
to develop a leadership for the Negro
government has solved successfully

and Race Riots.

to meet the problem of lynching and
to give it sympathy but with concrete
measures to be effectively applied. The essence
of the class front of the working class.
Established in localities where both
Negroes and whites are employed, permanent inter-
racial committees, against terrorization of
the Ku Klux Klan, against inequality
in obtaining employment for
Negroes into the unions with equality
of complete organization of both Negro
and white workers. It shall be our endeavor
that workers serve as a medium
of cooperation of the working class and
to be obtained in times of crisis such as
strikes, etc., to prevent conflicts
between races and to prevent lynchings.

and the Army.

to the description of the Negro youth,
their brutal treatment in the army
and their position among Negro toilers. Out-
spoken slogans and demands which the
Communist is energetically champion, and which

especially the Young Workers League can well champion: the move-
ment against segregation of Negroes in "Jim-crow" regiments; against
discrimination in the kinds of tasks assigned to Negro troop units;
against discrimination against individual Negro soldiers; against
the sharp and brutal punishment of whole groups of Negro troops
("24th Negro Infantry" case—13 summarily hanged, 56 imprisoned);
against the principle of "white officers for Negro troops"; against
Negro officers' failure to defend the Negro troops from discrimina-
tion, etc.

The customary employment of Negro troops in imperialistic ag-
gression against weaker peoples (Spanish war, the Philippines, and
Mexico in 1916), intensifies the duty of the Communists to awaken
among the Negro masses a sense of their own relation to the class
struggle in the United States, and their relation to the present
world-awakening of the suppressed races; their relation to the new
world-wide capitalist slogan of "white supremacy" (as in China); in
short an understanding of the international role of capitalist govern-
ment and their own role in the revolutionary epoch.

NEGRO RACE MOVEMENTS.

Partly as a result of the international transformation among the
Negro population in the United States and the West Indies, and also
partly as a reaction to the war and the national liberation move-
ments throughout the world (especially the colonial ferment in Africa,
Asia, the Philippines, Haiti, etc.), a Negro race movement centering
in the United States has been stimulated to large proportions. This
movement first crystallized into organizational form among West
Indian working class immigrants in New York and other United
States seaports as well as the British West Indian possessions, but
spread rapidly among the native American Negroes, mostly of the
working class. Under the name of the Universal Negro Improve-
ment Association a fluctuating membership, at times approaching
the half-million mark, was organized. At first it showed distinctly
anti-imperialist tendencies, with specific working class demands such
as the demand for opening the trade unions to Negroes with equality
of pay, etc., as shown in the 1920 program of the Universal Negro
Improvement Association. At all times these demands have been
confusedly mixed with Utopian conceptions. Rapidly, however, under
the leadership of its principal founder, Marcus Garvey, the Utopian
pacifist conception that the oppression of the Negro in America and
the world could be remedied by the building of a national Negro
state in Africa, and that hence the struggle in this country is un-
necessary, has become the dominant note of the organization. The
exploitation of the Negro masses by demagogic leaders of this organ-
ization, who copy the arts of the Jewish Zionist movement, soliciting
funds from white capitalists on the ground that they will teach the
Negro toilers to submit to "white supremacy" (i. e., capitalist su-
premacy) in this country, while officially denying but in fact cultivat-
ing the dream of mass migration to Africa, is one of the cruelest
aspects of betrayal to which the black worker is subjected.

An intense sympathy with the colonial revolts of the Chinese, the Rifians, Sudanese, East Indian, West Indian and Japan peoples against imperialism is, however, an almost universal phenomenon among American Negro workers. It exists in a militant, aggressive, non-pacifist form, not only among some of the rank and file of the before-mentioned organization, but also widely beyond the limits of any organized form. This phenomenon is found in its highest development among Negro industrial workers who completely repudiate the cult of submission in America and who conceive their fate to be bound up with the American labor movement. This element of Negro industrial workers is exceptionally responsive to the Communist program in both its international and its domestic significance. Their interest in questions of colonial imperialism (forced upon them by their own persecution as an "inferior" race), increases the value of the contribution which this most exploited section of the proletarian Negro workers can make to the labor movement. The guidance of this current into the channel of the labor movement and away from Utopianism is a very high task of our Party. It involves the need of our Party members working within the Negro race movement, it involves the struggle for working class hegemony within the mass organizations of the race movement, including the struggle against the Utopian leaders—agents of the bourgeoisie. It involves combating the ideology of concessions to "white supremacy," the insistence upon an uncompromising struggle against the Ku Klux Klan, making these major issues against the reactionary leadership. Within such organizations we must insist upon the organizations taking up the issues of the class struggle, constantly pointing to the failure of the leaders to attempt to protect the Negro toilers from oppression in America.

To accomplish this we should organize Communist fractions within the Universal Negro Improvement Association which shall strive to surround themselves with the working class and poor farmer elements for the purpose of carrying on the struggle to transform the organization into an organization fighting for the class interests of the Negro workers in the United States.

In the Negro race movements and organizations it is necessary constantly to emphasize the colonial program of the Communist International, pointing out that only with a united world front of all the exploited—only with the conjunction of the proletarian revolution with the revolt of the colonial peoples, that victory can be attained.

We should encourage the Negro workers to take an interest in and support the movement for freedom of the suppressed colonial peoples. But it is not permissible to encourage the Utopian idea that the Negroes in this country can win their emancipation thru mass migration or thru the establishment of a Negro nation in Africa. The reformist leaders (Garvey, etc.) do not have a program for the liberation of the Negro peoples thruout the world. The revolutionary movement headed by the Communist International has a program which will liberate the peoples of Africa, Asia, etc., together with the proletariat of all countries. The Communist International and its

American section is a peoples, and opposes organizations of Negro

OTHER

The African Blood combined with a militant Negro workers against has done a pioneer militant advance-guard of have been in these tactics for enlarging its Our policy in relation to organizations merge with the

In the National People, the Negro petty reformists and under (such as represented by the national conventions operations. Yet it is a passing class, that this or the role of championing workers' right to an organization, under pressure for selected Communist to enter its conventions the Negro masses under of the class struggle, that in the same persons measures proposed.

However it is only and extended in the first stand out as the only all discriminating and successfully combat the

The aim of our Party create a powerful proletarian struggle of the Negro in every form and while movement of the whole American revolutionary Negro workers and far struggles of the Americas with the struggles of all of all the world and the nation and the dictatorship

(Adopted unanimously)

with the colonial revolts of the Chinese, Indian, West Indian and Japan peoples never, an almost universal phenomenon. It exists in a militant, aggressive, among some of the rank and file of the m, but also widely beyond the limits of phenomenon is found in its highest de-lustrial workers who completely repudiate America and who conceive their fate to be labor movement. This element of Negro locally responsive to the Communist pro-nal and its domestic significance. Their onal imperialism (forced upon them by a "inferior" race), increases the value of most exploited section of the proletarian labor movement. The guidance of the labor movement and away from task of our Party. It involves the need working within the Negro race movement, working class hegemony within the mass movement, including the struggle against of the bourgeoisie. It involves comba-tions to "white supremacy," the insistence ugle against the Ku Klux Klan, making the reactionary leadership. Within such it upon the organizations taking up the constantly pointing to the failure of the of the Negro toilers from oppression in

should organize Communist fractions
Improvement Association which shall
s with the working class and poor farmer
f carrying on the struggle to transform
anization fighting for the class interests
United States.

ments and organizations it is necessary
colonial program of the Communist Inter-
nly with a united world front of all the
injunction of the proletarian revolution
al peoples, that victory can be attained.

ie Negro workers to take an interest in
for freedom of the suppressed colonial
nissible to encourage the Utopian idea
untry can win their emancipation thru
establishment of a Negro nation in Africa,
ey, etc.) do not have a program for the
es thruout the world. The revolutionary
ommunist International has a program
es of Africa, Asia, etc., together with the
The Communist International and its

American section is a friend of all liberation movements of oppressed peoples, and opposes only the misleaders and betrayers of the mass organizations of Negroes.

OTHER NEGRO RACE MOVEMENTS.

The African Blood Brotherhood, with a program of class struggle combined with a militant championing of the special demands of the Negro workers against racial discrimination, is an organization which has done a pioneer work of considerable value, in organizing a militant advance-guard of Negro workers. Otherwise its chief successes have been in those cases when it has employed the united front tactics for enlarging its contact with and influence upon wider circles. Our policy in relation to this organization is to have the local organ-izations merge with the units of the American Negro Labor Congress.

In the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro petty-bourgeoisie, together with middle class white reformists and under the partial leadership of the big bourgeoisie (such as represented by Senator Burton, chairman of the last repub-lican national convention) finds the chief medium for its reformist operations. Yet it is a singular paradox and a reflection of the now passing period of the patronizing of the Negro's cause by the capital-ist class, that this organization at its last convention appeared in the role of championing, tho in a timid and "respectable" way, Negro workers' right to admittance in the trade unions. Even in this organization, under present circumstances, it is permissible and neces-sary for selected Communists (not the party membership as a whole) to enter its conventions and to make proposals calculated to enlighten the Negro masses under its influence as to the nature and necessity of the class struggle, the identity of their exploiters, and their leaders in the same persons and the treacherous nature of the reformist measures proposed.

However it is only when the Communist work is so broadened and extended in the field of Negro movements as to make our Party stand out as the only real champion of the Negro against lynching, all discriminating and all oppression and exploitation that we can successfully combat the influence of such bourgeois movements.

The aim of our Party in our work among the Negro masses is to create a powerful proletarian movement which will fight and lead the struggle of the Negro race against exploitation and oppression in every form and which will be a militant part of the revolutionary movement of the whole American working class, to strengthen the American revolutionary movement by bringing into it the 11,500,000 Negro workers and farmers in the United States to broaden the struggles of the American Negro workers and farmers, connect them with the struggles of the national minorities and colonial peoples of all the world and thereby further the cause of the world revolu-tion and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(Adopted unanimously.)