

PARTY PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION SECTION

On October 16 the minority of the Political Committee of the Party consisting of Comrades Aronberg, Bittelmann and Foster, submitted a statement to the Political Committee containing the following charges against Cannon, Abern and Shachtman:

1) It has become clear, in recent weeks, that Comrade Cannon, supported by Comrades Abern and Shachtman, is carrying on activities, leading to the crystallization of a Trotskyist faction in our Party. Comrade Cannon is making a political platform of such propositions as: keeping an open mind on the question of Trotskyism, studying the question, spreading doubt as to the correctness of the C. I. attitude on the question, and urging the need of re-examining it, etc.

2) Trotskyism has been correctly condemned by the C. I. as a social-democratic and counter-revolutionary tendency. Trotskyism employs left phrases to cover up Right deeds. Comrade Cannon's variety of Trotskyism in the U. S. constitutes a tendency to develop a Right wing orientation for the American Section of the C. I., under cover of reopening for discussion the C. I. attitude on the question of Trotskyism.

3) The main danger in our Party, as in the C. I., comes in the present period from the Right. The minority is committed to an uncompromising fight against the Right Danger in our Party no matter from where it comes or under what cover it makes its appearance.

4) The minority therefore completely disassociates itself from Comrade Cannon and those who hold similar views. The minority decides to wage a merciless fight against this Trotskyist manoeuvre of Comrade Cannon and to wage this fight as an organic part of its general struggle against the Right Danger and the Right wing of our Party (the Lovestone group).

Confronted with this charge, Cannon assumed the following attitude—while evading to answer whether he was for Trotskyism or against it, he definitely branded the charges of the minority as false. When further pressed for a direct answer as to his attitude on Trotskyism and as to his intentions of reopening the discussion in the Party on this question, it became clear from his answers that Cannon and those sharing his views are actually proceeding to the building up of a Trotskyist faction in the Party. It was also clear that Cannon was playing for time and therefore was unwilling at that time to openly state his decision in favor of Trotskyism.

But the charges submitted by the minority taken together with Cannon's attitude toward them was such that the Political Committee became convinced that Cannon and those sharing his views on this question could not be further entrusted with the holding of their positions in the Party. The Polcom thereupon adopted the motion of the minority to remove Cannon, Abern and Shachtman from their positions and to initiate a thorough investigation into the matter. This investigation was carried on by the Polcom and was participated in by all those comrades in the minority who from personal contact with Cannon could assist the Party in exposing and defeating Cannon's Trotskyist move. In this manner Cannon was finally compelled to come out from his hiding place and to state his decision on Trotskyism which he did by submitting a statement to the Political Committee in the name of himself, Abern, Shachtman. Following this open declaration for Trotskyism, the Political Committee unanimously expelled Cannon, Abern, Shachtman from the Party.

The Role of the Minority in Exposing and Defeating the Cannon Trotskyist Move.

It has been established by the investigation that comrades of the minority who were in personal contact with Cannon, Shachtman and Abern after the return of Cannon from the Sixth World Congress, have been successful in exposing Cannon's moves and thus enable the Party to defeat them. The records of the investigation definitely prove that it was due to the efforts of Comrades Hathaway, Gomez, Costrell, Wagenknecht, Aronberg, Gorman and a few others that the Political Committee was able to take effective action against Cannon and his followers and thus enable the Party to liquidate the developing Trotsky Opposition.

The above named comrades of the minority, when they received their first inkling of Cannon's developing Trotskyist Opposition on October 3, proceeded to take necessary steps to establish the facts and bring them to the Polcom. The suspicion that something was wrong with Cannon on the question of Trotskyism was forced on them by statements of Cannon, Abern and Shachtman to the effect that the question of Trotskyism is not really settled, yet, that we have not studied the question enough to be able to render complete and final judgment on this issue. The above named comrades of the minority became further strengthened in their suspicions when Cannon in the next several days began to advocate what he called "an open mind" on Trotskyism. These developments taken in connection with the attitude of Cannon, Abern, Shachtman to abstain from voting in the membership meeting in New York on the question of endorsing the general line

of the Comintern convinced the above named comrades of the minority that Cannon was developing a line which leads to the crystallization of a Trotskyist faction in the Party. The comrades, however, knew that in the absence of conclusive evidence Cannon might deny the charges and retract further into political hiding as he did threaten to do before the charges were submitted to the Polcom. Therefore the above comrades of the minority proceeded from that point on to secure all available proof to convince the Polcom of the correctness of the charges which they had made.

It is thus seen that within less than two weeks after the comrades of the minority in New York first got their suspicion about the maturing Trotskyist Opposition of Cannon, the comrades were successful in establishing the facts before the Political Committee with the subsequent expulsion of Cannon, Abern and Shachtman from the Party.

The majority of the Central Committee while pretending to discourage charges of Trotskyism against the minority at the same time launches a bitter attack against the minority which in substance accuses them of Trotskyism, citing especially Comrades Gomez, Costrell, Aronberg, Douglas, Hathaway, Gorman, Frankfield and Wagenknecht for withholding information from the Polcom about the Trotskyist attitude of Cannon, for expelling Cannon from the minority group instead of bringing the matter immediately to the Political Committee, for making a joint declaration with Cannon in the Polcom expressing reservations to the Comintern decision regarding the American question, for selecting Cannon as a member of the steering committee to the membership meeting in New York on October 3. The statement of the Central Committee attacks the minority delegation to the Sixth World Congress for failure to inform the Communist International that Cannon absented himself from voting on the Trotskyist question in the Congress.

These accusations are absolutely false; the facts are as follows: (1) No information "about the outright Trotskyist attitude of Cannon" was withheld from the Political Committee. The investigation proves this. The comrades of the minority did not present to the Polcom their mere individual suspicions but, on the contrary secured proof confirming these suspicions and then brought the matter to the Political Committee.

(2) When these comrades expelled Cannon from the minority, this was precisely one of the means by which they forced Cannon to come out into the open and thus enabled the Party to see the Cannon move and to attack it.

(3) When Comrades Aronberg and Costrell signed together with Cannon the declaration of the minority to the Polcom on their attitude to the Comintern decision on the American question, they at that time had absolutely no inkling about the Trotskyist designs of Cannon. The same considerations explain the selection of Cannon as one of the steering committee of the minority at the membership meeting of October 3.

(4) The delegates of the minority to the Sixth World Congress had not learned of Cannon's absence in the Congress when the Trotskyist question was acted on until after arriving in the United States and during the investigation of this matter. The delegates of the minority to the Congress did know in Moscow that Cannon was not present in the Congress hall when the general political thesis was voted on. The minority delegates demanded of Cannon an explanation of this action on the next day after the vote on the thesis occurred. Cannon's explanation was that he did not want to vote for the declaration of the minority delegation to the Congress on the thesis. Cannon's Trotskyism was not known by the minority delegates in Moscow.

It is therefore, obvious that the accusations made by the majority in its statement against the minority are unfounded. Furthermore, as we will prove later in the document, the meaning of these accusations and attacks is to utilize the Cannon Trotskyist Opposition in order to initiate a new onslaught against the minority throughout the Party.

For the Comintern Line Against the Right Danger and Against Trotskyism.

In the present struggle against both the Right danger and against Trotskyism the minority proposes that the Party shall follow the line laid down by the Communist International. The line adopted by the majority of the Central Committee of our Party and embodied in its statement is contrary to the Comintern on this question.

What is the Comintern line for the struggle against the Right danger and against Trotskyism? We will quote from Comrade Bukharin's report to the Sixth World Congress:

"Some time ago the greatest danger in the Communist International came from the 'ultra lefts,' who endeavored to set up an international organization. After the defeats of the Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union these were frustrated, but the very process of disintegration of the Opposition, the culminating point of which was the collapse of the 'Lenin Bund,' leads us inevitably to certain conclusions. 'At present the principal danger comes from the Right tendency if

For a Correct Bolshevik Line in the American Party Against the Right Danger, and Against the Cannon-Trotsky Opposition

Statement by the Minority of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America

we take the Communist International as a whole.

"The Right danger is assuming considerable proportions just now and it is but natural that after smashing the Trotskyist Opposition we must adopt a very definite policy against these Right tendencies and small Right oppositional groupings."

This point of view was incorporated in the Congress decision on the question which is that after the defeat and disintegration of the Trotskyist Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as in the Communist Parties as a whole, the main danger comes from the Right, while at the same time we continue to combat the opportunist deviations that mask themselves in left phrases. This is the point of view of the minority on the question. It is not the point of view of the Central Committee which makes Trotskyism the main danger in the Party and obscures and weakens the struggle against the Right deviations and the Right dangers.

In the present struggle of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union against the Right Danger on the one hand, and against Trotskyism on the other hand, the same Comintern line is being put into effect. This line has been given fresh expression to in a speech by Comrade Stalin on October 19, 1928 at the Plenum of the Moscow Committee and Moscow Control Commission. We quote from Comrade Stalin's speech:

"The question of the Right and Left deviations in our Party cannot possibly be considered as a trifling matter. What are the characteristics of the openly opportunist Right deviations in our Party? They consist in the fact that they underestimate the strength of our enemies, the capitalists, refuse to see the danger of the reestablishment of capitalism, fail to understand the dynamics of the class struggle under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, and therefore, easily agree to make concessions to capitalism by demanding the slowing down of our rate of industrial development and facilities for the capitalist elements in town and country, thrust the question of collective and Soviet undertakings into the background, demand a restriction of the foreign trade monopoly, etc. The victory of the Right deviation in our Party would doubtless combine the forces of capitalism, shatter the revolutionary position of the proletariat and enhance the chance of reestablishment of capitalism in our country."

"And in what does the Left, Trotskyist deviation in our country consist? It lies in the fact that the representatives of this deviation overestimate the forces of our enemies and the strength of capitalism, that they are blind to all save the possibility of a restoration of capitalism, especially blind to the possibilities of socialist construction on its own merits and prone to comfort themselves with a lot of twaddle about the Thermidor of our Party. From Lenin's statement, that 'as long as we live in a petty peasant country there is in Russia a firmer economic basis for capitalism than for Communism,' the Left deviators draw the conclusion that in the Soviet Union generally it is impossible to construct socialism, that nothing can be obtained from cooperation with the peasantry, that the idea of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry has been superseded, that if we receive no help from a victorious revolution in the west, the dictatorship must necessarily come to grief, and that if the fantastic plan of overindustrialization, even if executed at the cost of rupture with the peasantry, is not accepted, the cause of socialism in the Soviet Union must be considered lost. Hence, the dangerous character of the left deviation and the tremendous leaps noticeable in its policy. There can be no doubt that a victory of the Left deviation in our Party would have led to the isolation of the working class from its peasantry, to separation of the vanguard of the working class from the rest of the working class, and to more favorable prospects for the restoration of capitalism."

On the other hand Right deviations from the correct Leninist line were characterized by the Comintern as opportunism which appears in a more or less open form. Its manifestations are a more or less open tendency to make concessions to the ideology of social democracy, to slacken the struggle against it and therefore against capitalism. Right deviations, the same as Leftist deviations are essentially opportunist leading away from Leninism and the Comintern and to revisionism and social-democracy.

To attack successfully the Right danger, as distinct from the Trotskyist danger, we must understand that the Right danger appears as a more or less open opportunist tendency. The statement of the Central Committee repudiates this correct Leninist conception as to the nature and manifestations of the Right danger and of Trotskyism.

The objective meaning of the stand taken by the majority of the Central Committee is to confuse the characteristics of Trotskyism as a Left deviation, to obscure the characteristics and most important manifestations of the present Right danger and thus to weaken the struggle against both deviations. The result of such a line can only be the strengthening of all opportunist elements in the Party.

The Basis of Right and Left Deviations in the American Party.

The maturing of the inner and outer contradictions of American capitalism, which takes place under conditions of continued upward development of U. S. imperialism, highly sharpened world imperialist rivalries and the war danger, impose upon our Party the task of reorienting its general line to a perspective of sharpening class relations and class struggles.

PARTY DISCUSSION OPENED

The Central Executive Committee decided to open the Party pre-convention discussion immediately.

The discussion is to be conducted on such a basis as will guarantee the freest possible opportunities to comrades in opposition to the Central Executive Committee to present their viewpoint, solely limited by the statutes of the Communist International and within the principles of Communism.

All Party units, sub-divisions and the entire Party press will be guided by this policy.

The Central Executive Committee urges all Party members to participate actively in this discussion. The C. E. C. especially welcomes contributions by comrades in the workshops, mines and mills.

The discussion should be conducted in a spirit of constructive self-criticism.

All discussion articles should be sent to the National Office of the Party.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA

The key to the position of the majority of the Central Committee is found in the statement:

"Trotskyism, in its last stage of development, is the summing up, is the unifying force of all these opportunistic Right dangers."

By this statement the Polcom says that the Trotskyist deviation is the same as the present Right deviations, that Trotskyism is the sharp expression of the present Right danger and that therefore, Trotskyism is the main danger in the present period. This is the meaning of the position taken by the majority of our Central Committee.

This point of view is in opposition to the point of view of the Communist International which says that the Right danger (open opportunism), as distinct from Trotskyism (opportunism covered by Left phrases), is the main danger in the present period.

The Comintern repeatedly characterized Trotskyism as opportunism which covers itself with Left phrases, thus proceeding from the analysis of Lenin that Trotskyism is a system of "Right deed covered with Left phrases." In the struggle against Trotskyism in the last several years, the Comintern has characterized Trotskyism successively as a petty bourgeois deviation, a social-democratic deviation, and in the latest phase, as a force helping objectively the counter revolution. In all its phases of struggle against Leninism and against the Communist International, Trotskyism appeared covered in "Left" garb, and thus assumed the distinct characteristic of a Leftist deviation, that is, a deviation from Leninism camouflaged in Left phraseology. To fight successfully Trotskyism we must attack precisely this Left camouflage of Trotskyism.

On the other hand Right deviations from the correct Leninist line were characterized by the Comintern as opportunism which appears in a more or less open form. Its manifestations are a more or less open tendency to make concessions to the ideology of social democracy, to slacken the struggle against it and therefore against capitalism. Right deviations, the same as Leftist deviations are essentially opportunist leading away from Leninism and the Comintern and to revisionism and social-democracy.

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The Party must formulate a general line, on the basis of the changing objective conditions, which would enable it to mobilize most effectively and lead the masses in the forthcoming struggles. In order to achieve this end, the Party must guard against both Right and Left deviations.

Certain sections of our Party are proving to be too slow and even unwilling to reorientate the Party's general line to these changing objective conditions. This tendency gives rise to Right wing deviations and is at the bottom of the Right danger in the American Party.

The might of the capitalist class of America, the corruption of the labor aristocracy and bureaucracy, the comparative political backwardness of the American working class and relative weakness of our Party, has given rise in certain sections of the Party to a fatalistic attitude toward American capitalism, toward the possibilities of struggle against it and the opportunities of building up a mass Communist Party in the United States.

This finds its expression in an overestimation of the strength and reserve power of American imperialism, an underestimation of the maturing inner and outer contradictions which are undermining the strength of American imperialism, an underestimation of the depth of the process of radicalization which is slowly but definitely taking place among the large masses of the American working class. As a result of such an attitude we find a very strong tendency to minimize the opportunities for organizing the masses for struggle on the economic and political field, hesitation to place our Party in positions where it can acquire leadership in mass struggles and to actually participate in them, a serious underestimation of the aggressive and predatory role of American imperialism and the need for intensive struggle against it, resistance to the decisions of the R. I. L. U. on the American question calling for the organization of the unorganized into new unions under militant leadership, lack of faith in the ability of our Party to develop into the leading political party of the American working class, the theory that without a labor party there can be no independent mass political struggles of the American workers, a dilatory approach to mass struggles generally, a bureaucratic method of handling the Party and the Party's work, an underestimation of the danger of reformist and pacifist ideology among the masses, etc.

The growing Right danger in our Party is concretely shown by the fresh Right errors made by the majority of the C. E. C. in recent weeks. The following are the most outstanding mistakes: failure of the Political Committee to direct the Party fraction to urge the National Miners' Union to assume leadership in the sporadic miners' strikes (Illinois, Wyoming, Kansas) to build the new union, and to fight for the defense and improvement of the workers' conditions, resistance of the Polcom to direct the Party fraction to fight for the new Textile Union functioning as an active factor in the silk strike in Patterson, lack of faith in the possibility of organizing a new textile union under militant leadership with the resulting failure to prepare thoroughly the National Convention, failure to help the TUEL to step forward as a leading factor in the struggles of the workers and in the organization of new unions, failure to press energetically that the Party fraction fight for one union in the needle trades, almost complete abandonment of the trade union work during the election campaign, the persistent opportunist line in the cooperatives, and failure to connect the parliamentary struggle with the economic struggles of the workers, the appointment of Scott Nearing who has strong pacifist and non-Leninist conceptions on imperialism to a very responsible position in our anti-imperialist work, failure to connect the war danger with the effects of the economic depression and capitalist rationalization (unemployment, wage cuts, speed-up, etc.), and failure to make those the outstanding issues in the election campaign, an outright opportunist and fatalistic analysis of the result of the presidential elections, which grossly underestimates the manifested discontent of the working class and which develops a perspective that excludes the possibility of working class mass political struggles, short of a revolutionary crisis in the United States, as shown in the Daily Worker editorial of November 8, and in the article of Comrade Pepper in the Daily Worker of November 10, etc.

These tendencies, which constitute the line of the Central Committee of our Party, have the effect of paralyzing the fighting ability of the Party, retarding its activities for developing mass struggles and mass organizations and hence, are weakening the working class and strengthening its enemies. These are Right tendencies, open opportunist tendencies, and constitute the Right danger in the American Party which must be fought against and defeated in order that the Party may pursue a correct Bolshevik line.

There are on the other hand certain elements in the Party and on its fringe which have become so pessimistic as to the possibility of developing the revolutionary class struggle in the U. S. that they practically capitulate before the existing difficulties under cover of Left phrases. This tendency gives rise to Leftist deviations.

Deviations to the Left in the American Party grow out of the same objective situation as right deviations. The slow growth of our Party, the difficulties of an internal and external character which our Party is meeting in the process of becoming a mass Communist Party, is giving rise among certain elements in our Party which are not sufficiently firm in their Communist ideology, to pessimism in the possibility of building up a Communist Party in the United States. These numerically weak elements are tending to lose faith in the Communist Party and in the possibilities of its growth and they also tend to lose faith in the Comintern generally. These elements have in the past and today rallied to Trotskyism. Losing faith in the possibilities of our Party because of the inner and outer difficulties that it confronts in the process of growth, these elements are embracing Trotskyism and joining more or less actively in the struggle of Trotskyism against the Comintern and against our Party.

The opportunities for the development of working class struggles in the U. S. and for the growth of our Party are increasingly becoming more favorable due to the changing objective conditions, but in order that our Party may be able to make full use of these opportunities it has to overcome numerous obstacles and difficulties of an internal and external character. These difficulties arise from the lack of homogeneity in the American working class and hence lack of homogeneity in our own Party, the waning but still powerful influence of the corrupt aristocracy and bureaucracy of labor upon the working masses and its reflection within our Party as expressed in the tendency to orientate the Party policy on the aristocracy of labor, the lack of Bolshevik maturity of the Party and the painful process of internal struggle for the crystallization of a Bolshevik proletarian leadership, the bureaucratic habits and methods of work that prevail in the Party, the hostile united front against the working class militants and against our Party by the capitalists, the government, the reactionary trade union bureaucracy and the socialist party.

Those difficulties which our Party can and must overcome in order to take full advantage of the developing favorable opportunities to strengthen and lead the exploited masses in the struggle against capitalism, are giving rise to tendencies to capitulate before these difficulties. The open right wing tendency proceeds to capitulate by refusing to reorientate the Party's policy to sharpening class relations and class

struggles, by moderating, weakening the striking power of the working class and of our Party.

The same tendency to capitulate takes also the form of outright pessimism, of a tendency to give up, to become passive, to withdraw from the party. This tendency, which cloaks itself in left phrases and at present in our Party adopts Trotskyism as its platform, is harmful and deadly to the growth of our Party. While pretending to strive for an improvement in the Party's policies and professing to fight for a stronger Communist Party, in reality it spreads pessimism, lack of faith in our movement, demoralization, etc.

The Party must therefore wage a merciless struggle on two fronts—against the open Right danger and against the Trotsky Opposition led by Cannon. It is only in the struggle against the Right and Left deviations that the Communist Party of America will be able to develop a correct line and to crystallize a Bolshevik proletarian leadership.

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Only Correct Bolshevik Line Can Defeat the Right and Trotskyist Deviations.

The struggle against the Right deviations on the one hand and Trotskyist deviations on the other hand is a struggle on two fronts against the influence of opportunism in our Party. This struggle can be waged successfully only through the adoption by our Party of a correct Bolshevik line.

The remedy against the Right danger is not Trotskyism, and the remedy against Trotskyism is not a Right wing line.

To fight successfully against Trotskyism the Party must be strengthened in its Bolshevik ideology. It must reject all theories which are cultivating a fatalistic attitude towards the power of American imperialism. It must condemn and defeat all such ideologies as underestimate the revolutionizing influences of the outer and inner contradictions of American imperialism. It must clearly see that while American imperialism is still developing upward there are maturing internal and external contradictions which are sharpening the class relations and class struggle in the United States. It must orientate itself primarily on the unskilled, unorganized and most exploited section of the American working class. It must make its work among the Negro masses, the exploited of the exploited, a major part of its activities. It must proletarianize in this sense the composition of the Party as a whole and its leadership from top to bottom. It must reject the dilatory and bureaucratic approach to the working class and to the class struggle. It must also reject the bureaucratic handling of the Party and the practice of reducing to a caricature the much-needed self-criticism in our Party.

In short, it must adopt a correct Bolshevik line in order to defeat Trotskyism and to build our Party into a mass Communist Party.

To fight successfully the Right danger the Party must reject and defeat Trotskyism and the Trotskyist Opposition led by Cannon. The Party must hold fast to the Leninist ideology and line of the Communist International. The Party membership must not be swayed into pessimism, adventurism, and opposition to the Comintern, because of the difficulties in the process of crystallizing a correct line and building up a Bolshevik proletarian leadership. The Party membership must see that the road of Trotskyism leads not only outside of the revolutionary class struggle, outside of the Communist International, but directly into the camp of the enemies of the working class into the camp of open counter-revolution.

It is not through the acceptance of Trotskyism but on the contrary through a decisive rejection of Trotskyism as well as the rejection of the fatalistic attitude toward American imperialism that our Party will defeat both the Right danger and the Trotskyist danger.

The Fight Against These Deviations

We urge the Party to wage a consistent struggle against the right danger in our Party as well as in the Comintern generally. The Sixth World Congress has pointed out the existence of serious Right deviations and Right wing opposition groups in several of the parties of the Communist International. The recent anti-party activities in Germany, led by Brandler and Thalheimer, and the elements led by Evert, which tolerate the Right deviations, indicate the correctness of the line laid down by the Sixth World Congress that it is now necessary to concentrate the main fire against the Right danger. The experiences of our own Party shows that the right line and orientation of our Central Committee is chiefly responsible for the slow growth of our Party and for its inability to make full use of the favorable factors in the present situation to develop a revolutionary consciousness and struggle among the toiling masses.

Hand in hand with this struggle must go an uncompromising fight against Trotskyism and for the roughest liquidation of the Trotskyist Opposition led by Cannon. The

left phrases which Cannon is employing to cover up his opportunist deeds is a typical Trotskyist tactic. The course adopted by Cannon has already placed him, Abern and Shachtman in a position of open struggle against the Party and the Comintern.

While Cannon is still pretending to stand on the platform of the Minority of our Party, known as the "Right Danger in the American Party," he has actually abandoned every principle incorporated in that document.

Already Cannon is forced openly to expose his abandonment of the platform of the Minority when he says that he is not in agreement with "certain wrong formulations contained in it (minority document) on the world position and role of American imperialism." In other words, Cannon is forced to state that on the most basic proposition in the Minority point of view, namely, on the world position and role of American imperialism, Cannon does not share but is opposed to the point of view of the Minority.

Trotskyism is incompatible with Leninism. Trotskyism is incompatible with the membership in our Party. In the struggle against Trotskyism the Party must differentiate between leading and responsible Party members and non-proletarian elements who consciously adopt the anti-Comintern position of Trotskyism and those proletarian elements who because of lack of clarity and weak Communist ideology adopt a hesitant attitude on the question. Toward leading and responsible Party members and non-proletarian elements the Party must apply all necessary organizational measures, including expulsion from the Party, which are necessary to protect the Party from the demoralizing effects of Trotskyism. Towards hesitating proletarian elements the Party must adopt a course of persistent and patient ideological clarification, intensive efforts to make these proletarian elements realize the opportunist nature of Trotskyism and to win them away from the Trotsky Opposition to the Party and to the Comintern.

The line adopted by the majority of the Polbureau contains serious dangers for our Party. This line obscures the cause and most important manifestations of the Right danger in the American Party. By so doing the majority of the Polbureau not only weakens the struggle against Trotskyism but paralyzes the fight against the Right danger. The statement of the majority of the Polbureau sounds a dangerous note. It attempts to brand the entire minority as being Trotskyite and against the Comintern, because as members of the Communist International we have expressed disagreement with various phases of the decision of the Communist International on the American question.

The Communist International ordered a Party convention to take up and make a decision on all disputed questions before the American Party. The Communist International endorsed no group for leadership in the American Party, nor did the Communist International endorse the line of the majority of our Central Committee.

The minority stands on the line of the Comintern. The minority has made an energetic fight in the American Party precisely for the adoption of the Comintern line as formulated at the Ninth Plenum of the Communist International and as later developed at the Sixth World Congress. It was the minority that insisted upon reorientating the policies of our Party upon the line of the Ninth Plenum of the Communist International and upon an intensive struggle against the Right danger. But the majority ridiculed and persecuted the minority for its struggle to apply the Communist International line to the United States. The majority, up to the last minute, violently denied the existence of a Right danger either in the Comintern or the American Party. The majority pursued the policy of supporting, covering up and leading the extreme right wing of our Party while concentrating its main fire against the developing left elements in our Party.

The present declarations of the C. E. C. Majority that it is in favor of waging a struggle against the Right danger are exposed as mere pretense by its actual line of policy, which is to continue its right wing orientation and to fight the minority as the main danger in the Party. The line adopted by the majority of the Central Committee in its statement on the Right danger and Trotskyism lays the basis for an intensification of the campaign to exterminate the minority in our Party.

We urge the Party membership to reject the right line and orientation of the majority of the Central Committee and to wage a merciless fight against the Right danger in all its manifestations.

We urge the Party membership to adopt a correct Bolshevik orientation and line for the American class struggle.

We urge the Party membership to follow and fight for the line of the Communist International.