
Resolution on Language Work: Adopted by the March 31 — April 4, 1930 Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPUSA.

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Work in the language mass organizations has considerable importance as part of the mass activity of the Party in view of the necessity to bring the immigrant proletariat closer to the revolutionary struggles of the working class of the United States and to win this important stratum of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party.

During the last period the Party has made some achievements — more centralized directives through the establishment of a Language Department; carrying through of a number of campaigns for the language fractions; more active participation of the language fractions in the general campaigns of the Party. Notwithstanding, the work on the language field still remains one of the weakest factors of the Party's mass activity. Our fractions in most of the language organizations still manifest stubborn opportunist tendencies. There are still considerable remnants of separatism and federation and "left" secretarian tendencies in the organizational structure and activity of the Party fractions in the mass organizations and in their work, which is separated from the general activity of the Party and sometimes displays a tendency to displace the Party.

One of the most outstanding shortcomings and mistakes of language fractions' work is the lagging of the Party language fractions behind the masses and their readiness to fight.

Another widespread shortcoming is the inability of the Party fractions in the language field to rid themselves of nationalist ideology and of conducting a sufficiently vigorous and aggressive campaign against the nationalism advocated by their respective bourgeoisie. An outstanding example is, first, the impermissible opportunist attitude taken by the Jewish Buro in

connection with the uprising in Palestine; secondly, the prevalence of nationalist ideology in many workers' language schools for children where the tendency of "developing national culture" still prevails. This is connected with another tendency still existing in the language work, namely, *insufficient interest in the political and economic struggles of the working class in the United States.*

The Language Buros of the Central Committee did not carry through the Party campaigns amongst the workers in the mass organizations sufficiently. In the Party Recruiting Drive only a few buros manifested systematic activity. The other buros were far from doing all possible for this campaign.

Federationism still exists among the language fractions. In certain instances the language buros manifested *stubborn resistance* to the line of the Party. Such was the case with the Czecho-Slovak Buro, which failed to proletarianize the editorial staff of the paper, to exercise self-criticism, and to rid the paper of petty bourgeois influences. Such was also the case with the Lithuanian Buro, where the papers *Laisve* and *Vilnis* manifested a petty bourgeois ideology and where the deviation was not promptly corrected. In many instances the Buros and the language press failed to take prompt action in fighting against right wing deviations. (Finnish Cooperative chauvinistic tendencies manifested in Chicago, Lithuanian fraction, etc.) A complete lack of action is to be noticed in the building of the Anti-Fascist organization (Italian fraction) and a failure to draw the workers coming from the colonial and semi-colonial countries under the influence of the Party. Even

as yet, a distinct lack of understanding in regard to the principle of democratic centralism and communist discipline is to be noticed in several language buros, a tendency to consider themselves with authority to act without consulting the Party on major political questions, a lack of understanding that they are only instruments for carrying out the political line of the Central Committee, and not basic units with a right of independent and separate functioning. Party self-criticism was not sufficiently applied by the language buros.

Generally speaking, the Party language papers do not carry through the Party campaigns. Some of our papers instead of being teachers of Marxism and Leninism spread petty bourgeois ideology amongst the workers. Some flagrant examples of this shortcoming are:

a. Lithuanian dailies *Laisve* and *Vilnis* while publishing material of the Party do not infiltrate the line of the Party throughout the rest of the composition of the paper.

b. *Trybuna Robotniczya* printed advertisements of a religious fascist literature organization as well as ads of professionals who were bourgeois candidates for office.

c. *Vilnis* advertised a jubilee excursion to Lithuanian on occasion of the Lithuanian fascist heir (W.L.K. Wittoff).

d. Printing of Christmas greetings in many papers.

e. Publication in *Rovnost Ludo* of a letter from a member of the Socialist Labor Party criticizing the Soviet Union without a word of comment from the editorial staff of the paper.

f. Failure of the *Rovnost Ludo* to connect up the question of organization of the unemployed with the problem of the general situation and the economic crisis.

g. Publication in the *Toverita* of an article by a Party member explaining how she denied being a Communist and said to the police that she voted the straight Republican ticket, when arrested on March 6th, with no editorial comment from the staff.

These few examples clearly show that some of our papers do not follow the Party line; that they believe that with merely printing material sent out by the Party they have accomplished their Communist

duty. This is not a Communist line. These opportunist methods must be stopped, they do not satisfy the Party or the readers who are workers, who participated in the struggles, workers who are part of the American proletariat which is developing a counteroffensive against the capitalist offensive. They misunderstood the role of the paper as a mass organizer of the Party. They have not learned to give all news, and every event in the line of Communist policy. They have as yet to open their columns to criticism from the workers in the shops.

While the main trend of the language masses is to become more and more part of the American working class, as it is expressed by the numerous struggles in the mining, shoe, textile, and needle trades fields, in which the foreign born workers are a considerable portion. Some sections of the foreign born workers live mostly in separate communities and where is developing a peculiar local and nationalist spirit fomented by the petty bourgeois press, lawyers, and businessmen, who still have influence in many mass organizations of foreign born workers. These petty bourgeois elements who are still encouraging a nationalist feeling among the masses are, at the same time, part and parcel of the American bourgeoisie, and, therefore, spread the influence of the American bourgeoisie among the masses.

These difficulties and a remnant of nationalism still expressing itself among some sections of the foreign born workers are, however, offset by the growing radicalization of the entire working class, continually forcing the foreign born workers into the general struggle of the American working class and growing activity of the Communist Party which serves to unite the workers of all languages.

In outlining the work of the Party among the language masses, we must be guided by the general aim of the Party, of winning the majority of the workers for the revolutionary class struggle. For this purpose the Language Department and the Language Buros must carry out the following tasks:

1. Fight against the right tendencies, against the conciliators, and against any other reformist influence; the right tendencies in the language mass organizations express themselves in specific forms of nationalism, chauvinism, and particularly in connection with Negro work, strong white chauvinistic tendencies pre-

vail.

2. Fight against the sectarian tendencies in connection with mass activity as in regards to organizational federationism.

3. Bring to the language masses the ideology of the Party and lead those masses along the line of the revolutionary class struggle, i.e., the line of the Party and the Communist International.

4. Carry on amongst the language masses a system of propaganda work of the Party in connection with all phases of Party activity as well as in the cultural activity to bring the working masses directly into the struggle of the American working class.

5. Use the workers' mass organizations and the various schools to recruit young workers into the Pioneer and Communist Youth organizations. Organize whenever necessary English-speaking children's clubs and youth clubs in conjunction with language mass organizations as a bridge between those organizations and the Pioneer and Youth organizations.

6. Conduct a systematic campaign under the leadership of the Party against exceptional laws for foreign-born workers, such as registration, deportations, etc. as part of the capitalist attack on the working class of the United States.

7. Increase the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist campaigns and struggles among the language masses as part of international action against imperialism and fascism.

8. Use the various language organizations not as a means of separating the working masses from one another and from the American working class, but as a means of drawing them together by developing their revolutionary class consciousness.

The organizational side of the language work also calls for drastic improvements. The Language Department of the Central Committee did not function regularly, which circumstance reflected upon the whole language work. More frequent meetings of the language paper editors and language buro secretaries must be held. More strict control over the language press (11 dailies and 19 weeklies and monthlies) must be exercised. The District Language Departments must be organized and become an integral part of the District Committees, actually directing the work. No regular fraction meetings are held in many mass organizations; in many instances language fractions being en-

tirely absent.

The Language Fractions and Their Tasks.

The main task of our Communist fractions in non-Party language mass organizations is to conduct a systematic Communist agitation, propaganda, and education to bring the foreign language speaking masses closer to the American revolutionary labor movement so that they will take active part in the class struggle in America under the leadership of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

The statutes of the CPUSA point out that "fractions are organs of the Party within non-Party organizations. They are not independent, fully authorized organs, but are subordinate to the particular local or Party District Committee." All Party members belonging to a specific language local branch of a non-Party language mass organization constitute, *as a group*, the Party fraction. All leading committees, or conventions, or conferences of such organizations must organize such Party fractions.

Party fractions should be organized in all such language working class mass organizations. Members of the Party should carry out not only systematic agitational work in such organization, but particularly all forms of everyday work in these organizations to win the members for the revolutionary class struggle. The Communist fraction must also conduct systematic work to secure the affiliation of the language mass organization to such working class organizations as ILD [International Labor Defense], WIR [Workers International Relief], FSU [Friends of the Soviet Union], etc.

In those organizations where we have already won the influence of the majority of the membership they must not be mechanically transformed to mere duplicates of the Communist Party, but should retain their mass non-Party character. The complete program of the Communist Party with all its major political slogans must not be insisted upon being put into the program of these mass organizations, thus causing the acceptance or nonacceptance of all major political demands and slogans of the Communist Party — nor are they to be forwarded as mechanical conditions for the membership in such mass organizations. The Party should conduct systematic recruiting, using such lan-

guage mass organization to bring the best workers into the Party, but the organization as such must maintain its non-Party mass organization and the Party through its fraction must direct the activity of such organizations and see that they are not narrowed down to a few Party members but that they are built into mass organizations on the basis of their specific scope of activity. The Party, through its fraction must show itself absolutely active and capable of building these non-Party mass organizations.

In their activity the fractions have to mobilize the workers' clubs for all immediate demands that the Party is fighting for. There have been tendencies to unite such workers' clubs into National Leagues or Federations. This we must try to avoid in the future. The clubs can, upon the basis of their activity, grow into mass organizations and the leading organs for their activity will be our language press for that respective group, and the *party* through our fractions. If organized into Leagues or Federations, there will soon appear a tendency to develop this organization into a sort of new political pseudo Party.

How Do the Fractions Work?

Every language fraction works under the immediate leadership of the nearest Party Committee. A Communist fraction in a language organization of a local scope, working in an area of a certain section of the Party, will work under the leadership of the *Party section committee* for that locality. If a language organization or a committee of such an organization is of State or District scope, its fraction will work under the leadership of the *Central Committee*. If a national committee of a certain language organization is located in another place than the Central Committee, it may assign the nearest District Committee to lead the Communist fraction in that National Committee.

Every Communist fraction carries on activity *only* in that local organization or in that committee to which it belongs.

Every fraction should meet regularly before the meetings of the organization, committee, conference, etc., in which it is active. Not only should the questions upon the agenda of that organization be taken up in the fraction, but the fraction should consider the possibility of bringing new questions for the body,

especially such items that bring campaigns of the Party or other Communist propaganda before the organization. When a fraction has made a decision, that decision is binding for all members of the fraction. A member who had spoken in the fraction or voted against the line adopted by the fraction must clearly and unequivocally defend the decision of the fraction while carrying out and defending the line adopted by the fraction and such members have the right to appeal to the proper Party committee.

Inner Relations of Fractions.

In every organization there are leading committees, e.g., a certain language organization has a leading city committee. If Communists are members of that City Committee, they constitute a fraction in that City Committee.

The local Party Committee has always authority above the fraction in respective city committees of any language non-Party organization and directives and coordination of work rests with Party Committees.

If in a language non-Party organization Communists are elected to its national leading committee, then these Communists form a fraction of that National Committee and lead all fractions in all City Committees of that organization.

This means the Communist fractions are organized in accordance with the structure of the organization in which they work, and all problems of our work in just that organization are attended to in due order by fractions of locals, lower committees, and higher committees, always in direct contact and under leadership of respective Party committees, direct or through its language Buro for that special language.

Language Buros.

In order to subordinate the work of the Party fraction it is necessary for the Party Committee to create a special apparatus, such as a language buro. Such a buro, when necessary, will work as a part of the structure of the District and Central Committee. Language Buros must only be elected by the District and Central Committee. Language Buros of either the District or the Central Committee have the task of coordinating the work of the respective language fractions un-

der the guidance of the Party Committee.

If there are five or more language buros in the District, the District Committee should appoint a District Language Department of no more than three comrades to coordinate and lead language work of the District. The District Language Department should be directed by the District Committee and is under its supervision. At the same time, however, it has the right to communicate directly with the Language Department of the Central Committee informing the District Committee about each such communication.

Every District Language Buro must report regularly and be under the supervision of the District Committee through the Language Department of the Central Committee informing the District Committee about each such communication.

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In every language paper we must particularly develop workers' correspondence, and carry out the practice of considering all such correspondence. All these workers' correspondence must be connected with *The Daily Worker* and necessary material to be sent in regularly to the central Party organ, *The Daily Worker*.

Tasks and Line of Work to be Followed by the Language Press.

The Party language press should not only be an organ of information from the point of view of the Party, but should pay more attention to the interests and needs of the workers in the factories, creating special sections for workers' correspondence in all papers.

Further the Party language press [should] reflect the activities of the revolutionary unions, the TUUL, and for this purpose should create a special section of the paper devoted to trade union activities. They must also publish the most important inner Party documents and give regularly the most important information on the inner Party life.

In order to improve the editorial work there should be organized a proper distribution of work amongst the members of the editorial staff if conditions permit; wherever possible a special comrade should be assigned to take charge of organizing the workers' correspondence, improving this correspondence, definitely answering and acknowledging receipt of all such correspondence, and organizing meetings of workers correspondents with the editorial staff.

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