

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."
—Karl Marx.

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This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

The Report of the Party's Executive

Alexander Bittelman reported to the convention of the Workers (Communist) Party for the Central Executive Committee as follows:

PERMIT me to preface my report with a few remarks as to how the report of the Central Executive Committee should be approached and how it should be considered. We have heard a good deal during recent months about Marxism and Marxist methods and I think that the convention here should approach the report of the Central Executive Committee from the point of view of Marxists and not in the manner in which the C. E. C. has been dealt with so far by some comrades in our party. What I mean by this is that the final result of the sum total of activities of our committee should be judged and analyzed on the basis not of the policies of the committee but also on the conditions, of the objective conditions in which the party had to carry on its work. It is very important before we proceed any further to keep clearly in mind the following facts: That the objective conditions in the United States during the last 20 months were extremely favorable for the quick growth of our party. It is sufficient for me to mention only a few of the more important facts. One of the most outstanding is the fact that American capitalism succeeded in stabilizing itself to a certain extent, to liquidate, truly, at the expense of the masses, but to liquidate the very severe agrarian crisis and also to stabilize partially the industrial situation. This, comrades, is the basic fact in the 20 months in which the present C. E. C. was in office, there were no severe crises, no severe disturbances and no big mass struggles of the American working class. It is this background that must be kept in mind continually when we analyze our activities during these 20 months.

A SECOND fact, of secondary importance, is the depressed mood of the American workers. Now this is a factor which nobody can overlook and surely not the Communist Party. Communist policies, or in the formulation of Communist policies, the mood of the working masses, their readiness to fight and struggle is a basic factor and when you realize and when you understand, comrades, that during these 20 months the general characteristic of the mood of the American masses was one of depression, was one of unwillingness and unreadiness to offer real resistance to the attacks of the capitalists, you will understand that this was a factor considerably influenced the progress, the development of our own activities. The third factor, is the sweep and then the collapse of the LaFollette movement. In my report I will go into detail and will analyze what this movement meant as far as our party was concerned. It is without doubt that this sweep of LaFollette movement and its comparative defeat in the presidential elections, seriously hampered the progress also of the Communist movement of the country. Then the very severe attacks and persecutions against our party and our comrades in other labor organizations.

These four outstanding objective facts in the situation created an extremely unfavorable condition for the development and quick growth of our party. Having this in mind and if you add to this a continual internal fight that lasted nearly 20 months, you will understand with what conditions and difficulties our party and central executive committee had to contend with during these 20 months.

FOR the purpose of my report, comrades, I am going to divide my re-

port into a number of sections. I will divide the period of these 20 months into several sub-periods. The division is not going to be arbitrary because it so happens that during these 20 months we have been passing thru four quite distinct periods. The first period. It lasted from about January, 1924 to May, 1924. That was the period when our party was laying the basis and preparing itself for the June 17, convention, for the St. Paul convention. Now that was the main strategy of our party during those months between January and May, 1924? The main strategy was to bring about a united front of labor and the poor farmers in the presidential elections of 1924. The main objective that our party pursued during that period was to bring about if possible the formation of farmer-labor unity. If impossible, at least united political action in the presidential campaign, to unite as large a number of workers and poor farmers as could be organized on a certain program or partial demands. This was our basic strategy and undoubtedly,

maintain crisis, a crisis which resulted primarily because of our break of the split which occurred on July 3, because of the failure of the Federated farmer labor party and because of the growing power and influence in those months of the LaFollette movement. When the present Central Executive Committee got into office it realized that it is dealing with a very difficult situation. We found ourselves isolated to a very large extent in the industrial centers of the country. We found that in practically some of the important industrial sections of the country was there in existence a farmer labor movement of any importance at all for us to ally ourselves with and to continue our strategy for a farmer labor party. The only places in the country where there were any organized groups of any substance at all that our party could ally itself with and continue its policy for the farmer labor party were to be found in the agrarian north west and comrades, it is not the present Central Executive Committee that switched itself to the northwestern

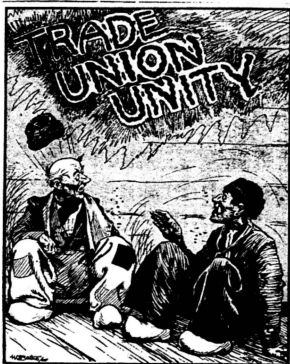
main objective of the party which was to bring about a united front in the presidential elections, was compelled to refuse to continue along these lines which resulted in the June 17 convention in St. Paul.

Now comrades, it is very important for the party to know that during the months of January to May, 1924, when our party was preparing and building the June 17 convention, there were very serious difficulties of opinion within the Central Executive Committee on the methods and tactics to be pursued in preparing the June 17 convention.

Those of you who think that the Central Executive Committee in those months was united on this question will be greatly surprised to learn that the meetings of the C. E. C. in those months were far from being peaceful on the question of how shall we prepare for this convention. The basic tactical principle that the majority of the Central Executive Committee was insisting upon during those months was that we do not repeat again the mistake of July 3; that we do not go to the St. Paul convention with the same tactics that we brought with us in the convention of July 3; that we take all necessary measures to prevent splits as happened and bases as competed them in July 3.

THE first question as I remember, a question of importance, that arose in connection with the June 17 convention, was its date. There was very serious disagreement because our party, the Workers Party, and the Communist Party, particularly the leaders of the Minnesota farmer labor party. Differences of opinion on policy and tactics, objective. And at one period in the development of our work, the question arose as to postponing the convention until after the July 4 convention of the C. P. U. A. Our opponents, the so-called progressives in the farmer labor movement, were very much determined to make this convention postponed and the question was can we compromise on this point? So our party made efforts to come to an agreement with these so-called progressives. Another question that created in the Central Executive Committee, very heated and serious debate was under what conditions our party would demand the immediate formation of a farmer labor party. And again we saw in the Central Executive Committee two main tendencies. One was that the main task of the Workers Party in the labor alliance policy is to create a farmer labor party and to seek leadership, irrespective of whether the party created is a mass party with mass support or only our own party and a little group of sympathetic organizations. The other tendency in it was that in our labor party policy our main objective is to get a mass party. And there is no use to be impatient about it. A labor party which does not bring us into contact with mass support or only our own party our main objective is the policy is true and it must be said now, that while we were fighting in the Central Executive Committee between January and May, 1924, on these questions, some comrades of the minority, one or two, Comrade Ruthenberg, one of them were at times taking the position of the majority, agreeing with them on the tactics in the policy in connection with the convention. But this, comrades, is not an important thing, or at least not the most important. The most important thing is that during these months the struggle between the majority and minority was along this central line. I.e. the labor party we are going to fight for. This was a mass substance of every political discus-

THE WRITING ON THE WALL



From TRADE UNION UNITY, official organ of the Left Wing of the British labor movement.

correct strategy in every respect. The second question is how successful were we in that strategy and what means did we employ to achieve our objective. This main objective of our party was defeated.

OUR party did not succeed in bringing about such a united front in the presidential elections. We failed in spite of the fact that we were successful in bringing about quite a well attended convention in St. Paul. It is very important for us to understand why our party failed in realizing this objective. Last night in our debate on the labor party controversy the question of our northwestern orientation was brought in. This is also an important fact in the discussion of our office. When the present Central Executive Committee came into office, what did it find? It found that the labor party policy of our party was undergoing a cer-

orientation. The present Central Executive Committee, beginning with January first, found this switch already made by the previous Central Executive Committee. It found in other words, two factors—one of objective nature and the other one was a policy that was pursued and laid out by the previous Central Executive Committee. The objective factor was that there was no mass movement in the industrial centers for a farmer labor party. There was no basis for political strategy along the lines of a farmer labor movement in the industrial center, but there was some basis for it in the agrarian north west.

THE second factor was the policy pursued by the previous Central Executive Committee, the policy of orientating itself on the agrarian north west. The present Central Executive Committee in pursuit of the

United States. This was the true situation and on the basis of this, or from this, the Central Executive Committee concluded that the slogan for a labor party had no appealing force under these conditions and could not be employed by our party with much use in the immediate future. This was the situation when the change in policy was made and these were the reasons why the change was made. This precipitated the rise of the now famous labor party controversy.

COMRADES, without going into this matter again in any way, I wish to say that whether this violent struggle in our party was justified or not, whether it was necessary for our party to pay the price that it did for having its policy corrected, the fact remains that never in the history of our movement did a party thro through a fight of such dimensions, bitterness and violence. Most of the delegates were not workers in the Communist movement. A good many of them have been founders of our party. Most nearly everyone of us participated in all the internal struggles since 1913 and every one of us knows that never did our party have a fight of this kind. And I say that if our party succeeded in withdrawing this fight without splitting into at least a dozen parties, this again is a tribute to the growth of the Communist quality of our party. We know that the old days. We know that every fight on a big issue produced a split. In those days we did not seem to know any other way of settling our difficulties than just to part ways and seander and then begin a campaign for unity.

A Central Executive Committee of a Communist Party which functions in the face of such a situation should not and cannot be expected by anybody to have taken care fully of everything that a Communist Party must take care of.

Now do you know, comrades—I suppose you do—that during these months of factional struggle, party discipline practically meant nothing for about one-third of our party. This did not mean anything. A decision of the Central Executive Committee would be received. If it would be accorded the courtesy of being received and filed, but as far as results were concerned, every minority district organizer, Comrade Jahnke, Comrade Ballan, for instance, would conclude that because the Central Executive Committee instructions should go into effect or whether it should just be disregarded. This example set by district organizers was followed practically by every minority comrade in the ranks. In the old days a Central Executive Committee decision would result in a split. The recent Central Executive Committee of the party did not want a split. And it was for this reason that the Central Executive Committee overlooked many and many things for the sake of retaining the unity of the party, of enabling it to outlive its crisis and proceed further to a unified manner.

Now about the activities of the Central Executive Committee during that period. You are all familiar with copies of our written report. Those of you who have studied the report have no doubt received a complete picture of what the party was occupying itself with these 20 months. I want to draw your attention to some specific features of our work during these 20 months. The party carried out a number of very important front campaigns. I will go into some details discussing these campaigns, but before I proceed, I want to say a few words about the "popular" criticisms that the minority has been hurling at the Central Executive Committee in connection with its united front campaign. It is true that these united front campaigns were not real campaigns. That the Central Executive Committee was simply passing resolutions and was doing in our papers, organizing a few meetings and let the matter rest at that. In short, that the Central Executive Committee failed to carry out the sentiment and action of the mass

as in favor of our slogans in these campaigns. If you want to discuss the failure of the present Central Executive Committee, there are many things to be said. We failed to seize power in the United States; we did not even elect Comrade Foster to the presidency. We have not yet captured the union in the United States; but there is one thing comrades that we have not failed to do and that is, we have not failed to reach most essentially the masses of the minority. This we have not failed to do. The policies of the Central Executive Committee, for instance, in connection with every one of our campaigns provided for a united front policy, it provided for it.

It instructed our organization to proceed to mobilize sentiment for our slogans and organize it jointly with other labor organizations for definite political acts. And if as a result of these campaigns we have not succeeded in creating large mass movements, we have carried out the Central Executive Committee cannot be blamed for that. For instance, during our period of office we were carrying on a textile industry in the textile industry and in other industries. These campaigns did not produce a strike movement. There were several sporadic strikes here and there that were liquidated very soon and most of them were defeated. Our party issued the slogan: Strike against capitalism. It was carried out in connection with these slogans. We took a number of organizational measures to bring about a united front struggle against wage cuts, but it does not show that no big strike movement actually resulted. This is a fact. What does this fact prove? Does it prove that the policy of the Central Executive Committee was wrong? Not in the least. The policy was correct. But it proved the fact that I started out with, namely that the American working class still finds itself in a depressed mood due to many, many developments in the past two or three years which did not enable us to arouse them now at this moment for real big struggles against capitalism. And the criticism to be drawn from this is that our party has not been as persistent in carrying on its work under more favorable conditions will not be able to secure bigger success as a result of our campaign. But to conclude this, as some of the minority comrades are doing, that irrespective of whether you have succeeded in arousing the masses, you must have a rough heading in building united front organizations which can have only a paper existence is to make a joke of the united front campaign. This conclusion we cannot make. This conclusion the Communist International does not want to make. Some of our comrades in the minority have reached the point where they earnestly maintain that when the party wants to publish proclamations to the American workers, it cannot do that unless its firms united front committees. In the course of our discussion this idea was brought forward time and time again. It is not correct. The criticism of the minority regarding our united front policy is invalid because the failure of our party to reach the masses of the proletariat is not creatable is attributable almost completely to conditions outside of our control. Ballan is a minority district organizer. He is a man who has a good portion of the textile industry. He was doing his best to create a united front, so he says. He said he had a number of strikes, a strike movement and a united front movement. The result, comrades, is such that there is almost nothing to report to the party district before we had a number of sporadic strikes which we were not able to fuse together and organize into a big strike movement because of the existing objective conditions.

THE failure charged against us to create united front organizations where there is no mass support for them is no fault at all but is real reason in carrying out the Communist policy. The majority of the Central Executive Committee has maintained in creating paper organizations and is

going to maintain their policy in the future.

Another angle of our work during these 20 months marks a beginning in a new field of activity. I refer here to the besting of the united front in the field of Negro work. Now this is not the first time that a Central Executive Committee of a Communist Party in America has been organized in Negro work. In fact, I remember since the very first day of the Communist movement in America, the C. P. as well as the C. P. of the United States, and then the united party and the Workers Party have always been interested themselves in Negro work. Contacts have been established from year to year but I maintain that it was only during the present period of the Central Executive Committee that our work among the Negroes was placed on a correct political basis and also on a more effective organizational basis. The advice of the C. I. quite naturally played a big part in the success achieved by the party in this line of work. The fact is that at this moment our party is participating and exercising a great deal of influence in the organization of the Negro labor Congress. There is a special report on the subject and I will not go into too much detail. Suffice it to say that during the last five months the Central Executive Committee has been paying very close attention to work among the Negroes. It is to say that nearly one-third of the membership of the Central Executive Committee was commissioned by the Central Executive Committee as a subcommittee to supervise the work of this party. And we say the party must realize the importance of this sort of work for the future growth of our party.

DURING these twenty months there developed a number of controversies besides the controversy on the labor party. For instance, the controversy on women's work and work of work should be conducted among the working women in the United States, understood that there is a legend going about in the party about the opposition of the majority to work among women. Comrades, a cool and calm listening to the facts will convince you that this is, in no political language, bunk. Before I speak of the controversy let me establish the fact. The fact is that neither during these twenty months that we were in office nor during the four or five years before we came into office, was there any substantial Communist work among women's work. You must be blamed for it, let the party be blamed for it; if the Central Executive Committee is to be blamed for it, give it the blame. Remember that the Communist work among women has not yet had its beginning.

Now as to the controversy. The party as a whole did nothing very little was done for work among women. Individual members of the party, women and men, were engaged in a number of cities in work among women—notably in Detroit—the Federation of Working Class Women—in Boston and in New York. Groups of comrades were engaged in those cities in organizing the work of class women on various economic and political issues. Now the controversy in the Central Executive Committee arose over two questions. One point we were making there was that the main and central objective of the Communist Party in its work among women is to organize working women—women actually employed in industry, not that we must neglect work on class housewives, but the center of attention of our party and its main policies must be formulated on the basis of drawing into the struggle—actually engaged in the struggle—women. And the main criticisms we were making against the minority were having entirely overlooked the central problem of our movement in connection with women's work.

THE second question of the controversy was what is and should be a correct organization of working class housewives in New York, the minority, for one reason or another, took a great fancy to a New York women's organization, called the United Com-

mittee of Working Class Women. They took such a strong fancy to it, that they were willing to make this the key to the women's movement in the United States, the basis of every maneuver and every campaign that we were willing to make among the working women. And we said we failed to realize this universal greatness and basic importance of the women's movement among the Working Women. Here is what we said. We said this Council of Working Class Women is in reality a very, very small group of women, the U. C. F. and its wives. We said, we failed to see how such an organization can become the center . . . on which we can build and from which we can launch the important thing, comrades, in connection with this controversy is that as a result of it, really nothing was achieved except factional confusion.

NOW another point I wish to make, in connection with this, is that up to the time that I say before the Party Convention adopted its proposal on women's work the minority still did not know that the main problem in our women's work was the organization of working class women. But it just so happened that the day before the party convention was held its decision on the women's question, the imprecator brought a report of a decision passed by the women's secretariat of the Communist International which contains an elaborate outline, a detailed outline of work among women, and when the minority was brought in a resolution which for the first time proposes a program of activity among women is factors.

Now regarding the Central Executive Committee's work, I wish to say a few words on our right wing and the struggle against the right wing. This subject was discussed at length under a special heading. But there is one point I wish to impress upon the comrades in connection with this subject which I would like to say: That when the minority of the party and Central Executive Committee came to the party and party convention talking about the right wing, about our failure to fight the right wing, I say that there is not a particle of sincerity to all that stuff. I recall, also, all of you know, that Lore and Loveston is not something new in our party, even Comrade Shafiq says that. You know Lore and Loveston for years, and various forms and shapes. And before some time that Loveston was not a Communist tendency. Why, comrades, at one point in the life of our government, on the event of the formation of the Workers Party, here is what took place. Something very important and significant. Negotiations were going on between delegates of the Communist Party and delegates from the Workers Council group. And who do you think was representing the Workers Council group? Loveston and Loveston's? Lore! And who do you think was Lore? He was also a member of the Communist Party of America. In other words, Comrade Loveston for months was a member of the Communist Party and at the same time was engaged jointly with a political group which was working very bitterly and was negotiating all kinds of terms with our party. And what did the Communist Party do in those days? Lore Loveston much told you something about that. We knew it was bad but we could not do that. We felt we could not do much. And why could we not do that? We knew that to take strict organizational measures against Lore in those days would prevent the Communist Party from fulfilling their main objective in those days—the formation of the Workers Party of America.

In the period of the Popper-Loberberg regime in the Workers Party what did they do to combat Loveston's? Nothing! To be a friend of Lore in those days was to be a friend of the masses, no, and rightly so. It was a disgrace when Loveston, Popper and Rutenberg were managing

(Continued on page 4.)

(Continued from Yesterday's Daily Worker)

HYGIENE—The official report of the British Trade Union Delegation to Soviet Russia described the workings of foreign trade, transportation, postal service and finance in the Soviet Union. The Trade Union Delegation leaders concluded that foreign trade in Russia is being done in a big way and industry the level of production is being raised. The Manasse have been based on a sound basis and there is a big boom in the Manasse. The Manasse are being led by the absence of all diplomatic relations, the union leaders stated. The Manasse are being led by the absence of all diplomatic relations, the union leaders stated. The Manasse are being led by the absence of all diplomatic relations, the union leaders stated. The Manasse are being led by the absence of all diplomatic relations, the union leaders stated.

We were also gratified to note efforts which were being made to take care of the young. We visited the Baby Care which babies from three to eighteen months are cared for by nurses and doctors. The babies are kept in a clean, bright room furnished with small tables, toys, and all kinds of the special equipment required for this purpose. Workers have their own hospitals on the job, first aid centers, schools for their children, gymnastics and recreation grounds. Medical attention is provided for the workers and their families to protect the health of their children. Monthly reports are given regarding the progress of each child coming under the care of the hospital. The charge of the hospital was made by a doctor. The average wage paid is 60 rubles per month, the minimum monthly wage is 30 rubles on time work, but 80 per cent of the men are employed on piece work, which means 24 days per calendar month. While the average piecework earnings are varying from 100 to 150 rubles, some workers are getting as much as 200 rubles.

In connection with this, as in the case of all large contracts the men employed were members of the union, paying Trade Union contributions at the rate of 2 per cent of their wages. The only exception regarding union membership for workers of the case of men who were brought into the contract for periods of short duration from the peasant districts for special work requiring little or no skill; 90 per cent of the men were members of the Building Trade Union. In this connection we have to point out that for all grades employed on this huge contract there was only one union, with the exception of the medical and hospital staffs, who were members of the Medical Workers' Union.

The hours of labor were eight hours per day and a 48-hour week with a fortnight's holiday with pay. In addition, which workers clubs, film performances, plays and dramatic circles were provided. A very low price, together with all the conveniences in connection with the holidays, which had special benefits provided by the unions referred to in another portion of the report.

No rents are paid by the workers employed for the use of wooden houses erected on the job, food and fuel transportation is paid for, just for the use of the workers.

For the maintenance of the hospitals and insurance contracts for the purpose of the workers, the Trade Union Delegation received 16 per cent of the total wages bill of the contract is taken for the institutions.

The workers subscribe monthly for newspapers and 11,000 copies of the monthly newspaper are purchased regularly. On making inquiries as to the salaries paid to the administrative staff, we were informed that they were receiving 500 rubles per month and the five assistant engineers received 600 rubles per month.

The hospitals, schools, dispensary, and baths provided in connection with this huge electrical undertaking were in every way satisfactory and completely adequate.

XII

A Visit to a General Engineering Shop

A visit was paid to a very up-to-date engineering works at Kharkov, which appeared to be exceedingly well organized and equipped with the latest appliances and machinery, and was of very considerable extent.

They were fully engaged in one large shop in building Diesel internal combustion engines, and other engines, and were putting the completed engines through very severe tests.

In another shop were being made electric generators, the beds and accessories. Many of the generators under construction were of the type used in the power plants made in another of the Soviet for Turkistan.

In another shop they were building in large quantities four cylinder motor trucks for agricultural purposes.

number under construction it would appear that the output was a fairly large one.

We were also under construction railway locomotive engines of quite a large design, eight wheel coupled with leading wheels. They were being specially designed for heavy loads. They were designed to draw a train of 1,500 tons under normal circumstances.

Two engines had been completed, one of which was painted and had an exceedingly fine appearance.

The other two were up-to-date machinery and many large scale machines, one of which was capable of cutting out of a locomotive frame in one operation. The Delegation was informed that they were completing about two locomotives per month, but that they had the capacity, if necessary, to produce a great many more.

All the shops attached to the works, together with yard buildings, were of very considerable acreage, and they were still under construction. With the exception of the electricity works and the aeroplane works, all the other shops were of the type of the Delegation of this works surpassed anything so far seen during the Delegation's visit to Russia.

In connection with the directing engineer the Delegation learned that under the Soviet power and the new system of work organization the men were working exceedingly well, and when any special order was received the men always exceeded the 1915 output.

In the apprentices' section there was one instructor to each 15 apprentices and working in a well-set up part of the motor tractor building factory, the boys were busy making small components and tools, which were particularly well finished and very creditable to the young people. Several young women were employed in the shops and were busy making small components to make buckets, cans, and other liquid holding utensils. All the apprentices of both sections appeared to be quite cheerful and were working hard.

Generally speaking, the Delegation was struck with the whole organization and fittings of this works and with the personnel of the shops.

XIII

A Visit to Aircraft Work

A visit was paid by the Delegation to the aircraft works, where there were 1,200 workers are employed on wood and metal parts, except engines, which are either imported or made at the works. The works are situated in a large building, the premises is modern and a vast improvement on the old. This plant in 1920 contained 200 workers, but now there are 1,200 and at the same time the workers' share of corn was ground on the premises in a very old-fashioned apparatus. There is a most notable improvement in things, though a great many parts are still done by hand in the absence of much-needed machinery.

A very finely built factory is just on completion, the first floor, and third floors being occupied by workers. The finished machine compare very favorably and are mainly of the D.H. 9 type.

The workers here, there does not appear to be any intention to place the old building, but rather to rebuild entirely in the small tubing works for landing bearings ordinary push type apparatus, which were being repaired.

A worker has built a small machine which saves a vast amount of labor in the cutting and shaping of the small parts of the aircraft.

There is a very fine set of schools where the lads are being taught arithmetic, algebra, (2) physics, and the theory of engineering; (3) geometry, etc.

There is also (1) polytechnic school; (2) blacksmith's shop; (3) carpenter's shop; (4) wood shop.

All of these seem to have their full complement, there being 30 lads in each of the above shops.

There is a very fine club close by and it is still under reconstruction and extension. The theater is a really well got up place.

A huge building of the "Flat" type is now housing 620 families of metal workers.

XIV

A Visit to a Locomotive Running Depot

The Delegation visited one of the locomotive depots at Riazan. It was found that the depots were being equipped, but they did not appeal to the eyes as much as the latter-day depots of Great Britain with their excellent accessories. It was, however, quite up to the standard of the older depots in Great Britain, and the work appeared to be quite efficient, having regard to the up-to-date appearance.

During a conversation with the chief engineer in charge of the depot in his office, before touring the shed, the Delegation was informed that the works were doing very well, and that his activities was conceived in the belief that a loss train was put on the frame of the engine in rounding the sharper curves of the road. The works were equipped with a large crane, and once, as the fire-box foundation rests on the top of the framing of the engine, the crane is used to lift the boiler and the superstructure above the leading frame of the engine. Consequently, the boiler is raised several feet above the frame and then one steam and exhaust pipes to and

'Who is Who' in the British Delegation

HERBERT SMITH, J. P. Chairman of the Delegation. President, British Federation of Great Britain since 1911. Vice-President of the British Federation of Great Britain since 1914. President, International Union of Railways since 1914. Member of the Executive Committee of the International Union of Railways since 1914. Member of the Executive Committee of the International Union of Railways since 1914. Member of the Executive Committee of the International Union of Railways since 1914.

JOHN TURNER, associated with socialist groups since 1905. President of the National Union of Railwaymen since 1914. Member of the Executive Committee of the International Union of Railways since 1914. Member of the Executive Committee of the International Union of Railways since 1914.

JOHN BROMLEY, M. P. A pioneer of railway trade unions and held many positions of trust prior to appointment as branch secretary of Aspinall's Booters of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, 1904. Elected or elected secretary of the union, 1905. Secretary of the union, 1906. Elected or elected secretary of the union, 1907. Secretary of the union, 1908. Secretary of the union, 1909.

ALAN H. FINLAY, Member of the "Red" Party, secretary of the union, 1912. Secretary of the union, 1913. Secretary of the union, 1914. Secretary of the union, 1915. Secretary of the union, 1916. Secretary of the union, 1917. Secretary of the union, 1918. Secretary of the union, 1919.

ALAN H. FINLAY, Member of the "Red" Party, secretary of the union, 1912. Secretary of the union, 1913. Secretary of the union, 1914. Secretary of the union, 1915. Secretary of the union, 1916. Secretary of the union, 1917. Secretary of the union, 1918. Secretary of the union, 1919.

A. A. PURCELL (Chairman of Delegation), Member of the Executive Committee of the International Union of Railways since 1914. Member of the Executive Committee of the International Union of Railways since 1914. Member of the Executive Committee of the International Union of Railways since 1914.

ALAN H. FINLAY, Member of the "Red" Party, secretary of the union, 1912. Secretary of the union, 1913. Secretary of the union, 1914. Secretary of the union, 1915. Secretary of the union, 1916. Secretary of the union, 1917. Secretary of the union, 1918. Secretary of the union, 1919.

Trade Union Delegation

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from the cylinders. In the engineer's office was an exceedingly good half-section of a locomotive now in use for the general purposes in service in Russia. From which the Delegation was informed that the Walchofer gear is generally in operation on the railways. The Delegation was informed that the Walchofer gear was learned that owing to the shortage of copper, which the tube-face-plate was of copper, the walls and roof of the firebox were of steel. The Delegation was informed that the Walchofer gear is generally in operation on the railways.

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In passing around the shed and repairing section of the depot, the Delegation found that the fire-boxes were not cleaned as they should be. The Delegation was informed that the Walchofer gear is generally in operation on the railways. The Delegation was informed that the Walchofer gear is generally in operation on the railways.

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was noticed. The manager in charge of the factory is appointed with the consent of the union.

The stockrooms and stores rooms for materials were in perfect order and the fittings were of very high quality. The leather used in this factory, in addition to Russian supplies, is imported to the extent of 40 per cent from America, Germany and France. The Delegation was informed that the Walchofer gear is generally in operation on the railways.

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(To be continued in next issue.)

(Continued from page 3)
the affair in the party. Lore was in the political committee. Lore had to be in the steering committee. Lore had to be in the convention of July 3. Because the minority, then majority, believed him to be a good Communist, is the minority right ready to recognize and admit their mistake?

I say, on what ground can the minority blame the Central Executive Committee for the failure to completely exterminate the Lorist tendency in the party? That we have fought Lore and Loreism beyond the shadow of a doubt. Let me fallow to your attention two or three facts. You speak about the majority having been in alliance with Lore. Can you point to a single instance where the majority of the Central Executive Committee sacrificed or compromised its program or policy to satisfy the Lore group in the party? On the contrary, in the last convention of the party the Lore group, or part of them, demanded as price of their support to the majority, "We" we fallow our third party alliance and the only reply we made was that we cannot do it because we believed in the correctness of that alliance.

Not So Backward.
Another fact, a very important fact. Much talk has been made here about the backwardness of the party followers, particularly about the support of the Finnish Federation. Do you know, I am sure the minority leaders know, that the Finnish Federation, its predominant majority, was against dropping the farmer labor party slogan? Nearly every Finnish branch that was in the majority labor party issue during the discussion, went on record for continuing the labor party slogan and according to these Finnish comrades we were wrong. Did we sacrifice our position to please the Finns? No! It is sufficient merely to enumerate some of these facts to show the rationality of these facts to show the rationality of your assertions are about the alliance between Lore and the majority. You cannot disregard the fact that in our everyday activities, wherever we come in contact with right wing deviations, whether they called themselves Lorism or not, the Central Executive Committee was always ready to call them down and excommunicating them. Our fight against the right wing deviations in the needs for the party against opportunist mistakes in the number of our unions. The reasons for our main struggles against opportunism can be seen mainly on the trade union field is this: It is the trade union field that these mistakes become very quickly apparent.

and because the center of our work is in the trade unions. The C. E. C. was always quick to set the moment it saw the manifestations of any right wing deviation, and therefore the C. E. C. never failed to make clear its position and to fight against all these deviations.

In the time that has been left out, in a few words on our main resolution. Our main resolution dealing with the present situation and our immediate tasks has been adopted by the Party Committee unanimously. Most of you comrades, in fact all of you, are familiar with this resolution. There is nothing exceptionally new for you in that resolution. Nothing exceptionally new except a few basic economic and political facts.

No Immediate Crisis.

The basic economic fact is that there is no immediate crisis in the economy of American capitalism. No prosperity, very far from that. Industry is proceeding very slowly, in fact even the most optimistic capitalist papers when they speak of the present economic conditions, cannot work up any optimism at all for the economic outlook of the United States. There is a quiet stagnation, American industry lies from that to mouth. No big projects, no big developments and no considerable growth of home industry at present. Is there any outlook for an immediate severe crisis?

Our thesis says this cannot be long. We are probably in for a long period of hesitating development on a downward scale, with occasional disturbances, aggravating still further the conditions as far as the workers are concerned. This is one of the new factors in the present situation.

As to the political conditions in the United States, naturally the biggest feature is the tremendous growth of American imperialism. The contrast between the slow development of industry and the slow development of American imperialism abroad are reaching tremendous proportions, whereas American capitalism manifests tremendous initiative and aggressiveness in penetrating industry and finance in Central Europe, Asia and Latin America, the home industry does not show any such big designs and projects. Imperialism and the growth of it is one of the main devastating factors of home economy and policies. And when you analyze the policies of American imperialism of the present, day you see that the conditions determined by the imperialist designs of big capital, I already mentioned the

tremendous growth of the export of capital and imperialist expansion generally. The second major policy is the development of militarism in the United States—something that we must be aware of and something must react to in a very effective manner.

Trying to Win Farmers.

The third major policy of American capitalism is the systematic effort that is being made by American capital—by big capital primarily—to win over the farmers, particularly the rich and middle farmers, to the cause of capitalism in the United States. Those of you comrades who are following this closely have probably noticed that within the last few months President Coolidge has held several conferences, probably dozens of them, with congressmen and senators from the agrarian section of the country. What were they discussing? One thing. And the thing is how to win the farmers of the United States, the rich and middle farmers particularly, to the cause of capitalism in America, how to prevent a new solidification of the farmers in America for a third party movement on the political field.

The fourth major policy of the American capitalist class is to break the morale of the American workers by wage cuts and various other cuts and to prevent by all possible means the political awakening of these workers and their organization for independent political action. These four policies of American capitalism are the main ones that we submit to you. And the thesis that we submit to you is that the Party Committee and the Central Executive Committee on our immediate tasks must pursue in order to carry out a Communist way these policies of American capitalism.

United Party Needed.

In conclusion, I have a few remarks. The basis of our work in the future as has been stated here repeatedly in the convention, is a united party. We will adopt in the convention all the thirteen or fourteen resolutions that we submit to you from the Party Committee, but without a Communist way, if following the Communist way cannot show a united front of all the Communists in the party or carrying out these resolutions, these will not be worth the paper on which they have been printed. I do not see how some of something that can be done in the immediate and complex demands of the factional struggle is something that no one can expect to happen irrespective of the intentions of

any comrade in our party. The importance of the struggle that we are conducting during these twenty months, has not spent itself yet, and there is no use in complaining about it. It has not spent itself yet. It may take the party another couple of months before this impetus will spend itself. But I say, comrades, that every member of this party should be so sure of this convention, must keep this thing before his eyes, to apply all efforts and to take all necessary measures that this party should be so sure of this convention and liquidate itself in the shortest possible time.

We have been speaking here about the right wing deviation that the comrades of the minority have been trying to establish a case here against the majority of the party that it is the right wing. If I say as far as I am personally concerned, I am not going to waste a single second to convince anyone of the minority that they are not the right wing because they know we are not. The question that is of more importance is how soon and by what means can we really unite our party? We must have organization and no particular means to propose. But there is one thing of which I am convinced, that if the minority and the majority were to unite, the factional struggle, which I am convinced, would not continue for any length of time. It will come to an end. Factual Struggle Must End.

And when it does come to an end, it is clear and only then that the resolutions that we adopt in this convention, that the motions passed in this convention, will take life and become part and parcel of the life of the party, of its activities and its future successes. I wish only one thing, that the comrades of the minority realize as much as we realize, that the factional struggle cannot continue, no matter what you say in your caucus meetings, no matter what slogan you throw out in Cleveland, no matter what someone reads a caucus document of the minority which contained the following statement: "If you give your support to the right wing, you are half the battle." When you will stop to believe that your main objective is to win the masses for the majority, you will stop to believe that when you come upon you more earnest duties than to find quotations as to the majority that you most effectively brand the majority with as far as you come to the conclusion that you cannot continue this fight without ruining the party and ruining yourself in the process. You will stop to believe that you can proceed to work in an effective and successful manner.

Ruttenberg Replies to Bittelman

C. E. Ruttenberg, speaking for the minority of the Central Executive Committee, replied to Comrade Bittelman as follows:

COMRADES: As for Comrade Bittelman's closing remarks, I suggest that he should have thought of that before yesterday in his discussion of the caucus made his decision as to whether the minority in this convention was to have a policy of extermination directed against it.

The main basis which Comrade Bittelman laid for the failure of the work of the C. E. C. during the last few months was in objective conditions. He told us that in the work during the term of the present C. E. C. the conditions, political and economic, were of such a character as not to be fruitful for effective progress of our work. Then Comrade Bittelman told us a little later in his discussion in relation to the La Follette movement, that everybody in the United States expected that the La Follette movement would make a tremendous sweep, a tremendous sweep in the presidential elections, and everybody was disappointed because of the results. Now, comrades, I suggest as an expectation that the La Follette movement would make such a sweep, there must have been the conditions among the workers of the country to create such a movement, and Com-

rade Bittelman was either wrong when he said objective conditions were not favorable, or otherwise was wrong in what he said about the La Follette movement.

Let us see if in 1924 we had in the industries of this country favorable conditions. Unemployment extended to a greater degree than for any period since the depression back in 1921. 1923 was a period of the upsurge in industry. 1924, on the other hand, was a period of increasing depression with increasing unemployment, with increasing difficulties for securing a livelihood for the workers; and does Comrade Bittelman expect us to believe that condition in which the workers are unemployed to the extent of millions is not favorable for the work of our party? If Comrade Bittelman says that as an opinion, then under what conditions will our struggle reach its climax if not exactly in such conditions as we had in 1924. There was unemployment of the workers had a difficult time, being forced to fight for food, clothing and shelter. As I declared at the outset that the conditions which say for the present were not favorable for the progress of the work of our party has no basis and the C. E. C. majority cannot be held responsible for its failure in the last year and a half of the work of our party.

Comrades, there is quite a different reason for the failure of the work. Quite an equally important factor is

relation to the success of the work of our party, which Comrade Bittelman very nearly ignores in his report, and that is the question of what kind of policy did our party follow in relation to the objective conditions? That Comrade Bittelman, as I declare for our party as the objective conditions. If we have favorable conditions for Communist work, Communist activity, and have the wrong policy in our work, and it is our condition, which I am going to prove, that it is because you had the wrong policy that you did not make progress during the past year and a half.

NOW let us deal with the factor which had a great deal to do with the character of the policies which the party followed in relation to the objective conditions of the majority group, the relationship of that group to the Lore group in our party.

We know that at the last national convention the majority voted to join the support of the Lore group in our party and that its main additional group was the Finnish Federation of our party. In other words, the basis in the party is that group which is the right wing of our party and which is not yet developed as a Communist group that has not yet learned its Communist principles and policies, and, I say, irrespective of the leading group of the majority's different view point, different orienta-

tion, the fact that it had such a basis in the party was one of the main mistakes which I made in the last year and a half. And I say the fact that it has chosen in this convention to again vote in the next year on the same basis is also certain that it will make similar errors in the year to come in relation to the work of our party. You will stop to believe from the character of your support, it will have its influence in the shaping of the party's policies.

YOU will shape those policies to satisfy the interests of the group which has given you a majority, and that means that you have wrong policies and we will not build this party of our own. We have the support of the majority's influence, and we do not need this support but also the judgment of the majority's itself, at the last convention of the work of the C. E. C. in 1924.

The first political question which we had to decide in the C. E. C. the question is what is our attitude towards Trotskyism. That is the first political question of importance that we had to decide in the C. E. C. for decision. Did the majority of the C. E. C. have a clear understanding of the situation in the Russian Communist Party and make a decision? Was it the opinion of the majority of the Bolsheviks in the Russian Communist Party without hesitation? Comrades, quite the contrary Comrade Lore had tele-

strapped to his paper from Chicago, at the end of the convention, that "the Trotskyites have won the party" and majority wasn't quite sure for five months whether they were Trotskyites or not!

In January, comrades, in the editorial board of the Liberator, Comrade Pepper made a proposal that he write an article for the Bolshevik group and against Trotskyism in the Liberator. Comrade Cannon opposed it, saying he did not yet sufficiently know the facts and wasn't ready to make a decision.

In March there was a full meeting of the C. E. C. and our group offered a resolution to endorse the old program of the Russian Party. Comrade Foster answered by a motion that we take no position but print the material in the party press, and then, comrades, what happened? Along in April when Comrade Foster was already in Moscow, a telegram came from Comrade Scott saying that our party should send a telegram to the Russian Party convention endorsing the Bolshevik group, and I was asked to do my own responsibility to send that telegram and put the party on record, while the C. E. C. had refused to take action on it before. (Applause.)

Comrades, on the 28th of April Comrade Foster came back from Moscow. He had seen the situation there, and then the C. E. C. did endorse the Bolshevik group with a vote of 12 to 1; in other words, it had the vote to get an understanding of the situation into the minds of the majority group and set them to act on this question. We say this was not a chance, this was not a happenstance, this was due to the fact of their relationship to the Lore group that made it impossible to get earlier action from them, to get action earlier after the decision had been finally made in the C. E. C.

Now, comrades, on the issue of Loreism. Loreism developed in our party in a violent form when Lore became part of the majority of the C. E. C. He thought he was part of the leadership of the party now and he could speak. He could express himself, and he did express himself in writing an article on the fifth anniversary of the C. E. C. a very bad article, the minority said, "We must correct it. The C. E. C. must issue a statement condemning this editorial!" It moved to that effect, but the C. E. C. said "No, we will not issue such a statement." Let Comrade Lore write a new editorial in which he corrects these ideas. In other words, they had to protect the member of the majority—Lore—from a public condemnation by the C. E. C. of the party.

Now we cite these two facts about Loreism and the Trotsky matter to show what the connection was, and I say that it is due to this connection on the basis of the majority—Lore during the year that followed that it successfully moved step by step to a Loreist policy, that it went toward right wing sectarianism in our party. It was the influence of this support in the party reacting on the majority of the C. E. C. that brought about these mistakes, in addition, of course, to the mistaken conceptions of the members of the majority itself, and I am going to cite some of those mistaken conceptions.

During the first half of 1924, our party was still working under the policies that were formulated by the party minority. The policies of 1922 and 1923 were accepted unanimously by the last convention. Our policies. And we continued those policies during the first six months and our party continued to make progress. It was when the majority had to formulate its own policies on main political events that errors began to appear, and I let me show you what happened as to figures.

CERTAINLY we must estimate the successes of the work of the party by the results it has attained and how are the results registered. Influence among masses and drawing the advanced elements into our own party as members of the party. These are the two indications of whether our policies are correct and whether they are being carried out and the results are shown to us. I cannot estimate the influence among the masses by statistics because we have none, but we know that our influence increased during

1922-1923. In 1923 we brought into our party as new members 4,524 members. For the six months of 1924, with the same policies that we brought into the party 4,658 members. And then suddenly the results collapsed in spite of the fact that we were in the revolutionary campaign under our own name, in spite of the fact that that was a good opportunity for propaganda for Communism, direct appeals to the Workers Party. During the next six months' period, the figures were 50 per cent of the new membership taken in and as compared with the first six months of 1924 and 1925, we took in 4,400 in 1924 and 2,000 in 1925.

Comrades, how do we explain that sharp change in the results for our party? Why this sudden change in the number of members we could win for our party? Was it objective conditions as between the first half of 1924 and the second half, the first half of 1924 and the second half of 1925, or was it a change in our orientation on the line of policy that our party was pursuing? Comrades, we maintain that it was a change in the line of policy made by the C. E. C. that is responsible for the failure to secure results for our party.

I am going to tell you now the conception that is fundamental to this error which was made during the period in question, the movement we did not always in these speak our innermost thoughts, and Comrade Bittelman may have written part of the main thesis before this convention, but I do not enter a decision and after a bitter struggle in the party and formulation of the policies correctly after this struggle. But I am going to submit to you Comrade Bittelman's proposal, in my own ideas, his own conceptions, before the convention of the Russian section of our party, in February of this year. And here I cite Comrade Bittelman's own words: "Here I have quoted it again to show what cannot be the policy of a Communist Party. 'It is becoming clearly apparent that the only real opposition that will ever be developed in the United States against the rule of big capital in distinction to opposition to capitalism as a whole, will come only from the movement that the Workers Party will be able to create.'"

I SAY, comrades, that is not Communism; that is not Marxism; that is not Leninism; that is something that is alien to our conception of the party and our movement, and I say further, if you have that thought in your mind you will be opposed to the labor party policy of our party. If you have that thought in your mind, you make errors. You abolish united front workers' organizations. If you have that thought in your mind, Comrade Bittelman's report to the convention to make the International Workers' Relief openly a part of our party.

Let us see how it worked out. This conception that the Workers Party itself must create the movement which developed against capitalism that our party as a party is the basic condition to the creation of opposition not against capitalism as a system but only from the movement against big capital. Comrades, my conception and I am sure the conception of every member of those who sit on the left of this convention, is that capitalism because of its contradictions, because of its exploitations and oppressions, brings resistance on the part of various groups of the capitalist social order. That it brings revolts of the petty bourgeoisie, that it brings struggles between two groups of capitalism of very bitter character. It brings the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie against capitalism and is the basic reason for the creation of a working class. Yes! This capitalist social order, Comrade Bittelman, which you say our party only can build the movement against, this capitalist social order, has created on the leader of the working class in the struggle, and you have put it today in the hands of the whole party and with that conception you will continue to make your errors on policy.

Comrade Bittelman told some things about the struggles in the first six months in the C. E. C. and he mentioned the fact that there was

a struggle over the date of June 17th convention. Whether it should be held on May 30th or whether we should change the date. I proposed to bring this question that I supported the majority. Well, comrades, I would say that the majority supported me on that question (applause) because I indicated that I proposed the policy and fought for that particular policy.

We also, comrades, had differences in relation to the labor party policy in relation to the C. P. F. A., and it was our view during that six months period that the majority showed a hesitating, vacillating attitude, that it did not know where it was going, that it had no clear lines of development. We feared at one time after the St. Louis convention that it might want to call off the May 20th convention and go into the C. P. F. A. convention. There were differences of attitudes in which we believe that our viewpoint showed the right line of policy for our party.

There were distinct differences of attitude in which we believe that our viewpoint showed the right policy for our party and the Comrades at the June 17th convention. The C. E. C. majority, in its statement regarding the labor party policy, tells us that it was after the elections that it formulated a policy that was abandoned before the November elections; it was abandoned in the middle of October when the fight began over the question of who should appear in the A. F. L. convention. We said we must continue to fight for independent political action, to raise the slogan of a labor party, and they said we should make a proposal at a labor congress, and voted down the proposal to bring in a resolution for the labor party. And where is the labor congress that we propagated in the A. F. L. convention? It was forgotten. And that is typical of the attitude of our C. E. C. majority.

We were told, comrades, that after the section of the labor party movement was no longer in existence, now that again shows the fundamental un-Marxist way of thinking of our majority. Because in the election campaign the workers who were favorable toward the labor party had been swallowed by the La Follette movement, because of that the labor party movement was no longer in existence. That is the thing that the Communist International criticized as basing policies upon superficial conditions. It was a superficial conception of the situation to say that the labor party movement was no longer in existence. The labor party movement might be wholly in the La Follette movement and a part of it might still be in existence. The majority could not understand that the labor party movement was still in existence and said that we must no longer advocate the labor party slogan.

AND comrades, we had some discussions here as to whether the majority was opposed in principle to the labor party. Comrades, I ask you if the majority could write this thesis on the immediate party tasks, whether they can now disclaim such opposition in principle. Here is the section on the right deviation of farmer-laborism in our party. I say to you, comrades, I repeat for your benefit that in your own thesis and Comrade Cannon said yesterday, if you believe that farmer-laborism is right-wingism, then you cannot support the farmer-labor policy. If you believe the advocacy of the building of a labor party in the United States was ever right-wingism and if you believe that the right wing and fight it as you thought it when you wrote this thesis. That is the conception here. And this is a continuation of what Comrade Bittelman wrote in this article. We find in this thesis the same conception. The position taken by the comrades of this tendency (the minority)—the farmer-labor tendency, they called it—is the only way to utilize independent action of workers and poor farmers in the building of a farmer-labor party. Forgetting the existence of the Workers Party as the political class party of the workers and poor farmers. These comrades also said that the only way to build a mass Communist Party in America is thru a farmer-labor party, thus announcing a new princi-

ple that the Workers Party can never become a mass Communist Party except thru organizing and working with the farmer-labor party. And then later on "This notion is a superficial conception of the role of our party manifests itself particularly in the tendency to resort to all kinds of new policies and substitutes for the Workers Party, wherever an opportunity presents itself to appeal to large masses of workers on concrete issues of everyday life."

It is very clear in the reverse of what Bittelman said in his Russian Section speech. Not in contradiction, but the reverse side of the picture. In his article he says that you can only build a movement against capitalism if the Workers Party creates that movement, and here we have a refusal to build united front organizations for the purpose of carrying on a struggle against capitalism. If you believe that the Workers Party must create a movement itself, then you must be opposed to creating a labor party. You must be opposed to organizing the workers and poor farmers against capitalism. You must be opposed to non-party organizations thru which the party carries on its struggles. This, comrades, shows that the majority of the C. E. C. is in a wrong line but was a fundamentally wrong policy, a fundamentally non-Communist conception in the minds of those who were in the leadership of the C. E. C.

Comrades, that conception has manifested itself thruout the party work. Comrade Bittelman has spoken of our criticism of the united front policy of the majority group. And here is a very significant thing in relation to that criticism. The section in the written report starting "other united fronts and special party campaigns" (after the meeting). "Save the Lansky's Campaign. Anti-Trust Union, Unemployment, World Trade Union, the Release of Crozier and Trumbull. Not one of these campaigns was sufficiently initiated or protected from campaigns, were they actually organized, on any important scale, thru united front committees for the struggle for these policies. Not one, comrades! They are listed here, but examples of the united front. And then, comrades, we had one campaign during the regime of the present C. E. C. which succeeded in uniting the workers and poor farmers in a struggle, in carrying on an aggressive fight, and that is not mentioned in this report. What was that campaign? That was the campaign first initiated by the Workers Party, the protection of the foreign born, and carried on in 1924 against the new laws with the successful uniting of at least half a million workers in that struggle, as the result of the campaign, and yet this is forgotten, and these campaigns which fall short of correct application of the united front is used to show how the united front tactic is applied.

That, comrades, shows the line of thought, the line of thought manifests itself in issuing manifestos but yet we do not go to the point of organizing support of organizations for the struggle of workers, for the organizing support of these campaigns which we initiate. Comrades, the task of a united front campaign is to draw other organizations into the struggle, to organize groups with us thru delegates or committees and carry on the campaign thru these committees and thus the CEC has not sufficiently understood and carried on the campaign for such committees because that would be the organization of all kinds of new organizations with our own offices and against which they protest in their last thesis.

AND now, comrades, let us carry the argument a point further. The CPFA policy of the majority group, and we will get a further light on the conception of the united front of the majority of the CEC. The CPFA had called a conference for February 21 here in Chicago and our Party was to take action. We proposed the labor party slogan in relation to this convention. We proposed, the minority, to elect our delegates for February 21 and send them thru to fight under the slogan of the Labor Party, against La-

Folleitism, against Hillquitism, to go into the organization and make the struggle there. That was a correct policy. That's the policy the C. I. decided was the correct policy but what did the majority do? They issued for manifesto and a resolution which our comrades were to introduce in the trade unions which said "Boycott the CPFA convention! Boycott the CPFA convention!" Comrades that was delectious coming to life in the W. P. Boycott a mass movement of workers. Boycott a movement that is a struggle for progressive struggle against capitalism. Boycott a movement of the workers, which typified the development of the American working class since the end of the last movement toward a fight as a class in their own interests. That was the acme of sectarianism and that was the policy which was offered in place of point to the CPFA convention. The policy offered in CBC resolutions, as a substitute, was that we should ask the workers in the trade unions to fight a united front struggle with the Workers Party! To join in a united front struggle with the Workers Party! What was that. An agreement to fight a united front struggle with the C. I. No, comrades, that was making the tactic of the united front a sectarian principle. Making it a principle to perpetuate in place of making a tactic for action of the masses. If we urged the workers to go into a united front with us, we must say "united front against us, united front against child labor, united front against La Folletteism, the use of injunctions, united front on concrete issues and a united front with the Workers Party."

That, comrades, was the policy in Bittelmann's article, and the thesis of the majority which was offered next year, opposing in fact the organizations between the Workers Party and the masses of workers.

And now, comrades, we turn to the next development of that policy, although we would have this discussion in relation to the discussion of women's work, but since Comrade Bittelmann has raised the issue, I must answer.

WE had motions in the C. E. C. in regard to work among women. Comrade Bittelmann tries to tell you that the issue was whether we should carry on work among women in the factories. Comrade Bittelmann, here are the extracts from the minutes of

the C. E. C. which you yourself had made. I challenge you to show any case in your motion which shows work among women in the factories and ours which says work among housewives. That was never the issue. What was the issue? Not that, comrades, but we had in New York the United Council of Working Class Women. It is a progressive committee, united front character, first delegates from existing organizations, and second, it had, in addition, individual membership—and this question was, what we were to do with the organization. Your proposal, Com. Bittelmann, as it is, here, is that the United Council of Working Class Women shall become the Women's Secretariat of the Workers Party. In other words, you wanted to liquidate a non-party organization and take a few of its members to make it the Women's Secretariat of the Workers Party. In answer to that, our proposal was that we shall continue, that we shall build the U. C. W. We will try to develop it into a mass organization. And, comrades, the minutes went to the C. I., and here we have some letters from the C. I. and a question of party policy, which the C. I. had asked to publish for the benefit and education of our membership, has refused to give you the benefit of this advice. (Applause.) "Comrade Bittelmann, did you did they refuse? Listen to this quotation from C. I. letter):

The Secretariat of the C. E. C. I. has carefully examined, together with the Women's Secretariat of the Comintern, the Bittelmann and Ruthenberg resolutions and has adopted a definite attitude towards them. Both organs have come to the unanimous conclusion that the Bittelmann resolution adopted by you, although the voting resulted in a tie, is, in several places, in violation of the decisions and directions of the Comintern. The rejected Ruthenberg resolution represents, on the contrary, an excessively in the points in which it differs from the other resolution, the viewpoint formulated clearly and unmistakably in the resolutions and thesis of the Third International Conference of Communist Women in Moscow, which were endorsed by the Executive of the Comintern.

AND then, comrades, what next? Well, our majority had had the habit in the past of making policy mistakes, of accusing the Executive

Secretary of having falsified the minutes of the proceedings, and in this case they proceeded to say the minutes had not correctly explained their position and their viewpoint, and they sent a letter to Roosevelt's letters. In fact, one on Feb. 11 and the other on March 14—in which they explain their position to the Women's Secretariat of the Workers Party, and here I have the answer of the Executive Committee to their explanation dated May 6, 1928. "They say on the question of women's sections, we were not the issue between us. The matter is cleared up, but on the main issue, which was the issue between Comrade Bittelmann and myself, because of the matter of the minutes, they continued to say the following: "This settles that question, but the main question of which the International Women's Secretariat differed from the majority of the C. E. C. was the question of the role of the United Working Women's Council and the party's relation with the same. In other words, after their explanation, they get an answer which says they were just as wrong as before that explanation."

WE declared that our party suffered in the last year from a leadership which, because of its incorrect policy, could not mobilize the party nor could it bring the masses of 1928, who under the leadership of the party to any great extent. We say that our membership, which was 16,000 when the party was first organized, was 17,000 during the first six months of 1928, was again reduced to 14,000 during the last six months of 1928, so that we stand exactly today where we were a year and a half ago, and which is a C. E. C. which comes to the party with the year and a half of struggle, of work and expenditure of our forces in the work of our party, and cannot show progress in building the party, does not deserve leadership. (Applause.)

We say, comrades, that the C. E. C. has chosen to follow the same course to unite itself in the party with the same elements which were the basis of its support in the past and which will again, influence it in the wrong direction. We say the majority group in this convention made the mistake when it chose to use its power to override the minority in the fact that it took from it the positions of leadership in the party work which were by vote of the majority in the districts

of New York, Philadelphia and Cleveland. Our group sees in that policy of the majority of the C. E. C. a policy of persecution. It made its protest, it made its fight against it. It came back into the convention and said, we will not split this party. It is our party and we will stay in it and fight in it until it is a party which will be a party of the masses of Communist policy. (Applause.)

WE say that we will not split this party. No, but we will continue to fight against the policies which were adopted in the past, and we will continue to fight against misapplication of policies which may be correctly worded and resolutions which are correct in principle. We say, Com. C. E. C. majority will not apply in practice so as to gain results for our party. We say present conditions show Comrade Bittelmann that you have chosen to make the continued basis of your support the right wing elements of our party, the Finnish Federation and the Loreist group in the party, and elsewhere, we say to you that you have not any substantial support in this party beside these few elements. We say, therefore, we upon that support cannot lead this party and formulate correct policies for the building of this party. You must either make the mistake of termination and elimination. We say while you have chosen, we made the other otherwise, we desired something other, we desired peace, we were with the elements and join us on the leadership of the party based upon the Communist elements of this party and having the support of these Communist elements.

YOU have chosen the other road, and as you chose to be the representative of the right wing of this party, we desired peace, we have, we have no other recourse than to say that you are the right wing of the party and that we must fight against you. (Applause.)

We say that this condition is not the best solution and might have been alleviated yet but you made the decision, we desired peace, we have, and therefore there is no other road open for this minority to carry on a militant struggle against those elements of the party who are not ally developed, and which will give you the wrong policy and force us to continue to fight against it, and that we will do. (Tremendous cheers and applause.)

Cowdery Tells How to Keep from Growing Old

By P. B. COWDERY.

The comrades everywhere want to know about touring the country in an auto. The sign, "Frisco to Chicago—Subscribe for the DAILY WORKER," inspires numerous questions, and everyone, even strangers incidentally attracted, are invariably friendly and interested. When we handed out sample copies of the DAILY WORKER they have always said, "Good, we are with you."

"We" are the comrades from San Francisco, Oakland, California, who have already reported in the DAILY WORKER our meetings in Sacramento and San Lake City, also Fallon, Nevada. At all of these places we were treated royally. In Denver we held a street mass meeting Aug. 16, with 500 attending and 78 copies of the DAILY WORKER were sold. At another good meeting in the Labor Lyceum Aug. 17.

Stoppage of the oil line in our engine on the almost broken down engine of Salt Lake City ruined our engine. Temporary repairs enabled us to reach Denver. Here comrades overhauled the engine completely, thus eliminating our engine trouble. The unavoidable delay put us a day behind our schedule and made it necessary for Comrade Dolan to proceed by train to Kansas City and St. Louis, where he held meetings on the dates advertised.

Fall into a Mudhole. As to road conditions, the highways are still far from being better, except each year sees a tremendous lot of new construction. This year serious washouts have occurred in Nevada and Wyoming. Detours are numerous

due to construction work. Rain on detours and new grades necessitates frequent use of a towline. In Wyoming we went into the ditch. We merely attached our towline and the first machine passing pulled us out. In western Kansas a thunder storm struck us at 6 p. m. We were on a new grade. The storm so blinded Comrade Dolkin, who was driving, that he failed to avoid a bad mudhole. We camped right there until 8 a. m. During the evening several machines tried to pull us out but could not get traction. After the coming of daylight and a partial drying of the road a big machine with chains easily pulled us out. Fortunately our little was not very badly damaged and the three of us got a good night's rest which we badly needed. To make meeting dates required that we drive night and day. The fourteen-hour delay compelled us to miss our Pittsburgh date. We found that the storm was local and only extended about five miles and we had to be the only hole that could have delayed us. Our schedule of ten meetings in twelve days between Frisco and Chicago, had we experienced no delay, was found to be possible except for the lay between Pittsburgh, Kansas, and St. Louis, Mo. Here we were compelled to travel two nights and one day. Missouri roads are still in very bad condition, especially for night driving, being poorly marked, often narrow and rough and full of sharp turns without warning signs. But rapid progress is being made in road building, even in Missouri. Except for occasional delays, motoring on the main highways is very practicable and enjoyable.

The Trip Chicago—Convention Drivers

They drive Auto—Convention Drivers. These, comrades, who took to be completely successful. After the convention comrades Cowdery and Roberts plan to take more time returning and secure many subscribers for the DAILY WORKER and Worker Monthly. Comrades Dolan and Dobkin plan to remain in Chicago. Much has been learned on this trip to demonstrate the need for the necessity of using a Ford auto in distribution of literature and obtaining of subscribers. We expect to visit many towns before returning to California and we expect to convince the comrades in these towns of the necessity of circulating these publications. In California we saw have two autos on this job year in and year out. Sometimes, as on this trip, excessive expense compels us to accept assistance from comrades and sympathizers who realize the value of our work and are in a position to help us. We ask this only when necessary, and only on condition that we are giving value returned to the material. Our only pay is the regular commission on the subscriptions we obtain. Plenty of energy, accompanied by sheer ignorance, as by an example: Between Denver and Chicago, the cost of our spent just \$2.75 for gas, and for sleep nothing. We had to save our meager funds for gasoline. We had lost ten cents since starting, and had found friends in any town had we stopped to look for them.

A Wide Awake Crew.

As to driving night and day: We seldom stopped either to eat or sleep.

Only when we became tired out did we succeed in sleeping in the morning machine. Three of us took turns driving the machine. At the wheel we soon became sleepy. While reclining for the purpose of sleep we remained wide awake. This was the experience of all of us. We found, however, that we obtained sufficient rest even though we seemed not to sleep at all. It will be easily possible for a crew to drive a machine from San Francisco to Chicago in five days and nights in the near future. One more year, or at the most two more years, will find the highways all graded and dependable.

Why do you comrades use their evenings, Sundays, holidays and out-of-door vacations as they do for the social process of circulating our literature and less for the personal process of new pleasure seeking? Hunting for you to you have been writing and interesting the hundreds of our men's sake. Learn to put all you meet on record. Let your friends know how disgraced it is to waste their time and yours in the manner of a man's degree of scorn and ridicule if they fail to take the DAILY WORKER and read it. Extend your circle of friends to you to you have been for a man's sake. Don't let them get away with the idea that it is smart and the thing to be ignorant and wasteful in relation to the most important social problems. Put up a fight. Nothing short of this give you any real rest in life. The your auto to a purpose.

If you want to thoroughly understand Communism—study it. Send for a catalogue of all Communist literature.