

The Achievements of the Party

NOTE.—This is the second installment of the report for the Political Committee made by Jay Lovestone, at the recent Fifth National Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party held in New York City. This installment was delayed due to corrections that had to be made in the stenographic report. The third installment, under the heading of "The Party's Shortcomings, Mistakes and Problems," will appear tomorrow.

II. THE PARTY ACHIEVEMENTS.

DESPITE tremendous difficulties, our Party has moved forward. I will not say we have moved forward fully as much as we might have moved forward. I will not say we have responded effectively to every opportunity. I will not say we have had only glorious achievements in the past two years. But I will say that in the face of tremendous difficulties, our Party has been able to register some achievements, some substantial achievements in the past two years. And these achievements have been registered by the Party as a Party, not by groups, not by sections, not by individuals, but by the Party as a Party. The extent to which we registered these achievements was entirely dependent upon the fact of our being able to function as a unified party, as a Party homogeneous and monolithic in the Bolshevik sense.

Compare the situation with two years ago. Two years ago the outstanding features of our Party situation were: 1. An extremely factional condition. 2. No Party organization at all in the sense of a Communist Party. We had a Party of 19 language federations. Our Party today is weak organizationally, but we have made the first forward step towards a Communist organization. 3. Two years ago the Party was completely isolated from the masses.

In speaking of the Party achievements in the past two years, allow me to state the problem as Comrade Lenin has stated it. What is our central problem? Our central problem according to Lenin is "to discover and study and grasp the national peculiarities in the concrete methods of each particular country in order to perform the joint international tasks, to defeat opportunism and 'radical' dogmatism inside the working class movements, to overthrow the bourgeoisie, to establish the Soviet Republic and the dictatorship of the proletariat—that is the most important task of the historical moment." The problems of our Party are problems involving the application of fundamental principles of Bolshevism to concrete conditions in this country. We are not dogmatists or formalists. If we were, we would not be Leninists.

1. Our trade union work. In taking this concrete problem, this central problem, as Comrade Lenin has put it for us, what has our Party been able to do, that is what concrete steps, on the basis of the specific objective conditions in the United States for the past two years?

Of course, the anti-war campaign of the Party,—the Chinese campaign,—the campaign for the defense of the Soviet Union, has been the most pressing one, has been the one to which we have paid the greatest attention of all our political campaigns.

But allow me for the moment to go away from this order and to speak of the basic campaigns of the Party, the campaigns involving our Party entrenching itself in the mass organizations of the working class. Such problems are especially important in this country where we have no labor party, where we have practically speaking, no mass cooperative movement. Particularly in the U. S. do the trade unions occupy the most important position as the mass organizations of the working class. I will therefore speak first of our efforts to entrench ourselves in the trade unions.

Here we must recount the campaign of the Party to draw members into the unions. Regarding the miners' campaign, the details of this campaign will be dealt with in a subsequent report. It is of no small significance for the Party that it was a leading force of the left wing and progressive movement in the campaign that culminated in the actual election of the progressive candidate Brophy in the miners' union. The one who is functioning as the president of the miners' union today is functioning not as the elected president but as the usurper of that office. With all the weaknesses shown in our ranks, the fight in the miners' convention was a big step forward for our Party. The fight of the Party, weak as it has been and strengthened as it must be, in this miners' strike today, is a fight which has tremendous possibilities for our Party.

In reference to the TUEL—despite tremendous difficulties, the TUEL has made progress. The textile conferences, the conferences in the coal and needle industries, in the shoe and other industries indicate a revival of life for the TUEL. The TUEL may be weak in organization, but its political influence as a force in the trade unions has been increased in recent times. The establishment of a left wing paper such as Labor Unity with the help of our Party is a fact of vital import for every section of the working class.

There is a tremendous offensive against us—an offensive launched by the bourgeoisie and the labor lieutenants of American imperialism. The Party has shown in many instances a capacity to meet this offensive.

The organization of the unorganized. The Party has made a small beginning in this field. Yet it is some beginning in the organization of the unorganized. We need but mention the strike in Passaic, the attempt of the Party to organize the rubber workers, to organize the workers in the coal fields, in the building trades, in the automobile industry. Let me say, comrades, that there is no other organization in this country today which dares to challenge the power of the auto magnates. Our Party must take this campaign in hand and must pay much attention particularly to this field. Lumber, needle trades and other industries show the same proof of our Party's successful efforts to organize the unorganized.

The question of strike leadership: For the first time in the history of our Party, we have shown ability to respond to this need, to respond to local strike situations throughout the country. Our Party comrades have shown capacity to lead masses who are in revolt against their immediate conditions. When we say in revolt against immediate conditions, let us say that it is precisely in the schooling of such revolts that the fate of our Party rests. If our Party can respond adequately and properly to the needs of the masses in these small every day struggles, then it will learn leadership in the school of the class struggle and lead the workers towards more fundamental, towards deeper class struggles. The Party has thus very effectively issued certain living slogans, such as the five-day week, the forty-hour week.

A few words about utilization of divisions within the trade union bureaucracy: I speak of our campaign on China, the campaign for the protection of the foreign-born. Let me in this sense also touch on our trade union delegation. The trade union delegation now in Soviet Russia is not a Communist delegation. It is not a progressive delegation. It contains in its ranks some of the most reactionary elements of our trade union leadership. But precisely for that reason is it a mark of progress for the workers in this country and precisely for that reason can the Party say it has acted in a Bolshevik manner. The problem of the American working class has been to get to the Soviet Union representative workers of this country, who will represent the workers in this country, even in their backwardness—yes, even in their backwardness.

It would be very easy for the workers to get to the Soviet Union a delegation of Communists, but to get such elements like Fitzpatrick, the reactionary, and Maurer, who typifies the progressive section of the working class—this is proof that our Party knows how to react in a Bolshevik sense to this problem. Our Party has not fought this delegation tho its personnel and methods are far from satisfactory.

2. Now regarding the Labor Party: The Labor Party movement, compared to 1921, is at a low ebb nationally. But in certain sections of this country there are increasing signs of vital Labor Party movement. Let us examine the conditions in Minnesota, where our Party has been the one vital force keeping alive this movement and forcing, in the face of reactionary opposition, forward steps in this organization. In Connecticut, in California, in Massachusetts, in these localities, the Labor Party movement has shown signs of life largely through the efforts of our comrades. The action of District 2 of the United Mine Workers for a Labor Party, in spite of the Miners' official opposition at the union's national convention, is a step forward. Here the Party made itself heard for the first time. The establishment of national and local Labor Party committees despite the opposition of the trade union leaders, is a task that our Party must fulfil to a far larger degree than it has in the past, because these committees afford a splendid approach to development of a labor party movement.

3. In reference to our campaign on China: Here our campaign has been divided into two phases: To the best of our ability and with all our resources thrown into this campaign, we have made clear the character of American imperialism, not only in China, but in China as part of the whole system and policies of American imperialism toward Nicaragua, Mexico and Latin America. Secondly, we have mobilized thousands of workers in this campaign thru mass meetings and thru demonstrations. The demonstrations in Minnesota, the demonstrations in Philadelphia, the big demonstrations in New York and Seattle indicate the capacity of our Party to have masses respond to the Chinese situation, not as a Chinese situation, but as a concrete American situation of vital importance to American workers. This campaign we have tied up organizationally with our party's membership drive. The resolutions passed by the unions, the mobilization of certain central labor councils, the drawing nearer to the Communist position of members of the Kuomintang, these must all be recorded as an indication of the growing ability of our Party to utilize such issues and to mobilize sentiment for these conflicts.

We have issued literature on this question. We should have had more, but this response to timely literature by non-party masses has shown the ability of the membership of our Party to rally masses. Our literature distribution has totalled some one and a quarter million leaflets alone, or the highest amount of propaganda ever

given out by the Party in any one campaign.

The demonstrations against the British consulates and embassy were of tremendous significance. And when Baldwin and Chamberlain can take time off to sneer at the Workers Party, to sneer at these demonstrations, we have proven that our campaign harmed the bourgeoisie and had a beneficial effect upon the working class.

4. About the Party reorganization: The Party has been reorganized on the shop and street nucleus basis. In September 1925 the Party membership, dues paying membership, was 14,000. Of this number approximately 4,000 or 4,500 were dual members, members who were wives of comrades, who were there automatically on a dual stamp. Particularly was this noticeable in certain former language sections of the Party.

What is the dues-paying membership of the Party today? It is not sufficient to give you figures and say here is our membership. We must view the membership realistically. We must view the trend of our membership. In 1926 the average dues-paying membership after reorganization, was 7,599 per month. In 1927, in the first six months, it is 8,890—that is the dues paying average for the first six months. Immediately after reorganization, or immediately beginning the period of reorganization (that is, the last four months of 1925) our dues paying membership was 9,367. Today our membership, our dues paying membership, at this moment, is 9,642. Despite the strike in the Miners Union, which has cut in heavily on our dues payments, despite the needle trades situation, we have approximately 10,000 dues-paying members. This does not mean that all we have is 10,000 members. In every Party in the CI the dues paying membership is substantially smaller than the actual membership of the party.

In dealing with reorganization, we must not only speak of the reorganization on the shop and street nucleus basis, but we must also speak of the attempt to build up a real Party apparatus and the results achieved in this attempt nationally and locally. In certain districts like New York, one of the outstanding results of reorganization has been the building up of an agitprop department and the excellent Workers School. Another result nationally has been the organization of trade union fractions, approximately three hundred in number, and the establishment of three new Communist dailies as well as the popularization of certain Party literature.

What has been the trend of our Party's capacity to attract masses since reorganization? For the first four months of 1925, while we were reorganizing the Party, 832 workers joined our Party. In 1926, 2,371 workers joined our Party. In the first six months of 1927, 1,877 workers joined our Party. The increase of workers joining our Party through reorganization is obvious. Since the Party has been reorganized, 5,080 new members joined our ranks. In the Ruthenberg Drive alone we secured 1,355 new members.

On shop papers: it is hard to get an exact estimate of our strength, but it is clear that we have established in certain localities like Detroit, shop papers which have a mass influence in factories which are centres of proletarian strength. I speak of such shop papers as in the automobile factories of Detroit—and in the Harvester plant in Chicago. Twenty-six of our shop papers have a circulation of over 53,000.

At present we have a little over 35 per cent of our Party organized in shop nuclei. This is an insufficient proportion. Our shop nuclei are not functioning well enough as a rule. The shop nucleus which functions very well is the exception. The condition of our organization is not satisfactory. The Party organization as an organization is still too weak. There are more shortcomings in our Party organization than in any other field of our work.

Yet on the whole, what is the meaning for the Party of this reorganization? Let me read what the Comintern has said in its resolution on our Party re-organization in December, 1926: "Through reorganization of the Party on the basis of factory and street nuclei, the necessary organizational premise for a real Communist Party has been created. Considerable progress has been made with respect to the welding together of the Party into a united, centralized party of the American proletariat. The reorganization has been a great achievement for the Party. The actual composition of the Party has been improved and the nature of the Party work has been changed. The activity of the Party membership is growing as shown by the much better attendance at factory and street nucleus meetings and in the publication of factory newspapers."

5. Let me go into some other campaigns of the Party and sketch them briefly. In our agricultural work we are on the whole particularly weak. But in the last two years, the United Farmers Educational League has been revived among the exploited farmers. Contracts with progressive farmers have been revived and increased. A progressive farmers' paper has been established.

6. The campaign for the protection of foreign-born workers. The Party has moved forward. The National Conference of 1926, where 400,000 were represented, weak as

DRAMA

Elmer Gantry's Ancestor Perhaps

"Tartuffe the Gilded Hypocrite" With Emil Jannings at the Cameo

Emil Jannings's brilliant exposure of holy, sensuous, church-going hypocrisy makes a trip to the Cameo Theatre a fairly pleasant evening's entertainment. "Tartuffe" must end with a moral, of course. But a bit of moralizing in this story based on Moliere's play may be forgiven in return for Jannings's realistic characterization.



Emil Jannings

Tartuffe, a holy-man, not unlike our modern Elmer (for in those days there was need of a different technique) deviates from his bible in the direction of good food and better women. The wife of a wealthy boob who falls under the influence of Tartuffe, for the sake of her hubby makes it her business to show him up. With the aid of bottled good cheer and personal charms she brings about the downfall of the holy man's influence, bringing his deviations to her hubby's attention. All this of course after many difficulties, for Tartuffe is a shrew, clever rascal.

The pictorial telling of the story gives Emil Jannings another character opportunity. He makes most of it to add another triumph to many that have made him one of the great cinema actors.

Not an unusual picture in itself, "Tartuffe" is far above most inane movies we are asked to spend hard earned money on. Even most of those from Germany where this one comes from.

John Galsworthy's "The Escape" Due Here in October

William B. Friedlander's production of "Speakeasy" is playing in the Cort Theatre, Jamaica, this week, and next week will be at the Windsor Theatre. The new Edward Knoblock-George Rosener melodrama is scheduled to open on Broadway September 27. Jose Ruben and Anne Shoemaker are prominent in the cast.

Joseph Santley's "Just Fancy!" will open at the Playhouse, Wilmington, September 28, for its initial tryout. The musical comedy is due here early in October.

"10 Per Cent" and "The Wild Man of Borneo," will have their premiere tonight; the first at the Geo. M. Cohan Theatre, and the latter at the Bijou.

that conference was, with all its shortcomings, indicated the increasing capacity of the Party to respond to the needs of the working class.

We must do more in the campaign for the protection of the foreign-born and we must consider the approaching danger as evidenced in the statements of Secretary of Labor Davis, Commissioner of Immigration Hull, the statement of the Chairman of the House Commission on Immigration, Congressman Albert Johnson. All of these indicate that immediately after this convention the Party will have to mobilize the workers against this menace of the bourgeoisie—the attack on the foreign-born of this country.

7. About the Negro work. The weaknesses of the Party in this field are too numerous and too strong to recount. Our beginning here has been a weak and poor one, but we already have sufficient experience and results in the Negro work to know that our comrades and our Party have been able to penetrate basic organizations of the Negro masses, have been able to assume leadership in the organization of unorganized Negro masses and to spread propaganda among the millions of Negro workers, feebly though it be, yet with results.

8. One cannot speak highly of the women's work of our Party. There is no nationally directed mass women's work. There is insufficient national direction, practically speaking, no national direction. This must be remedied. However, it should encourage us to remember that in various localities our comrades (in the Passaic strike and in other vital issues affecting the working class, affecting the women of the working class) have been able to mobilize masses of considerable size.

9. The same can be said about cooperative work. There is no national direction in a vital, organic sense. This must be remedied. Locally, in Minnesota, and in some cases in New York, our Party has shown that we have the basis for doing substantial work in this field and for taking leadership and initiative in the cooperative movement.

10. The Sacco-Vanzetti campaign: This campaign has assumed tremendous significance. We must speak here very plainly about the black behavior of the Boston Committee. We must speak very plainly about the treacherous policy of the Socialists and the dirty behavior of the American Federation of Labor. Were it not for our Party, standing at times almost alone in the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign, there would not

ROBERT LEONARD



Plays an important part in "10 Per Cent," a new comedy by Eugene Davis, which opens at the Geo. M. Cohan Theatre tonight.

AMUSEMENTS

Little Theatre 44th St. W. of B'way. Evenings at 8:30. Eves. 8:30. MATS. CHURS. & SAT. 2:30

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THE DESERT SONG N. Y. & London's Musical Sensation with Robt. Halliday & Eddie Buzzell 11th Month 39 St. & B'way. Eves. 8:30 Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:30

"Merry-Go-Round" was transferred from the Klaw to the Harris Theatre last night.

Winthrop Ames' production of John Galsworthy's "The Escape," is announced for October with Leslie Howard, who will play the leading character. Austin Trevor, who played in the London production, will also be in the cast, along with Frieda Inescort.

Keep Up the Sustaining Fund

have been mobilized the mass pressure and mass sentiment which has been mobilized in recent weeks. We have done good work in this campaign, comrades. The ruling class knows that on this issue even the backward American workers, to a larger extent than to any other issue, are responding. The imperialists know the dangers of this response are especially great because the conscious section of the working class, The Workers (Communist) Party is the leader in this response.

The estimate of our work in the past two years has been made in the following manner by the Comintern:

"In spite of enormous difficulties, the Workers (Communist) Party of America has achieved considerable successes in the sphere of mass work. It has led a number of strikes, it has made the first attempts to organize the unorganized, it has penetrated into the miners' union. . . . It must also be placed on record that the Party has undergone internal consolidation as a result of the considerable diminution of the factional struggle. These create the premise for the further growth of the influence of the Party among the masses."

This was the declaration of the 7th Enlarged Executive in November, 1926. Since that time the Comintern made the following declaration last June:

"The Presidium recognizes that despite great objective difficulties, the Party has recently made important progress in many fields of activities."

"In the trade union field the Party has achieved quite a number of successes expressed in the increasing influence of the Left Wing in important unions—the Miners' and the needle trades—and in initiating and leading big strikes. The increasing influence of the Party and the left wing has called forth an offensive of the corrupt trade union bureaucracy as a result of which there are made far-reaching demands on the tacticaladroitness of the Workers (Communist) Party."

Comrades, let us have no illusions. Our Party is not yet a mass Party. Our Party is not yet a strong Party. Our Party is still a weak Party. Our Party has not done everything it could have done in the past two years. But let us have this in mind: our young Party, our weak Party, under the most tremendous objective difficulties, has shown increasing capacity to respond in a Bolshevik sense to the needs and demands of the proletarian masses in struggles, an increasing ability to lead ever larger masses to the left.

(To Be Continued Tomorrow)