

THE COMMUNIST

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

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Boycott the Coming Elections!

WORKERS:

It is the duty of every class-conscious worker in America to boycott the coming elections:

A worker's vote cast for any of the parties or their candidates standing for election is a vote for REACTION or REFORM!

Whether it be the Republican Party and Harding or the Democratic Party and Cox, or whether it be the Farm Labor Party and Christensen, the Socialist Party and Deba or the Socialist Labor and Cox a worker's vote cast for any of these parties or their candidates IS A VOTE TO PERPETUATE THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM BASED UPON WAGE SLAVERY AND THE ROBBERY OF YOUR CLASS IT IS A VOTE TO STRENGTHEN THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT BY MEANS OF WHICH THE WORKING CLASS IS KEPT IN SUBJECTION BY LIES, FRAUD, DECEPTION, FORCE AND VIOLENCE!

Do you workers want to perpetuate your own class-slavery?

Do you want to maintain and strengthen the capitalist government which has shown by its every act that it is nothing but the tool of the capitalist class and acts against the working class every time?

Then cast your vote in the coming elections!

If you believe in capitalist wars in which the workers are called upon to lay down their lives for the profit of the master class—vote in the coming elections!

If you believe in THE HIGH COST OF LIVING—vote in the coming elections!

If you believe in UNEMPLOYMENT—vote in the coming elections!

If you believe in GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION—vote in the coming elections!

If you believe in GOVERNMENT STRIKE-BREAKING—vote in the coming elections!

If you believe in SCABBING—vote in the coming elections!

If you believe in being LOCKED OUT BY THE BOSS—vote in the coming elections!

If you believe in being CLUBBED AND SHOT BY THE POLICE AND SOLDIERS OF THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT—vote in the coming elections!

If you believe in LYNCHING—vote in the coming elections!

If you believe in DEPORTATION OF RADICAL WORKERS—vote in the coming elections!

If you believe in NATION-WIDE RAIDS UPON REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS—vote in the coming elections!

If you believe in DESTROYING SOVIET RUSSIA—vote in the coming elections!

If you believe in SUPPORTING REACTIONARY POLAND AGAINST THE FREE WORKERS AND PEASANTS' GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA—vote in the coming elections!

If you believe in SENDING ARMS, AMMUNITION AND SUPPLIES TO THE ENEMIES OF SOVIET RUSSIA—vote in the coming elections!

If you believe in perpetuating PROSTITUTION, CRIME, CHILD LABOR AND THE THOUSAND AND ONE ECONOMIC EVILS FROM WHICH THE MASSES IN THIS COUNTRY ARE SUFFERING—vote in the coming elections!

A VOTE CAST IN THE COMING ELECTIONS FOR ANY POLITICAL PARTY NOW IN THE FIELD—IS A VOTE IN FAVOR OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS AND AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS!

The Republican and Democratic parties stand openly for the capitalist class—whose economic interests they represent.

The Farm-Labor Party stands for Government Ownership and Reform—which leads to State Capitalism—strengthens the capitalist system and keeps the working class chained to wage-slavery.

The Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party PRETEND they are for the abolition of capitalism and the emancipation of the workers from wage slavery, but ACTUALLY, by adopting wrong tactics support the lies and deception of capitalist "democracy", and help to fasten these lies upon the workers—thus aiding the capitalist class in preventing the workers from taking independent class action for their own emancipation.

These REFORM PARTIES fool the workers by telling them that the capitalist system can be abolished PEACEFULLY.

—THIS IS A LIE! AN OUTRAGEOUS, DAMNABLE LIE!

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM CANNOT BE ABOLISHED PEACEFULLY—WHETHER BY THE BALLOT BOX OR ANY OTHER MEANS!

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM CANNOT BE ABOLISHED UNLESS THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT—the organized machinery of the capitalist class by means of which they maintain themselves in power as the ruling class and keep the working class in subjection—is FIRST DESTROYED BY A VIOLENT REVOLUTION OF THE ARMED WORKERS—AND A NEW GOVERNMENT A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE FORM OF A SOVIET GOVERNMENT IS ESTABLISHED IN ITS PLACE!

The present capitalist government is nothing but the organized dictatorship of the capitalist class. Its army, navy, courts, police, bureaucracy, schools, press, church, etc. are the instruments through which the capitalist class perpetuate the lies of capitalist "democracy" and club and shoot you into submission when you wake up and attempt to resist their domination!

Every intelligent worker knows that as long as the capitalist class owns and controls the organs of publicity, of teaching and moulding the minds of the workers—the workers cannot free themselves.

Every intelligent worker also knows that no capitalist class ever gave up its power without a violent struggle.

Look across at Europe and see how the ruling classes are striving by every possible means to keep the workers down!

One Day's Pay

The Second Convention of the Communist Party unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon the membership to contribute ONE DAY'S PAY to a national organization fund.

In accordance with the decision of the Convention, the C. P. C. issues this call to all members of the Communist Party to contribute one day's pay for the national organization.

Comrades, the need is great. You know it. We need not waste time and space telling you about it.

The Communist Party is united and solidified on the basis of principles and tactics as never before in its history.

There are difficult tasks ahead of us—the energy exist to carry on this highly agitation.

The spirit, the will, the determination, the energy exist to carry on this highly important work.

BUT WITHOUT FUNDS WE CANNOT CARRY ON!

Comrades! Rally to the support of the Communist Party!

GIVE ONE DAY'S PAY TO MAKE THE PARTY A PARTY OF ACTION.

See how the German capitalist class combines with the "yellow" Socialists to crush every uprising of the German workers!

See how the Hungarian capitalist class with the assistance of the "yellow" Socialists, destroys the workers' organizations, throws them into jails, places them against the wall to face firing squads, shoots, hangs and slays without mercy!

See how the French capitalist class tried to destroy the workers' organizations! How they suppress the revolts of their soldiers who are called upon to fight in Russia, Siberia and Africa and who refuse—see how they shoot the workers down in strikes or demonstrations!

Look at Moody England! One hundred thousand troops, fully armed, are sent into Ireland to suppress the Irish revolt. Thousands of soldiers are busy shooting defenceless Indian natives whose only crime is that they desire freedom from the rule of Britain, in Arabia, Turkey, wherever English colonies are rising up against the merciless rule of England—the English capitalist class uses FORCE to crush them!

And when the English workers themselves who are beginning to think and act—make up their minds to destroy the capitalist government, the English capitalist class will use its troops and machine guns against them no less readily

than it uses them against the natives of the colonies.

In Japan, Italy, Finland, everywhere the same thing occurs.

Do you American workers believe that the American capitalist class is more tender-hearted than the European capitalist class?

Forget it! The American capitalist class is the richest, most powerful and reactionary class in the world.

Just look at the history of the class struggle in the United States. At every step in the struggle of the workers to better their conditions the capitalist class and its government met them with persecution, repression and oppression unequalled in all history. Homestead—Ludlow—Calumet—West Virginia—Paterson—Lawrence—McKees Rocks—Seattle—Hutts—these are only a few of the tragic milestones that mark the struggle of the American working class for BREAD—JUST BREAD!

Or take the longshoremen Strike—the Coal Strike—the Steel Strike—with its injunctions, martial law, raids, deportations and arrests—does this look as if the American capitalist class will ever give up its power without a bitter and violent struggle?

FORGET THIS FOOLISH AND CRIMINAL IDEA OF A PEACEFUL CHANGE!

AWAY WITH THESE REFORM PARTIES THAT PREACH SUCH RIDICULOUS IDEAS TO THE WORKERS!

IT IS TIME THAT YOU AMERICAN WORKERS WAKE UP TO THE REAL FACTS!

THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF RUSSIA ARE SHOWING THE WAY!

THE EUROPEAN WORKERS ARE LEARNING FAST FROM SOVIET RUSSIA AND WILL SOON THROW THE WHOLE GANG OF ROBBERS WITH THEIR "YELLOW" SOCIALIST AND PACIFIST APOLOGISTS AND THEIR CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS INTO THE GARBAGE-HEAP!

LEARN FROM YOUR RUSSIAN AND EUROPEAN BROTHERS!

The Communist Party of America—the only revolutionary working class political party—IS THE ONLY PARTY THAT STANDS FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS FROM WAGE SLAVERY!

The Communist Party advocates mass action of the armed workers in open armed insurrection and civil war as the ONLY means of conquering political power for the workers, destroying the capitalist government and establishing a Workers' Government—A Soviet Government—The Dictatorship of the Proletariat—as the ONLY MEANS OF ABOLISHING THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND EMANCIPATING THE WORKING CLASS FROM WAGE SLAVERY!

In order to bring this message before the masses of the American working class the Communist Party will utilize every weapon at its disposal for propaganda and agitation. It accepts participation in election campaigns and parliamentary activity as one of these weapons—but for revolutionary propaganda and agitation only. The Communist Party however, will abstain from parliamentary activity whenever conditions make such a course necessary.

The Communist Party will have to carry out the coming elections for reasons which are familiar to every well-informed worker. The Communist Party has been outlawed by the capitalist government and declared illegal in the capitalist courts. Its leaders are all under indictment or in jail. Thousands of its members are held for deportation or trial. Under such conditions the Communist Party could not participate in the coming elections and carry its revolutionary propaganda and agitation directly to the workers at shop meetings and hall meetings or debate with the "yellow" Socialists before the workers and show them up as a bunch of vote-seeking reformers.

The Communist Party shall have to carry on its propaganda through its underground tracts, literature and press until the workers of America become class conscious and compel the capitalist government to keep its hands off it!

THEREFORE, because the Communist Party is the only revolutionary political working class party—and because this party has boycotted the coming elections—WE, YOUR FELLOW WORKERS AND COMRADES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA CALL UPON YOU THE WORKERS OF AMERICA TO BOYCOTT THE COMING ELECTIONS!

THE COMMUNIST

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The U. C. P. and Communist International

The group of Centrist leaders who dominate and control the U. C. P. are in a decidedly unenviable position from which they are unable to extricate themselves except by shutting their eyes to facts and deliberate fortuitous circumstances they would merely excite pity—but since they have brought this upon themselves by their rascality and double-dealing they only merit contempt.

That these men are deliberate liars as well as Centrists is evidenced anew by the recent answer of the U. C. P. to the Executive Committee of the Communist International in reply to their appeal for unity between the Communist Party and the former Communist Labor Party.

From beginning to end this answer of theirs is a tissue of lies, misrepresentations and evasions of the issue. It is merely an apologetic whining where it does not lie or misrepresent.

The U. C. P. answer did not even attempt to state why unity was not achieved between the C. P. and the C. L. P. For a very good reason. They would have been compelled to tell the truth and that would have exposed their dirty under-handed trickery to "split" the Communist Party and unite only with the spitting off faction. No word as to the unity negotiations that were pending and why they were broken off. Similarly with regard to the recent "split" in the Communist Party.

Indeed to judge by their answer, it would seem as if there never were any unity negotiations. Of course, it wouldn't do to admit that the C. E. C. of the C. P. (the same against which Damon, Y. F. & Co. fulminated so much) actually formulated the very method of unity as now promulgated by the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Nor would it do to admit that they were the very ones who were opposed to it.

How could they be expected to reprint the following agreement as printed in the "Communist Labor", official organ of the former C. L. P. of May 15th?

"Several meetings were held between representatives of the C. L. P. and representatives of the 'minority' group as represented by..... At these conference AGREEMENT WAS REACHED NOT TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE 'MAJORITY' GROUP OF THE C. E. C. OF THE C. P., those who attempted to continue their control in opposition to rank and file desires...."

Such facts would be rather awkward to say the least.

This answer of the U. C. P. is very much on a par with John Reed's hysterical version of the two conventions of Sept. 1st of last year after he reached the other side.

In those days the C. L. P. had no other reason for separate existence than the late statement that the C. L. P. was composed mostly of Americans while the C. P. was made up mainly of "foreigners" who wanted to dominate the Communist movement.

To-day the U. C. P. can give no better reasons for separate existence than that "The United Communist Party is a re-organization of the majority elements of the former two parties. But, as we have already reported to your committee, a minority faction of the unity. This faction is composed of part of the membership of the British, Ukrainian, Russian and Lithuanian Federations of the Communist Party. Practically all the members of the Communist Labor Party have come into the united party."

The inference which the U. C. P. wishes to be drawn from this outrageous lie is that there is no Communist Party in existence just a few splintered federations. While the U. C. P. has most of the members of the C. P. and "practically all" the members of the C. L. P....

These Centrist measure Communism quantitatively. What is to be expected coming from them—but why did they fail to submit figures to the Third International to substantiate their claim?

We are not surprised at such a lapse coming from the C. L. P. leaders—they have never been overfond of figures when it had to do with C. L. P. membership—but Damon and Y. F. have more business sense than that! (We remember how greedily Damon once challenged Meyers to submit membership figures of the C. L. P. during the unity negotiations and how shamefacedly Meyers replied that he had no books or dues-stamps to go by). Surely Damon, the best business man in the Communist movement and Y. F., with his legal training, would not neglect such a wonderful opportunity without good cause?

The answer to this riddle is that the U. C. P. are lying and dare not present figures. They dare not present figures as to the membership of the C. L. P., which was represented

in the unity convention mostly by proxies some of whose constituencies have since repudiated action of those proxies—like the State of Washington and left their new party. They dare not present figures as to what they lost through the Debs nomination—but the repudiation of their C. E. C. at that time gave us more than a hint of what was going on behind the scenes. Surely the Clifford gang of Ohio, who stated openly as members of the C. L. P. that they were opposed to force and a violent revolution, or even the use of force, are not members of the U. C. P.? What became of Lore's German Federation which publishes the Volkzeitung? Surely the U. C. P. did not take over that paper and abolish the German Federation? How about the Scandinavian Federation of the C. L. P. which published "Truth" is now out of the party. All these facts are conveniently omitted. They give no figures but they have the courtesy to say that "practically all" of the C. L. P. has joined the U. C. P.

With reference to the "minority" faction which followed Damon, Y. F. & Co. into the U. C. P. the same stilted silence as regards figures but blustering phrases about the depleted federations of the C. P. which no longer exist. Fortunately, our former Acting Secretary after Damon, Comrade Hunte, prepared and submitted authentic figures to our recent convention which disposes of all their pretensions and lies. The Communist Party did not lose more than 28 per cent of its membership after the split. Of which we know for a fact, that if the U. C. P. got half of this figure they were doing well. All in all, the total membership of the U. C. P. does not total more than five thousand and is probably nearer four thousand. While the depleted federations of the "former Communist Party" that negligible faction has more than nine thousand members. Close to eight thousand members participated in the convention while some 1500 or 2000 members had an opportunity to participate because three federation conventions were held at about the same time as the national convention.

So much for membership figures. We shall now analyze their "general views upon particular questions" as expressed in their statement.

For instance: "The United Communist Party is opposed to a narrow sectarian policy which fails to take into account and to strive for close contact with the mass of the workers in their constant economic struggles. Indeed, IT WAS EXACTLY THIS CONTENTION UPON WHICH THE FORMER COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP BROKE, WITH THE MAJORITY OF THEIR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. (Italics ours, editor)."

The kind of "close contact" the former Centrist "minority" wanted was close contact at the sacrifice of Communist principles and tactics. They stated they were opposed to our interpretation of mass action, which included armed insurrection against the capitalist state, and refused to propagate this idea to the masses. They stated they wanted to abolish the political unity of organization and wished to substitute industrial branches. Instead, they were for supporting the I. W. W. and wanted to make their organ a recruiting ground for the I. W. W., industrial unionism, "Communist theory they had and the 'Big Bluff of Bolshevism' and would have none of it. Their position on these questions is open for any one who cares to go through the files of their paper and their statements and needs very little comment here. The controversy between the C. E. C. and the Centrist "minority" was not sectarianism or close contact with the masses but what kind and condition of contact were to be achieved and how!

In view of these well-known facts it is the sheerest humbug and hypocrisy to ascribe sectarianism as the cause of the disagreement.

In trying to explain the reasons for the Communist movement not having been a vital factor in the recent "collisions between capital and labor", they resort to stupidities and banalities instead of telling the truth. We quote:

"We are keenly conscious of the force of what is said about agitation outside the circle of our party, agitation which expresses Communist leadership in the immediate struggles of the American workers. OUR OWN IMMATURETY AS A PARTY, DIVERSION OF ENERGIES INTO FACTIONAL CONTROVERSIES ON INESSENTIAL MATTERS, (THE PERSECUTIONS WHICH HAVE AGAIN DISORGANIZED OUR WORK, HAVE LIMITED THE EXTERNAL AGITATION AND INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THIS COUNTRY." (Italics ours, editor)."

To judge by this answer one would be led to believe that the American working class was and is ready to accept Communist leadership in their economic and political struggles! That they are waiting with open minds and outstretched hands to welcome the Communist leaders but they have been busy with a "diversion of their energies into factional controversies on INESSENTIAL MATTERS", to respond. (It is characteristic of Centrists that they regard all questions as "inessential"—even those questions upon which they dare take responsibility to split a Communist organization). Instead of stating the truth about the great masses of the workers—their provincialism, their repulsion toward Communism, their lack of class-consciousness, etc., they prefer to give the impression that the American workers are sufficiently awakened politically and economically that the proletarian revolution is not far away. They whine about the persecutions totally oblivious that it was due to their criminal negligence to put the plan of the C. E. C. of November 15th into action that resulted in our

being completely taken by surprise and almost destroyed.

On the subject of labor unions they attempt to prove that their position agrees with the Communist International—which is patently absurd if they only compare their program with the Thesis of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian revolution. Their policy is a rank compromise with the syndicalist position of the I. W. W. They make the I. W. W. the "obvious medium" for propaganda and agitation on the economic field. Their form of shop committees is such that party and non-party members can be members, so that they will have no possibility of controlling them as soon they are put in operation.

Their policy toward the A. F. of L. is the same as the policy of the I. W. W., which is condemned by the thesis, by Zinoviev, as the following quotation will prove:

"The Communists do not avoid the mass non-party working class organizations even when they bear an openly reactionary, 'Black Hand', character (the 'Yellow' Unions, the 'Christian' Unions, and so on). But the Communist Party conscientiously carries on its own work within these organizations, and untiringly demonstrates to the workers that the non-party idea, as a principle, is consciously fostered amongst the workers by the capitalist class and its lackeys. In order to divert the proletariat from the organized struggle for Socialism."

Probably the gem of the document is the chapter dealing with language federations. Their despicable and fraudulent attempt to disparage the role and influence of the language federations both within the C. P. and afterwards proves to what depths these "chauvinists" will descend in their hatred and opposition to federations. (The recent decision of their C. E. C. in reference to the Russian language branches conference which elected a National Propaganda Committee reprinted elsewhere in this issue—in eloquent testimony as well). It is small wonder that they abolished language federations in their party they haven't the slightest conception of real organization. A mechanical, bureaucratic centralization, with a docile membership that does not understand English and therefore cannot control its leaders, is their conception of an ideal form of organization. They have in the U. C. P. It remains to be seen how long their membership will stand for it.

This chapter dealing with federations wastes several hundred words in an obvious attempt to state nothing but that they have abolished federations. Their only conception of foreign-language propaganda is "paying more attention to certain matters of news." They do not understand that the federation form of organization for the non-English-speaking elements in the C. P. was the most important factor by crystallizing and coordinating the wave of revolt in the membership that resulted in the Left Wing movement and the subsequent creation of the Communist Parties. Even today, in the Communist Party, the federation form of organization plays a twofold purpose. One—an efficient coordinated propaganda in the foreign languages, which only the federation form is capable of—and second, coordinating the activities of the foreign-speaking comrades and disseminating information and knowledge of the party and its leaders, so that no set of leaders will be able to lead the party into a Centrist path without effective opposition. (It is the latter reason which has scared our former Centrist "minority" as well as the C. L. P. leaders, into abolishing the language federations "at one stroke").

The U. C. P. is composed of the same relative component parts of English-speaking and non-English-speaking elements as the Communist Party. But whereas the federations in the C. P. hold annual conventions and elect their C. E. C. (including editors) directly responsible to their membership and to the C. E. C. of the party—within the U. C. P. the language branches have no connection with each other but only with the party committees. The editors of the language organs are the paid employees of the C. E. C. and responsible to no one else. They act merely as translators—who translate the articles of the English organ into their own language. They have no policy of their own within the limit of their language problems. These men being chosen by the C. E. C. are usually the willing tools of the C. E. C. or they would not be selected. This makes it impossible in general for effective counter-expression in the foreign language papers which could acquaint the non-English speaking elements with the real policies of the leaders. Secondly, even if some such articulation should develop from time to time, there is no effective medium of crystallizing this sentiment in the party so as to effect a change in the personnel of its leadership. Of course this is a distinct advantage to these Centrist leaders, but it is equally disadvantageous for the vast majority of the foreign membership who cannot read or write or speak English. The regular party units are useless for such a purpose. The fact that members speaking a number of different languages have to elect representatives to party committees, makes it imperative that only those able to speak and understand English shall be elected. The basis of representation therefore automatically becomes the ability to understand and speak English rather than their knowledge and usefulness as Communists. From which it follows that the possibility of humbugging the entire membership (and the Centrist leaders of the U. C. P. are past masters at the art of humbugging the membership) is tremendously increased without any effective retaliatory weapons in the hands

The Answer of the U. C. P. to the C. E. C. of the Communist International

REPRINTED FROM THE U. C. P. COMMUNIST

FOREWORD:

We reprint from the United Communist "Communist", their reply to the Communist International's appeal for unity between the C. P. and the former C. L. P.—because we want every member of the Party to read for himself or herself the pathetic Centrist apology which the U. C. P. mistakes for an answer. It dodges every issue—omits all important facts as bearing on the unity negotiations—it ignores the very thesis of the Communist International, which it reprints in the same issue, relative to principles and tactics, which corroborates the entire position of the Communist Party especially on Unionism—it minimizes the role of the language federations, and deliberately neglects to state that it has abolished them in its party—it maliciously gives the impression that the Communist Party is, no longer in existence—and presumes to consider this mass of cheap demagoguery as a sufficient answer to the Communist International!

To cap the climax it gratuitously throws out a silly challenge to the "Federation Group" as it contemptuously refers to the Communist Party, to "dare" print the Appeal for Unity. What fools these Centrists be!

Editor Communist.

Dear Comrades:

Your mandate for unity between the two Communist parties of the United States, the former Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, has now come into our hands. No doubt your message was written some time ago, before any word had reached you of the organization, by a unity convention of the Communist Labor Party and the majority of the Communist Party during the latter part of May, of the United Communist Party.

The United Communist Party is a reorganization of the majority elements of the former two parties. But, as we have already reported to your committee, a minority faction of the Communist Party still stands outside this unity. This faction is composed of parts of the membership of the Jewish, Ukrainian, Russian, and Lithuanian federations of the Communist Party. Practically all the members of the Communist Labor Party have come into the united party.

With this realignment of the former parties it is apparent that there is only a change in the form of the problem of the American parties considered by your committee. There are still two parties; and, so far as Communist principles are concerned, there is no shadow of excuse for this duality. The harmfulness of this internal controversy has been intensified by the extreme governmental persecutions of the Communists which began with the November 25th celebrations of last year.

We accept your mandate for unity, therefore, as equally applicable to the present situation in our American section of the Communist movement. It is hardly necessary to add, since the united party is the result of the efforts

of the membership should they discover it. This is indeed a policy of centralization without common sense—and the membership of the U. C. P. are beginning to wake up to it.

As we have pointed out time and time again we are not blind worshippers of federations. We merely recognize their temporary value, and utilize their possibilities in the present stage of the Communist movement in this country. The federations cannot be destroyed or abolished "at one blow" as the U. C. P. will yet discover to their chagrin. The abolition of federations is a PROCESS rather than a single act accomplished by fiat at a convention.

The federations within the Communist Party have never been and are not now "virtually independent political organizations" as the U. C. P. falsely claims. They have always been subject to the national conventions and the C. E. C. of the Party. Where they disagreed—like the Hungarian Federation—they left the party taking its non-Communist membership with them or they would have been compelled to abide by the party decisions.

On the contrary, the federations are closely integrated in the Communist Party and completely subordinate on all questions to the C. E. C. Even the policy of language propaganda is subject to the control and supervision of the C. E. C.—and is laid down the national convention and the Central Executive Committee.

The federation question in reality is no question at all except to those who fear control by the membership. As a matter of fact, the federations were always partial to English-speaking or American leadership, even when they knew that some of them (like Damon and Y. F.) had strong Centrist tendencies. When the Communist movement will attract English-speaking or American elements into its ranks the so-called federation problem will gradually fade away—leaving only their propaganda function. The control will then be exercised by members who understand English as well as Communism.

It is interesting to note that this Centrist rongleration which always clamored about centralization versus federations brought to the Communist Congress in Moscow instructions to propose referendums within the movement of the Communist International and were severely condemned in the thesis published by the Executive Committee of the Communist International (published in the last issue).

of those who have been for unity in the Communist ranks at all times, that we are in entire accord with the purpose and the arguments in your letter. We stand ready to consider and to act as promptly as possible upon any plan for a complete unity of American Communism which conforms to the fundamental principles of the Communist International, as stated in its program and as developed in your communication to us.

It is appropriate for the purpose of a complete understanding of the attitude of our party towards Communist unity that we indicate our general views upon the particular questions discussed in your letter.

1) As shown by its program the United Communist Party accepts "the unlimited struggle for the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the working class, as stated in your message.

2) The United Communist Party is opposed to a narrow sectarian policy which fails to take into account and to strive for close contact with the mass of the workers in their constant economic struggles. Indeed, it was exactly this contention upon which the former Communist Party membership broke with the majority of their executive committee.

3) We are keenly conscious of the force of what is said about agitation outside the circle of our party, agitation which expresses Communist leadership in the immediate struggles of the American workers. Our own immaturity as a party, diversion of energies into factional controversies on inessential matters, the persecutions which have again and again disorganized our work, have limited the external agitation and influence of the Communist parties in this country. The formation of the United Communist Party will bring a change and a more aggressive policy in this respect. In addition to the intensive educational work among its members the party will make every possible effort toward activation of the immediate struggles and mass protests with Communist understanding and purpose.

4) Upon the subject of the labor unions the program of the United Communist Party stands as follows:

A) Opposition to the A. F. of L. and the other unions of this character. Agitation to break the power of the A. F. of L. and unions of the same character, by uniting the militant elements within them for a mass movement to split these reactionary organizations. The militant members of these unions must be reorganized along industrial and shop lines; the reactionary craft union organizations must be destroyed.

B) Agitation for industrial unionism, holding up the I. W. W. as the best type.

C) Cooperation with the I. W. W.; conditional, however, upon a criticism and permeation of the I. W. W. which will end its anti-Communist propaganda. At this time, unfortunately, the general propaganda of the I. W. W. has discredited this organization among the Com-

The conclusion of this answer of the U. C. P., dealing with a survey of American political and economic conditions, is couched in such rosy colors as to lead to the unwarrantable assumption by those unacquainted with the real facts. The following quotation is characteristic: "Inevitably these increasingly sharp divisions between the workers and the government must soon (Italics ours, editor) develop into mass action for proletarian conquest of the political power."

No doubt the Communist International has been receiving such hopeful pictures from all the delegates of the C. L. P. as well. And it is probably such kind of information which has blurred its perspective with regard to the American Communist movement, as a reading of their appeal for unity will disclose. We cannot blame them for news is difficult of access and they cannot verify such predictions with any degree of accuracy—especially when so-called Communist organizations help to spread them.

The American working class is only beginning to stir. They are as yet HOSTILE OR INDIFFERENT to Communism. They are an inert mass that swallows pro and anti Soviet propaganda with equal facility. Of course we do not include the more or less conscious elements which are in a hopeless minority. The great mass of them are still steeped in bourgeois prejudices, bourgeois lies and bourgeois "democracy". They have yet to travel the path of the British workers who are admittedly still far from a proletarian revolution. It is the sheerest self-delusion to build hopes for an immediate proletarian revolution in this country and it is a crime to disseminate such "profound predictions" to the Communist International.

The Communist movement as well as the American working class must go through some bitter experiences, heart-breaking defeats and salutary lessons, before we can begin to think of a proletarian revolution in America.

We would advise the U. C. P. to go a little slower in predicting proletarian revolutions and a little faster in learning Communist theory and practice if they really intend to become an influence in the American revolutionary movement. Instead of proving a menace as sentimental Centrists have a habit of becoming, all their good intentions to the contrary notwithstanding

munists; but it is yet to be seen whether the I. W. W. membership will longer tolerate this propaganda. It is important for us to bring into the I. W. W. an understanding of Communism, through our educational work and through the influence of Communists who now belong to the I. W. W. As things now stand it is impossible for the United Communist Party to act in association with the I. W. W.

D) The development of a general industrial organization out of a unity of existing militant unions.

5) The United Communist Party is proceeding on a program to establish contact with the working masses by means of shop agitation groups and through shop committees. The shop agitation groups consist of our party members who unite themselves for agitation work in the places where they are employed; also within their union locals. The shop committees, initiated by the efforts of our members, consist of members and non-party members together, our members striving to give Communist direction to these committees and to the larger industrial and community councils into which these committees shall develop.

6) As to foreign-language groups within the party, it is our policy to confine the special activities of these groups to propaganda in the foreign languages. District agitation committees in the foreign languages are provided for, to be chosen out of the language branches; also occasional national conferences for advisory purposes are provided for by the constitution.

The federations protested within the Socialist Party against the vote-catching, reformist propaganda which was all that appeared in the party papers. The appeal was directed to citizens as voters not to workers as workers. No interest was taken in the foreign language propaganda. It was this need which brought the federations into existence. The United Communist Party deals with all workers alike, regardless of language and regardless of citizenship. There is no longer any special basis for a different propaganda among the alien workers, except that the editors of the foreign-language papers will naturally pay more attention to certain matters of news which are of greater significance to their particular nationality group. The policies, however, can only be those determined upon by the party conventions and by the Central Executive Committee.

Only through a centralized organization can a uniform propaganda be secured, also a loyalty of the member to the party rather than to their nationality group. The autonomous federations of the Communist Party constituted virtually separate national political organizations. Indeed, at this moment there are several former federation divisions of the Socialist Party and of the Communist Party which exist independently of any party. Our aim, on the contrary, is to build a Communist organization on a centralized basis, with membership as party membership and with a single system of discipline which will compel unified party action at all times. At the same time we do not mean to detract in the least from propaganda in all the languages, as our activity has already shown.

7) Our party organization is on an illegal basis only. Our open activity consists mainly of the publication of several (semi-legal) papers, (four are already established), and of other literature and to the collection of funds for legal defense.

We agree in principle with the suggestion of your committee that every recourse for open party work must be used in conjunction with and in a coordination to the illegal work. So far as our circumstances and energies allow, we must develop open work of propaganda alongside the illegal propaganda. In the present situation however, our main energy must go into the building of our underground organization, so that disruption of our work will be beyond the power of the capitalist agencies.

As a conclusion, we realize that the struggle in this country is of the highest importance in the world conflict now going on between finance-imperialism and communism. It is apparent that the struggle in this country has already attained an extremely sharp character. The tremendous strikes of the last 3 years have torn away the veil of class harmony. There is an open campaign to weaken and crush all the labor organizations, even the most reactionary ones, since within these also militant tendencies have made their appearance. On the labor side there is a new militancy and a rapidly developing sense of class solidarity. More and more it is the government which speaks for the employers as against the workers. The capitalist political parties openly avow their purpose to outlaw all large-scale strikes, as has already been the case with the miners and the railway workers. On the other hand, the ever-increasing cost of living and the insecurity of employment are driving the workers into strikes by the hundreds of thousands. Inevitably these increasingly sharp divisions between the workers and the government must soon develop into the mass action for proletarian conquest of the political power.

Our task of building a guiding political organization to mould and direct the workers in this struggle is one of the gravest responsibility. We believe that the United Communist Party has within itself the elements and the understanding for this important task; and we are confident that our party action will soon show positive results in the class struggle in America. The Central Executive Committee of the United Communist Party. August 12, 1935.

Answer of the C. E. C. Communist Party of America

TO COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL APPEAL FOR UNITY.

Dear Comrades:

Your appeal for unity between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, printed in the 9th issue of the "Communist International", has just reached us. Although the situation which existed at the time you formulated your appeal no longer obtains although an entirely new problem of uniting the Communist forces in America is on the order of business for the immediate future—we, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America feel it our duty to make reply and give an explanation of the events that prevented the consummation of organic unity of all Communist forces in this country.

In the main we fully agree with your appeal for unity—and as we shall prove—have done all in our power to effect organic unity long before your appeal was promulgated. We shall prove that these efforts were sabotaged by a small group of Centrists formerly in our midst, as well as by the tricky and untrustworthy leaders of the C. L. P., who, while loudly protesting for unity were at the same time attempting to "split" the Communist Party and unite only with the splitting-off faction.

Indeed, to present all the facts in detail would require a volume. Fortunately, a red representative of the Communist Party is now on the way to you—he may be there by this time—who is thoroughly acquainted with all the facts and amply able to make the whole situation clear to you. However, we shall present the most salient features of the controversy as briefly as possible in this reply so as to clear up some misconceptions regarding the Communist movement in America which your committee holds as evidenced in your appeal.

You say there are "no serious differences" between the two programs (C. P. and C. L. P.). If by this statement, you simply mean that the difference were not great enough to warrant a split, we quite agree. The two programs were not the cause but the result of the split which had already been accomplished by the remnants of the Left Wing group who were opposed to the formation of a Communist Party altogether. However, it would be futile to discuss two programs which are now mere historic memories and obsolete as far as all practical purposes go.

You also state that "the split brings much harm to the Communist movement in America." While we recognize the value of Communist unity in every country, still, we feel that there are some things which are infinitely more important than unity in itself. At a particular stage of the Communist movement especially on the propaganda stage of its existence, clarity of principles and tactics, organization problems, character of Centrist leadership, the propagation of red Communism to the masses, may and sometimes actually does overshadow the somewhat dubious advantage of a unity which might tend to obscure these fundamental issues.

This is exactly the situation in this country. The split has been beneficial rather than harmful for it helped to clear up a great many problems which would inevitably have demanded solution at some future time and created a division of forces when real organic unity was imperative. We need only cite the internal condition of the Italian Socialist Party which is entering upon a "revolutionary situation" in the near future, with many weighty party problems still unresolved, which can only tend to confusion and a break in the unity of the revolutionary ranks when such confusion will actually be "harmful".

The following paragraphs in your appeal is not a true index of the Communist movement in America at the present time. Were it so, the Communist Party would be the first to strain all its energies to effect immediate unity, even sacrificing some conditions which at present it considers important, and which, we are sure, you will agree with as soon as it comes to your attention. We quote:

"The necessity for immediate unity is dictated also by the fact that the two parties represent, so to say, difference sides of the Communist movement in America, which could well supplement each other. In one party (C. P. A.) are mainly the language elements united in the so-called "national federations". The other party (C. L. P.) represents mainly the American and English-speaking elements. If the first are, on the one hand, often better trained theoretically and are more closely connected with the traditions of the revolutionary struggle of the working class in Russia, they are, on the other hand, much less connected with the mass movement and the mass organizations of the American workers, who are gradually entering the broad road of the class struggle.

"If the elements of the C. L. P. have not as yet gone through a similar theoretical school, they have the advantage that through them the party can most easily, exert its influence of the great masses of the actual American workers, who, in the coming decisive battles, will play the most part.

"One the one hand propaganda is best developed; on the other agitation."

"Thus the two parties naturally supplement each other and only by bringing them together will it be possible to create a strong Communist Party in America, which is to become the leader of the mass movement and the approaching Communist revolution."

We have quoted these paragraphs in full as they contain the grossest misconceptions

of the relative component elements in the two parties, even today, when the C. L. P. has "merged" with a fraction of the Communist Party. Most probably these "facts" were given your committee in order to prejudice the Communist Party in your eyes, but it is so far from the actual facts that even the C. L. P. will not dare deny it. The relative strength of the American elements in both parties were, and are, the same. The overwhelming majority of the membership of both parties are the "foreign-speaking" elements. The English speaking elements in both parties are mainly conspicuous for their absence. This is the deplorable truth unvarnished by wish of fancy.

But this condition is not as alarming as appears at first glance, nor does it warrant the assumption that the Communist movement is lacking in American elements because of neglect to propagandize them. The ratio of American or English-speaking membership to "foreign" membership in the Communist movement is approximately parallel to the ratio of American or English-speaking workers to the "foreign" workers in the basic industries where most of unskilled or semi-skilled workers are employed. We cannot hope ever to change the preponderance of "foreign" membership in the Communist Party so long as the great mass of the working class in America engaged in the basic industries are themselves "foreigners".

Of course, it goes without saying that the American workers in the skilled or clerical trades are either hostile or indifferent to Communism at present. Therefore your assumption that the C. L. P. or the present C. P. represents mainly the American or English-speaking workers while the C. P. represents the "foreigners" is totally wrong and has no bearing on the question of unity.

In the next paragraph you lay down the method of bringing about unity in the shortest possible time—the calling of a joint convention and the election of a bureau consisting of an equal number of representatives from both parties for the purpose of co-ordinating the work until the joint convention.

THE C. E. C. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY FORMULATED JUST THIS PLAN FOR UNITY LONG BEFORE YOUR APPEAL WAS PROMULGATED AS THE FOLLOWING C. E. C. MOTION WILL ATTEST:

New York, March 15th, 1929.
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY
Comrades:

Your reply to our proposal to hold a JOINT CONVENTION for the purpose of achieving unity of the Communist elements of this country has been received, and has had the careful consideration of our committee.

We will not concern ourselves with the charges and insinuations in your statement. These are evidently not intended to be taken seriously, but are included merely for the purpose of propaganda, since they do not affect the issues at stake. Our committee has however, again considered your proposal for immediate unity between our committee and yours, and has rejected this proposal by the decisive vote of nine to four. The reason for this rejection is that our committee does not believe that unity attained through such committee action would attain the permanent Communist unity which we earnestly desire.

As evidence of its desire to achieve such permanent Communist unity, our committee has adopted the following statement:

1. We accept the basis of Communist unity proposed by the Third International, inasmuch as it relates to the rank and file, but we maintain that the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party must be in agreement also on questions of tactics and organization, and since such would not be the case if we merged the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, we reject such a merger.

2. We confirm our desire to have unity of both parties achieved through a joint convention, (Italian) type.

3. We are ready to set the date for the joint convention at the earliest possible date, and not later than June 15th.

4. The Constitutional relations of the Federations to the party must enter as a part of the call for the joint convention, subject of course to change by the convention.

5. In the meantime we favor co-operation between the two parties whenever desirable and practicable through the Central, District and Local Committees of both parties, subject to the control and approval of the respective Central Executive Committees.

We have elected a joint convention committee of three members with instructions to meet with a similar committee of your organization and to arrange a convention on the following basis:

1. The joint call for the convention must include our Manifesto, Program and Constitutional relations of the federations to the Party.

2. Apportionment of delegates on the basis of dues stamps sold by each organization for the months of October, November and December, the total number of delegates from both organizations not to exceed 35; books of both organizations to be open to the opposite committee members.

3. The election of delegates to be by membership action and to be conducted secretly, and to be nearly as possible alike for both organizations.

4. The quorum to call the convention in order to consist of two-thirds of the delegates elected by each organization.

For ourselves we have adopted the following plan for the election of delegates:

1. We will apportion delegates to our districts on the basis of dues stamps purchased during October, November and December.

2. A convention of each district shall be called in which sub-districts shall be represented by one delegate for each 200 members on the basis of dues stamps purchased for October, November and December. This convention shall elect our delegates and alternates.

3. Nominations for delegates to the district conventions shall be secured from the members by the group organizers. Nominees must be members in the districts in which they are nominated. The names of all nominees shall be represented to the members for vote by the group organizers. The district convention may elect any party member irrespective of the districts.

If your committee really desires unity between the Communists of the United States and is not merely using the plea for unity as a convenient method of propaganda against the Communist Party of America, we trust you will take immediate favorable action on this proposal, and elect your convention committee. Fraternally submitted.

C. E. C. Communist Party of America.
This motion proves that the Communist Party really desired organic Communist unity, and in fact, formulated a similar proposal back in January, which the C. L. P. rejected in favor of a "merger" of both C. E. C.'s.

This proposal is not to be considered as incapable of revision. As a matter of fact, during the course of negotiations many of the proposals were changed to meet obstacles that arose in the path of unity.

This proposition fell through because the former Executive Secretary Damon and two members of the C. E. C. of the Communist Party openly took exception to the Central Executive Committee exercising its power to discipline one of its agents—the Chicago District Organizer—who had been constantly flouting the authority of the C. E. C., who had been lying and spreading false rumors of their misappropriating party funds, and who had been deliberately acting against the decisions and instructions of the C. E. C. on all questions, thus causing distrust, confusion and the breaking of the party discipline in that district. Instead of abiding by the decision of the C. E. C. on this question and waiting for the convention to settle any legitimate differences if there were any, the former Executive Secretary Damon and the two members of the C. E. C. made common cause with the Chicago District Organizer and threatened to split the party if this decision was carried out.

The majority of the C. E. C. (ten members) faced with this ultimatum a few weeks before the convention, and while unity negotiations were about to be consummated did all in its power to avert the threatened split and offered a compromise basis binding upon the majority and minority of the C. E. C. until the convention.

The majority of the C. E. C. withdrew its decision to expel the Chicago District Organizer, and laid down the following plan which was summarily rejected by the "minority":

STATEMENT OF THE C. E. C. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE "MINORITY" GROUP.

Confronted with your determination to split the party if the C. E. C. proceeds with exercising its rights to discipline the Chicago District Committee for attempting secession and to remove the Chicago District Organizer for misrepresenting the views and opposing the policies of the C. E. C. whose representative he is supposed to be, and in view of your opposition, backed by a threat to split the party immediately before a convention, if the C. E. C. remove the present Acting Party Editor, who is an active partisan of the "minority" and cannot therefore be entrusted with editing the organ of the present C. E. C. and in order to preserve the unity of the party by all means compatible with Communist principles and policies, we propose the following:

(1) That the C. E. C. send a special representative to Chicago and other parts of the country if necessary, to investigate conditions and report back to the Executive Council. On the question of appointment and dismissal of District Organizers a majority vote of 3-2 will be necessary in the Executive Council.

(2) That the party organ be edited by two editors for the "majority" group and one editor for the "minority" any dispute between the two to be settled by the Executive Council.

Comrade Bunte, who was neutral in this controversy, who sought to reconcile both factions, proposed that on the question of appointment and dismissal of District Organizers a majority of two-thirds (5 out of 7) will be necessary in the Ex. Council thus assuring a non-factional character of the decisions. The majority agreed to this and incorporated it in its statement.

* The regular majority in the Executive Council was 4 (Addrow, Bernstein, Raphael and Saucan) against 3, with Ex. Sec'y Damon in the minority and two (Bunte and Brown), who did not definitely align themselves with either side.

(All the documents relating to this controversy in the party are enclosed as they throw further light on the situation existing in the Communist movement at the present time).

The "minority" group led by Damon, Y. F. and Fisher and Co. then split and made a deal with the leaders of the C. L. P. not to negotiate with the C. E. C. of the Communist Party relative to the consummation of unity negotiations then pending, thus cutting off any chance of effective unity at the coming party conventions.

This secret deal is herewith reprinted from the May 15 issue of the "Communist Labor," official organ of the C. L. P. as incontrovertible proof that real organic unity of Communist forces was deliberately blocked by the very group of Centrist leaders who are now in control of the U. C. P.

In conformity with the two following motions of the C. E. C. immediately after the split, the Acting Secretary sent a letter to the C. L. P. requesting information as to the status of the unity negotiations:

Motion: That we fill vacancies on the joint Convention Committee, to proceed with the arrangements with the C. L. P. Carried.

Motion: In case C. L. P. refuses to continue, we instruct the Executive Council to proceed with all necessary arrangements for the convention of the Communist Party, changing the basis of representation, if necessary. Carried.

The Acting Secretary's letter follows:
Executive Secretary,
Communist Labor Party.

Dear Comrade:
This is to notify you of a change in our joint convention committee. It consists now of . . . We are very anxious to know what have you done in the matter or when you expect to take action.

You can meet me at . . . and I would very much like to see you there as soon as you can come. I want to give you a new address for communicating with us also.

Fraternally yours,

Communist Party of America.

THIS COMMUNICATION WAS NEVER ANSWERED BY THE C. L. P. but instead they entered into negotiation with the "minority" and agreed upon the following secret pact which was not published until May 15th.

FROM THE COMMUNIST LABOR, OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE C. L. P.

Several meetings were held between representatives of the C. L. P. and representatives of the "minority" group as represented by . . .

AT THIS CONFERENCE AGREEMENT WAS REACHED NOT TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE "MAJORITY" GROUP OF THE C. E. C. of the C. L. P. those who attempted to continue their control in opposition to rank and file desires. It was also agreed to hold a unity conference between the C. L. P. and the "minority" group and the following call and basis were agreed upon:

These exhibits speak for themselves and require no comment.

As you will see from the enclosed statements of the "minority" they were actually actually opposed to the C. E. C. not on the flimsy grounds they pretended to be, but on questions of fundamental significance, such as: the nature of mass action and its propagation to the masses; party discipline; language federations; international relations with the Communist International; etc., and finally used the incident of the Chicago District Organizer as a means of splitting the party for their Centrist purposes.

We shall only cite the following from the "minority" statement at the time of the split to prove out of their mouths how vitally we disagreed on the question of Mass Action and their conception of propagating the USE OF FORCE and the "INEVITABILITY OF A VIOLENT REVOLUTION" to the masses. It will also illustrate that they accept the principles of Communism in words but not in deeds. The fact that they finally wrote it into the U. C. P. program under the compulsion of our criticism and attack then becomes clear as a Centrist dodge to humbug the membership:

"The 'minority' is ready to put into the program of the party a definite statement that mass action culminates in open insurrection and armed conflict with the capitalist state. The party program and the party literature dealing with the program and policies should clearly express our position on this point. On this question there is no disagreement, if the 'majority' is ready to take the same step.

"But there is a difference in viewpoint between the 'minority' and 'majority' AS TO WHEN THE IDEA OF ARMING THEMSELVES AND ARMED REVOLT SHALL BE PROJECTED TO THE MASSES OF THE WORKERS. The 'minority' holds that if it were to inject this question into such a struggle as the strike of the railwaymen IT WOULD BE ACTING AS THE AGENT PROVOCATEUR OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

This is the anarchistic position and a perversion of the principles of the Third International.

"In carrying on the work of agitation and education on the question of armed insurrection the social and industrial conditions must be considered. To talk to the workers about arming themselves and armed insurrection at a time when the masses are still without any revolutionary consciousness is to make a farce of and discredit Communism and shows a fundamental lack of understanding of Communist principles"

It is also important to note that these same Centrist leaders who believe that it is "agent

provocateurs" work to preach armed insurrection and armed force to the masses, tried their utmost to keep out all reference to this question in the U. C. P. program and were defeated only by the threat of a split at their convention. For confirmation we enclose a copy of an article written by a member of the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. in one of their official organs in answer to Damon and Y. F.'s articles on their convention. A careful perusal of this frank article will further enlighten the Executive Committee of the Communist International as to the character and tendencies of the present leaders of the U. C. P.

We may add that in addition to this disagreement on fundamental questions as already expressed in the enclosed documents, the deliberate robbery of the C. E. C. treasury of the U. C. P. by the former Executive Secretary Damon (leader of the split and chief theoretician of the U. C. P.) further intensified the resentment of the rank and file of our party towards these men. We quote from a letter from a comrade in Chicago which crystallizes the sentiment in the Communist Party membership:

"Very important reasons must be shown by those who stand for a split, at this moment when the Third International comes out with a proposal to unite into the Party even those Communist elements which stand outside chiefly in the rank of the Communist Labor Party."

"The National Executive Secretary together with two other members of the Central Executive Committee have taken upon themselves the responsibility, as against the other members of the C. E. C., an overwhelming majority of ten, yet the Secretary had the funds of the Party, the addresses, and other connections, which were all seized by the minority and greatly helped them by disorganizing the party."

"The Secretary claims to be acting quite properly, because, elected directly by the convention, he says, he will be responsible only to a convention. But the funds were entrusted to him not by the convention, but by the Central Executive Committee for the sake of greater efficiency. Why doesn't he turn them over where they belong? Well, because 'the majority has means enough from the Language Federations remittances.' (as stated by the Secretary himself)

"The split is still more unjustified because the next convention of the party was right at the door. It was brought about for an obvious purpose, their own hook to arrange the convention and to turn over the Communist Party into the hands of the Communist Labor Party."

The only justification for this act of vandalism is the "minority" claim that they represent the majority of the Communist Party membership. How true this contention is can be gleaned from the following official report submitted by the Hon. Acting Secretary Hunte to the second convention of the Communist Party.

The Secretary's report.

The secretary's analysis of membership on the basis of dues paid in June 1, 1929, is as follows:

MEMBERSHIP

Number of members for which dues were paid during and for each month since the first convention of the Party, as follows:			
Oct. 27, 1928	Average	Jan. 1, 1929	Average for
Nov. 24, 1928	(for 3 mos.)	Feb. 2, 1929	the 4 mos.
Dec. 22, 1928	2,714	Mar. 1, 1929	5,684
		Apr. 1, 1929	
		May 1, 1929	

Taking the highest number of dues paid since the January raids, the Party has lost through them and through the subsequent organization on underground basis about 18,000 members, or 65 per cent of the initial membership. The Hungarian Federation and Michigan group (3,000 and 1,000 respectively) dropped out of the Party altogether. Russian Federation lost 4,000 out of their 7,000 membership. South Slavic and Polish Federation ceased to pay dues after February. If the split in our ranks had not been breaking ever since the raids, and if it had not come before the convention, the recovery might have come up to 50 per cent of the October, November and December figures, but certainly not higher.

Let us see now what was the number of members that left the party in the split.

Taking the first number of dues paid we find that the highest month before the split was April with 8,223 dues; the first month after the split May, showed up with 6,749 dues; according to this, we lost in the split only 1,474 members, or 18 per cent of the total membership before it. Taking the figures estimated by federations and districts, and verified by reports from these subdivisions and by the number of members represented in our convention, we arrive at the following figures:

	Before Raids	After Raids	After Went to Split	U.C.P.
English (incl. 800 Mich.)	1900	700	300	300
Non-Eng. lang. members	1100	400	200	200
Esthonian	280	140	—	140
German	850	500	—	280
Hungarian	1000	—	—	—
Jewish	1000	500	300	—?
Letish	1200	1000	1000	—?
Lithuanian	4,400	2500	2500	—?
Polish	1750	1000	—?	—?
Russian	7000	3000	2000	1000?
So. Slavic	2,500	1000	—	1000?
Ukrainian	4000	2000	1500	800?
Totals	28000	12700	1350	3700?

(Note: These figures are the secretary's estimate. The report of the Secretary of the Russian Federation shows 2,000 paid members, and of the secretary of the Ukrainian Federation 2,000 paid members.—Ed.)

"According to this we lose about 3,000 or a little over one-third of our members, but of this the 'minority' carried with it into the U. C. P. by no means over 3,500, or positively not more than 28 per cent.

These are fair and unbiased figures, and they prove beyond a doubt the fallacy of the claims of Damon and Co. that they split away with a majority of the C. P., or that they were justified on that account in taking the funds and records of the party with them.

"In all their statements they find it absolutely necessary to repeat this lie in order to justify their position and to maintain their standing with the former C. L. P. elements.

"We should expose this fraud fully to all the parties concerned and we should demand, on the strength of these figures, officially from the U. C. P. that they return to us all our funds and records, if they should refuse our just claim, we ought to present the case to the Third International, or take determined steps to secure drastic punishment upon those guilty of the flagrant breach of the discipline and trust of our party."

This report was unanimously adopted, leaving the necessary action to the new C. E. C. after the convention.

Since this report was given to the convention the auditing committee has made its report (which will be submitted to the membership in due course) carrying the following comments:

"The auditing committee has examined the cash receipts and disbursements for the six months ending June 30, 1929, and has found the entries, vouchers and statements entirely satisfactory and correct, so far as the Acting Secretary is concerned.

"For a period from March 2 to April 19, when Damon was Executive Secretary, there ARE NO OTHER VOUCHERS FOR CASH RECEIVED EXCEPT STATEMENTS OF DAMON AND THE SAME IS TRUE OF MANY ITEMS OF CASH PAID DURING THAT PERIOD. THE BALANCE WHICH DAMON TOOK AWAY WITHOUT AUTHORITY IS CORRECT AS STATED ON PAGE 27.—\$7,095.16.

(Signed) Auditing Committee.

This report was unanimously carried in the recent Communist Party convention.

The U. C. P. by its silence acquiesces in this dastardly act. A letter demanding restitution and an accounting remains unanswered up to the present time. The following motion by the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. relative to this matter is certainly damning in itself as showing that they have no ground to stand upon and resort to the usual refuge of their kind when caught with the goods:

FROM THE C. P. ASKING FOR RETURN OF MONEY AND RECORDS TURNED OVER TO THE U. C. P. BY DAMON, DECIDED NOT TO ANSWER

3.

In point 2 of your appeal your committee makes the following broad statement:

"The Communist Party must be a mass organization not a narrow closed circle."

Judge by the later thesis issued by your committee and printed in No. 11 of the "Communist International" you cannot actually mean these words literally but in the sense of aiming to make the Communist Party representative of the broad masses of the working class without actually organizing them into the Communist Party.

Our understanding is that the Communist Party cannot be a "mass organization" or a "narrow closed circle". One would be just as injurious to the proletarian revolutionary movement as the other. Our position is in entire agreement as expressed in the following quotation from the above-mentioned thesis:

"The Communist Party is a section of the working class. To be more precise its most advanced, its most class conscious and therefore its most revolutionary section. . . . The Communist Party is that lever of political organization with the help of which the foremost section of the working class girds along the right road the whole mass of the proletariat and semi-proletariat. . . . Until the time when state power has been conquered by the proletariat, until the time when the proletariat has once and for all firmly established its supremacy and has secured the working class against a Communist Party will naturally include in its organized ranks ONLY A MINORITY OF THE WORKERS. . . .

Until the seizure of power, and in the transitional period, the Communist Party may, under favorable circumstances, enjoy an undivided ideological influence on all proletarian and semi-proletarian elements of the population. BUT CANNOT UNITE THEM IN AN ORGANIZED FASHION WITHIN ITS RANKS. . . . The idea of a party must be very strictly distinguished from the idea of a class."

Surely, the above quotations nowhere imply the idea of a "mass organization"

On the other hand, we have no intention of becoming a "narrow closed circle". In the present period of reaction and outlawing of the party we very naturally take all precautions consistent with maintaining the safety of our party and the membership from spies and agent-provocateurs. Far from being a "narrow closed circle" the Communist Party strives to get into its ranks all convinced Communists. But at the present time, we are more likely to lose than to gain members. Since the raids and the illegal, underground organization of the party

the Communist movement has lost nearly two-thirds of its membership. Instead of gaining recruits we have been steadily losing. Which is quite natural, considering the number of confused radicals we had in our midst. These have been leaving us as fast as they discovered they were linked up with an illegal party or began to realize they were opposed to Communist principles and tactics.

There is no possibility of rapprochement for united action with any of the industrial organizations which are more advanced than the reactionary trade-unions, for the present. The I. W. W. has retrogressed so far that it completely rejects all the principles and tactics of the Third International. The W. I. I. C. is just where it stood all the time—the tail-end of the opportunist S. L. P. The Independent unions, or semi-industrial unions are still syndicalist or opportunist in character. They do not as yet recognize the necessity of political action or political parties.

Under such circumstances all talk of "mass organization or narrow closed circle" is beside the mark. The problem is one of intensive Communist propaganda and agitation among the mass of the workers.

Point 3 of your appeal is based on another misconception of the conditions in this country as they really exist and not as some "enthusiast" has tried to paint for you.

You say that we have done a lot of propaganda within our ranks but have to a large degree stood aside from the immediate class struggle of the proletarian masses... have not played a leading part in the biggest collisions between capital and labor.

The trouble lies deeper than what you conceive to be a lack of initiative on our part. In America we are living in a period of reaction and working class inertia unequalled anywhere else. Perhaps to you, thousands of miles away, who hear only the resounding echoes of strike movements and the general awakening of labor, these rumblings may give you an idea that the working class in this country are much more advanced than they really are, but in fact they are the British workers are think.

The American workers have to still to repel the awakening is much slower than you taking politically. The political and the economic movements in this country are traditionally detached from each other. We are still faced with solving the problem of organizing Communist Party units (Communist Party Shop Committees) within the shops and unions which will gradually break down this Chinese Wall which the American Federation of Labor has built up and which the I. W. W., through its syndicalist tendencies, serves to perpetuate among the more radical and revolutionary element of the working class.

Heretofore it was impossible to take the lead in any of the labor wars for additional reasons. The Communist Party had to meet the full force of Government persecution, raids, indictments and deportations and from a strong powerful organization with thousands of members we were driven underground and beset with internal problems of re-organization upon an underground, illegal basis. Immediately thereafter we were faced with an internal upheaval because of our Centrists attempt to split or smash the party which again required our undivided attention to save the Communist movement from chaos and disintegration.

It is apparent that the Communist Party could not have taken the lead in the "collisions between capital and labor" within the last year. Nor is the prospect likely for the immediate present and until we have built up our shop committees and perfected our methods of illegal and legal propaganda and agitation.

However this does not mean that we have been inactive in the labor struggles of the workers. Through the language federations we have managed to get our agitation and propaganda in a wider area than would have been possible otherwise. This work is continuing and is highly important feature of party work.

Under the circumstances it is to soon to expect any material results from this intensive agitation work.

As regards points 3 and 4 in your appeal we wish to state that the Communist Party is attempting to build a strong, effective, centralized political party of the working class and is also building up its subsidiary Communist Party shop committees in the shops and industries through which we shall make close contact with the workers and participate more directly in their everyday struggles against their employers and against their reactionary union leaders. We are more than willing to work in close contact with the industrial unions but for the present we cannot effect such a policy aside from the technical difficulties which stand in the way. The industrial union bureaucracy in the I. W. W. are opposed to the principles of Communism and preach industrial unionism as a substitute for proletarian revolution—a fact you are familiar with by this time. The W. I. I. C. is still applying the S. L. P. politically, and industrially is no different than the I. W. W. It too preaches the same peaceful panacea.

We are forced to carry on a campaign against the principle of industrial unionism as a substitute for proletarian revolution—though pointing out and helping the workers to form new or better, economic organizations to wage their struggles for higher wages or better conditions. The problem is also one of tearing away the veil of misunderstanding or this point which prevails among the class-conscious but

confused workers.

Our policy is to enter the "Yellow" trade-unions as well and carry our agitation and propaganda to the workers in these organizations.

Our program states that "The American Federation of Labor is reactionary and a bulwark of capitalism that the Communist Party rejects the idea, as advocated by the I. W. W., of 'smashing' the A. F. of L. in order to reconstruct the trade-unions. At the present time this revolutionary epoch such a policy would necessitate the concentration of an enormous amount of the energy of the revolutionary movement to the purely reformist policy of changing the form of the economic organizations, thus ignoring the most pressing and important task of the Communist movement, namely, the propagation of Communism to the masses. That is the supreme task of the Communist Party, and all other work, such as waging the struggles against their employers for higher wages or better conditions, etc., is secondary. The Communist Party will encourage any movement of the workers seeking to construct new or better economic organizations for the workers in the shops, but it will constantly point out the limitations of such organizations and keep before the workers the idea of proletarian revolution by means of mass action with its logical resultant, open armed conflict with the capitalist state, and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only means of destroying the bourgeois state, abolishing capitalism and introducing the Communist society."

Our struggle against the A. F. of L. is primarily a struggle against the leaders and policies and the awakening of the rank and file. As Comrade Zimovley says our policy is not to leave the "yellow" unions, as certain ultra-left Wing Communists suggest. One must admit that these unions comprise millions of workers. In Germany they include seven million members, while the Arbeiter Union of the German Communists only has about 100,000 members. We must fight inside these unions and organize Communist centres in them. The Communist must be everywhere where there are organized workers.

As in Germany, the A. F. of L. in this country comprises almost six million members. The I. W. W. and the other industrial unions do not much exceed 100,000 members.

Your policy as stated in the thesis on political parties also accords with our own position on unionism. We quote:

Consequently, the propaganda of the revolutionary syndicalist and of the supporters of the Industrial Workers of the World against the necessity of an independent working class party, objectively speaking, has helped, and helps, only the capitalist class and counter-revolutionary Social Democrats. In their propaganda against the Communist Party, which the syndicalists and the industrialists wish to replace by Trade Unions alone, or of formless "General" Labor Unions, they come into common ground with acknowledged opportunists. Revolutionary syndicalism and industrialism represent a step forward only in comparison with the old, worn-out, counter-revolutionary ideology of the Second International, but in comparison with revolutionary Marxism, i. e., with Communism, syndicalism and industrialism wholeheartedly support the formation side by side with the Communist Party, of the widest possible NON-PARTY labor organizations. The Communists consider as their most important task a systematic work of organization and education within these wider labor organizations. The Communists do not avoid the mass non-party working class organizations even when they bear an openly reactionary "Black Hundred" character (the yellow unions, the Christian Unions and so on). But the Communist Party ceaselessly carries on its own work within these organizations and untiringly demonstrates to the workers that the non-party idea, as a principle, is consciously fostered amongst the workers by the capitalist class and its lackeys. In order to divert the proletariat from the organized struggle for Socialism."

It seems to us if your appeal on this question does not accord with your position as expressed in your thesis or in articles by Lenin, Zimovley etc. on this question.

However, we have quoted sufficiently to prove that the Communist Party position on the question of unionism is thoroughly in accord with your own. In spite of the discrepancies which have crept into your appeal.

As regards point 6 in your appeal dealing with language federations, we are heartily in agreement with it.

Language federations in the Communist Party have never been, and are not now, autonomous political organizations, but subsidiary propaganda organizations for carrying on Communist agitation to the workers in their respective languages. If you have been told otherwise you have been lied to.

During the transition period dating from their expulsion from the S. P. and the formation of the Communist Party the language federations were independent organizations but this independence manifested itself only in taking the initiative and compelling the organization of a Communist Party against the confused protest of a small element of the Left Wing which latter formed the Communist Labor Party. But with the advance of the Communist Party the language federations subjected themselves to the strict discipline of the party which they created.

We have never been among those who believed that the form of the language federations are immutable. We clearly recognize

their temporary but highly necessary role in the Communist movement in this country. Therefore our policy has been to integrate them more closely into the party and not abolish them "at one stroke".

The U. C. P., on the other hand, has abolished altogether the language federations in their new party. Whatever they may say to your committee, the fact remains that they are opposed utterly to any sort of language propaganda conducted by the language branches themselves through some centralized organization.

Since the question of language federations always loomed large in all the controversies between our opponents in the U. I. P. and the U. C. P. we shall quote verbatim from the recent decisions of their C. E. C. on this question when their own Russian membership decided to hold a national conference and organize their propaganda in their own language:

"A report was heard regarding the Russian Conference. The delegates need money for homeward trip; the Russian comrades want an organizer steadily in the field since there is still much organization work to be done, and there are not enough competent local organizers to do it; they elected Dubner as organizer, they also elected a National Propaganda Committee, but no editor; they recommend publication of bi-weekly Official Organ and Monthly Theoretical Magazine.

The C. E. C. voted to pay \$450.00 to help meet the expenses of the delegates to the Russian Conference, with recommendation to the Russian groups to raise the balance through the sale of organization stamps in their districts.

Stojan carried that Comrades elected on the Russian Propaganda Committee by the Conference be notified immediately to disband as a national propaganda committee and not to establish any communication with the Russian affiliations of the party. That Russian groups be notified not to recognize the Propaganda Committee. That violation of this decision of the C. E. C. will result in expulsion.

When a Committee of two from the National Propaganda Committee had presented its case to the C. E. C. after a full discussion the C. E. C. voted 2 to 2 against the creation of national propaganda committees for language groups, and unanimously for discipline in case this decision is violated.

This occurred about 2 months after their convention and illustrates the internal conditions of the U. C. P. the language branches defying the decision of the convention because of necessity, and the C. E. C. blindly opposing any form of language federation.

With such a policy we are, absolutely opposed, and since this question has always been the bone of contention between our opponents in the U. I. P. and the U. C. P. and ourselves, we will find it impossible to unite with them even were all other obstacles eliminated.

As far as illegal work is concerned the Communist Party recognized this necessity at the time of the organization of the party, but found the idea so unpopular and foreign to the American comrades that we decided to let conditions themselves prove its value and necessity rather than cram it down their throats. It happened sooner than any of us could have dreamed and nearly smashed the organization into fragments. We were compelled to go completely underground against the opposition of our former Centrist "minority", and to-day we are an illegal party with little chance of becoming legal again for some time.

The task at present is not only to discover and perfect illegal methods of propaganda and organization (we are doing this right along) but to develop legal subsidiary ones without laying ourselves open to a similar attack as that of last January.

This problem is therefore reversed from what you conceive it to be and much more difficult of solution at the present time.

The question of unity with the U. C. P. is rather complicated, because of the new factors involved and explained herein. For the present we cannot act on this question until our last representative will have laid the case before you.

We disagree with U. C. P. on the question of Mass Action, Unions and Language Federations. The U. C. P. persist, in spite of the self-evident disagreement with your own position on these questions,—in confusing these issues and pretending that their position is endorsed by the Communist International. It is also impossible to unite with their Centrist leadership (Damon, Y. F. & Co.).

Until these questions are settled—that is, until the U. C. P. is ready to lay its program and constitution aside and scrap these leaders we shall be compelled to continue our Communist propaganda and separate organization.

We enclose the programs and constitutions of both parties for your consideration and judgement.

The Central Executive Committee, in the name of the Communist Party of America, sends its greetings to the Communist International and to the Executive Committee, and pledges itself to continue our efforts for the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in America.

Yours for world proletarian revolution,
THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
Communist Party of America.

THE RIGHT MOMENT FOR SOVIETS

Foreword.

The following thesis on the formation of Workers Councils, or Soviets as presented by Comrade Zinoviev to the Second Congress of the Third International on behalf of the Executive Committee illustrates with clear-cut logic the fundamental unanimity of principle between the Communist Party of America and the parent organization in Moscow. Our position on the role of Workers' Councils or Soviets before, during and after the proletarian revolution, adopted at the second convention is strictly in line with the program of the Communist Congress.

The tendency to form Workers' Councils in America and elsewhere—as mentioned in the thesis—before the period of direct struggle for state power—before a "revolutionary situation" develops—is calculated to throw the whole revolutionary movement into confusion. The radical elements of the I. W. W. and the former C. L. P. have been largely instrumental in fostering these premature attempts in this country. The U. C. P. program on Shop Committees and Industrial Councils is also committed to the premature organization of Workers' Councils.

To those comrades who felt that the tentative program of the Communist Party on Shop Committees did not answer the immediate purpose, we would advise a re-reading and comparison of the Shop Committee Programs of the Communist Party and the United Communist Party in the light of the following thesis.

Editor, Communist

THE RIGHT MOMENT FOR THE SOVIET

BY G. ZINOVIEV.

Read at the Moscow Conference of the Third International.

1. Councils (Soviets) of Workers' Deputies appeared for the first time in Russia in 1905, at a moment when the revolutionary movement of the Russian workers was at its height. At the end of 1905, the Petrograd Council of Workers' Deputies was taking the first instinctive step towards a seizure of power. And at that time the Petrograd Soviet was strong only in so far as it had a chance of acquiring political power. As soon as the imperial counter-revolution rallied its forces and the labor movement weakened, the Soviet, after a short period of stagnation, ceased to exist.

2. When, in 1918, at the beginning of a new strong revolutionary wave, the idea began to awaken in Russia of the immediate organization of Councils of Workers' Deputies, the Bolshevik Party warned the workers against the immediate formation of Soviets, and pointed out that it would be well-timed only at the

moment when the revolution was already beginning, and when the time had come for the direct struggle for power.

3. At the beginning of the February revolution of 1917, when the Councils of Workers' Deputies were at once transformed into Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, they drew into the sphere of their influence the widest circles of the masses, and at once acquired a tremendous authority, because the real force was on their side, in their hands. But when the liberal bourgeoisie recovered from the suddenness of the first revolutionary blow, and when the social-traitors, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, helped the Russian bourgeoisie to take the power into its hands, the importance of the Soviets began to decline. Only after the July days, and after the failure of Kornilov's counter-revolutionary campaign, when the widest masses of the people began to move, and when the collapse of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois coalition Government was quite near did the Soviets begin to flourish again; and they soon acquired a decisive importance in the country.

4. The history of the German and the Austrian revolutions shows the same. When the popular masses revolted, when the revolutionary waves rose so high that it washed away the strongholds of the Hohenzollern and the Hapsburg monarchies in Germany and in Austria the Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies sprang up with gigantic rapidity. At first the real force was on their side, and the Soviets were well on the way to become the directing power. But as soon as, owing to a whole series of historical conditions, the power began to pass to the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary Social-Democrats, swiftly the Soviet began to decline and lose all importance. During the days of the unsuccessful counter-revolutionary revolt of Kapp-Lüttwitz in Germany, the Soviets again resumed their activity; but when the struggle ended again in the victory of the bourgeoisie and the social-traitors, the Soviets, which had just begun to lift their head again, once more died away.

5. The above facts show that, for the formation of Soviets, certain definite premises are necessary. To organize Councils of Workers' Deputies, and to transform them into Congresses of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the presence of three definite conditions is necessary:

(a) A great revolutionary impulse among the widest circles of the workmen and work-women, the soldiers, and the workers in general.

(b) An acute political and economic crisis, attaining such a degree that the power begins to slip out of the hands of the Government;

(c) When in the ranks of considerable masses of the workers, and first of all in the ranks of the Communist Party, a serious decision is begun a final, systematic, and regular struggle for power has matured.

6. In the absence of these conditions the Communists may and should systematically and persistently propagate the idea of Soviets, popularize it among the masses, demonstrate to the widest circles of the population that the Soviets are the only efficient form of government during the transition to complete Communism. But to proceed to the direct organization of Soviets, in the absence of the above three conditions, is impossible.

7. The attempt of the social-traitors in Germany to emancipate the Soviets, pervert their character, and then introduce them into the general bourgeois-democratic constitutional system, is treason against the workers' cause and acceptance of the workers' Real Soviets are possible only as a form of State organization, replacing the bourgeois democracy, breaking it up, and replacing it by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

8. The propaganda of the Right Wing leaders of the Independents (Hilferding, Kautsky, and others) intended to prove the compatibility of the "Soviet system" with the bourgeois Constituent Assembly, is either a complete failure to comprehend the laws of development of a proletarian revolution, or a conscious deceiving of the working class. The Soviets are the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Constituent Assembly is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. To unite and reconcile the dictatorship of the workers with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is impossible.

9. The attempts of separate Communist groups in France, Italy, America, England to form Soviets not embracing the larger working masses, and unable therefore to enter into a direct struggle for power, are only prejudicial to the actual preparation of a Soviet revolution. Such artificial, hollow "Soviets" soon become transformed, at best, into small associations for propaganda of the Soviet idea, and, in the worst case, such sham "Soviets" are capable only of compromising the Soviet idea in the eyes of the wide masses of the people.

10. Soviets without a revolution are impossible. Soviets without a proletarian revolution inevitably become a parody of Soviets. The authentic mass Soviets are the historically elaborated form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All sincere and serious partisans of Soviet power should deal cautiously with the Soviet idea, and while indefatigably propagating it amongst the masses, should proceed to the direct realization of such Soviets only under the conditions indicated above.

Communist International Appeal to the C. E. C. of the Communist Party

AND THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY ON UNITY.

Dear Comrades,

From reports of comrades representing both groups of the Communist Movement in America, who have arrived from the United States, it was made possible for the Executive Committee of the Communist International to learn the differences in the ranks of the American comrades—differences that led to an open split and to the formation of two Communist parties.

The matter has been discussed at a full meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, at which, in addition to the members of the Executive Committee, there were also present representatives of the Communist organizations of France, Sweden, Hungary, Finland and South Slavonia. The Executive Committee of the Communist International came to the following conclusion:

The split brings much harm to the revolutionary movement in America. It will lead to the division of the revolutionary forces, to harmful duplication and unnecessary friction and unjustifiable waste of energy on internal struggles. And this is going on when the concentration of the forces of the American bourgeoisie has reached an unheard of height, when in view of the onward sweeping world revolution the American working class has before it the greatest possibilities and the brightest hopes!

A close study of the documents from both sides has convinced us that there are no serious differences in the programs of the two parties. There are certain differences on the question of organization. There was some disagreement on the question of how to break with the social-patriotic party. But that is all. This does not even in the smallest degree justify a split and it must by all means be liquidated. As long as the two parties stand on the platform of the Communist International and we have no reason to doubt that this is the case—unity is not only possible, but absolutely necessary. The Executive Committee categorically insists on its immediate realization.

The necessity for immediate unity is dictated also by the fact that the two parties represent, so to say, different sides of the Communist Movement in America, which could well supplement each other. In one party (C. P. A.) are mainly the language elements, united in so-called "national federations". The other party (C. L. P.) represents mainly the American or English speaking elements. In the first are on the one hand, often better trained theoretically and are more closely connected with the traditions of the revolutionary struggle

of the working class of Russia, they are, on the other hand, much less connected with the mass movement and the mass organizations of the American workers, who are gradually entering the broad road of the class struggle.

If the elements of the C. L. P. have not as yet gone through a similar theoretical school, they have the tremendous advantage that through them the party can most easily exert its influence on the great masses of the actual American workers who, in the coming decisive class battles will play the most important part. On one hand propaganda is best developed; on the other agitation.

Thus the two parties naturally supplement each other and only by bringing them together will it be possible to create a strong Communist party in America, which is to become the leader of the mass movement and the approving Communist revolution.

For the purpose of bringing about unity in the shortest possible time, the Executive Committee of the Communist International recommends that the two parties immediately call a joint convention, the decisions of which shall be binding for both parties. For the purpose of calling this convention as well as for the purpose of coordinating the work of the two parties until the convention, a bureau consisting of an equal number of representatives must be created. As a basis for unity the principles laid down in the platform of the Communist International and the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International must be taken.

In addition to this the Executive Committee desires to point out the following:

1) The Communist Party must strive at the earliest moment to unite within its ranks all the elements that recognize the necessity of conquering power and establishing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is self-evident that this recognition must be one of action and not purely theoretical and in words. It must bind every one who desires to be a party member to the unlimited struggle for the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the working class. If this condition is fulfilled and an agreement reached on the main and fundamental points, differences of opinion on other questions, such as the questions of the use of parliamentary and other legal means, about using this or that method of struggle, about various forms of organization, etc., are not important.

Such differences of opinion are unavoidable in the countries where it is necessary to

build a Communist Party of elements having different political origins (Left Wing Socialists who have severed their connection with the old parties; non-partisans who have accepted the principle of the unceasing class struggle; anarchist and syndicalist, who recognize the necessity of the seizure of power and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, etc.) To split on account of these differences, differences that are now, in the period of immediate revolutionary struggle for power only of secondary importance, is absolutely not to be allowed. The one thing the party must demand from each organization and from each individual member in case of a division of opinion, is absolute discipline, unconditional obedience to the rule of the majority. A thorough discussion of questions before they are finally acted upon by the party is necessary and free criticism should be allowed. But after the party has accepted a certain decision, all the party members, including those who disagree with it, must, without fail, get in accordance with that decision. The greatest freedom to those who think differently during the time of discussion on one hand, and, on the other, the strictest discipline in bringing the party decision into life these are the elementary conditions without which the creation of a strong party of proletarian revolution is impossible.

2) A full break with the old Socialist parties (S. P. and S. L. P.) is the self-evident condition for the creation of a Communist Party in America. This condition does not mean, however, that the Communist Party cannot accept individual comrades as well as whole organizations that previously belonged to these parties, who have decisively accepted the point of view of the organized class struggle and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Communist Party must be a mass organization and not a narrow, closed circle. "Separation" from non-Communist elements must be understood as keeping away from actual social-traitors and from the "centrist" elements of the old parties, but by no means in the sense of repulsing former members of the old parties who have severed all connections with them.

The doors of the Communist Party must be wide open to the proletariat, who, although not having a knowledge of all the details of Communist theory, are true to the cause of the proletarian revolution and who are actually involved in the struggle against the domination of the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party will serve them as the best school of Communism.

Communist Party Shop Committees

TENTATIVE PROGRAM.

3) Up to the present time the American Left Wing Socialists have paid a great deal of attention to propaganda within their own ranks and in this respect they have done important work. But limiting themselves to a more or less narrow circle of comrades, they have to a large degree stood aside from the immediate class struggle of the proletarian masses, which is wide-spread over the country. At any rate they have not played a leading part in the biggest collisions between capital and labor. We must remember that the period of decisive battle is coming. While uniting within its ranks all the most active and conscious elements of the working class and developing the greatest mass agitation and propaganda of the ideas of Communism, the Communist Party must at the same time aim to assume the role of the leader of the class struggle of the proletariat in all its forms, beginning with the local industrial strikes, demonstrations, mass meetings, election campaigns to the general political strike and ending with the armed uprising of the proletariat. The main problem of the American Communist at the present moment is to bring the broad proletarian masses into the revolutionary class struggle.

While assisting by every means the speedy split of the American Federation of Labor and other similar trade unions, the party must at the same time endeavor to establish a close contact with those economic organizations of the working class in which there is a tendency toward industrial unionism, (I. W. O., I. O. O. F., U. M. W., etc.). Individual unions that have split away from the A. F. of L. The party must work in close contact with them, endeavoring at the same time to unite them and to create strong class conscious economic organizations of the proletariat. While supporting by all means the industrial unions in their everyday struggle for immediate economic demands, the party must endeavor to broaden and deepen this struggle, to transform it into a struggle for the final revolutionary aim of the proletariat the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the abolition of the capitalist order.

4) The party must so far as possible support the formation in the factories, besides Communist party units, of shop committees, which serve, on the one hand, as a basis for the everyday economic struggle, and on the other, as a school for the preparation of the vanguard of the working class for the administration of the industries after the Dictatorship of the Proletariat has been established. It is understood that these shop committees must work in close contact with the industrial unions.

5) The party must not be a conglomerate of independent, autonomous language federations. The federations have played an important historical part in the American Socialist Movement, their long, systematic opposition within the old parties, the creation of the Socialist Propaganda League, the formation of the Left Wing). But now, with the rapid development of the class struggle, and when the American proletariat is faced with an extremely complicated problem, the language federations will only be in a position to fulfill their duty if they amalgamate as closely as possible with the organizations of the American workers. Of course, it is not desirable to have the old historical form of organization destroyed at one stroke, as this might lead to the complete disappearance of the federations—the constant propagators of Communist ideas in America. That is why the Executive Committee of the Communist International points out that the process of the complete amalgamation of the federations with the rest of the American Communist Movement must be achieved gradually and with a certain degree of carefulness. The language federations may reserve their autonomy regarding the work of propaganda in their respective languages, but in the case of political and economic struggle they must be subordinated to the regular party organs.

In time of intensive class struggle it is necessary to reduce the use of the referendum to a minimum. At any rate, no referendum should be permitted on questions demanding immediate action, in periods between the convocations the C. P. C. must have full power.

1) The ever increasing persecution against the Communists in America brings up the question of illegal work. The Congress of the Communist International of March, 1919, has definitely ruled on this question. Illegal work is necessary as bourgeois "democracy" the world over has actually established a state of siege against the Communists. Two or three years ago the English workers regarded the idea of illegal work in such a free country as England as absurd. Now the revolutionary workers of England also have learned to conduct illegal work. The same thing happened in Germany, where the Social-Democratic hangmen Noske, Scheidemann and Co. are trying to drive underground the mighty Communist Movement of the German workers. We must learn how to co-ordinate the legal work with the illegal. We must make use of all the legal possibilities. And at the same time we must learn to issue illegal leaflets, to form illegal group meetings, to form illegal shop committees, where it is necessary to have an illegal directing centre, etc.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is confident that you, comrades, will solve the problems that are facing you. The victory of the international proletariat depends upon the success of Communism in America.

With Communist Greetings,

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The following program is a tentative outline for the immediate organization of Communist Party Shop Committees. Your Central Executive Committee, in grappling with this problem, has been guided throughout by the necessity of creating a subsidiary organization which must be rigidly and at all times subordinate to the organization, principles and policies of the Communist Party itself. Moreover, it was faced with the task of creating something which is an entirely new departure for Communist organizations in this country.

The plan of organization, its structure—is therefore to be considered as purely temporary and broadly elastic, so as to permit of change and revision as time and experience will dictate.

Its function, as outlined below, must also be considered from the point of view of immediate practicability rather than as ultimate in scope. A more comprehensive program at present before the plan itself has been tested by experience, might lead to stultification and confusion. The present basis has this distinct advantage: correct in theory and principle, new activities will develop out of practice and the experience of the members, minimizing as far as possible any tendency of friction between the shop committees and the Communist Party, and the possibility of readjustment before those tendencies have crystallized.

Finally, in order for any plan to succeed—no matter how good the heartiest co-operation of the rank and file is absolutely essential. A fair period trial alone, will determine its soundness or unsoundness. During this trial period however, the Central Executive Committee will carefully study the results from reports submitted and with the help of suggestions from the membership, which is cordially invited will attempt to shape and mould the C. P. S. C. into an effective adjunct of Communist organization and propaganda among the broad masses of the working class of America.

FORM OF ORGANIZATION.

1) All party units, shall immediately distribute and collect all data relative to the OCCUPATION, UNION AFFILIATION AND NAME AND ADDRESS OF EMPLOYER, as stated on form blanks sent out for this purpose.

2) All party members shall be classified under the following three categories (in code): (a) Occupation; (b) Union Affiliation; (c) name and address of employer.

Note: Names and addresses of party members must not be given—but only such designations as each local may decide upon to insure the rank and file from possible spies within the organization.

3) Such files shall be kept solely in the custody of the Central Executive Committee.

4) Not more than FIVE members in a particular shop or factory shall constitute a C. P. S. C.

5) All C. P. S. C. within a given local shall be appointed by the LOCAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

6) Each C. P. S. C. shall elect its own chairman

7) The C. P. S. C. shall work under the direction of the LOCAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, subject to the supervision and control of the higher party bodies—SUB-DISTRICT COMMITTEES and the C. P. C.

8) The chairman of the C. P. S. C. shall meet regularly with the Local Organizers to make reports and receive instructions.

9) Members of C. P. S. C. shall have no party rights other than as regular party members. Note: All party work must be conducted through the regular party units. Under no circumstances shall C. P. S. C. take the place of the party group or branch.

FUNCTION.

1) The C. P. S. C. shall distribute leaflets, pamphlets and literature to the workers in the shops.

Note: Plans for the issuance of a legal paper suitable for propaganda in the shops and industries are under consideration.

2) The C. P. S. C. shall build up groups of sympathizers within the shop or factory, whose sole function shall be to help them in spreading Communist propaganda.

Note: These groups of sympathizers will be the raw material for future membership in the Communist Party, and should be selected with this end in view. Furthermore, these sympathizers will in many cases do the actual distribution of literature, as any members may be known or suspected of affiliation with the party.

3) The C. P. S. C. shall organize educational meetings of shop workers.

Note: Only such workers as are known to be sympathizers, or show signs of becoming sympathizers, should be included in these plans. These shop educational meetings should prove to be of great value if properly and carefully carried out. Later on, small mass meetings of workers (not mass meetings of party members) combining two or more shops for this purpose—may be organized in order to get more direct contact with the workers. Would recommend that no steps be taken in this direction for the immediate present.

4) The C. P. S. C. shall take steps to organize study classes of the most advanced workers (sympathizers, etc.).

Note: Elementary courses will be submitted for this purpose. Workers who take these courses can be admitted to membership after the usual preliminary conditions are fulfilled.

5) The C. P. S. C. shall act as medium for collecting funds for the party in the shops and factories.

Note: It is absolutely imperative that the workers be called upon to contribute to the Communist Party. The regular income from dues, etc. is insufficient even for the upkeep of the organization. As the Communist Party grows in influence and scope new fields of activity are developed requiring more and more funds. The ways and means for collecting funds in an underground organization are necessarily limited. The C. P. S. C. can supplement the regular party organization for raising funds directly from the workers in the industries.

Caught With the Goods!

U. C. P. IGNORES REQUEST TO RETURN STOLEN C. P. FUNDS.

Dear Comrades:

Under the instructions of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America, I address to you this formal demand for the return of all Communist Party funds and records turned over to you by the former Executive Secretary Damon

The allegation that the minority, which split away from our Party and participated in the formation of the U. C. P., carried with it the majority of the C. P. membership is absolutely disproved by the figures shown in the inclosed extract from the report of our former Acting Secretary Bunte, certified by him, and accepted by our Convention. For further evidence we are willing to show our books and records to a representative of our Party duly authorized.

The statement of our accounts as shown by Damon in the last issue of your paper is substantially correct, minor adjustments can be made for the getting together for the settlement. Many of the comrades who loaned their meager savings to the Communist Party are applying for their return, and we must insist that you return our funds immediately. Any debts paid by you since the split will be taken into account.

Through the same channels with this letter we are sending an address for your official reply.

We demand an immediate response to this letter. Should you fail to comply with above stated demand, we will be compelled to bring the case before the Third International.

By orders of the C. P. C.

L. Bain, Exec. Secy C. P. of A.

ANSWER OF U. C. P.

On this letter the Central Executive Committee of the U. C. P. took the following action as appearing in their official record.

"Communication from the C. P. asking for return of money and records turned over to the U. C. P. by Damon, DECIDED NOT TO ANSWER."