



The COMMUNIST

Official Organ of the Communist Party of America

(Section of the Communist International)

VOLUME I. NO. 10

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1922.

PRICE 10 CENTS

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The Convention Has Spoken

The Second Convention of our party, the Communist Party of America, as founded at the Unity Convention of last year, is now history. A year of change in the situation to be met by the Communist movement, a year of historic opportunities seized, of great strides made forward, of mistakes made at heavy cost, of lessons learned—has passed. The bitter internal struggles that have marked this period and led up to the Convention—these also must become the history of bygone days. As a milestone marking the progress of our Party, this Convention must close the period of inner struggle and must open a new epoch. This is the historic significance of the Second Convention. To assure it this significance is the task of every comrade.

If revolutions are the locomotives of history, then the Party of the Revolution must be its engineer. The strength, the power, the efficiency of the engineer cannot be improved by speculative plans and blueprints alone; but must be improved mainly on the basis of experience in actual work.

To apply the Communist Party of America to its task must be the immediate object of the **united** efforts of the whole membership of the Party. The Second Convention has supplied the basis for these united efforts.

Whether the Communist Party remains an underground party, or whether a radical change of conditions brings the possibility of its being an open party,—in either case it must not rest content to be a mere interpreter of the class struggle, but must establish itself as the most intelligent and most active participant in the class struggle. The underground form or the open form of a revolutionary party is determined by existing conditions which may vary from time to time and from country to country. But the fundamental task of the Party is determined by revolutionary principles which the shifting conditions do not change.

Our Convention established by decision and otherwise that, under the conditions that exist at the present time and which will exist for some time to come, **the Communist Party of America must continue to be an underground party.** Further to build up this underground party, to strengthen it, to protect it, to make of it a more and more effective driving power of the proletarian revolution in America, is the duty of every Communist in this country. To be a Communist means to be an engineer, or a fireman, or at least a cog in the machinery of the locomotive of the workers' revolution. **No one has a right to call himself a Communist, no one can protest his adherence to the Communist International, who refuses to be an active and loyal**

member of the Communist Party of America, the Section of the Communist International.

INTO THE OPEN STRUGGLE!

The Convention did not rest in settling alone the point that the Party remains an underground party. It declared in unquestionable terms that its fundamental task is not a conspirative one, capable of being carried out successfully under cover and in darkness, but that the fundamental task lies in **open work** in the daily struggles of the working class. Although its task is the promotion and guidance of the revolution, and though the revolution is the very antithesis of capitalist "law and order," yet the struggle of the working class is essentially in all its stages an open struggle. In the present stage of the struggle, groups of workers are battling against individual capitalists or combinations of them, in an effort to gain enduring working conditions. To be the most active, intelligent and loyal fighters in these groups of workers, and to accelerate the development of their struggle for existence into a struggle of the masses of the proletariat for the political supremacy of the working class—this is the task of the Communists, the task of the Communist Party of America.

Strong underground organization, but the center of gravity in the open work: that, in a dozen words, is the formula laid down by the Second Convention of the Communist Party of America. It is the formula which every Communist in America must adhere to—or stand convicted of breaking faith with Communism and with the Communist International.

To accomplish its task the Party must apply itself as a **unit**. Factions, though they may originate in conscientious efforts to serve the cause and the Party, **develop inevitably** into conspiracies against the Party and its best interests.

THE OPPORTUNITY.

The antagonisms between the working class and the capitalists are sharpening day by day. The struggle between these classes grows more intense. Larger and larger masses are drawn into the struggle. The political indifference of the American working masses gradually disappears. Courts issuing injunctions, State militia and federal troops driving the workers back into the treadmills of profit-extracting capitalists, police clubs bouncing on the heads of striking and picketing workers—all these manifestations of partisanship of the Government in the class struggle are gradually destroying the myth of the "non-partisan" State, and are driving the masses of the American proletariat toward open rebellion against the Government. Even Gompers, the reactionary incarnate, is

forced today to speak a language that he himself would have denounced as treasonable a few short years ago. We are not deceived by this language; we merely mention it as a sign of the times. How far must the masses of the workers have advanced, if the stragglers in the rear of the army must speak thus in their effort to hold the confidence of the masses!

Hundreds of thousands of workers have for months been engaged in a gigantic struggle. That has happened before, it is true. But never before has the spirit of the masses been so utterly dominated by the determination to fight to the bitter end; never before has the government had to discard entirely the mask of non-partisanship. Never before has the idea of a general strike of the working masses taken possession so persistently of the mind of the workers of America.

This tremendous development of the class struggle in America has taken place with only slight Communist influence, yes, even in spite of the slow, halting, inadequate pushing of the Communist program for exactly that development. Now, in the face of this development, which of you, Comrades, would continue the fruitless internal squabbles within the Party! Which one, or what group of you, would dare to assume responsibility for a continuation of the factional spirit and strife, responsibility for a continuation of the caucuses that tear the Party to pieces and paralyze all efforts at revolutionary work?

UNITY!

The secret of success of any Communist Party is its compactness, its centralized machinery, its uniformity of action. **Any factional organization inside of the Party** makes impossible such uniformity of action and condemns the Party to the existence of a paralytic. In the face of the gigantic task before the Party, in the face of the present battle of the American workers against the capitalists (fast developing into a battle against capitalism itself!), no loyal Communist can allow the energies of one single member to be diverted from the task of the Party and diverted to the purposes of a faction or caucus.

Comrades! The Convention has spoken. A strong underground Party! Extension of open work in the unions and L. P. P.! Absolute unity of the Party and its action! Discontinuance of factional strife and caucuses! Our duty is clear. Our task is tremendous. The time is favorable.

Do your duty! Close your ranks! Make our Party a real force in the great struggle of the American proletariat.

Let us unite to make good in action the phrases:
"Long live the Communist Party of America!"
"Long live the Communist International!"

Decisions of the Second Annual Convention

I. Position on Trade Unions.

1. The work in the trade unions must be increased tenfold. Every member of the Party must not only be a member of a trade union, but if at all possible must become a leader in these organizations. It is not only a question of the life and death of the Party, but it is also the best means to overcome the sterile inner struggles of the Party and to concentrate the interests of the membership on the great questions of the struggle of the American proletariat.

2. The road to the American revolution leads over the defeat and elimination of the power of the reactionary bureaucracy which now dominates the largest group of organizations of the working class in this country, the American Federation of Labor. Therefore the most important labor union work is the work within the A. F. of L. To save this group of organizations from the influence of its present dominantly corrupt leadership and to win it for the open and straightforward class struggle is the task. The chief slogan in this work is, amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions.

3. The main goal of the Communists in their trade union work is the unification of all organized labor into one federation.

4. The work in the independent unions must be carried on in the above spirit. The necessary and ripe amalgamations (not artificial ones) of independent unions within a certain industry or in local councils, should be influenced by the Communists so that they are not carried through in a separatist spirit against the A. F. of L., but as a step toward the general unification of Labor, and in support of the work within the A. F. of L.

5. The tendency for the formation of a national federation of independent unions or the amalgamation of local councils into a competing federation against the American Federation of Labor, is harmful.

6. Affiliation of independent unions to the Red International of Labor Unions must be propagated, just as affiliation of international unions within the American Federation of Labor with the Red International of Labor Unions must be propagated. But such

affiliation must be effected in a way that will not increase the difficulty of our work within the American Federation of Labor.

II. Relation of the C. P. to L. P. P.

1. According to the Theses on the Role of the Communist Party adopted at the Second World Congress, the main task of the Communist consists:

2. In the effort to awaken and strengthen class consciousness among the working masses, to develop, sharpen and lead the class struggle, to win the sympathies of the great majority of the working class for Communism, and to establish their confidence in the Communist Party and thus to prepare for the final battle with capitalist rule. In this effort the Communist Party works openly and publicly. Whether a Communist Party operates "legally", that is, whether it is tolerated by the enemy capitalist State, or whether it is forced to be "illegal" and to keep its whole apparatus of organization secret, depends upon a number of conditions which vary in different countries and at different times; but it depends first of all upon the relative power of the struggling working class on the one hand and the bourgeoisie and the capitalist State on the other. But also in those countries where the Communist Party is legal, it is forced to break the legality, that is, to break the laws established by the enemy capitalist State, just as that State itself tramples its own laws under foot whenever necessary to do violence to the working class. In most countries, and in the most important ones of the capitalist world, the Communist parties are at present open, that is "legal", parties. No so in the United States. Here the Communist Party cannot, as in France, Germany, Italy, England, Tzekho-Slovakia, etc, be a "legal" party; but it must carry on its work as an underground organization like the Communist parties in Poland, Jugo-Slavia, Hungary, and Roumania. If a party is forced to work temporarily underground, then it can fight for an open existence only by widening its influence, by increasing its power, by winning the sympathies of the broad masses of the workers, and thus forcing the enemy to recognize it.

3. The illegal Communist Party of America has no prospects in the near future of becoming a legal

party, and therefore the underground Party is and remains the only Section of the Communist International in the United States. Should conditions change, and should the Communist Party of America become an open, "legal", party, even then it will, like the other legal Communist Parties, need an underground apparatus for special purposes.

4. But whether the Party is legal or illegal, the center of gravity of the activities of the Communist Party of America is in the open work, in connection with the broad masses and their struggles. For this purpose it must exploit all legal possibilities for propaganda and agitation to the fullest possible extent. Especially does this apply to the activities within the trades unions and in the political field, the L. P. P.

5. The whole work of the L. P. P. must be directed by the Communist Party, to which purpose the following rules apply:

a) All members of the C. P. must be members of the L. P. P. In their work in the L. P. P. they are subject to the discipline of the C. P.

b) The C. E. C. of the C. P. must direct the whole work of the L. P. P. in accordance with the decisions of the conventions of the C. P., especially the work of the leading bodies of the L. P. P. All basic actions of the L. P. P. must be prepared by the C. E. C. of the C. P. The Convention of the L. P. P. must be preceded by a convention of the C. P.

c) The meetings of the organizations of the Communist Party must devote their time, along with the routine work of the Party, mainly to the consideration of the open work, especially that in the L. P. P. By this method these meetings must be made live actions. No duplication of work with the L. P. P. must be done, but the best methods of carrying out the directions of the Party must be prepared.

d) The legal press must be exploited to the fullest extent for Communist propaganda and agitation.

e) The Official Organ of the Communist Party, published regularly, should be devoted to the discussion of tactical and organizational questions of the C. P. and of the Communist International. Its readers must be recruited from sympathisers, as well as comprising the entire membership of the C. P.

f) Illegal leaflets must be published only if all legal possibilities are exhausted or if special reasons make advisable.

III. Program of L. P. P.

The program must be short. It must be a manifesto which in concise form—not in the form of nar-

rative or syllogism—contains our program. The red thread of this document must be the class struggle, leading up to the climax of the proletarian dictatorship. The document must be American. The proletarian dictatorship must be shown as the rule of the thirty-eight million wage workers as against the dictatorship of Wall Street. American democracy must be analysed.

The dictatorship of the working class through Soviets must be shown as the historic form in which the victory of the working class has up to the present time manifested itself.

The necessity of an international organization of the advance guard of the working class of the world, must be shown, and the Communist International must be acknowledged to be the leader of this advance guard.

IV. Opposition.

It is possible and desirable to bring about full Communist unity by bringing back into the Party the Opposition, on the basis of the decisions of the C. I. In carrying out this reuniting, the decision about recruiting groups shall not be applied, but rather better-fitting forms must be found for the organizational assimilation of returning members of the opposition. All measures shall be taken in agreement with the representative of the Communist International.

V. Discussions in the Party.

1. On special occasions the Central Executive Committee decides whether a controversial question should be submitted to the discussion of the Party. Such a decision represents a political act of the Party. It must be accompanied by an indication as to the form and scope of the discussion (whether a discussion in the press is included). Material, pro and con, must be submitted in condensed form.

2. Discussions of controversial questions may be accompanied by a simultaneous discussion in the Party press, or they may not, just as the C. E. C. decides. Under no consideration can an editor take the initiative to open discussion in any Party paper on any controversial question in the Party. This applies to all papers under control of the Party.

3. After the C. E. C. or any other Party unit has reached a decision about an action, all subordinate organizations of the Party and the membership must carry out the decision at once. Discussion must be confined to the best means of carrying out the deci-

sion. If organizations or members of the Party have doubt as to the wisdom of the decisions, they must convey such doubts to the C. E. C. But under no consideration must the carrying out of such decisions be delayed thereby, or sabotaged. Neither is it permissible for groups or organizations of the membership to try to reach an understanding about resistance to decisions of the Party.

4. Two months, or at the very latest, six weeks before the Party Convention, the Central Executive Committee notifies the Party units about the agenda and submits the points of the agenda to discussion of the membership. The agenda must be accompanied by an outline of the forthcoming report to the Convention about the activity of the Party in the past year, and this must include a report about the existing situation and a plan of action for the coming year.

VI. Caucuses.

According to the explicit declarations of the Third World Congress of the Communist International, the formation of caucuses within the Party is formally forbidden. A caucus is a formal organization of a part of the membership of the Party with its own solidarity and discipline. But there can be no Party discipline if there is caucus discipline, or if there is any conception of "betrayal" of a caucus. There is such a thing as betrayal of Communism, betrayal of the Communist International or of the Party—but the concept of a betrayal of a caucus within the Party cannot be tolerated. Every attempt to build or to rebuild or continue a caucus within the Party must be met with decisive disciplinary measures.

VII. Liquidation.

1. The Communist Party of America must continue to exist as an underground party.

2. Its main task consists in the open work, especially through the L. P. P. and the trade unions.

3. Should conditions change and the possibility of an open Communist Party arise, then a convention of the Communist Party alone can decide.

VIII. Party Council.

1. A Party Council will be formed. The Party Council consists of the Central Executive Committee members and of one Party Council member from each

Party District or from a combination of Districts as designated by the Convention.

2. The delegate to the Party Council from each District, and their alternates, are elected by the Convention. When vacancies in the Party Council occur, after the list of alternates is exhausted, the D. E. C. fills the vacancy for its District.

3. Editors of the party papers and the Federation secretaries participate in the sessions of the Party Council with voice but not vote.

4. The Party Council meets upon call of the Central Executive Committee every four months and upon special occasions. The Party Council decides upon a plan of action for the coming months.

5. The decisions of the Party Council are in force only if ratified by the Central Executive Committee—except as provided for in paragraph 6 of this Article. The Central Executive Committee bears sole responsibility before the Convention.

6. Expulsions from the Party decided upon by the Central Executive Committee are in full force immediately but are subject to final ratification by the Party Council.

IX. Composition of the Central Executive Committee.

According to the Thesis on Organization of Communist Parties adopted by the Third World Congress of the Communist International, the majority of the Central Executive Committee must reflect the majority of the Party Convention. But also the minority of the Party Convention must be reflected by a minority representation in the Central Executive Committee. The whole Central Executive Committee must be so constituted that the comrades most competent in the different forms of Party work are elected. Not every good caucus leader is a good Party leader. Every member of the C. E. C., whether coming from a majority or a minority of the Convention, shall represent in the C. E. C. the general interest of the Party. Not only is it not permissible for members of the C. E. C. to form caucuses in the Party for their support, but every C. E. C. member is personally responsible that his partisans and former caucus friends do not undertake or support the formation of factions. The main task of the new C. E. C. is to reestablish the endangered Party unity, and to build up again the weakened confidence of the Party, without which fruitful Party activity is impossible.

Report of the Convention

The second convention of the Communist Party of America has been held. This convention which had long been looked forward to and long been delayed, dealt with questions of tremendous moment to the Party—questions which had nearly disrupted the Party, firstly, because, of their nature and, secondly, because of the protracted, heated discussion that ensued almost to the exclusion of Party work.

The convention settled these questions in an unequivocal fashion. It also settled that, once these questions were decided, the Party must go to work with iron zeal and rigid discipline to put these decisions into effect. **The Communist Party of America remains an underground party**, engaging in every form of revolutionary activity among the workers, but particularly in **extensive open work** in the trade unions, the LPP and other open organizations, in order to reach, teach and organize the working masses. **No caucuses however justified** in their origin and praiseworthy in their aims, shall be tolerated within the Party. Loyalty to the Party, to Communism, to the Communist International, **not caucus loyalty**, must be the slogan henceforth. The seceding **opposition** must be brought back into the Party. There are not to be any Communists outside the Party ranks. The troublous times, the terrific struggles in which the workers of America have been engaged demand that the advance guard be a solid, compact body working unitedly toward one end—the revolutionizing of the masses, the building up of their organizations, the directing of their struggles into channels that shall lead to the establishment of the Proletarian Dictatorship.

Unforeseen circumstances made it necessary to condense the convention deliberations within a shorter time than anticipated. **And yet at no Communist convention in America has so much constructive work been accomplished.**

There were present at the convention a representative of the Communist International, a representative of the Red Trade Union International, a third representative from abroad acting as a delegate of the American party, 45 regular delegates, 10 members of the CEC, 3 ex-CEC members, a representative of the Communist Party of Canada and 16 editors and federation secretaries.

This was too large a body for an **underground** convention. Comprising, as it did, however, the most

active Party members, their presence ensures that every section of the country will be imbued with the new spirit and will work with increased energy for the realization of our aims.

From the very beginning of the convention, a tendency to caucuses was manifest. A majority caucus representing those contending against a tendency which they regarded as leading toward the liquidation of the underground party, was formed and remained the majority throughout the convention. The second caucus was a looser aggregation and embraced those who declared there were no liquidators in the Party and others who for different reasons remained outside the majority caucus.

A new method of conducting conventions was adopted. After some debate, a **Convention Presidium** was elected to take charge of all matters to come before the convention. This Presidium determined the agenda for each session and thrashed out all problems so that they would be presented in the best organized and most comprehensible manner possible. This assured precision and swiftness of action. The Presidium also elected the chairmen of the convention.

The **representative of the C. I.** delivered an inspiring address—a survey of the international situation, followed by an analysis of the American situation and particularly of conditions within the Party. He then went into the **report of the “Disarmament Commission”**, which, representing the various tendencies within the Party, brought in a **unanimous report** on ten important Party problems. The C. I. representative explained how the problems had been approached, the arguments made, the difficulties that had to be surmounted. And yet a unanimous report has been arrived at in this commission of eight.

The Director of the **Trade Union** work gave a masterly survey of industrial conditions in America. As the convention occurred at the time of the most serious and widespread labor struggles that America has witnessed, his lecture was replete with examples taken from these struggles. This address went into minute details, the main idea of his analysis being that the American labor movement merely waits for radical leadership, since the conservative leaders have betrayed and defaulted. The comrades appreciated the gigantic task before the Party and asked numerous questions on policy and tactics.

Against this review of possibilities of revolutionary work in the trade unions was cited the appalling fact that **only 5% of the Party membership is actively engaged in trade union work.** Nevertheless, in various instances and localities, this small proportion of membership has done inestimable work.

Experience has upheld the Party's policies in the trade unions. The Party's policy at a certain convention held in Chicago was generally approved, encountering but minor criticism.

The whole discussion of the trade union work was a crying plea for extensive activity in the trade unions, LPP and other open Party organizations. One hundred per cent of the membership must become busy and assume leadership in the coming struggles of the workers, in order to make the Party a living force.

The **Executive Secretary's report** reviewed a year of Communist activity and internal Party controversy. It pointed out the steps in advance that had been taken—particularly in the formation of the LPP. Nevertheless blunders had been made—which contributed to the split in the Party. Two members of the CEC who had acted as spokesmen of the majority of the convention, spoke in opposition to this report.

The "disarmament" report was **unanimously** ad-

opted by the convention in principle and referred to the incoming CEC and Party Council for action.

The main work of the convention having been completed, the only essential task that remained was **the election of the CEC and the Party Council.**

The number of members in the CEC was increased to eleven (and since the convention, to twelve, by the formal seating of the representative of the YCL in the CEC, as is international usage). Upon agreement, **two** members of the CEC were elected **unanimously**; then **six** from the **majority** caucus were elected, and three from the minority. The aim of the Party Council is to bring the CEC into closer contact with the Party membership, not only the CEC may gain a better knowledge of its opinions but may were easily dissipate misunderstandings that may arise.

The convention thus came to an end. A year of intense activity is assured. Events and experience have demonstrated that the Communist Party must remain an underground party in America for some time to come and will be able to merge into the open only when it grows powerful and can force the capitalist State to recognize it. Open work must be prosecuted in every field. Factionalism resulting in caucuses must cease. The spirit of the convention must permeate every Party unit and member. Unity, discipline and intensive work are the slogans.

Statement to the Membership

Basis of Our Policy for the Immediate Situation

General Policy.

We are face to face with a new situation. We are on the treshhold of a momentous campaign of self-defense by the workers against the capitalist offensive. The Central Executive Committee therefore instructs all Party units vigorously to pursue the following plan of action.

1. The main campaign of our Party today is against the Government authorities rather than against the trade union bureaucracy and the yellow Socialists. The tensivity and the wide scope of the immediate struggles of the workers are becoming ever more marked. The present situation demands maximum effective resistance to the vicious governmental onslaught on the most elementary rights of the workers and necessitates our pursuing a policy calculated to draw into these struggles the largest mass of workers possible, regardless of existing political differences.

2. In this campaign our members must persistently and systematically point out to the broad working masses that the attack on the Communists is only a prelude to and a deliberately planned part of the general attack on the whole working class.

The role of the Government in the present strikes affords ample proof of this.

3. The main slogan of our campaign shall be: **Workers, demand the unrestricted right to organize, strike and picket and defend these rights by means of all industrial and political power you can possible command.** Our membership must call upon the workers systematically and energetically to disobey the anti-strike injunctions and to carry on their strike duties in defiance of these injunctions.

Our rallying cries here are such as:

a) Down with injunctions in the labor struggles!

- b) Away with the usurped power of the courts!
- c) Down with the use of armed forces against the workers!
- d) Down with government by injunction!

4. We must encourage the workers to demand and endeavor to take for themselves all the rights of the famous American democracy. The Communists are part of the working class; therefore the Communists must also have this democracy in fact—the unrestricted right to freedom of press, speech and assembly.

5. We must wage as powerful a campaign as possible for the guarantee of the civil and economic rights of the foreign-born workers. We should diligently work for removing the present restrictions on citizenship and the various anti-alien laws, for guaranteeing the foreign-born workers the unrestricted right to work, and for the enhancement of the general solidarity of the native workers with the foreign-born workers.

This involves the Party's taking the following concrete organizational steps.

a) Thru our Federations we must wage an energetic campaign to have the foreign-born workers join the labor unions.

b) The Federations must also wage an energetic campaign to have the foreign-born workers become citizens of the United States,—not for patriotic reasons but in order to draw them more into the political life of the country.

6. We should persistently and systematically propagate the idea of the workers' independence from the Republican, Democratic, and other capitalist parties and the necessity of an independent working class political party.

II.

The General Labor Defense Council.

1. There is about to be formed a General Labor Defense Council in which every member must take a most vigorous part. Organizationally this Council will be constituted on the basis of the complete unity of all working class bodies regardless of political differences.

a) It is understood that such organizations as the Workers' Party, The Farmer Labor Party, the Socialist Party, the Proletarian Party, the United Toilers, the I. W. W., the S. L. P., various anarchist elements (many of which we do not control) will participate. Above all the Trade unions, Central Labor Councils, Trade Union Educational League, co-operatives and workers' relief and social organizations are to be included.

2. This Council will contain various radical and liberal elements, not at all Communist, such as

- a) The Civil Liberties Union
- b) Groups gathered about the liberal press like the Nation, the Freeman, and the New Republic.
- c) Liberal and working farmers' organizations like the Non-Partisan League and various Tenant and farmers' associations.
- d) Also men prominent in public life who are willing to co-operate; such as legislators, editors, clergymen, professors and lawyers.

3. Our members must everywhere be most active in this Council.

a) It is desirable that the directing committees shall contain representatives of as many co-operating organizations as possible, though they may not be Communists.

b) The main purpose of our participation in this General Labor Defense Council is to take a vigorous part in the waging of a campaign on a large scale, not only against the persecution of Communists, but also against the vicious offensive now being directed against the general mass of workers and their organizations.

c) Our activity in this campaign divides itself along two main lines.

(1) Activity in defense of all militant workers and their organizations. The Communists are a section of the working class, hence defense of the Communists as well must be carried on.

(2) Our members in participating in this work should as much as possible counteract the prejudice against the Communists prevailing in the ranks of the broad mass of workers—by using the following arguments.

(a) We should show that it is untrue that we want to break up the unions.

(b) That we are not advocates of acts of individual terrorism but of actions of the organized masses.

(c) That we do not represent any secret, "Russian", interests, but the interests of the whole American working class.

(d) That it is only the brutal persecution of the capitalist government that compels the Communists to be an underground Party, just as it has compelled the coal miners union, in certain sections of West Virginia, to be an underground organization, and just as the use of government injunctions may compel the whole trade union movement to be underground.

(e) All workers must have the rights of this "democracy"—freedom of speech, press, and assembly—whether they be Communists or any other kind of workers.

4. Our activity in this Council shall consist of

- a) Organizing mass meetings and demonstrations.

b) Collecting money for the defense of all workers from the persecution of the capitalists.

c) Organizing a publicity campaign on a large scale.

d) Systematically adopting resolutions on a country-wide scale and sending deputations of militant workers to present demands on the various governmental bodies for the taking of such immediate concrete steps as the removal of the anti-sydicalist laws and the enactment of special legislation against the reaction.

5. Our nuclei in all unions and labor organizations, such as social, mutual aid, and educational societies, must wage an energetic campaign for their affiliation with the General Labor Defense Council, by means of

a) Systematic adoption of resolutions towards this end.

b) The appearance of our speakers before these bodies.

c) Keeping us fully informed as to the results achieved in this campaign

III.

Industrial.

1. Our members in all labor unions and labor organizations should systematically and persistently propagate the idea of the necessity of an independent workers' political party. We must strive to secure maximum concerted action for the realization of this end by all those favoring it. The resolutions embodying this proposal should be circulated on a country-wide scale.

2. In carrying on this propaganda, our members should at the same time utilize the occasion to enhance the strength of the L. P. P. This must be done with the greatest care in order not to violate the very purpose of our whole agitation. That is, nothing should be done to this end which might tend to hurt the movement of the broad working masses towards independence from the capitalist political parties and the development of the idea of the necessity of an independent working class political party.

IV.

Federations.

1. Our Federations must concentrate their activities in a huge campaign for the defense of the foreign-born workers, not from a nationalist point of view but on the basis of the actual situation at hand, that is, the foreign-born workers are the most oppressed workers.

2. Our Federations should everywhere establish connections with the trade union locals of foreign-born workers.

3. The Federations should lead and direct an extensive campaign for the unionization of the unorganized mass of foreign-born workers.

4. Wherever local conditions of persecution make impossible such a campaign of unionization, our Federations should lead and direct the organization of social, mutual aid, and educational associations of foreign-born workers.

5. The Federation press must be utilized to the utmost in this campaign.

V.

Research Bureau.

1. In order to help the achievement of these policies, the Central Executive Committee is organizing a Research Bureau to keep the Party fully informed, thru the CEC., as to the facts, figures, and documents pertaining to the political and industrial situation in America.

2. The membership must notify the CEC of all details of progress in their campaigns, such as the number and kind of meetings, resolutions, etc.

a) They should also send special reports on activities whenever occasion requires, these reports being for the sole use of the Party center.

b) All experiences, unsuccessful as well as successful, must be reported along with recommendations to the higher bodies whenever possible.

VI.

Press.

1. Our editors must give the widest publicity possible to the Party's Labor Day Manifesto to the American workers.

2. Our editors should treat the Bridgeman affair as a serious political question.

3. They should write regularly on this and related incidents along the following lines.

a) The arrest of Wm. Z. Foster, in a manner calculated to acquaint the masses with the Trade Union Educational League and its aims.

b) The various State anti-syndicalist laws—their purpose and role in the class struggle.

4. Our editors must write regularly and elaborately on the principles of Communism and the role of the Communist Party in a manner calculated to destroy the prejudice prevailing against the Communists in the ranks of the broad masses.

General Slogan.

We must so face the present situation as to develop amongst the working masses a deep consciousness of the need for their complete independence of and separation from all the capitalist political parties and to enhance the idea of the necessity of an independent working class political party.

A View of Our Party Condition

Extract from Report of the Representative of the Communist International to the Presidium of the C. I.

I take this occasion to give you a report on the period of the Convention itself and on the present situation in the Party.

When I arrived here about the middle of July, the situation was as follows:

The Party was divided into two factions fighting each other at daggers' points. The meetings of the C. E. C. were devoted entirely to inner matters. Questions dealing with the big struggles taking place in the country were never on the order of business. Even though the membership in the districts participated in these struggles, and at times with very good results, they did so generally beyond the range of the CEC which was bothered with other cares and did not direct this work.

The factional strife was conducted according to all classical and non-classical rules. It prevailed over everything else, and it was apparent to every impartial witness that the danger of a new split had become imminent. Both factions were either firmly organized or were in the process of organization. It is immaterial to ask which one started organizing. The whole question was which faction would have the majority at the coming convention.

On the basis of a cable from Moscow, one faction proposed to postpone the Convention. The other faction immediately declared that the cable was a manoeuvre and even suggested that it was a fake. I absolutely rejected these implications or charges, but at the same time was just as decidedly against a postponement of the Convention, since I perceived quite clearly that this would merely aggravate the situation. Furthermore it was also clear to me that no ostensibly new instructions coming from abroad could prevent a split, but that such a split could be obviated only by a great effort **here on the spot**.

In a written declaration, I reminded the comrades of the prohibition of caucuses (see Theses of the Third Congress); I pointed out the danger of a split, and demanded that the CEC immediately elect a Commission to discuss all the controversial questions and endeavor to find a common ground on which to restore the Party unity. If there were any disputes that could not be bridged over, they would become manifest in the work which was to be free from all

caucus passion. This proposal was adopted unanimously by the CEC and a Commission of 8 elected, comprising the representatives of all tendencies and the three comrades from abroad. This Commission was called the "Disarmament Commission", officially the "Adjustment Commission".

2. The Disarmament Commission held a dozen meetings lasting several hours each. It made up a list of all questions in dispute, both large, small and moderate questions, and discussed all of them most thoroughly. In the midst of the debates on each question, I endeavored to draft a resolution embodying the kernel of the question in concise form. The result was that the Commission adopted ten resolutions **unanimously**. Two or three points in a few resolutions, which could not be agreed on unanimously, were dropped without the whole result suffering in the least. The resolutions carried pertained to the following matters: 1. Work in the unions. 2. "Liquidation". 3. Relations of the CP to the LPP. 4. Composition of the coming CEC. 5. Prohibition of Caucuses. 6. Discussion in the Party. 7. Formation of a Party Council. 8. Centrists in the LPP. 9. Relation to the Opposition. 10. Program of the LPP.

An eleventh resolution on the very important question of the Labor Party I withdrew myself, since I was convinced that the moment was not opportune for arriving at a decision on the question in the Party.

The Commission adopted the following method of carrying on its work: none of the Theses already published (there were three: 1) by Ford and Dubner, 2) by Damon and Marshall, and 3) the so-called "C. E. C. Thesis" drafted by Ballister, — see official organ) — none of them was taken as a basis. I did not assume the role of a pacifier or arbiter, but, on the contrary, openly combatted everything that, in my opinion represented witch-hunting or a political judgment or standpoint, in the Theses published. On the one hand, I particularly attacked the "optimistic" estimation of the possibilities of political development, as expressed by Marshall and Damon, which ignored the growing sharpness of the class struggle in the country and thereby gave rise to illusions that led to charges of "liquidation". On the other hand, I pointed out the falsity of the "illegalistic" conception of the role of the Party in the Theses of Ford

and Dubner, which was in opposition to facts as they are and also contradicted our Congress Theses on this subject. I must emphasize that the authors of these ideas were, all in all, convinced, and did not persist in these views.

Thus armed, we arrived at the Convention with ten resolutions unanimously adopted by the "Disarmament" Commission, and pertaining to all the important controversial questions. Thus armed, the Party stood face to face with the disarmed caucuses. As a matter of course, we obtained the main ideas for this work from the general arsenal of the CI, from its special decisions on the Tactics in America, from the experiences of other sections of the CI and from an analysis of the general situation in America. The "Disarmament" Commission instructed me to make the report in its name at the Convention and to recommend to the Convention that that it adopt the resolutions passed as the basis for its own decision.

3. The Convention assembled. At first the main question was: who had the majority. Two caucuses were formed: an "anti-liquidation", and an "independent" caucus. Caucus meetings, as a matter of course, were inevitable. I attended both. As to their character, I shall give further details. In the election of the temporary chairman, it was apparent that the former caucus had a majority of 22 against 18. Later these figures varied, once being 23 to 21, but always a few votes more on one side. Thereupon followed a long, bitter debate on the formation of a Presidium (which was something new for America), since the majority caucus insisted on having a decisive majority in the Presidium, whereupon the minority rejected even the idea of a Presidium. At last a Presidium with an equal number (6) from either side was formed, with myself as the thirteenth member. Several days lost through this sort of debates and endless caucus meetings, which, as a rule, paid no heed to reality—not only no attention to the big reality, but not even to the trifling immediate realities of the Convention itself.

The following are the only matters that the Convention settled before it prematurely closed: 1) An address by me on the World situation and the Comintern; 2) a report by me in the name of the "Disarmament" Commission; 3. a report of the director of the Industrial Department, together with a debate on the report, 4) report of the Executive Secretary, followed by two short minority reports. The Convention voted on a few resolutions of the Trade Union Committee only, which were adopted unanimously in the committee and unanimously by the Convention. It also unanimously approved the results of the work of the Disarmament Commission.

When it was discovered that it would be necessary

to end the Convention, a new CEC was elected. The majority demanded a decided majority in this body—two-thirds of the body, 6 of the majority, to 3 of the minority. The minority considered the question whether, under such circumstances, it would not be best to refrain from accepting any place in the CEC. I advocated a majority of three for the majority caucus, and compulsory participation of the minority. I had two motives in making this recommendation: 1) with a majority of one or two votes in the CEC, a struggle would arise in the leading body to obtain the majority, speculation as to accidental majorities would be continued, which would demoralize the work; 2) The majority should have the full possibility to show the Party how the work can be better done. I demanded however, that the caucuses accept their mutual candidates without debate. As a consequence there were elected: two candidates proposed by both caucuses, 6 of the majority and three of the minority, as well as alternates. Since that time, a twelfth has been added, the representative of the YCL. This election, together with the election of the Party Council, was the last act of the Convention.

4. **Characterization of the Caucuses.** Both of them are wrong in conducting the caucus fight in such a manner that the interests of the Party were lost before the interests of the factions. This they did despite the fact that the real differences between them were relatively small, as proven by the results of the work of the "Disarmament" Commission. Furthermore, as was expressed on many sides, if there had not been a well-timed intervention from outside—I refer to your representatives—a split might have occurred. And this would have been the craziest of all splits that have taken place in America.

Both factions also were wrong in essence. The former majority of the CEC declared that the enemy was at the left, and its name was Leftism. They were wrong in their diagnosis, and they were again wrong in the choice of the method of combatting it. It is clear that the application of the "new" tactics in America, the tactics based on the Third Congress and adopted by the Executive in its concrete decisions on the tactics to be applied—it was clear that these tactics would meet with great objective difficulties in America. And also with opposition within the Party. The Party, **this** party, should have been won over and educated for these new tasks. True, it could not be arranged in such a way that, chronologically, first the party membership should be educated by means of internal propaganda, and that only later on the external work (foundation of LPP, activity in the trade unions, etc.) should be accomplished; both things must be done at the same time and must be interrelated with each other. Now, the old party

executive was relying too much on disciplinary methods; it baptized every opposition with the name of "leftism"; it acted that way not only toward those whom it excluded in December of the last year and who together with other elements formed the opposition that split away, but also towards those who remained in the party and who were able to obtain a majority in the Convention. Its diagnosis was wrong; although in the opposition that arose against the general application of the "new" tactics, although in the interval this was to be overcome—many leftist elements, many leftist prejudices and ideas were to be noticed, nevertheless we did not have to deal here with a consistent system of "leftism", such as the KAP; it was the "Italian" rather than the "Dutch" school. The means employed toward the great mass of the party members should have consisted in persuasion and education rather than mere discipline with its penal code. On the other hand a more cautious attitude should have been taken with reference to the centrists and half-centrists (standing outside of our party) lest the impressions be created that we had combined with them against our own comrades. Some of our comrades of the former majority, in opposing the illegalistic prejudices, point out very correctly that the class and group relations within the hostile bourgeoisie must be analyzed from the Marxian point of view, and that they must be exploited in our tactics, that possibilities of development must be considered, under which, owing to the growing intensity of the class struggle itself, there may arise conditions and opportunities for revolutionary activity and also for the existence of an open CP—conditions different from the present ones. But instead of concretely elaborating this analysis in every respect, they have satisfied themselves with optimistically sounding utterances which were far from being correct, in which they predicted the impending development towards an open CP. All this contributed to the spread of a legend among the broad masses of the party membership that the party was headed by men who would like to get rid of the illegal party as soon as possible, who place legality above anything else and who for this purpose have combined with the Centrists against the Communists. This is a false legend, a groundless accusation, and those who were spreading it, have done the greatest possible harm to the party.

The former majority has rendered a great service: among enormous difficulties, against deeply rooted traditions and opposition, it has done pioneer work in endeavoring to induce the party to take up the great, open activity; it has helped a number of talented agitators and organizers in this work. but on the other hand, especially as far as the mass of the party

members is concerned, it has committed grave blunders and has brought about an internal party crisis which could have caused the death of the party.

The opposite current gathered around the slogan: the enemy is at the right: it the "Liquidatorism". A wrong diagnosis. The party, as it existed a year ago, had new, enormous tasks before itself. It was necessary to put the small illegal party into relations with the masses and their every day struggles; it was necessary to exploit all the possibilities of open propaganda, agitation and also organization, and for this purpose new means, especially the foundation of a LPP were necessary. It was necessary to direct the interest of the entire CP, of every single one of its members, to the great life problems of the American proletariat, and to establish a durable connection with them. In order to succeed in this, it was necessary to break with the old traditions of communist sect life in America, and to declare a pitiless war against our own prejudices, habits and inertia. It was not sufficient simply to "agree" with the instructions coming from Communist International, i. e. with the "new" tactics. No, the enemy was not "at the right;" he was everywhere, in all of us; an enormous effort of all our intellectual forces was necessary in order to prove equal to great new tasks. True, the work was not without dangers; true, blunders could, nay, were sure to be committed; the stormy urge "to the open" could lead to many exaggerations. But the mistakes can be righted, the exaggerations can be corrected, as long as the work is done with a common spirit. But instead of this, real or even apparent mistakes of the former majority of the EC have been declared as high treason against Communism and the Party, and the legend concerning the "Liquidatorism" that wants to kill the party has been put into circulation. The **entire life of the party** has been centered on this struggle against this imaginary enemy. By the way, the leaders of this current have not acted with consistency: If they really had been convinced that there are men in the party (and among its leaders, at that) men who were liquidators, who wanted to liquidate the CP in favor of some more or less radical party that was to be legal at any price, they should (in order to be consistent) have demanded the immediate expulsion of these men from the party and from the CI. They did not do that; on the contrary, they always insisted upon the necessity of a unity of the party as it was, and thus they themselves proved that the slogan of the struggle against the Liquidators was in this form nothing else but a factional slogan, not a party slogan.

In the Convention we had these two currents as constituted factions. At bottom—if they are considered in the light of the final results of the Conven-

tion and in the light of the resolutions of the "Disarmament Commission" which were unanimously accepted by the Convention—they were temperamental formations rather than factions. There is no text, no coherent formulation which could present authentically the point of view of each of these groups. The faction of the "Independents" would refuse to sign and to defend the theses of Marshall and Damon, it would be prepared merely to defend the former majority of the CEC against the accusations of the opponents. The faction of the Anti-liquidators had never the opportunity to defend publicly either the theses of Ford and Dubner, nor the theses of District No. 5, nor the "combination" of both of them which were prepared outside of the official sessions of the Convention. This would be rather hard for that faction, because to do so would be in contradiction with its agreement to the resolutions of the "Disarmament" Commission and with the private utterances of many of their conspicuous adherents. Therefore it is impossible to speak here of the ideological victory of one cristallized conception over another one.

What, then, was victorious at this convention? What is the real result of the Convention? I will endeavor to answer this question in the next paragraph.

5. Three things have won a victory on the Convention: First, the will that the party should continue its existence as an illegal communist party; Second, the will that the unity of the party should be restored and strengthened; Third, the conception that the *raison d'être* of this united illegal party, should be the open activity for the winning of the sympathies of the broad proletarian masses.

The party is to continue as an illegal communist party. This resolution which was accepted unanimously without any mental reservation and which at the same time corresponded to the passionate wish of the majority faction, is to dispell all fears and suspicions which in the course of the last months have done so much harm to the party. All members of the party may be absolutely without fear in this respect; Nobody wants or is able to dissolve or substitute the present party, Section of the CI, for another party. The ghost of "Liquidatorism" has disappeared before the energetic language of the convention. At the same time the illegality of the party—which is necessary at present—the underground character of the entire party organism, has been deprived of its mysterious and romantic halo; it has been declared as something that is conditioned by the circumstances, but by no means something inherent, permanent, absolute. Should the circumstances change—which in the near future is not to be expected in America—after a sober estimation of the situation and class conditions in

America—then only a fully empowered Convention of the CP may decide that the party is to be constituted as a legal and open organization.

The open activity of this underground party—this was the unanimous decision of the convention, again without any mental reservation—shall not only be continued, **but it shall be continued in much higher degree, than hitherto.** This refers to the press; this refers to a strenuous activity in the trade unions; this refers to a participation in all daily struggles of the American proletariat; this refers to the building up of the LPP which from a topic of discussion in the limited party circles should develop to a powerful center of attraction for the advance guard of the American proletariat, through the multiplied energy of all comrades. The illegal, underground party must penetrate so deep by into the entire life and into all struggles of the American proletariat, that neither persecutions nor raids should be able to eradicate or to destroy it.

—And the party unity should be kept up. Not only is there in the party not a single group, not a single man whom it should exclude, nay, whose work it should do without; but also it should even pave the way for the return of those who have left it some time ago. This factional strife within the party must cease, the old factions must be dissolved, the formation of new factions must be punished as an offense against discipline. If the Convention emphasized this as its will, and this is what the Convention did, then it considered this not only as necessary, but also as **possible.** Which proves again that the alleged chasm between the old factions was neither as deep nor as wide as it appeared to many in the heat of the factional strife.

I don't know whether all the former members and leaders of the old—now nonexistent—factions will unreservedly accept this conception that I have formed as to the results of the Convention. Nevertheless it seems to me that it is the correct conception which exactly correspondent to all the facts. At the eve of the Convention we had no party, we had two hostile factions flying at each other's throat; after the Convention we have a party; it is not the result of a onesided victory of one faction over another one: it is sufficient to think of the voting strength of both factions in the Convention, and of the fact that the credo of each of them was anything but completely clear. The party ideology which stands above the factional ideologies (just as the party itself stands above all possible factions) is the outcome of the experience of the entire CI and of the entire practice of American Communism. It is this party ideology which I endeavored to express in the three above formulated sentences.

6. The subsequent activity of the newly elected CEC completely confirms this conception. A few days after the untimely breaking up of our convention there occurred in the American labor movement events of the greatest importance. The Attorney General Daugherty has caused an injunction to be issued against the striking railway men which has created a tremendous excitement in the entire working class of America. All of a sudden the slogan of the General Strike appeared in hundreds of labor centers of the U. S. Gompers and his clique, fearing to lose touch with the masses, were forced to use a language which has not been heard from their mouths for decades. Our party, in its manifesto published on Labor Day and in its instructions to the party organizations, has proved that it has fully grasped the spirit of the time and the extraordinary character of the moment, and that it is willing to give the entire activity of

the party a direction such as to enable it to become a Communist mass party in the best meaning of the word, such as to enable it to become a revolutionary factor.

There are in America several thousand tried, conscious, courageous Communists who have devoted their lives to the cause of Communism and the CP. We have here a party which through its own will has in a manly way overcome a grave internal crisis and which is provided with a good strategy and tactics that are based on all the experiences of the International. We have in America a situation which, next to the situation in Germany, is perhaps the most favorable for Communist successes, decidedly more favorable than ever in the history of this country. We are entitled to hope and to require from our American party the best and the greatest results in the near future.



For Communist Unity

We have learned from the recent issue of the official organ of the "Opposition" that this organization will hold a convention in the near future. The issue contains a project of theses on the task of the Communists in the labor movement, an editorial about communist opposition and a few controversial articles about the question of Communist unity in U. S. Two comrades advocate immediate union with our party, two other comrades are decidedly fighting this union.

We do not know what the convention of the Opposition will decide.

As far as we are concerned, we have placed ourselves fully and wholly in accord with the decisions of the C. L. concerning the question of the return of the opposition to the party. Our last convention has decided the points of dispute within the Communist movement in our country in a sense favorable to the reunion. The continuance of the illegal C. P. as the directing force of the entire communist activity was emphasized in the most determined manner; the problem of "Liquidatorism" has been liquidated in our party. At the same time it was stated in the strongest possible way that an open activity is necessary, under the direction of the illegal C. P.,—in every possible form, including the form of a L. P. P.

The draft of the theses for the the convention of the opposition, as well as the aforementioned editorial, completely agree with the point of view of our party. Moreover the entire open activity of the opposition proves that this organization not only understands the great importance of open activity in all its forms, but is also willing to take it up energetically. The old controversies as to the difference between a L. P. P. and a "legal organization" appeared as unimportant and artificial in the light of the practice.

The utterances against unity, in the organ of the Opposition, prove that in this organization there are still elements which are dominated by a narrow fac-

tional spirit, which would like to perpetuate the old controversies, which place the interests of a faction above the interests of the whole, above the interests of the entire Communist movement in our country. We do not want to believe that these utterances reflect the will of the majority of the members, or that they will prevent the unity.

The unity is necessary and possible. The ground for it has been laid by the decision of the C. I. The serious controversial points have been overcome and solved. The general situation of the labor movement in America, the great perspectives that have been opened by the gigantic struggles of this Summer, the tremendous work which is before us, make the union of all communist forces into one party a matter of urgent necessity.

We must let bygones be bygones. We must not conduct endless and embittered debates about the question of "guilt sins have been committed on both sides, on our side as well; we will not argue about the question as to whose sins were more grave. We leave this question to future historians; but meanwhile we want to MAKE HISTORY; with the united forces of all Communists of this country we want to make Communism an influential factor in the history of the labor movement in America.

The conditions for unity may easily be found if there is mutual good will on both sides. ALL members of the united party must enjoy not only formally the same rights, but also the full possibility to place their entire energy at the service of the party. Neither petty factional considerations, nor questions of prestige, nor traditions of the past can be allowed to stand in the way of this goal.

The unity is under way and nothing will be able to stop it. We are convinced that the accomplishment of this aim is only a question of months, or perhaps even of weeks.

MANIFESTO

of the Communist Party of America

To the Workers of the United States:

Barbarous persecution is today being directed against Communists and all those whom it suits the Department of Justice to call Communists. In the eyes of the Attorney General, every one who is "red", every one who is a "radical", every one who is class-conscious and takes his part in the class struggle in a conscientious manner, every trade unionist who refuses to betray the interests of the workers, is a Communist.

This is the "legal" basis for the arrest of Ruthenberg, Dunne and their fifteen brother workers at Bridgeman, Mich. This is the "legal" basis for the arrest of William Z. Foster.

TURN TO WORKERS OF AMERICA

It is only on such a "legal" basis that agents of the Department of Justice have arrested fifteen other workers at the convention of the Trade Union Educational League in Chicago.

This always is the only "legal" basis, and is now again the only "legal" basis for the issuance of forty more warrants for the arrest of the workers who are charged with having attended an alleged "secret," "underground," "conspiratorial" convention in Michigan.

Workers of America! We are now turning to you. We want to make it clear to you why we are being persecuted.

The Government, the hordes of spies and stool-pigeons, and the kept press, are howling day and night: "Persecute and crush the Communists; they are a dangerous secret band of conspirators!" The Gompers clique rushes to the rescue of this unholy Trinity. And even the Socialist New York Call and the Forward print documents and evidence to prove that the Communists are an underground party with secret objects and mysterious methods.

WANT WORKERS TO KNOW EVERYTHING

Workers of America! We want to make it clear to you why all the Powers that be of American capitalism have solidly lined up against us.

They are persecuting us, not because we are a secret band of conspirators.

The Communist Party of America is not a secret band of plotters. We do not desire to conceal a single one of our objects from the great working class of America. It is an infamous lie that we Communists organize campaigns of bomb throwing, dynamiting and sabotage. On the contrary, we Communists, as all of our manifestos, books and press show, are in principle opposed to all such individual actions—instead of action of the masses—not because we want to save the capitalists, but because we know that all such terroristic acts are ineffective and would serve to confuse the working masses and poison public opinion against the workers' cause, and would afford the capitalist government an excuse to proceed against the workers.

We can perfectly well understand how honest, striking workers, embittered by the brutal oppression suffered by them under capitalism, resort to acts of sabotage, and we look upon the persecution of such workers with utmost disdain. But we do not look upon such methods as methods of the Revolution.

REVOLUTIONISTS NOT BOMB THROWERS

We are revolutionists and not bomb throwers. We want to destroy the whole building of capitalist society and not the building of some railway station.

We are after the life of the political and economic rule of the bourgeoisie and not after the life of this banker or that governmental official.

The road to the Workers' Revolution does not lie in train wrecks and petty dynamiting feats, but in broad, huge mass action, that is thru the organized mass movements of the organized workers.

It is base and senseless slander to brand the Communists a small, sinister band in ambush. Face to face with all the workers of America, we openly declare that we have neither arms nor an armed organization. We know very well, however, that capitalism cannot be abolished without the use of force.

The capitalist magnates will hand over power to the workers only as willingly and as peacefully as the British Crown and Feudal Forces handed it over to the American bourgeoisie in 1776, and as peacefully and as willingly as the Southern slave-owners freed their Negro slaves in the Civil War.

ATTACK CAPITALIST HYPOCRISY

Indeed, we openly proclaim that the industrial and agricultural workers, who, being the vast majority of the population of this country, have a right to establish their own rule, with force if need be, against the rule of the small group of trust magnates and capitalists generally.

We are for the rule of the workers; we are for huge mass actions; we are for participation of tens of millions of workers in this struggle. Is it not then plain and self-evident that it would be ridiculous and stupid for us even to attempt to achieve all of these in a secret, concealed manner without the knowledge and behind the backs of the millions of workers?

But—this being so, the honest working man may also ask: “Why then is the Communist Party of America an underground party?”

We want to answer this question also. It is true that the Communist Party of America is an underground party. But why? Simply because the capitalist State Powers compel us to be an underground party. In many of our states there are “anti-syndicalist” laws, the object of which is, thru imprisonment, deportation, and all sorts of persecutions, to make impossible the open existence of the Communist Party organization.

You have here before you the most brazen example capitalist hypocrisy. On the other hand, the capitalist State Powers, thru their own laws, make it impossible for us to exist openly, and then on the other hand, these same capitalist State Powers turn around and blame us for being an underground party.

ORGANIZED AS OPEN PARTY

It is not an inherent feature of a Communist party to be underground. In France, in Germany, in Italy, in England, in Czecho-Slovakia, we have Communist Parties with hundreds of thousands of workers in their ranks, whose program is the same as ours, that is, the establishment of working class rule, the abolition of capitalism.

And yet, these parties are not underground; on the contrary, they are able to organize openly, to carry on the most open Communist propaganda in their press, assembly and in the legislative bodies.

It is only in the most backward countries, as in Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, Poland, Hungary and Finland, in the countries most apart from the center of the modern world, that the brutality of the State Powers has condemned the Communist parties to an underground existence.

The Communist Party of America has done everything in its power to organize as an open party. It is only the brutal persecution that has driven us underground. And today also, we want to do everything in our power that will enable us to participate openly in political life.

Our great aim, revolutionizing the broad masses, the development of huge political mass actions, the enhancement of proletarian class-consciousness, the raising of the working class to be the ruling class, all of these especially, we can achieve in the great open field. We openly declare and we can convince every sincere worker that the Communist Party of America, despite the fact that it is today an underground party, has not carried out a single plan in secret, and is carrying on all of its work, all of its activity in the open.

We are, then, not persecuted because we are a band of conspirators, and not because we are building an underground party. This is all false. The real reasons for this persecution are positively to be found elsewhere.

WHY THIS PERSECUTION?

The real reasons are the following: As a result of the War and economic crisis, the class struggle of the American workers against the capitalists is developing on an ever larger scale and assuming an ever sharper turn. The offensive of the capitalists seeks, with the aid of their State Powers, to destroy the whole organized labor movement, and the brutal attempt of the Government to destroy the Coal Miners' Union thru the Coronado decision, indicates the real plans of the capitalists.

The workers must defend themselves unless they wish to go down to utter defeat. The big battles of this campaign of self-defense are the miners' and the railroad workers' strikes. Neither America nor the rest of the capitalist world has seen such gigantic strikes, of such long duration, imbued with so courageous a spirit, and involving such huge masses as we now have in the miners', railroad workers' and other strikes.

The results of these strikes are already momentous. The production of coal has been brought to a standstill. The whole capitalist press, after treating the strike arrogantly for months, has now for the past few weeks been lamenting the fact that the flames of American capitalist economic life are smothered. As a consequence of the coal strike, Ford must close his gigantic automobile works and other capitalists must follow suit.

WORKERS DEMAND AMALGAMATION

The railway strike is becoming more general. Even the strike of the shopmen alone obstructed traffic. The Interstate Commerce Commission was obliged to notify the Senate that no less than 60 per cent of the 79,000 locomotives in use in the United States were rendered useless for service.

The organized workers of the Big Four are out on strike by the tens of thousands—against the will of the yellow trade union bureaucracy. The Steel Trust, terrified lest the steel workers be drawn into this strike movement, was forced “voluntarily” to raise the wages 20 per cent.

The amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions is becoming an ever larger factor in the minds of the workers. What had never before manifested itself in the history of the American labor movement has already appeared: the idea and possibility of conducting a General Strike throughout the entire United States.

Coal and railroads, fuel and traffic are in danger—the amalgamation of craft unions into industrial unions, the idea of the General Strike!

CAPITALISTS EMPLOY VIOLENCE

The capitalists of this country cannot crush the millions or striking workers economically: hence they are compelled to employ the Government power, they are applying open, naked violence.

The American courts have issued a whole series of injunctions against the strikers for the protection of capitalist enterprises.

The aim of the Coronado decision is to strike to the heart of organized labor. The police dogs of the Department of Justice are fabricating lies and stories of sabotage to incriminate the workers.

The capitalists do not hesitate to increase the use of violence, even to the point of civil war. The bloody tragedy of Herrin is only a battle in the civil war between the capitalist and the working class of America.

The siege of Joliet is another battle in this big war. An extensive, well-planned campaign of the capitalists is clearly demonstrated by the fact that troops have been used in no less than 15 states.

But the capitalists are not satisfied with this. What has already happened in fifteen States, they intend to enact in all 48 States of the Union. Harding demands dictatorial power, he asks for a law which

will hand over the organized workers of this country completely to the powers of the Government.

Harding's message to Congress stated in the hypocritical, juristic language of the capitalist class what Hoover said in all brutality: “If the strike is not settled within a week we will simply raise the flag and appoint General Pershing to take charge of matters.”

The dictatorship of the American capitalists has been changed into an open military dictatorship, owing to the increasing sharpness of the class struggle.

STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL POWER

The mighty executive of the capitalist class—the Government—immediately grasped what the working class has not yet grasped, namely, that every large economic struggle between capital and labor becomes a political struggle—that is, a struggle for political power.

The extensive strike movement of the workers, which up to the present has been on the defensive, has reached the point at which it now faces the whole capitalist State Power. It is quite evident that Harding and his accomplices have determined to destroy the entire strike movement and, if necessary, to accomplish it by drowning the workers in their own blood. Attorney General Daugherty has said quite openly that if the workers do not surrender to the bosses, “the Government will destroy the unions.”

Workers of America! This is the heart of the problem. You must understand that the persecutions to which the Communists have been subjected are nothing but the beginning and part and parcel of the persecutions which the whole working class of this country will suffer.

You must understand that the same courts that condemn Communists to prison also issues injunctions against workers. The same courts that outlawed the Communist Party also declared the Child Labor Law unconstitutional. The same Department of Justice that carries on raids against the Communists also sends its spies and rats into the unions, and by means of provocateurs, carries out bomb attacks and acts of sabotage, and then proclaims them as acts of the working class.

THESE HAPPENINGS NOT ACCIDENTS

The same armed forces that came out of their hiding place in Michigan and attacked the Communists also besieged Joliet and marched out to put down striking workers in fifteen states.

You must understand that the attack on the Communists at Bridgeman, Mich., and the raid on the Trade Union Educational League in Chicago are not things that happen only once in a while. You must understand that Patrick Hamrock who drove Foster out of Colorado is the same man who shot down the wives and children of the miners at Ludlow, Colo.

It is clearly no accident that Attorney General Daugherty one week ordered raids on the Communists, and the next week, by means of the most vicious, far-reaching, drastic injunction ever asked of a federal court in any labor dispute, restrained the Railroad Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor from ever "issuing any instructions, public statements or suggestions" to union members regarding the conduct of the strike. The funds of the strike are thus tied up, no money can be used to help the strikers and all picketing and meetings of strikers are banned.

The same capitalists who drove us underground, are now trying to drive the trade unionists underground. The same Powers of State that have declared us illegal and have forgotten all about democracy, so far as we are concerned, and have denied us the freedom of the press, assemblage and speech, the same powers of state which have ruthlessly exercised a dictatorship over us for many years, these same powers are now planning to force the same brutal, naked dictatorship on the whole mass of workers.

COMMUNISTS PART OF LABOR

This, and this only, is the meaning of the plan to hand over the mines and the railroads to Harding; this, and this only, is the meaning of the raising of the flag over the mines and railways at this time; and this, and this only, is the meaning of Pershing's entry as a force into the strike arena.

The workers of America must understand that the fate of the working class and the fate of the Communists are inseparable. This is self-evident. The Communists are not a group separate and distinct from the working class. They are an integral part of the working class. The Communists are those workers who are conscious of the fact that in the struggle against the capitalists the workers must fight as a class.

The Communists are among the first to recognize that the workers cannot fight well when they are divided into nearly 150 separate and distinct unions.

The Communists are among the first to protest against the reduction of wages and the first to agitate against the pauperization of the masses.

AGAINST CAPITALIST STATE POWER

The Communists are those who maintain that it is insufficient to struggle merely against the individual capitalists or trusts, because the organ of the organized capitalists—the Government—immediately rushes to the aid of the exploiters whenever they are attacked.

It is therefore necessary to wage a political struggle against the whole system of capitalist state power.

The Communists are those who demand that the workers should declare themselves independent of the capitalist political parties. The workers must have their own class party representing the interests of the whole working class. The Communists are those who wish to substitute for the dictatorship of the trusts the rule of the workers in the interests of all.

And neither does the Communists International, the great association of all Communist parties, have any secret, mysterious, "Russian" aims.

At this moment, in the prevailing situation in America, the Communist International (the real International and not sham International portrayed to you by your enemies) asks that the railroad workers, the miners, and the seamen of England and France do not permit the transportation of scab coal to America.

The Communists are not a sinister, secret band of conspirators. Our aim, the liberation of the workers, the abolition of wage slavery—the winning of working class control of industry and State Power, can only be achieved if the great masses of the workers stand with us.

SPREAD TRUTHS OF COMMUNISM

Workers' rule is only possible when the millions of workers support the Communist program. The essential feature of the Communist Program is to convince the majority of the workers of the truth of the ideas of Communism.

We do not have a single point in our whole program which to wish to conceal from the millions of workers. In the first Communist program ever issued the founders of scientific Communism, Marx and Engels, long ago declared: "The Communists disdain to conceal their aims."

We have nothing to conceal from the workers. We once more appeal to the workers to look upon the persecution of the Communists as a matter concerning all workers as well.

The Communists are today outlawed because the capitalists are planning to outlaw the whole working class. When William Z. Foster was forcibly run out of Colorado, Adjutant General Hamrock declared that

he did so "for the best interests of the State." And he added. "No law was consulted."

CAPITALISTS BREAK OWN LAWS

The capitalists break their own laws whenever their interests demand it. If the workers will not defend their advance guard, the persecuted Communists, then the workers will have to get ready to have the whole working class face the same declaration from the Hamrocks, Hardings, Daughertys, and Pershings that the organized workers must be crushed "for the best interests of the State"—and in this instance also "no law will be consulted."

In the interests of the whole working class, we call upon the American workers:

1. To build throughout the country a United Front against all political persecution.
2. Demand the unrestricted right to organize, strike, and picket.
3. Democracy in fact for all the workers as it is now given to the capitalists—the unrestricted right to freedom of press, assembly and speech.

4. You must wage your struggles more effectively. Demand the amalgamation of your craft unions.

5. You must have a political party of the workers entirely independent of the capitalist parties.

6. Organize a country-wide protest against the slanderous capitalist campaign against your foreign-born brother workers.

7. For the realization of these demands, organize everywhere open protest meetings and demonstrations. Pass resolutions on a national scale. Every union, every labor organization should pass such resolutions of protest.

8. Raise money everywhere to aid the victims of capitalist persecution.

For the united struggle against our common enemy, we are,

Fraternally yours,

The Communist Party of America.

Section of the Communist International.

Labor Day, 1922.

ANNOUNCEMENT!

At the moment of going to press, we are able to announce that:

The convention of the "Opposition" has decided to reunite with the Party. The reuniting will be on the terms and guarantees worked out by the Communist International.

With this event the unity of the Communist movement of America is re-established.

EDITOR.