The Coming Convention of the Communist Party

To all members of the Communist Party of America.

Comrades:

You all know that the former Executive Secretary, Damon, seized all the party funds, and this fact is brought before the Central Executive Committee, amounting to more than seven thousand dollars, leaving the party without money to carry on its work. (Full account will be found on the last page of this issue.)

In order to carry on the work of agitation, propaganda and party administration we MUST HAVE MONEY. WE WILL BE UNABLE TO ISSUE THE PAPER AND TO CONTINUE OUR ACTIVITIES WITHOUT FUNDS.

SURELY THE MEMBERSHIP REALIZES WHAT A CALAMITY THIS WOULD BE IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT CRISIS IN THE PARTY.

Therefore ACT QUICKLY. GATHER FUNDS AND SEND THEM TO US IMMEDIATELY.

CALL ALL DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS — ALL SUB-DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS — ALL BRANCHES — ALL GROUPS WHICH STAND WITH THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND REMAIN IN THE COMMunist PARTY ARE HEREBY CALLED UPON TO COLLECT AND RUSH ALL FUNDS THROUGH THE REGULAR PARTY "CHANNELS TO

D. BUNTE,
Acting Secretary,
Communist Party of America.

The Central Executive Committee recognizes the necessity for a convention in order to settle finally the differences that have been seething within the party for a long time and which came to a climax at last in the form of the present "cession movement" led by the former Executive Secretary and two members of the C. E. C. The C. E. C. recognizes that the membership shares with him the same grief and general desire of the party, THE PARTY CONVENTION MUST AND WILL BE CALLED.

However, in order to make the convention a success — in order that the convention shall accomplish the necessary task of clarifying the fundamental issues at stake — IN ORDER THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY SHALL FUNCTION FOR THE PROPAGATION OF COMMUNISM IN HARMONY WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES LAID DOWN BY THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL, without internal discussion paralyzing its activities — and what is most important — in order TO GIVE THE MEMBERSHIP — THE RANK AND FILE — the opportunity to express their opinion on the issues before the party, this convention must be well-prepared and carefully arranged.

The time, the place, the method of electing the delegates, and, above all, instructions to the delegates are essential prerequisites in order to make this convention accomplish its purpose.

This means, first of all, that before the convention is called, the membership must be given the opportunity to discuss all the issues so that when the time comes for the election of delegates, they will not elect them blindly, BUT INTELLIGENTLY — AND ELIGIBLY, THOSE DELEGATES WHO ACTUALLY REPRESENT THEIR OPINION ON THE ISSUES IN THE CONTROVERSY.

All this requires time for preparation — preparation for the process of elections in the various stages and the technical arrangements connected with these and the convention itself, both by the membership and the Central Executive Committee. It called too soon, without the proper time for preparation as stated above, the convention would only result in failure and necessitate the calling of another convention a few months after the first convention to settle the issues which a hurried convention will inevitably fail to accomplish.

Moreover, this convention should be called only by the Central Executive Committee of the party, as the only legally elected body which, between conventions, can speak with authority in the name of the Communist Party and its activities as a whole. This is the only meaning of revolutionary centralization and discipline upon which a real, strong Communist Party can be built.

Therefore we call upon the membership to receive the so-called convention called by the former Executive Secretary Damon, which, as we will show, is nothing but a trap set for the rank and file. The date itself, as fixed in the call issued by the former Executive Secretary implies no real desire to have any convention at all.

In the first place, the former Executive Secretary had no right or mandate to call this convention. The duty of the Executive Secretary, as defined by the Convention, is to work only under the supervision and control of, and in conjunction with, the Central Executive Committee. He is only the executor of the decisions of that body, or where a division exists, of the majority of that body, and is responsible to the Central Executive Committee, which is, in turn, responsible to the convention.

Secondly, the date to the call issued by the former Executive Secretary, May 15th for elections of intermediary units and May — for national convention, even were physically possible, would give no chance to the membership to discuss the issues involved.

Thus, while pretending that they represent the membership and that they want to give them the opportunity to express themselves at the convention, the "minority" in fact, is deliberately arranging the convention so as to prevent the membership from any possibility of expressing themselves. The date fixed by them implies that they are deliberately arranging their convention so as to force the membership to elect their delegates blindly. In other words, they are simply deceiving the membership.

But it is obvious that it is physically impossible to have the elections and the convention on the date set in the call of the "minority." Conventions are not called at a week's notice!

This is so self-evident, that even the "minority," however ignorant of party questions they may be, cannot pretend to be unfamiliar with. Most assuredly they knew it, but still they purposely fixed their impossible date as a sort of "trick" to the membership in an attempt to swing them away from the Communist Party and its Central Executive Committee, over to their side by offering them an "earlier" date. The very fact that in their letter to the C. E. C. requesting joint action on the question of a party convention, the "minority" express a willingness to change the date and other details already fixed by them, indicates clearly that they themselves did not take their own call and its fixed date for the convention seriously.

In the meantime, the "minority" do not hesitate to use the party funds in the possess- (Continued on last page.)
COMMUNICATION OF THE AMSTERDAM SUMMIT-MEETING OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

Editor's Note: This communication has special interest for this country in view of the recent appeal of the Socialist Party to "affiliate" with the Third International and their tentative participation in the schemes of the reconstructionists (1).

Dear Comrades:

Comrade Eugene V. Debs, Secretary of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain has kindly sent us the copy of a letter addressed by it to the Swiss Socialists (P. S. I.) of Switzerland, in which letter the P. S. I. is invited to take the initiation for the organizing in Switzerland of a conference of the several Socialist parties, which conference would be called the so-called "reconstruction of the Internationals"

It is the task of the Labor Leader of March 4th observers, the majority obtained at the Strasburg Congress the Longest resolution necessitates such a conference. Now that most of the parties of Central and Western Europe have left the Second International without deciding for Moscow, it seems that the formation of a new organism of a bloc of the parties--hostiating between the old and new tendencies the formulas of the world revolution--is the only answer to the situation. If now that most of the parties of Central and Western Europe have left the Second International without deciding for Moscow, it seems that the formation of a new organism of a bloc of the parties--hostiating between the old and new tendencies the formulas of the world revolution--is the only answer to the situation.

Weed nnil not dilate here on this ridiculous attempts to bring about unity between the Communist forces and the "sinking carried" among which he is the standard-bearer. Suffice it to say, that between the Communist Party and P. S. I. there can be no compromise, no truce, no understanding. In the midst of the guard of the proletarian revolution--the P. S. I. is a bulwark of capitalism and a potential reactionary force that will be found (like Kerensky and the Ebert--Scheidemanns) with machine-guns in hand shooting down the workers in the revolution.

Debs' sentimental whining for unity among these two contending parties, shows as nothing else can show, his complete di­

Eugene V. Debs has sounded his own death-knell as a revolutionary Socialist.
The "minority" has been smoked out of their hole, and forced to come out in the open. Their first statement, codified mainly to personalities and personalities and personalities, and into phrases that could not be challenged out of the air—flat— the landslide of the membership, which they had so confidently counted upon—having proved to be an afterthought, an atrocity, a manuever—have now issued a second "statement" in a vain attempt to retrieve their waning fortunes.

In order to properly "minority group" attempts to answer some of the fundamental questions of principles and policies which lie at the heart of the whole movement and upon which the vital disagreement exists. The answers which we have all along contended, that the "minority group" are casting about like typical Centrists, to evade the real issues. Neither does the Executive Secretary nor the "minority" الروینمًا cantidad الأى، and they do not exist. The personal slanders and abuse are of no importance in the issue.

The only justification for a split before a convention is on the question of principles and policies—not on the question whether one or more members of the "majority" of the C. C. E. are capable or incapable of carrying on the work already in progress, or the movement of which the latter question does not justify a split before a convention. Such delinquents conceivably be very well taken care of at a convention.

It is the recognition by the rank and file of this "minority" that the "minority" has "neither the capability of applying Com international unity" by the Russian expression "has made restitution."

The charge of the "minority" that the "majority" during the Chicago convention and since, was not determined by the widely heralded difference in principles. The "minority group" has been frequently challenged to show these differences by analysis of the program of the two parties, but never has done so.

Of course, the members will recognize that this charge is one of the two main reasons why the "minority group" accused us of "packing" the convention, seven months after that convention. We have smoked the "minority" out already. Let us analyze the charge, and see if they are not evading the real issue of unity with the C. C. E., upon which a fundamental disagreement exists.

The reasons of the "minority" for not effecting immediate unity between the C. C. E. and the C. L. P. Executive Committee has been dealt with in our statement. Not daring to refute the position expressed in an article through the "minority group" has been frequently challenged to show these differences by analysis of the program of the two parties, but never has done so.

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comrades realize now what they mean by the secret, lawless, and money and party racketry that they want? Shall the Communist Party send a delegate or delegates to Europe? Certainly, say the "minority," that is the Third International! It is too soon.

Shall the Communist Party send a delegate or delegates to Europe? Certainly, say the "minority," but we must use our money for building up our party, improving the party organization, and increasing the number of our dues-paying members.

That is the "position of the minority" on International Relations.

Or, take another incident on this question. When I received another letter from Comrade Engels and a letter from Chabrow to the effect that a meeting of some kind would be held in the near future and requesting them to send delegates, the "minority" passed a motion in the Chicago Executive Council to the effect that they may decide to send some delegates or to establish a "Third International." When the meeting of the Communist International is considered, they will withdraw from the Bureau of The Third International.

The Moscow Bureau was not yet in existence, they only had deferred to refer to one Bureau—the Moscow Bureau! Think of it! The "minority" expected an embroilment with Moscow, with the Third International and signed by Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin and Zinoviev, calling upon us to hurry up to a certain meeting, at a certain time at a certain place!

The former Executive Secretary is quoted in the "minority" as the basis of some kind of a sentence in an editorial, from its national."

"The 'minority' attempt to harmonize their position with that of the Third International, by quoting from its Manifesto a statement that we feel must be projected to the masses of the workers."

"They themselves point out that there is a vital difference as to "the idea of arriving themselves and the masses of the workers."

"But we may ask in return, why did not the "minority" attempt to harmonize their position with that of the Third International, by quoting from its Manifesto a statement that bears so relation to the controversy and evidently are guilty of deliberate distortion of the term "Mass Action" into "Mass Acts.""

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"HAS IT BEEN WORTH WHILE?"

BY Y. F.

Editors' Notes: We print this article as an excerpt from the book "Has it Been Worth While?," written by Y. F. grösser. This book, written in 1919, was a critique of the Soviet Union and its policies. The article refers to the founding of the Communist Party in the United States and discusses the role of the party in the context of the Russian Revolution.

The article begins by questioning the success or failure of the Communist movement in the United States. It raises the question of whether the party has been successful in achieving its goals. The article then goes on to discuss the historical context of the Russian Revolution and the early days of the Communist movement in the United States. It highlights the challenges faced by the party in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution and the role of the party in the context of the United States.

Overall, the article provides a historical perspective on the Communist movement in the United States and its role in the context of the Russian Revolution. It is an important piece of literature for understanding the early days of the Communist movement in the United States and its impact on the historical context of the Russian Revolution.
I. W. W., but he succeeds to avoid such errors, and in order to do so, he had to be a shrewdly devised manœuvre—by means of making a distinction, or even a contradiction (let us say, as a "tactic") or even a difference (as I said above, it actually exist) between Communist and "BLUFF BOLSHEVIK" tactics in general, as such (which is equivalent to saying that there exists a "decert," and an entirely "innocent" semblance of attacking only the tactics of the "BLUFF BOLShevik" of the Russian Communist Federation, in particular.

The reader will, of course, agree, that this manoeuvre, however admirable, is, on the contrary, a very familiar and exasperatingly wearisome manoeuvre of all social-opportunists; who, as the author, not without good reason,—like Marx and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—who praise Marx to the skies but condemn Marxian tactics—which is the same as saying that we are in Russia, but are terrified by the thought of its possibility in the United States,. We are injurious, however, in crediting the use of this manoeuvre only to social-opportunists—for it is equally common and peculiar phase of manœuvre in general—to bourgeois opportunists in the same measure as to social-opportunists. As an illustration, it will be but too easy to find, if we ourselves, while prosecuting in every possible manner the Socialist Internationals of their own country during the same period of years, during the whole period of the war, over the stand of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany., of course, their "rejoice,...as soon as the war was over. But that is another matter).

In order to prove that we are not committing an error in regarding this manoeuvre of the author with the above-described though far from creditable manœuvre, we will cite a very characteristic quotation from the same paragraph to vituperative and abusive attacks upon the Communist and Bolshevik parties and leaders in the person of the author, not without good reason,—like "a cat who knows whose meat it has stolen." remarks: "It is true now, someone will answer: This (i.e., the mud thrown upon Bolshevism by the author) is what the Right Wingers said about us a year ago. If it is true now, why was it not true then?" And he immediately hastens to dispel all doubts and questions by categorically and emphatically asserting:

"It is true now; it was true then. But the Right Wingers used this sarcasm to characterize a particular phase of the American revolutionists in general—to bourgeois revolutionists in this country. They blamed their shats at revolutionary Socialism itself." (Italics ours.)

The meaning of this quotation is obvious: The fact that the Right Wingers had slandered revolutionists, bourgeois revolutionists, in general, in that which in the course of the abuse they said—"true was true!" The only thing with which our author is in agreement is that there is something wrong, and all the talk, is the manner, is that they had slandered revolutionists in general, whereas, they should have slandered bourgeois revolutionists in particular.

But the above-described trait—an inclination to apply two standards, to measure by two different yardsticks, one intended "for the home product," the other for "strange distant ones far away"—is not only a manoeuvre of opportunists but also a symptom of opportunism in the "revaluation of values."... Having begun with slanders and attacks against the Revolutionary Socialists and Communists in their own country, the opportunist invariably—due to the impossibility of denying, or later, to be convinced by opening into open conflict with the bitterly-hated Communists in general.

But, on the contrary, to our opinion, exactly such a symptom of "sliding over to the Right," of an irrevocable change of heart, of the final desertion of the Communist ranks, and that is why we call it "A Political Obituary" of the United States, but—they had been... We must not only have read the works of the most compurant articles, and they must not have read the works of the most compurant articles, but—had they not have read the works of the most compurant articles, they had been in Russia. And who do you think?

Whatever will be the reply to the question—when was the author truthful to himself and to his reader, when he expressed his real feelings and impressions of the Convention—in April 1920!—the above comparison of quotations enables us to raise quite a definite conclusion as to the sincerity and truthfulness of the author (nobody knows whose meat it has stolen).

Not having been determined enough to carry out his "initial impulse" to leave the First Communist Convention in America,—it had left such an "impression," we may vitally "resolved never to eat either the Communist or Left Wing conventions." (Whether or not this time he will carry out his decision, remains to be seen—in the future...)

Mark you,—informing us of this "resolution," the author does not speak of a particular convention which he will not "enter" in the sense of the "Communist or the Left Wing conventions." Apparently, those testable qualities of the first Communist Convention, which left such an "impression," with him, and which bar him from attending future conventions, he considers as inapplicable, permanent and original denominations, not in any inventions—in other words—of Communism itself.

Having remained in the Communist Party against his own determination, agonised his "initial impulse,"—it was only natural that our author should feel miserable in this sense, and apply his "revelation of values" to the American Revolutionary Socialists in this country, as well as to the American customers of the "new scriptures,"—"a ready-made Bolshevism" and, also, to the Americans in general, who cannot read this tendency towards Bolshevism with the same ease as the American Revolutionary Socialists in this country. They had seen the divine fire of Bolshevism and Bolshevism and their own, and the manifestations of the Bolshevism itself.

"There is an all-prevailing sense of realism about the work in hand, absolute condor in the emancipation of argument of any other sense of realism as the compromise of the same kind. Any three distinct groups were joined up at the opening of the Convention, and the whole proceeding represented the balancing of these three groups against one another. Thus we then would not quickly yield their impotence, individualism to the main mass (Italics ours) of one or another of the three groups left the Convention. They found more congenial atmosphere in the Centrist Convention of the "Communist labor Party," which was a law unto itself, and where the group as an entity was bound to produce the possible decisive action. Thus, almost enthusiastically, we wrote our author in September 1910. What a change! That which was then "supposed" to be "real discipline" in 1920 he called "hopeless arbitrariness."...

There are many other respects in which this Convention stands out from all other Socialist gatherings in America. For one thing, the fact that the Bolshevik delegates were largely Slavics emphasized the close union between the organization of the Communist Party here and the parent organization which came into being at Moscow in March of this year—The Communist International. From the Russian expression of Marxism which predominated this Convention, the Marxism of Lenin, and the party traditions of the Bolsheviks.

Leaving aside utterly unscientific definitions—becoming rather to a professor of a bourgeois university rather than a Communist—"Russian expression of Marxism," "the Marxism of Lenin," etc.—compare the above quoted paragraph, written in September 1910, with the following denunciation in our author's last article: The supreme high priests of this new revolution see the direction of this work with snow own eyes, THEY HAD BEEN IN RUSSIA. (Italics ours.)

Many years ago perhaps, in a world of circumstances only different from the threes of 1920, we believe they had been in Russia. (Italics ours.)

It should be stated, that we close in the category of "centrist elements" who, for a long time felt that the author had joined with that to the "too narrow," limits of consistency in philosophy of the revolutionary elements of the Communist Party,—not all, but rather a small "initiative minority" of the "red" Congress. But this "minority" was composed of former Revolutionary Secretary Daumen; the majority of this "initiative group" found itself in it by a result of misled, standing, or self-deception—and, we do not doubt—will soon never with it and return to the Party of the C. C. of P.
THE COMMUNIST

PARTY METTER

CASH STATEMENT FOR APRIL, 1920.

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THE COMING CONVENTION

(Continued from page 3.)

We hereby acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 22d, proposing 'joint action in calling one convention of the party' and saying that you are 'prepared to take up discussion of the details regarding this convention.'

Your letter received our careful consideration and in reply we say that it is our intention on the basis of one convention can be held, that the C. C. E. C. Party will be called the American Communist Party of America and will be under the authority of the C. E. C. Party. We have arranged that the Central Executive Committee will be in session before the District Conventions will be held, the National Convention will be held as we have arranged.

Your prompt reply, we are, officially yours,

D. Bunte, Act. Sec'y.

conditions as obstacles to prevent agreement on the joint call.

We are not quite so gallant as you may think, and, while we reiterates our willingness to enter into immediate negotiations with you on the matter regarding the joint call, our present call will stand and in the event of agreement before the District Conventions will be held, the National Convention will be held as arranged.

Fraternally yours,

(Continued) David Damon

Executive Secretary Communist Party of America.

NOTES

Since the "minority" has rejected both conventions set by the C. E. C. in calling one convention of the party, and since they are going ahead with their own conventions, we propose to prepare for the regular Party Conventions to be held not later than May 5th, 1920.

Moreover that we issue a statement to the effect that the charges made by the C. E. C. of the District Organizers appointed by the C.-E. C. are still functioning, in order to build up rival organizations in all the States under the guise of District Leaders and District Conventions, and to secure the control of their constituents, and to make them vigorous on the side.

In words, to break the very foundations of the Communist Party.

We are prepared to enter into an agreement with the C. E. C. Party, if they will agree to the conditions as stated above.

The coming convention of the former Executive Secretary, entrusted to him by the C. E. C., to appoint paid District Organizers in every District, even where District Organizers appointed by the C.-E. C. are still functioning, in order to build up rival organizations in all the States under the guise of District Leaders and District Conventions, and to secure the control of their constituents, and to make them vigorous on the side.

The call for the party convention will be issued by the Central Executive Committee; the time for holding the regular district conventions, details and methods of elections.

We have already issued a call for a general strike of protest against the policy of the city government in the matter of the C. E. C. Party, with preparations for the Central Executive Committee to be held before May 15th, 1920.

The American Bureau of the Communist International appears ready to work with workers in the first instance, to have all ships of both groups come to one convention, in order that the membership may be able to vote on the question to elect through the district organizations.

Our group has already issued a call for a party convention, and the date has been fixed, and we are still prepared to come to agreement on the matter of the American Communist Party of America.

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