

THE COMMUNIST

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

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Program of the Communist Party of America

ADOPTED AT ITS SECOND CONVENTION

The Communist Party of America is the conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism. Its aim is to direct this struggle to the conquest of political power, the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a Soviet Government, as the only means of introducing the Communist society.

The Communist Party maintains that the problems of the American working class are identical with the problems of the workers of the world. The Communist Party realizes the limitations of all other existing workers' organizations and determines to develop the revolutionary movement necessary to free the workers from the oppression of capitalism.

The Communist Party—the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat—prepares itself for the proletarian revolution in the measure that it develops a program of action expressing the mass struggles of the proletariat and builds a strong, centralized and well-disciplined political party capable of carrying Communist propaganda and agitation to the masses and leading the workers to the final struggle against the capitalist state.

The Communist Party is fundamentally a party of action. It brings to the workers a consciousness of their oppression, of the impossibility of improving their conditions under capitalism. The Communist Party directs the workers' struggle against the capitalist state, developing fuller forms and purposes in this struggle, culminating finally in revolutionary mass action—armed insurrection and civil war.

Political and Mass Action

The Communist Party maintains that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle; that is, to conquer political power, destroy the bourgeois state machinery and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a Soviet Government in the transition period from capitalism to Communism.

In those countries in which historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a proletarian revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. The use of parliamentarism, however, is of secondary importance—for revolutionary propaganda and agitation only.

But within this process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. The capitalist class considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, and it has at its command, in order to gain its end, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of capitalist class rule, multiplied by the wonders of capitalist technique—lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, and bribery. The proletariat cannot yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy but not observed by the enemy. To do so would be to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power, a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of working class power.

The revolutionary epoch forces upon the proletariat the application of such militant methods which concentrate its entire energy, namely, the method of mass action with its logical resultant, direct collision with the bourgeois state machinery in open combat. All other methods, as for instance, the revolutionary use of the bourgeois parliament, has to be subordinated to this aim.

Mass action is the proletarian response to the centralized power of the capitalist class—its control of the state machinery, by means of which it can impose its will upon the workers. The power of the capitalist class lies in its possession of the state machinery, with its army, navy, courts, police, bureaucracy, etc.

Mass action develops as the spontaneous activity of the workers massed in the basic industries; the mass strike is one of its initial forms; in these strikes large masses of the workers are unified by the impulse of the struggle, developing new tactics and a new ideology. As the strikes grow in number and intensity, they acquire political character by coming in direct conflict with the state, which openly employs its machinery for breaking the strike and crushing the workers' organizations. This culminates in armed insurrection and civil war aimed directly at the destruction of the capita-

list state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Unionism.

The older unionism was based on the craft divisions of small industry. The unions consisted primarily of skilled workers, whose skill is itself a form of property. To-day, the dominant unionism is actually a bulwark of capitalism; it is merging in imperialism and accepts State capitalism.

The concentration of industry and the development of the machine process expropriates of their skill large numbers of skilled workers; but the unions still maintained the ideology of property contract and caste. Deprived of actual power by the ineffectiveness of its localized strikes as against large scale industry, trade unionism resorts to dickerings with the bourgeois state and accepts Imperialistic State Capitalism to maintain its privileges as against the unskilled proletariat.

The concentration of industry produces the machine workers. Those workers massed in the basic industries, constitute the militant basis of the class struggle. Deprived of their skill and craft divisions, the old petty, isolated strike is useless to those workers. These facts of industrial concentration developed the idea of industrial unionism.

The Communist Party recognizes that industrial unions are a more efficient weapon for

moderate Socialist conception of the gradual "growing into Socialism."

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

The Communist Party recognizes trade and industrial unions as a field for the propagation of Communism to the masses. Our task is to inculcate and crystallize Communist understanding among the masses over the heads of the union bureaucracy. Wherever the workers are, whether in the A. F. of L. or similar organizations, or in the I. W. W., there the Communist Party must constantly agitate, not for industrial unionism, but for Communism. Just as we enter the bourgeois parliaments for our revolutionary propaganda, so must the Communist Party enter the most reactionary unions for Communist propaganda and agitation.

Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

"Between capitalist and Communist society there lies a period of revolutionary transformation from the former to the latter. A state of political transition corresponds to this period, and the state during this period can be no other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." (Critique of the Gotha Program, by Karl Marx.)

The proletarian revolution comes at the moment of crisis in capitalism, of a collapse of the old order. Under the impulse of the crisis, the proletariat organize separate organs of armed working class power—Soldiers', Sailors', and Workers' Councils of Deputies (Soviets), and by the use of force acts for the conquest of political power, the destruction of the bourgeois state machinery and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. The proletarian state, like every state, is an organ of suppression and coercion, but this machinery is directed against the enemy of the working class. Its aim is to break the desperate resistance of the exploiters, who use all the power at their command to drown the revolution in blood; its aim is to make this resistance impossible; the proletarian dictatorship which openly places the working class in a privileged position in society, is on the other hand, a provisional institution. When the resistance of the bourgeoisie is broken, when it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the labor strata, all classes vanish, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, and the state dies out.

The bourgeois parliamentary state is the organ of the bourgeoisie for the suppression and coercion of the proletariat. Parliamentary government is the expression of bourgeois supremacy, the form of authority of the capitalist class over the working class. Bourgeois democracy is nothing but the concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The "national will," "united nation," etc. are only fictions. In reality, the classes exist—the classes with opposite, irreconcilable interests. But as the bourgeoisie is a small minority, it needs the fiction of "national will" and similar pleasant-sounding phrases to strengthen its domination over the laboring classes and impose its will upon the proletariat. The main power of bourgeois democracy lies in its purely formal declaration of "rights" and "liberties,"

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One Day's Pay

Resolution adopted by Second Convention of the Communist Party of America.

"We recommend that the Convention issue a call for members to contribute one day's pay for the party organization."

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

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

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

There are difficult tasks ahead of us—organization, education, propaganda, and agitation.

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

BUT WITHOUT FUNDS WE CANNOT CARRY ON!

Comrades! Rally to the support of the Communist Party!

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

waging the struggle of the workers for better conditions and higher wages under capitalism. But industrial unionism in itself is not revolutionary. Industrial unionism cannot conquer the power of the state. It cannot train and mobilize the workers for the proletarian revolution. Industrial unionism, as advocated by the I. W. W. and similar organizations, rejects the basic principles of the Communist International—mass action, proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power. It rejects the idea of armed insurrection and the use of force in the time of revolution. Such industrial unionism aims only at the direct seizure of industry by the workers after the great majority of them will have been organized into industrial unions, and rejects the necessity of destroying the capitalist state. Moreover, industrial unionism at present, does not actually construct the forms of the Communist administration of society. Only potentially, after the conquest of power, after the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship the industrial unions may become the starting point for the Communist reconstruction of society. But the concept that the majority of the working class can be organized into conscious industrial unions, and construct, under capitalism, the form of the Communist society ("building the new society within the shell of the old"), is as utopian as the

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The I. W. W. and the Proletarian Revolution.

The July issue of the One Big Union Monthly carries an article with the caption "What is Bolshevism?" and proceeds to answer the question in true I. W. W. style—not only exposing their ignorance of Bolshevism, but displaying an antipathy and hatred of Bolshevism or Communism which can only be equalled by Right Wing Socialists, or bourgeois pacifists of the Bertrand Russell type.

After taking the usual fling at the American Bolsheviks (Communists) they continue:

"In their revolutionary ardor (with their jaw), they have plumb forgotten to look up what Bolshevism really is, what it has done and what it tries to accomplish. Should this magazine fall into the hands of some of these soviet maniacs, they will have a good chance to enlighten themselves by reading these official accounts."

The official accounts which the One Big Union Monthly reprints are taken from some May issues of the magazine Soviet Russia dealing with the socialization of agriculture, the economic reconstruction and the co-operative movement in Soviet Russia.

Having diligently perused the accounts in question, the I. W. W. editor, with the perspicacity of his kind, discovered (?) that Bolshevism is not a political theory, but a poor imitation of the theory of industrial unionism applied to an industrially backward and largely agricultural country, with little or no success.

And he proves this by posing the following four questions and answering them all in the negative: (1) Is private ownership abolished in Russia? (2) Is private control of the means of production and distribution abolished in Russia? (3) Is wage slavery abolished in Russia? (4) Is Socialism established in Russia?

Were we inclined to be facetious we might retort that there is a little pamphlet entitled "AN APPEAL BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TO THE I. W. W." issued in Moscow and published by the Communist Party of America, which takes up the question of what Bolshevism or Communism really is; should this pamphlet ever fall into the hands of these anti-Bolshevik "maniacs" they "will" have a good chance to enlighten themselves" by reading this official document addressed to themselves by the leaders of Bolshevism in Russia. But we refrain for obvious reasons—chief among which is the conviction that the leaders and the theoreticians of the I. W. W. are impervious to learning. Like Bourbons, they "forget nothing and learn nothing."

John Sandgren and his type are not new opponents of Bolshevism. Their antagonism dates back to the days when the Bolsheviks overthrew the Kerensky regime and established the Workers' Government—the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviet Government in Russia. They have fought the Bolshevik idea in this country as bitterly as the Right Wing Socialists, whose spiritual brothers they are. They have never missed an opportunity of damning Bolshevism in Russia and have fought the Communists in this country in the most approved Scheidemann manner—no lie was too strong, no insinuation too base to fling at them. In this same July issue, Sandgren in a signed article, fairly reveals in the dirtiest kind of mud-slinging at the Communist movement and its representatives both here and abroad.

That such a vile creature can still edit the official organ of the I. W. W. is the best kind of proof of the reactionary character of its leadership, and the counter-revolutionary tendencies of the organization.

Our answer is not intended for the leaders and would-be theoreticians of the I. W. W. We address ourselves directly to the revolutionary rank and file, over the heads of their opportunist, reactionary leaders.

It is apparent that the membership of the I. W. W. are not quite conscious of what Bolshevism really is, else such articles as its magazines and papers have published for the last two and a half years would have ceased long ago. Nor could the non-revolutionary decisions of its last convention (which have placed their organizations in the same category with all other labor unions) ever have been enacted had its membership a clear understanding of the meaning of Bolshevism.

The I. W. W. makes the same error as all other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opponents of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, they confuse proletarian dictatorship with Communism. And since the Soviet Government, which is the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia has not yet abolished classes, has not yet taken all the means of production and distribution out of private hands, has not yet completely destroyed the profit system and established Communism, ergo, the Soviet Government is a fraud imposed upon the workers and peasants of Russia by the Bolsheviks!

Those who make this argument, whether they label themselves "Socialists" or "I. W. W." or "W. I. U." are all of the same stripe.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class of exploiters, capitalists and landowners has not disappeared and could not have disappeared. The capitalist class has been overthrown but not abolished. They have been replaced as the ruling class, but the class struggle itself has not disappeared. The class struggle does not disappear under the proletarian dictatorship—it takes a different form.

The exploiters "retain the basis of international capitalism, of which they are part and parcel. They still possess some means of production, as well as money and extensive social connections. Their power of resistance has increased a hundred, nay, a thousand fold by the very fact of their defeat. Their ability in State, military and economic administration, affords them a great superiority, so that their importance is considerably out of proportion to their numerical strength, as compared with the whole population." (Lenin.)

The proletarian revolution, by the act of conquering and destroying the capitalist state and establishing the proletarian dictatorship, has only taken the first step in the direction of establishing the Communist society. The process is long and difficult, requiring superhuman courage, will and determination. Right here the I. W. W. differ with the Communists. The I. W. W. are opposed to all forms of the state, to the proletarian state as well as the capitalist state. Ostich-like, they refuse to see the necessity of a workers' state in the transition period from Capitalism to Communism. The I. W. W. are content to keep on building their industrial unions under the rule of capitalism, until such time as the great majority of the workers have been organized into industrial unions, when these organized workers simply are to "seize the industries and lock out the capitalists who must then go to work or starve."

But the process is not as simple as that, even if it were possible and desirable to wait so long. It is impossible to organize all the workers, or even a majority of the workers into industrial unions under capitalism. The power of the capitalist class, their control of the press, the schools, the colleges, the church, the halls, etc., to say nothing of the capitalist state machinery, the army, navy, police, the courts, the bureaucracy, give them sufficient power over the working class both mentally and physically, to make this process as utopian an undertaking as trying to emancipate the working class by means of the ballot-box.

But there is another and more cogent reason at this time, why it is impossible for the class conscious workers to attempt the hopeless task of organizing all the workers into industrial unions in order to abolish capitalism at one stroke.

"Capitalism, ruined by the world war, unable any longer to contain within itself the tremendous forces it has created, is breaking down. The hour of the the working class has struck. The Social Revolution has begun, and... on the Russian plain, the first vanguard battle is being fought. History does not ask whether we like it or not, whether the workers are ready or not. Here is the opportunity. Take it and the world will belong to the workers; leave it—there may not be another for generations. Now is no time to talk of building the new society within the shell of the old. THE OLD SOCIETY IS CRACKING ITS SHELL. THE WORKERS MUST ESTABLISH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, WHICH ALONE CAN BUILD THE NEW SOCIETY."

Those who, at this late date, after the world war, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, with the incontrovertible fact of the collapse of world capitalism staring them in the face, still deny the necessity of throwing aside all preconceived utopian schemes for the emancipation of the working class through industrial unionism or the ballot box, are inherently OPPOSED TO THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION, OPPOSED TO MASS ACTION CULMINATING IN ARMED INSURRECTION AND CIVIL WAR AGAINST THE CAPITALIST STATE, OPPOSED TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CAPITALIST STATE, OPPOSED TO THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AS THE ONLY MEANS OF INTRODUCING THE COMMUNIST SOCIETY and THEREFORE OPPOSED TO THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS ITSELF.

Either you are for the workers' revolution or you are against it. There cannot be two ways about it. All the opposition to the C. P. by the "yellow" Socialists or the I. W. W. is so much sand thrown into the eyes of the working class, to hide their opposition to the proletarian revolution itself and the only means by which to accomplish it—armed insurrection and civil war against the capitalist state.

Capitalism cannot be abolished at one stroke, and the destruction of the capitalist state does not mean that capitalism automatically and immediately disappears. "The capitalists still have arms, which must be taken away from them; they are still supported by hordes of loyal, bureaucrats, managers, superintendents, foremen, and trained men of all sorts, who will sabotage industry—and these must be persuaded or compelled to serve the working class; they still have army officers who can betray the Revolution, preachers who can raise superstitious fears against it, teachers and orators who can misrepresent it to the ignorant, thugs who can be hired to discredit it by evil behaviour, newspaper editors who can deceive the people with floods of lies, and "yellow" Socialists and Labor fakery who prefer capitalist "democracy" to the Revolution. All these people must be sternly suppressed.

"To crush capitalist resistance and disarm the capitalist class, to confiscate capitalist property and turn it over to the WHOLE WORKING CLASS IN COMMON,—for all these tasks a government is necessary—a State, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, in which the workers, through their Soviets, can uproot the capitalist system with an iron hand."

Is not this sufficient proof of the necessity of a Workers' State in the transition period?

Of course this Workers' State, a temporary institution, cannot abolish capitalism and the classes at one stroke. If that were possible there would be no need for the state. The proletarian state functions both politically and economically. On the one hand it builds up the economic administration of the workers, for the workers and by the workers; and on the other, it crushes counter-revolution, expropriates and suppresses the bourgeoisie as a class and reduces them to the labor strata, neutralizes the intermediary classes and wins them over to the side of the proletariat; isolates the rich peasants who align themselves with the speculators in withholding their grain and wheat from the Workers' Government for speculative purposes, etc.

Those who cannot or will not see this double role of the proletarian state, (in reality they are simply both sides of one shield, both equally important and equally necessary in the process of bringing the Communist society), are either fools or rascals, or both.

To rail against the political function of the Proletarian State while minimizing its economic reconstruction is to display a complete lack of revolutionary consciousness, which unfits any man or organization from leadership of the class-conscious workers or any part of them. Nor will the policy, adopted at the last convention of the I. W. W., of refraining from attacking the Communists, change the situation. Neutrality is even worse. There can be no such thing as "neutrality" in the revolutionary movement. "Neutrality" invariably leads to the camp of the opposition. Are the I. W. W. prepared to go that far?

We urge the revolutionary rank and file of the I. W. W. to read the literature of Communism, to study the question of proletarian dictatorship, and force their leaders to change the attitude of the I. W. W. before it shall become too late.

RESOLUTION ON UNITY WITH THE U. C. P.

Adopted by the Second Convention of the Communist Party of America.

"Unity with the U. C. P. as a party of Centrists, is impossible. We can unite only with such membership, or parts of the U. C. P. that will repudiate their Centrist leadership and join the Communists. Party on the basis of our principles, program, and tactics."

SOME DECISIONS OF THE C. E. C.

New rate on dues-stamps shall take effect on September 1st,

Organization Committees instructed to take up the question of organizing the Pacific Coast and report about same at the next C. E. C. meeting.

Secretary instructed to send letter to the U. C. P. demanding return of funds and property turned over to the U. C. P. by Damon

Editorial Department is instructed to prepare and submit a revised copy of the Manifesto to the next C. E. C. meeting.

The Communist, official organ, shall be sold for five cents in the future.

To issue a call for One Day's Pay as passed by the convention.

To issue the next Communist as a Convention Number.

All heads of departments and district organizers were appointed.

Departmental heads to report at every C. E. C. meeting.

EXERPT FROM THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL'S STATEMENT ON THE ABOLITION OF THE AMSTERDAM SUB-BUREAU.

The Committee declares that it has "unanimously recognized that to refuse to utilize the parliamentary arm, to renounce the effort to promote the revolutionary spirit of the labor unions from within—all this comes from an insufficient appreciation of the role of the Communist parties as agents of universal revolution, finds itself in flagrant contradiction with the interests of the working class, and will end in transforming the struggle for dictatorship into an empty phrase.

"The executive committee has charged comrades Boukharin, Radek and Zinoviev with composing a memoir and thesis on these questions. It has unanimously decided to annul the charter of the Amsterdam Bureau, it being granted that the bureau maintains on all these questions a point of view opposite to that of the Executive Committee."

Constitution of the Communist Party of America

Adopted at its Second Convention

Art. I. Name and Purpose.

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the Communist Party of America.

Its purpose shall be the organization of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat to educate and lead the working class of America for the conquest of political power; to destroy the bourgeois state machinery; to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat; to abolish the capitalist system and to introduce the Communist Society.

Section 2. The Communist Party of America is an integral part of the Communist International.

Art. II. Emblem.

Section 1. The emblem of the Communist Party shall be a figure of the earth, in white, a red flag across the globe bearing the inscription "All Power to the Workers"; around the figure of the earth, a margin in red, containing the words, "Communist Party of America," and, "Communist International," in white letters.

Art. III. Membership.

Section 1. Every person who accepts the principles and tactics of the Communist Party of America and the Communist International; who submits to the party discipline and agrees to engage actively in the party work shall be eligible to membership.

Section 2. Applicants for admission as members shall be vouched for by two members who have been members of the party not less than six consecutive months.

Acceptants of the applicant shall be determined by the Branch Executive Committee.

Applicants shall remain in a probationary group at least three months after which he may become a candidate for admission into a group. Candidate's admission shall be finally decided by the Branch Executive Committee.

Section 3. Special group captains shall be placed in charge of probationary groups. They shall be appointed by the Branch Executive Committee.

Section 4. Transfer of members from one branch to another within a local may be granted upon application to the Local Executive Committee.

Transfers of members from local to local, from sub-district to sub-district, or from one district to another may be granted upon application to and decision by the sub-district and district executive committees, respectively.

Section 5. No person who has an entire livelihood through the exploitation of labor shall be eligible to membership in the C. P. of A.

Section 6. No person who is a member or supporter of any other political organization shall be admitted to membership.

Section 7. No member shall contribute articles or editorials of a political or economic nature to the bourgeois press.

Art. IV. Form and Units of Organization.

Section 1. The Communist Party is an underground, illegal organization. It is highly centralized, with the convention as its supreme body and the Central Executive Committee as its supreme body between conventions.

Section 2. The unit of organization is the group. Groups shall consist of not less than five or more than ten members.

In places where there are less than five members they shall become part of the nearest group.

Groups of ten shall not be divided.

Section 3. Groups of the same language, within a city, town or locality, shall form a Branch.

Branches shall consist of not less than two groups and not more than ten.

In places where there is only one group of the same language it shall have the rights of a branch.

Section 4. Branches within a locality shall form a Local. Locals shall consist of not more than ten branches nor less than two.

Section 5. Sub-districts consist of all locals within a territory prescribed by the District Executive Committee.

In large industrial centers locals may function as a sub-district.

Section 6. All sub-districts within a prescribed territory shall form a district. The limits of districts are determined by the Central Executive Committee.

Districts and sub-districts shall be organized within industrial sections regardless of political boundaries.

Art. V. Functions of Units of Organization.

Section 1. The supreme body of the Communist Party shall be the convention of the party.

Section 2. Between the meetings of the Convention the supreme body shall be the Central Executive Committee, elected by the convention.

Section 3. The Central Executive Committee shall consist of nine members. The Convention shall elect four alternates. When the list of alternates is exhausted, the C. E. C. shall have the right to fill vacancies.

Section 4. Candidates for the C. E. C. (and alternates) must have been members of the C. P. of A., or of a party in other countries affiliated with the Communist International, for two consecutive years.

Section 5. Members, who are not delegates to, or not present at the convention must be supported by not less than four delegates, when nominated for the C. E. C.

Section 6. Upon presentation and investigation of charges against a member of the C. E. C. he may be expelled by a vote of not less than seven members. The accused C. E. C. member shall not vote.

Section 7. Upon the demand of three district conventions the C. E. C. shall call an emergency convention which shall have all the rights of a regular convention.

Section 8. The Central Executive Committee shall divide its work on a department basis. Departmental heads shall appoint committees from party members, to carry out the work of the departments, subject to the approval of the C. E. C. These committees shall work under the supervision of their respective department heads.

Section 9. The Central Executive Committee shall sub-divide and co-ordinate the following departments:—

- Secretarial and Finance.
- Organization and Communist Party Shop Committees.
- Editorial and Press.
- International Relations.
- Technical.

Section 10. The identity of the C. E. C. members shall not be made known, either by themselves or by those present at the convention.

The heads of departments and departmental committeemen shall be known only to the C. E. C. except in cases where this rule may interfere with party work.

Section 11. The C. E. C. shall call conferences with district organizers and federation secretaries, or representatives of the federation Central Executive Committees as often as necessary.

Section 12. The C. E. C. shall appoint the international delegates.

The C. E. C. shall appoint the International Secretary who shall be head of the department of International Relations, and a member of the C. E. C.

Section 13. The C. E. C. shall issue a monthly financial statement to the membership.

Section 14. The C. E. C. shall appoint district organizers for each district.

Section 15. District organizers shall appoint sub-district organizers. They, together with the Federation district organizers and the district organizer shall form the District Executive Committee.

The district executive committee shall meet at least once a month and work under the direction of the district organizer.

Section 16. District organizers shall make complete reports to the district executive committee as to the general party work in his district. He shall transmit and carry out the instructions and decisions of the C. E. C. He shall make remittances, financial statement and reports to the C. E. C. at least once a week. He shall submit financial statements to the membership in his district at least once a month.

Section 17. Sub-district organizers shall submit reports of all party activities in their sub-districts to each meeting of the district executive committee. They shall make remittance and financial statement and reports to the district organizer once a week.

Section 18. Federation district organizers shall make financial statement and reports to the district executive committee once a month.

Section 19. The sub-district executive committee shall consist of the sub-district organizer and the local organizers, or the branch organizers in places where there is no local organization. Local organizers shall be elected by the branch organizers.

Sub-district organizers shall call meetings of the sub-district executive committee at least once a month. He shall make complete reports to them of all party work in his district and carry out the decisions and instructions of the C. E. C.

Section 20. The local executive committee shall consist of the local organizer and the branch organizers.

Branch organizers shall be elected by the group organizers. They shall work under the direction of the local organizer and shall meet at least once a week.

Section 21. The Branch Executive Committee consists of the Branch Organizer and the group organizers within the branch.

Group Organizers (captains) shall be elected by the members of their respective groups.

The Branch Executive Committee shall meet at least once a week.

Section 22. Each group shall meet at least once every week, under the direction of the group organizer (captain). He shall make a complete report to his group on all party work; the activities of his branch and of all other party units.

Section 23. Sub-district organizers appointed

by the district organizer and subject to the approval of the C. E. C.

Art. VI. Dues and Finance

Section 1. Each member shall pay 60 cents per month as dues, and all assessments.

Section 2. Federations shall make returns to the Central Executive Committee of forty cents for each member by the tenth of each month.

Section 3. Applicants for membership shall pay one dollar initiation fee (to be remitted to the C. E. C.) and all dues and assessments during the probationary period.

Section 4. Federation branches shall purchase stamps and make returns through federations channels.

Section 5. Special assessments may be levied by the convention; the Central Executive Committee of the party or the Federation Central Executive Committee (subject to the approval of the C. E. C.)

No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases all such assessments.

Section 6. Members unable to pay dues and assessments on account of sickness, unemployment, strikes or for similar reasons, shall be granted exemption upon application to the Branch Executive Committee.

Group organizers shall include such requests in their reports.

Section 7. Members who are two months in arrears in payment of dues and assessments shall be dropped from membership, unless within one month after notification by the group organizer he places himself in good standing.

Section 8. The Central Executive Committee shall make a monthly financial report to the membership.

Section 9. District organizers shall make weekly financial reports and remittances to the C. E. C.

Section 10. Each federation shall make a complete monthly financial report to the Central Executive Committee.

Section 11. A complete audit and accounting of all party funds shall be made once every six months.

The auditing committee shall consist of five members elected by the convention.

No member of the Central Executive Committee, and no paid party official shall be a member of the auditing committee.

Complete report of the auditing committee shall be made to the membership within one month after its completion.

Section 12. All sums in excess of One Thousand Dollars shall be deposited in the name of two members of the C. E. C. and shall be withdrawn only upon their joint signature.

Art. VII. Discipline.

Section 1. All decisions of the governing bodies of the party shall be binding upon the membership and sub-ordinate units of the party.

Section 2. Branch Executive Committees shall have the right to expel a member subject to the approval of the Sub-district Executive Committee having jurisdiction.

Section 3. Groups may be expelled by their respective Branch Executive Committees subject to the approval of the District Executive Committee having jurisdiction.

Section 4. A sub-district or local may be expelled by a district executive committee, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. Districts may be expelled by the Central Executive Committee subject to the approval of the Convention.

Section 6. The federations may discipline and expel their members as provided in sections 2 and 3. In the cases of federation local or sub-district organizations, action is subject to approval of the federation C. E. C. and in the case of a federation district organization, action is subject to approval of the C. E. C. of the Party.

Section 7. Any member or unit of the party violating the decisions, program, or constitution of the C. P. of A. shall be subject to expulsion by the party unit having jurisdiction.

Art. VIII. Federations.

Section 1. Language federations are integral parts of the Communist Party of America and are subject to the discipline and control of the party.

Section 2. Language federations shall hold annual conventions which shall elect the Central Executive Committees of the federations.

Section 3. The Central Executive Committees of the federations shall consist of not more than nine members. They shall meet at least twice a month.

Section 4. The C. E. C. of each federation shall translate and issue to its membership all statements, circulars, communications, etc. sent them from the Central Executive Committee of the Party, within one week after their receipt.

Section 5. All language branches shall join and become part of their respective Federations.

Section 6. There shall be only one federation of each language.

(Continued on page 8)

A Criticism of the Program and Constitution of the U. C. P.

In the last issue we reviewed the convention proceedings of the U. C. P. (United Centrist Party) and showed just how, by whom and under what circumstances the various heterogeneous elements—that stand somewhere between the Socialist Party on the extreme Right, and the Communist Party on the extreme Left,—fused and drew up its program and constitution. In this article we shall take up the program and constitution and point out its pseudo-Communist, confused, Centrist character.

The program is a long verbose document containing much that does not properly belong in a program. Much of it, after a good deal of revision, might go into a Manifesto, or a treatise on the war, or in a pamphlet or leaflet—but certainly does not belong in the program. The program is as conspicuous for its errors of omission as for its errors of commission. The whole thing seems to be disjointed, one part having no coherent relation with the next. Much of it has no place in a Communist program. For instance, one can read the first three pages of the first chapter "The Collapse of Capitalism," up to the "League of Nations vs. The Communist International" without coming across any distinguishing Communist interpretation, or terminology. The dominant note in that chapter is the bourgeois economic fallacy of inflation as the cause of the breakdown of capitalism. Another insistent note which permeates the entire chapter is the bourgeois pacifist horror of the destruction of property and lives.

Even Oswald Garrison Villard, who is a bourgeois liberal has written much better analyses of the breakdown of capitalism than is contained in this program. We shall give a few illustrations of what we mean by quoting verbatim and the reader, if he is a Communist, will grasp the point.

"It is this INFLATION—multiplication of the evidences of value at the same time that the actual values are destroyed—which is undermining the whole organization of capitalist exchange and production. High prices are the reflection of inflation."

And again:

"Italy is on the verge of the Communist revolution. The national debt of Italy exceeds the national wealth...."

"During four years of war the capitalist nations engaged in the greatest orgy of destruction which humanity has ever known. The entire energy of the nations was directed to producing the implements and ammunition which were poured out in an incessant stream upon the battle-fields. Hundreds of billions of dollars worth of wealth were produced for instant destruction; the direct expenditures alone have been calculated at \$370,000,000,000. An equal amount is represented in property destruction, loss of production, interruption to trade, etc. The United States alone, in less than two years, paid out over 32 billions. Such sums are beyond the grasp of the mind." (Italics ours.—Ed.)

The bourgeois theory of inflation and bourgeois pacifism as expressed in the program is probably the work of Caxton, who has constantly exposed himself in all the party controversies as a bourgeois intellectual. It is not surprising coming from him. But how could a convention of so-called Communists permit such flagrant bourgeois ideology to creep into its program?

In that chapter there is no Communist expression of any sort. There is no mention of proletarian revolution, or proletarian dictatorship, or mass action. Instead it talks of "workers' rule which will save civilization"—a typical bourgeois phrase. It talks of the "destruction of capitalism—the overthrow of world capitalism and the reconstruction of society on the basis of Communism"—but there is no mention of the bourgeois state and the part it plays in capitalist society; no reference to the Communist task of destroying that state. Just a mass of verbiage dealing with the "collapse of capitalism" from a statistical point of view, many phrases of bourgeois horror at the destruction of lives and property etc.

Then it goes on to speak of those countries "where the breakdown has been most complete, where the masses have been goaded to final desperation"—as if the proletarian revolutions were due simply to the fact that the masses had been goaded to final desperation!

Referring to Russia, the program speaks of the Bolsheviks who "took the lead to arouse the masses to consciousness of power and to realization of the need for the Communist reconstruction of society"—no mention of the proletarian revolution taught and propagated by the Bolsheviks for years—no mention of the destruction of the bourgeois state accomplished under the leadership of the Bolsheviks—taught and propagated by the Bolsheviks for years—no mention of the establishment of the iron dictatorship of the proletariat—taught and propagated by the Bolsheviks for years!

Referring to Italy, the program speaks of the Italian workers and peasants turning to "the Italian Socialist Party (a section of the Communist International)—to the program of Soviet rule under a working class dictatorship"—first mention of dictatorship, and, confused. Proletarian dictatorship does not function under Soviet rule—proletarian dictatorship and Soviet rule are one and the same thing. The Soviet Government is a form of proletarian dictatorship. The use of the term "Soviet rule under a working class dictatorship" shows a fundamental lack of understanding of Soviets and proletarian dictatorship. Then the program speaks of the working class dictatorship as being "committed to the Com-

munist transformation of the economic life." Proletarian dictatorship functions primarily for political purposes—for the crushing of counter-revolution, for safeguarding the fruits of the victorious proletarian revolution, for the supremacy of the working class over all other classes, for suppressing the bourgeoisie as a class—all these factors being pre-requisites to the economic transformation of the economic life. But the U. C. P. program is blissfully ignorant of these elementary facts.

Let us take the sub-chapter dealing with the "League of Nations vs. the Communist International." The S. P. could endorse the whole position as stated there. We quote:

"In the working masses inheres the power of the Communist International—a power which is brought to consciousness and action by the pressure which robs life of all its values, by unending wars, starvation and repression."

What does this mass of words mean anyway? Is this an exposition of the essence of the Communist International? Most Communists believe that the essence of the Communist International lies in the fact that it is composed of the class-conscious revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat of the various countries, united under the banner of the Communist International dedicated to the task of propagating and leading the workers to the proletarian revolution and the destruction of the bourgeois state by means of force and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship as the only means of introducing the Communist society. But the U. C. P. program has nothing to say on this score. It speaks of "consciousness and action" which means anything and nothing. This program was not and could not have been written by a Communist—and no Communist convention could have endorsed such a program.

"The Communist International unites all the conscious revolutionary forces—it issues the call for the final struggle against capitalism."

There you have the U. C. P. conception of the Communist International out of its own mouth! It is some kind of international bureau which holds meetings once in a while for gathering and exchanging information—sends out appeals once in a while and nothing else. The U. C. P. haven't the slightest conception (or, if they have, they certainly don't show it in the program) of the real role and function of the Communist International in the world revolutionary movement.

In striking contrast to the above is the following excerpt from the Communist Program adopted at its second convention:

"The Communist International is the organ of the international revolutionary proletariat in their struggle for the conquest of world imperialism.... The Communist International subordinates the so-called national interests to the interests of the international proletarian revolution, embodies the reciprocal aid of the proletariat of various countries, for the proletariat of any one nation will not be in a position to organize the new society without economic and other mutual assistance.... It wages war against the Berne International of social-patriots and the Centrist parties and their leaders who accept the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship in words but not in deeds."

The Class Struggle.

We now consider the second chapter of the U. C. P. program under the above title. We shall quote the preamble which is printed in agate type and epitomizes, or is supposed to epitomize the entire chapter.

"The conflict that is rending capitalist society is a class struggle (that is like saying white is white.—Ed.). It is a struggle between exploiter and exploited, between oppressor and oppressed. The basic facts of the present economic system place capitalist and worker in constant opposition to one another, in constant conflict over wages, hours and working conditions."

"The overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Communist society is the historic mission of the working class. The United States (?) Communist Party is the conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism."

The first chapter is exactly the views of Gompers—the class struggle is due to the conflict over wages, hours and working conditions. The I. W. W. have a much clearer exposition of the class struggle than that contained in this program. This paragraph says nothing, and means nothing. It tries to state an elementary truth of Socialist economics and fails miserably.

The second paragraph is more ambitious. It bridges the gap from the mere "conflict over wages, hours and working conditions" to the historic mission of the working class—the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Communist society. But it fails to state how it is to be accomplished. That is the very crux of the differences between the Communist and Socialist parties, as well as the syndicalists and anarchists. But the U. C. P. is silent on this point just where it ought to be explained. There is no mention of the capitalist state and the necessity for its destruction nor the manner of its destruction, as advocated by the Communist International, mass action culminating in armed insurrection and civil war.

The next two paragraphs, again develop the process of imperialism but say nothing about the capitalist state and its role in capitalist society. Meaningless revolutionary phrases and nothing else. What Lenin once said to some comrades in Russia can be aptly applied to the U. C. P.

"they are sick with the malady of revolutionary phrases."

The Nature of the State.

The state, which has been completely ignored for nearly three and a half pages now comes into its own. They have a sub-heading dealing specifically with the nature of the state.

One would expect that since the program has been so lavish of words in previous chapters it might devote some space to an analysis of the nature of the state—why it came into being, etc. It states that "in every historical epoch the existing government—the state—has been the organ of coercion used by the ruling class to keep the exploited class in subjection." Surely no one, not even a bourgeois liberal could find fault with this statement!

Continuing, it says: "so long as the capitalists control the power of the newspapers, the press; the politicians, the schools and colleges so long as MILLIONS OF WORKERS ARE DISFRANCHISED THROUGH RACIAL AND RESIDENTIAL QUALIFICATIONS AND NATURALIZATION LAWS, the capitalists can well afford to allow the workers the empty privilege of periodically voting to confirm their rule." (caps ours.—Ed.)

Murder will out! Note the Menshevik statement which is capitalized. The implication is, that if millions of workers were not disfranchised then the capitalists could not afford to give the workers the privilege. It would no longer be an empty privilege. It might become a dangerous weapon in the hands of the working class. It might even be used as a means of ousting the capitalists from power. This is the meaning of that statement—and it is pure Menshevism. According to this, the U. C. P. still cherishes the hope that some day, if all the workers will be enfranchised the ballot may be used as the means for the emancipation of the working class.

This statement completely nullifies the chapter on "Election Campaigns," which claims that the U. C. P. will use the parliament for revolutionary propaganda only. Compare the above quotation from the U. C. P. and their chapter on "Election Campaigns" and you will get a clear idea of the meaning of "paying lip-service to the revolution."

We quote the following paragraph in order to show how completely this program fails to understand even current political phenomena from the Communist standpoint.

"The expulsion of the Socialist Assemblymen at Albany, the expulsion of the Socialist Councilmen in Cleveland during the war, indicate how summarily the capitalists get rid of elected officials who even in the least degree challenge the capitalist dictatorship."

Now, we would like to ask the theoreticians of the U. C. P. whether or not they believe that the Socialist Assemblymen or Cleveland Councilmen challenged in the least degree the capitalist dictatorship? If they do so believe, then their characterization of the S. P. as a party of social-patriots and traitors to the working class is camouflage. If they do not, why did they put it into the program?

We will quote just one thing more from the chapter on "Election Campaigns" as showing the ability of the unscrupulous Centrist leaders to manipulate language so as to fool their membership. They claim they will send their parliamentary representatives to the legislative halls to keep these slogans to the front. "Down with the parliamentary sham of capitalism; Hall to the Soviets and real working class democracy!"

Now what in the name of common sense do these slogans mean? This is sheer word-juggling. Damon who probably wrote this chapter remembers some slogans that were used in the recommendations issued by the Third International to the Communist Party, and, like a Centrist corrupted them to milk-and-water consistency that would suit his own purposes. The slogans if they are to mean anything at all should read—"Down with the Congress and Senate! Long live the Workers' Government! Long live the Government of Workers' Soviets!"

Industrial Unionism.

On this question the U. C. P. straddles painfully. They seek to please all elements. They have not dared to take an unequivocal position on this question, one way or the other. They have failed to learn from the experiences of the last year and the last convention of the I. W. W.

They reject the policy of the I. W. W., which is diametrically opposed to the position of the Third International—and yet they maintain that the I. W. W. "is the obvious medium for giving the advocacy of industrial unionism affirmative character. The I. W. W. must be upheld as against the A. F. of L."

The I. W. W. itself, after its last convention has renounced all claim to any revolutionary pretensions. They have rejected every principle and policy which the Third International advocates. It is a conservative economic organization, better constructed to struggle for high wages and better conditions under capitalism. That is all. To engage in the propaganda for industrial unionism to the workers means to instill erroneous ideas into the workers' minds which will be very difficult to remove later on. It is the task of a real Communist Party to propagate and agitate for the proletarian revolution, for the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship as the only means of emancipating the workers from capitalism. Industrial unions are neither committed to this program nor are they the mediums for this struggle. Particularly, the I. W. W. is opposed to the Communist program. Trade and industrial unions are a field for

the propagation of Communism to the masses of the workers. The task of a Communist Party must be to inculcate and crystallize Communist understanding among the masses over the heads of union officialdom, whether in the A. F. of L. or in the I. W. W. Communist Parties must agitate constantly for Communism and not for industrial unionism. Just as we would enter the bourgeois parliaments for revolutionary propaganda so must we enter the most reactionary trade and industrial unions for our propaganda. The U. C. P., however, is still flirting with the I. W. W.—still holds syndicalist tendencies. Its position is not based upon any clear-cut conception of industrial unionism but upon a policy of pandering to every element in their party in order to achieve their Centrist conception of unity. We recommend a careful reading of the pamphlet on this subject, published by the C. P., as well as the chapter on Unionism in the program of the Communist Party printed elsewhere in this issue.

Mass Action.

It would have been instructive and illuminating to have seen the original clause dealing with this question as brought in by the leaders of the U. C. P. before it underwent any changes at the hands of the delegates. We are under the impression, judging from Caxton's article that no mention of force, or the propagation of it was contained therein. However, prodded by a small aggressive minority, who threatened to split away from the "unity convention," some changes were finally adopted. The changes are slight. The Centrist leaders, by clever word-juggling, succeeded in fooling the delegates, nevertheless. We quote:

"It is through revolutionary mass action of the working class that the power of the capitalist state will be destroyed and the proletarian government established."

Note that it says the power of the capitalist state will be destroyed—not the capitalist state itself.

"At an advanced stage of the class struggle the capitalists realize the futility of other means and resort to widespread use of the armed power of the state. The capitalist government then functions openly as a military dictatorship. The working class must then answer force with force."

Here is a typical Centrist attitude toward the state and the use of force to destroy that state. The U. C. P. considers the use of force as a purely defensive measure—not as an offensive measure for which the Communists must consciously prepare, and which is the highest expression of the class struggle. There, again the bourgeois horror of force emanates strongly from the U. C. P. camp.

"The class struggle, which so long appeared in forms unrecognizable to the millions of workers actively engaged in it, develops into open combat, civil war" (this statement is entirely vitiated by the omission that the open combat, civil war is waged by the armed organized, revolutionary workers against the capitalist state.—Ed.).

"The United Communist Party will systematically and persistently familiarize the working class with the inevitability of armed force in the proletarian revolution" (italics ours.—Ed.).

The word "familiarize" instead of the word propagate or foster, is a deliberate manipulation. The word "familiarize," indicates that the U. C. P. will carry this message in its program, or in its literature dealing with the theoretical aspects of Communism, but it does not mean that the U. C. P. will propagate it in its leaflets and propaganda to the masses.

This sentence is further emasculated by the omission that armed force will be used against the capitalist state. This is highly important, as indicating that the Centrist leaders succeeded in changing the entire meaning of the whole chapter on mass action. Damon, Isaacs & Co. never agreed with the Communist position during the recent split. At that time they stated their opposition to the advocacy of the use of force and the inevitability of a violent revolution for the destruction of the capitalist state. The leopard cannot change his spots. They have not changed. They cannot change.

"The working class must be prepared for armed insurrection as the final form of mass action by which the workers shall conquer the state power and establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

The whole clause on mass action is weakened. It is a mouthing of revolutionary phrases. Their complete silence on the question of an underground form of organization, either in their program or constitution, confirms the suspicion that the U. C. P. may eventually give up any pretension to being an illegal, underground party.

Immediate Tasks.

It is in this chapter that the U. C. P. really reveal themselves as a party of Centrists. We quote:

"In order to enable the party to function more effectively in the immediate struggles of the workers, shop groups of the party must be organized to secure actual contact with the workers. These shop groups, together with Communist groups within the unions, shall carry on the agitation for industrial unionism and against the A. F. of A."

The substance of the U. C. P. desire "to get contact with the masses is to 'carry on agitation for industrial unionism and against the A. F. of L.' And 'the I. W. W.,' of course, 'is the obvious medium for giving the advocacy of industrial unionism affirmative character.'" The United Communist Party, in other words, will act as a recruiting agency for the I. W. W.—the I. W. W., which has repudiated mass action, which has repudiated the dictator-

ship of the proletariat, which has repudiated Soviet power. The I. W. W. which believes that Communists who advocate and propagate the use of force against the state and the inevitability of a violent revolution are agent provocateurs! It seems as if the U. C. P. considers its primary task to propagate industrial unionism, and not Communism, to the masses.

Here is another example of the subservient position of the U. C. P. towards the I. W. W.

"The unskilled and semi-skilled workers, including the agricultural laborers, constitute the bulk of the working class. It is an important part of the work of the United Communist Party to awaken these workers to industrial union organization and action."

On the question or problem of the Negro workers, although the Communist Party at its second convention saw the fallacy of making it a separate problem and giving it undue prominence, the U. C. P. has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. It still keeps it in its program.

In the paragraph on militarism the U. C. P. program again indulges in revolutionary phrases but evades stating the real Communist position. It speaks of directing "mass protests against imperialist militarism and war toward civil war against the capitalist class and its organs of power." A clear evasion of the issue. Civil war is not directed against the capitalist class and its organs of power (which may mean anything and nothing) but against the capitalist state and its machinery.

But the last paragraph is a gem. There they come out openly and show their kinship with the syndicalists of the I. W. W. and fall down completely as Communists. All the old syndicalist fallacies are again aired—social control by the workers under capitalism—workers' control of capitalist industry under capitalism etc. We quote:

"The Communists must bring into these struggles the tendency toward conscious organization of the workers for taking over complete social control. Such control as the workers can secure of capitalist industry through their mass demands can best be exercised through shop committees, shop stewards or similar organizations. But control of industry won and maintained by the power of the workers must not be confused with the sham 'industrial democracy' established by the employers for the same deceptive purposes as the political democracy of capitalism."

It is interesting to note that the U. C. P. here state the old I. W. W. position of "building the new society within the shell of the old" in a new way. The only difference is that the I. W. W. know what they want and say it much better.

This program is a typical Centrist document, lacking both clearness and understanding of Communism. Framed by unscrupulous word-jugglers, it evades the fundamental issues. Phrases like "civil war," "armed insurrection" and "force" were mechanically inserted here and there, with no real intention of permitting such insertions to change the tone of the document. Not more than three pages of it should properly belong in a program, and those three pages need thorough revision. The rest is merely a background for a bourgeois analysis of the collapse of capitalism and the end, dealing with the Communist reconstruction of society is so much local color in order to give an air of verisimilitude to the whole.

The Constitution of the U. C. P.

There are four outstanding features of the constitution which demand consideration. (1) It states nothing about being an underground, illegal organization; (2) the abolition of language federations; (3) a C. E. C. composed of ten members; (4) the election of International Secretary and International Delegates by the Convention itself.

(1) This is evidently a deliberate omission in view of the conditions in this country—the nation-wide raids, the destruction of the open organizations (C. P. and C. L. P.)—and the recent split within the C. P. in which underground, illegal organization was one of the main issues.

Damon, Isaacs, Mayer & Co., have voiced their opposition to underground organization more than once. These Centrist leaders have so framed the program and constitution that the United Communist Party will be ready to become a legal organization at any time. They are not opposed to the formation of legal or cultural organizations; these legal organizations are already in existence and new ones are being formed. As the network of these legal organizations gradually supersedes the groups and branches, the U. C. P. will function openly without any re-formation of organization machinery.

The clause in their constitution calling for the formation of industrial branches is another indication of their attempt to dispense with the underground, political character of the organization, and swing into an open mass organization.

(2) The abolition of language federations within the U. C. P. (we doubt whether this will be obeyed by the language groups, for the Russian groups have already organized and autonomous federation and the rest will soon follow suit), has been the pet scheme of Damon & Co. for a long time. They tried and failed in the Communist Party, using every trick and artifice known to the politician's trade.

The argument that language federations hamper centralization is fallacious. We are not dealing with the abstract or ideal principle of centralization. We are dealing with specific conditions, with a given population in this country, which can be likened to a Tower of Babel, for they speak many languages and the vast majority of the foreign workers do not speak or understand English. The most advanced and

class conscious among them are within the Communist movement. These workers in each language must be organized in a federation of their language in order that they may be able to function as members and to propagate Communism among the workers in their language.

Language federations have more than a propaganda function to perform in this country at the present time. The membership of the Communist Party as well as the U. C. P. is overwhelmingly composed of foreign comrades who do not speak or understand English. And necessarily so. The majority of the workers in America are foreigners. Especially the workers massed in the basic industries—the unskilled, semi-skilled and unorganized. These foreign workers are the first to react to the revolutionary conditions in Europe—it is from their ranks that the membership of the Communist Party and the U. C. P. can be recruited if at all. These comrades, especially the Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Lettish, South Slavic, Polish, Jewish, Armenian, etc. are fired with old revolutionary spirit of their own countries; many of them have gone through or witnessed the 1905 revolution. These comrades were members of the Socialist Party. They organized the revolt in the old party. They organized the Left Wing—they led in the formation of the Communist Party. These foreign comrades, organized in their federations are the promulgators and carriers of Communism in this country. They gave unstintingly of their time, their money, their energy. No sacrifice was ever too much for them for the sake of their principles.

How did they accomplish this miracle of revolt and formation of a Communist Party (to say nothing of forcing the old Left Wing elements to organize the C. L. P.)? Through their autonomous language federations. Without these language federations, the masses in the S. P. would never have succeeded in revolting and carrying the majority of the membership with them. How did the language federations succeed in organizing and leading these non speaking English elements? Because the language federations built up a machinery and discipline and organization morale among them. The language federations gave them Communist understanding—it taught them to distinguish between Left Wing and Right Wing, between Communist and Centrist—and through their federations they were able to control their own leaders as well as the English-speaking leaders who showed the slightest tendency to backslide on principles and tactics.

The Centrist leaders in the Left Wing, the C. L. P. and those who recently split away from the Communist Party, knew this fact quite well. They had seen the federations in operation against others as well as themselves. They realized from the very beginning, that language federations would always act as a brake upon their designs to lead the Communist movement backwards. The C. L. P. split immediately on this question. Damon, Isaacs & Co. remained in the Communist Party to bore from within, for the abolition of the federations. Falling in their attempt they split. If they had not split away, they knew as sure as fate, that they would have been discredited and deposed from leadership at the next convention.

There was no other recourse left to the Centrist leaders of the U. C. P. than to abolish the federations if they wished to remain in control and leadership of their party.

That is the real reason for the abolition of the language federations in the U. C. P. Language branches, without any centralized body to co-ordinate their activities, organize and give articulation to their protests, are perfectly harmless to any scheme of the Centrist leaders. It gives them control of the foreign membership, who cannot act effectively in any given situation.

Centralization has nothing to do with the question. What centralization can there be where various language branches in a given district or sub-district transact their party business, through the medium of representatives who are not the expression of their point of view, but who can speak English? The test of party officials becomes, not their understanding of Communist principles and tactics, but their ability to speak English. And from the experiences in the Socialist, Left Wing and Communist parties, those who could speak English best were not always the best Communists; sometimes it was the very reverse.

Even the most unsophisticated can see the point. Language federations make for control of leaders by the majority of the membership who cannot speak English but who understand and can express themselves in their own language. The abolition of language federations robs the majority of the membership of exercising control over leaders.

We can safely predict that this clause in the U. C. P. constitution will soon be a dead letter, or they will lose a great part of their membership.

(3) The best proof of the kind of "unity" achieved by the U. C. P. is the clause dealing with the C. E. C. Not unity but an amalgamation of two small organizations was accomplished. Each side was afraid of losing control of the organization to the other. They knew each other and therefore didn't trust each other. The C. L. P. had seen the dastardly act perpetrated by Damon & Co. against the Communist Party and didn't relish a repetition of it at their expense. Damon & Co. for their part, knew they were amalgamating with a bunch of leaders who differed from themselves only in degree, and that only because they didn't have the same opportunity.

Neither side cared a hang for principles or tactics so long as they were able to interpret

The Second Convention of the Communist Party of America

Thirty-four delegates, including fraternal delegates attended the recent convention of the Communist Party of America. Two delegates were absent. The membership represented was more than 8,500, of which 6,500 actually participated in the elections.

The first session was held on a Tuesday night and the last session ended on the Sunday morning following.

It was a working body rather than a debating society, which large conventions usually tend to become. Tense situations developed, especially over the question of the Communist Party attitude towards parliamentarism and the question of appointments of officials all the way from district organizers to group captains, but in the main the work proceeded smoothly. The recent split had solidified and united the membership on nearly all questions of principles and tactics and on most questions, the discussions disclosed a remarkable unanimity of opinion.

Most of the delegates were workingmen who had left their shops in answer to the call of the membership to represent them. But they were veterans of the revolutionary movement both here and abroad. They knew their Communism as well as their leaders, even though their mode of expression was difficult and clumsy, and their grasp of the English language was meagre. But they made up for it by their unflinching courage, resolution and expression.

The convention opened with all accredited delegates present except two, one from District 4, and one from District 4C. A Credentials Committee was elected and brought in a majority report to seat all the delegates, and a minority report recommending that all delegates be seated except District No. 2, which it claimed was entitled only to seven of the eight accredited delegates. Investigation and discussion brought out the fact that there were 432 members (who participated in the elections) on strike or locked out, notably in the Waterbury section and Paterson, New Jersey, section, and who had not paid their convention assessment tax because of that fact. After a lively discussion the eight delegates were seated by a overwhelming vote.

On the second day, while the Rules Committee was preparing its report, the convention heard reports of delegates and district organizers. These reports revealed that most of the members of the party had remained after the split, contrary to the false reports circulated by Damon & Co.

The Acting Secretary's report revealed the extent to which Damon, the former executive secretary of the Communist Party had betrayed his trust; the unconscionable manner in which he had taken advantage of the confidence of his former comrades, and his duplicity and double dealing while a paid and trusted officer of the Party.

The Acting secretary submitted an itemized cash statement for the period September to December (which has already been published) and for Jan. 1, to June 30, which the secretary recommended be audited by a committee elected by the convention.

The secretary's analysis of membership on the basis of dues paid to June 1, 1920, is as follows:

MEMBERSHIP.

Number of members for which dues were paid during and for each month since the first convention of the Party was as follows:

Oct. 27,341	Average for 3 mos. 23,744	Jan. 1,714	Average for 4 mos. 5,534.
Nov. 20,261		Feb. 2,296	
Dec. 23,624		Mar. 4,517	
		Apr. 8,223	

May—6749.

"Taking the highest number of dues paid since the January raids, the Party has lost through them and through the subsequent organization on underground basis about 15,000 members, or 65 per cent. of the initial membership. The Hungarian Federation and Michigan group (3,000 and 1,000 respectively) dropped out of the Party altogether. Russian Federation lost 4,000 out of their 7,000 membership. South Slavic and Polish Federation ceased to pay dues after February. If the split in our ranks had not been brewing ever since the raids, and if it had not come before the convention, the recovery might have come up to 50 per cent. of the October, November and December figures, but certainly not higher.

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

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

English (incl. Mich.)	Before Raids	After Raids	After Split	Went to U. C. P.
800	1900	700	300	800
Non-fed. members	1100	400	200	200
Esthonian	280	140	—	140
German	850	500	—	350
Hungarian	1000	—	—	—
Jewish	700	500	850	—?
Lettish	1200	1000	1000	—
Lithuanian	4100	2500	2500	—
Polish	1750	1000	—?	—?
Russian	7000	3000	2000	1000?
So. Slavic	2200	1000	—	1000?
Ukrainian	4000	2000	1500	500?
Totals	26680	12740	8350	3490

(Note: These figures are the secretary's estimate. The report of the Secretary of the Russian Federation shows 2,600 paid members, and of the secretary of the Ukrainian Federation 2,000 paid members.—Ed.)

"According to this we lose about 4,400 or a little over one-third of our members, but of this the "minority" carried with it into the U. C. P. by no means over 3,500, or positively not more than 28 per cent.

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

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

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

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

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

"The Auditing Committee has examined the cash receipts and disbursements for the six months ending June 30, 1920, and has found the entries, vouchers and statements entirely satisfactory and correct, as far as the Acting Secretary is concerned.

"For a period from March 2 to April 10, when Damon was Executive Secretary, there ARE NO OTHER VOUCHERS FOR CASH RECEIVED EXCEPT STATEMENTS OF DAMON, AND THE SAME IS TRUE OF MANY ITEMS OF CASH PAID DURING THAT PERIOD. THE BALANCE WHICH DAMON TOOK AWAY WITHOUT AUTHORITY IS CORRECT AS STATED ON PAGE 27,—\$7,095.16.

(Signed) Auditing Committee,

Ma.....
M.O.....
C.B.O.....

Further comment is unnecessary as these signed statements impeach the honesty and integrity of the man who is now an official of the U. C. P.

A member of the C. E. C. then reported for the Central Executive Committee, dating from its first meeting after the first convention last September. Its activities were reviewed—giving a consecutive and coherent narration of the elements that composed it and controversies that ensued. Most of the facts are well-known to the members through the statements issued by the former C. E. C. during the split, and need not be repeated here.

This report was also accepted and then the convention settled down to take up the Program submitted by the Program Resolutions Committee.

Each paragraph was carefully and thoughtfully analysed, and the proceedings went along without hitches until the question of parliamentarism was reached.

Although the clauses in the program dealing with our attitude toward Parliamentarism had been adopted without dissenting vote, the discussion was precipitated in considering the minority report of one of the program committee, referring to the nomination of executive officers as candidates. After a lengthy and heated debate, the rules were suspended and a roll call taken upon a motion to endorse the position of the Third International upon Parliamentarism, which was carried unanimously. The following resolutions were then presented and debated:—

Majority Resolution.

"Taking as a basis the position of the Third International of which the Communist Party of America is an integral part, we consider the use of the bourgeois parliament as of secondary importance and, for revolutionary propaganda and agitation only. At the same time, due to specific political circumstances in the United States, the outlawing of our party and the prevailing reaction in this country, we are forced to boycott the coming elections."

Minority Resolution.

"We endorse the stand of the Third International on parliamentarism and adapt it (as the Third International indicates) to the present political situation in the United States.

The Communist Party of America sees no possibility of utilizing the parliamentary weapon either for the present or in the near future.

If, at any time, conditions should warrant participation in parliamentary elections, we shall participate for purposes of revolutionary propaganda and agitation only. The Communist Party however, will propagandize the masses (through its literature, etc.) in every parliamentary campaign, in order to destroy their illusions on parliamentarism and the bourgeois state."

A roll call was demanded on both resolutions and showed: for the minority resolution 4: against 16: voting present 4. For the majority—16: against 4: voting presence 4.

The debate indicated an attitude on the part of some delegates against parliamentarism under any circumstances, and was characterized as a syndicalist tendency, savoring of dogmatism rather than of Marxism dialectics. The anti-parliamentary position was presented weakly and incoherently and the issue confused. The position of the party, as expressed in the Program, was clear and convincing, so that several delegates with instructions against parliamentarism changed their position on this question during the discussion.

The rest of the Program, as presented by the committee, found little or no opposition. The party attitude towards trade and industrial unions and our attitude towards the I. W. W. found hardly any opposition and that of negligible character. The recent action of the I. W. W. at its last convention had disillusioned the great majority of the membership as to the revolutionary pretensions of the I. W. W. And the teachings of Lenin and other leaders of the Third International, on the use of economic organizations of the working class as a field for Communist propaganda, and not for the I. W. W. policy of "smashing the A. F. of L." and reconstructing the trade unions, was apparent to all the delegates as the correct position to take on this perplexing question.

A sub-committee of the former C. E. C. had prepared and submitted to the Committee on Constitution, a draft of a constitution based upon the principle of appointment of all party officials below the C. E. C., including the group captains. This draft became the majority report of the Constitution Committee, with two minority reports: one for election of local organizers by the branch organizers, branch organizers by the group captain, and all group captains by the groups,—other officials to be appointed,—and another for the election of group captains only, all others to be appointed.

Before consideration of the Constitution, it was unanimously decided to discuss the principle of appointments or elections first; accordingly, a motion that appointments from the top to the bottom be the basis of our constitution. An amendment was brought in that elections be the basis of the constitution.

And then the discussion raged. For four or five hours the debate continued until previous question put an end to it. The discussion had been keen and spirited. A number of delegates who argued against adopting the principle of appointments argued from the point of view that the principle was correct for an underground organization, but it was premature to adopt it at this convention; that the rank and file were not yet educated to it and would rebel against it. Those who were for elections, agreed to the appointment of district organizers and displayed a tendency to accept the appointment of sub-district organizers as well, but believed that beyond that point elections would serve as a check upon the higher officials and give the membership some measure of control.

Those who argued for appointments pointed out the necessity of building a highly centralized and well-disciplined underground organization in the face of the bitter persecution and suppression of the capitalist state, as well as the military character of the organization in the time of revolution, which would take the lead in destroying the highly centralized and armed capitalist state. That such a task required equally centralized organization and a well-disciplined membership who would be able to carry out the orders of the supreme body without any hitch. They pointed out that the Russian and Ukrainian Federations Conventions had already adopted this principle of organization in their constitutions, subject, of course, to the decisions of the national convention, as an indication that the membership would accept this principle without rebelling; that it made for the safety of the underground organization against spies, who might otherwise gain the confidence of the membership and thus advance themselves to positions of trust in the party; that election meant the creation of two machines in the party instead of one, each acting against each other, and thus diminishing the effectiveness of the organization; that the time had come for the membership to sacrifice any remnant of petty-bourgeois psychology which militated against the acceptance of appointments for the sake of learning self-discipline; that the membership were not in the party to raise their hands in voting as the highest expression of their duty, but to carry on Communist propaganda and agitation—to work—to build up the Party, etc.

On a roll-call vote the first minority report (to elect captain) was voted down 23 to 3. The second minority report was lost by a vote of 12 to 12. The majority report was also lost by a vote of 12 to 12, and the convention automatically came to a deadlock.

(Continued on page 8)

Program of the Communist Party

(Continued from page 1)

which are unattainable by the working people, the proletarians and semi-proletarians, while the bourgeoisie utilizes its machinery to deceive and defraud the workers through its press, pulpit, schools, etc.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, defrauds the masses of participation in the administration of the state. Actually, the masses and their organizations are totally deprived of real state administration. In the Workers' Government—the proletarian dictatorship in the form of the Soviet Government—the organizations of the masses dominate and through them the masses themselves administer. Bourgeois democracy and the parliamentary system separate the masses from the capitalist state by the division of legislative and executive power, by the toleration of unrecalled mandates. In the Soviet Government, on the contrary, the right of recall, the amalgamation of the legislative and executive power, the function of the Soviets as working colleges, unite the masses with the administrative organs. This unity is also promoted by the fact that under the Soviet Government the election themselves are conducted, not in accordance with artificial territorial districts, but in accordance with productive units. The proletarian dictatorship in the form of the Soviet Government thus realizes true proletarian democracy, the democracy for and of the working class and against the bourgeoisie.

The proletarian revolution is a lengthy process which begins with the destruction of the capitalist state, the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship and ends only with the transformation of the capitalist system into the Communist society.

The Communist International.

The Communist International, issuing directly out of the proletarian revolution in action, is the organ of the international revolutionary proletariat in their struggle for the conquest of world political power.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries, the menace of suppression of the proletarian revolution through the coalition of the capitalist states, the attempts of the social-patriotic parties to unite with each other (the formation of the "yellow" International at Berne) in order to render service to the Imperialist "League of Nations" and to betray the revolution; and finally, the absolute necessity of co-ordinating proletarian action all over the world—all these considerations demanded the formation of a real, revolutionary, Communist International.

The Communist International, which subordinates the so-called national interests to the interests of the international proletarian revolution, embodies the reciprocal aid of the proletariat of various countries, for the proletariat of any nation will not be in a position to organize the new society without economic and other mutual assistance. On the other hand, the Communist International—in contrast to the "yellow" Berne International—supports the exploited colonial peoples in their struggles against imperialism in order to accelerate the final collapse of the Imperialist system of the world.

The Communist International unites all the revolutionary forces. It wages war against Imperialism, against the Berne International of social patriots and the Centrist parties and their leaders who accept the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship in words but not in deeds.

The Communist International issues its call to the conscious proletariat for the final struggle against capitalism. It is not a problem of immediate revolution. The revolutionary epoch may last for years. The Communist International offers a program both immediate and ultimate in scope. The old order is in decay. The workers must prepare for the proletarian revolution and the Communist reconstruction of society. The Communist International calls: Arms against arms! Force against force!

Workers of the world unite!

All power to the workers!

Summary.

The Communist Party maintains that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle; that is, a struggle to conquer the power of the state, destroy the bourgeois state machinery by mass action culminating in armed insurrection and civil war, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only means of introducing the Communist society.

a) The Communist Party shall keep in the foreground its consistent appeal for proletarian revolution, the overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

b) The Communist Party shall systematically and persistently propagate to the workers the idea of the inevitability of a violent revolution and the USE OF FORCE as the only means of overthrowing the capitalist state.

c) Participation in parliamentary campaigns which in the general struggle of the revolution is only of secondary importance, is for the purpose of revolutionary propaganda and agitation only.

d) Nominations for public office and participation in elections shall be limited to legislative bodies only.

e) Parliaments and political democracy shall be utilized to assist in organizing the working class against capitalism and the state. Parliamentary representatives shall consistently expose

the oppressive class character of the capitalist state, using the legislative forum to interpret and emphasize the class struggle; they shall make clear how parliamentarism and parliamentary democracy deceive the workers; and they shall analyze capitalist legislative proposals and reform palliatives as evasions of the issue and as of no fundamental significance to the working class.

f) The uncompromising character of the class struggle must be maintained under all circumstances. The Communist Party accordingly, in all its activities, shall not co-operate with groups or parties not committed to the principles and policies of the Communist International.

g) The Communist Party shall enter into all the struggles of the working class to spread Communist understanding among them, to guide their economic strikes into broader political channels, to develop their will and determination to overthrow the existing order and finally, lead them into open armed conflict with the capitalist state.

h) The Communist Party shall participate in strikes, not so much to achieve the immediate purpose of the strike as to develop the revolutionary implications.

i) Every local, sub-district and district organization of the Communist Party shall establish contact with industrial units in its territory—the shops, mills, factories and mines—and direct its agitation accordingly.

j) Communist Party shop committees, consisting only of members of the Communist Party, shall be organized for the purpose of carrying Communist propaganda and agitation to the workers in the industries. These committees shall be united with each other and shall be under the control and direction of the Communist Party, so that the party shall have actual contact with the workers.

k) The Communist Party considers trade and industrial unions as a field for the propagation of Communism. While recognizing that the A. F. of L. and similar organizations are reactionary and bulwarks of capitalism it recognizes that

industrial unions such as the I. W. W. and kindred organizations are also conservative. The Communist Party will encourage all movements of the workers in the shops and industries but will constantly criticize the limitations of the economic organizations and point out their inability to train and mobilize the workers for the proletarian revolution.

l) The Communist Party shall criticize the principles, tactics and leaders of trade and industrial organizations which do not accept the basic principles and policies of the Communist International.

m) The Communist Party shall wage an aggressive campaign against the social-patriotic and reform parties, such as the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party—expose their purely reformistic character, their petty-bourgeois principles and policies and their counter-revolutionary tendencies.

n) The Communist Party shall wage an aggressive campaign against the Centrists (United Communist Party) exposing their leaders, their lip-service recognition of Communist principles and tactics and Centrist tendencies.

o) The unorganized unskilled workers (including the agricultural proletariat) constitutes the bulk of the working class. The Communist Party shall systematically propagate Communism to these workers and link up their struggles with the class struggle of the workers as a whole.

p) The United States is developing an aggressive militarism. The Communist Party will wage the struggle against militarism as a phase of the class struggle to hasten the collapse of capitalism. Special Communist Committees shall be organized to carry Communist propaganda and agitation to the soldiers and sailors and to form Communist organizations among them.

q) The struggle against imperialism, necessarily an international struggle, is the basis of proletarian revolutionary action in this epoch. The Communist Party shall maintain close contact with the Communist International for common action against world imperialism.

A Criticism of the Program and Constitution of the U. C. P.

(Continued from page 5)

principles and tactics without effective protest from the membership. They would endorse anything, subscribe to everything just so long as they could remain in control of the organization.

Such a group of unprincipled adventurers and charlatans could do nothing else but elect a Central Executive Committee of ten members, five from one side and five from the other. Even the ten alternates were apportioned so that a C. L. F. alternate would take the place of a C. L. P. vacancy and vice versa.

The only alternative to a C. E. C. of ten members, which was obviously a dead giveaway of the whole game, was to split. And a split at the "unity convention" meant immediate and total political oblivion for all the leaders concerned.

(4) Although the U. C. P. had learnt from the split in the Communist Party not to elect the secretary and editors at the convention (we are inclined to believe that the C. L. P. delegates must have insisted on this point) they did elect their International Secretary and International Delegates at the convention.

This as we have learned does not make for centralization and discipline, but leads to the creation of contradictory authorities—and in the case of dispute between the C. E. C. and International Secretary and Delegates makes two separate bodies responsible to the convention—just as Damon & Co. maintained in the recent unpleasantness in the Communist Party. This clause belies their attempts at centralization and discipline.

There are some other clauses in the constitution which are very vague and capable of misunderstanding. For instance, the clause on discipline is very vague and unsatisfactory. What constitutes a breach of discipline is not defined.

The clause on units of organization displays a very mechanical, bureaucratic conception of organization. We shall quote Section 3, to illustrate what we mean:

"Section 3. Not more than ten groups shall constitute a branch and not over ten branches a section; not over ten sections a sub-district, and not over ten sub-districts a district."

Another mechanical, bureaucratic attempt at centralization is the clause dealing with the language papers. We quote:

"Section 5. All language literature and of-

ficial party papers shall be published by the C. E. C. of the party."

This does not actually mean that the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. published language papers. Not at all. It only means that the official English organ is translated in the various languages verbatim and published.

This stultifying policy is typical of the entire conception of centralization of the U. C. P.

For vagueness commend us to the following clause, dealing with language federations:

"Section 3. The C. E. C. of the party shall annually call a national conference of the respective language groups by request of district committees representing a majority of the language group..."

What is meant by a "majority of language groups"? Does it mean a majority of the members in those groups, a majority of the groups in the branches or a majority of the branches? And what constitutes a majority of such a vague enumeration? The C. E. C. then becomes the final arbiter and the annual language conference may or may not be held.

Or, take the clause dealing with conventions. It is as clear as mud and expresses as much centralization as the Committee of 48.

"Section 1. A national convention shall be held annually at a time and place determined upon by the Central Executive Committee. The C. E. C. may call emergency conventions when requested by District committees representing a majority of the membership. In case the C. E. C. does not act, district executive committees may send delegates to a conference for the purpose of calling the convention."

Not even the framers of this clause could explain the process of calling an emergency convention on the basis of this clause.

The heterogeneous elements mechanically fused in the U. C. P. on the basis of this program and constitution will not long hold together. One revolt has already begun—the Industrial or Independent Communist Party, a bastard offshoot of the U. C. P. is even now in existence. The real Communist elements, who left the Communist Party due to misinformation, misrepresentation and lies, will return to the Communist Party. The Centrist element will eventually unite with the Left elements of the S. P. and blossom out as a real Centrist Party, without any camouflage—with no underground pretensions and an open organization.

REMEMBER!

The One Day's Pay for the Party

Send it through the regular channels---

NOW.

**MOTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT
THE SECOND CONVENTION OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA**

Greetings to the Communist International

In the name of the membership and the organization, we, the delegates assembled at the Second Convention of the Communist Party of America, send fraternal greetings to the Third International.

We stand firmly determined to fight under the Red Banner of the Communist International till the victory of the proletariat and the Communist ideal is attained.

Down with capitalism.

Long Live the Proletarian Dictatorship!

Long Live the Communist International!

Long Live the Communist Party of America!

Long Live Communism!

**Resolution on the Relation of Communist
Parties to Soviet Government
Representatives.**

The Communist Parties of the various countries are the direct representatives of the Communist International, and thus, indirectly of the aims and policies of Soviet Russia.

Representatives of Soviet Russia in various countries, engaging in political activities, should co-ordinate these activities in some form or other with the activities and policies of the respective Communist parties, so as not to harm the Communist movement in those countries; if, however, this co-ordination is impossible in case of commercial representatives, they should refrain from any political activities.

**Our Attitude Toward Workers' Councils
(Soviets), Before, During, and After
the Revolution.**

Workers' Councils are the organs of the proletarian revolution and are created the time of revolution, developing out of the revolutionary situation itself and through the Communist Party Shop Committees, which become the nucleus for the formation of Workers' Councils.

Before the revolution the Workers' Councils tend to degenerate into philanthropic and cultural institutions because they have no revolutionary function to perform. The Communist Party alone has a revolutionary function to perform before the revolution—the task of building up the revolutionary movement by means of Communist propaganda and agitation that will lead the working class to the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

After the proletarian revolution the Workers' Councils (Soviets) themselves become the proletarian state—the organ of proletarian dictatorship (1) for the suppression and coercion of the capitalist class and (2) for the economic reconstruction of society.

**Our Attitude Toward Legal and Other
Workers' Organizations.**

We are opposed to legal cultural or educational organizations. Party committees, consisting of not more than fifteen in number, with approval of the C. E. C., may use the legal forms for special work.

Greetings to Soviet Russia.

We, the delegates assembled at the Second Convention of the Communist Party of America send our fraternal greetings to the proletariat and poorer peasantry of Russia through the Soviet Government—the Peoples' Commissars and the C. E. C. of the All-Russian Soviets—led by the Communist Party of Russia—the revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

Your struggle has brought you great victories. In a comparatively short time you have defeated on the field of battle all the internal and external foes that fought against you. You have crushed the counter-revolutionary hordes of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenitch.

Now you are hurling your heroic Red Armies against the forces of the Polish bourgeoisie and social-patriots, who with the support, both open and tacit, of the Allied Imperialists have decisively attacked you. We feel confident that you will defeat the Polish bourgeoisie and thus assist the Polish proletariat and poorer peasantry in overthrowing their bourgeois government and establish the proletarian dictatorship in the form of a Soviet Government of Poland.

The victories of your Red Armies, backed by the awakening Western proletariat, may force the Allied Imperialists to accept peace in some form.

We feel confident that the proletariat and poorer peasantry will not expect such a peace to be permanent. Such peace can only be an armistice.

The world imperialists will not give up the fight against you. The proletarian world revolution alone will finally bring victory to the workers of Russia and the working class of the entire world.

The Communist Party of America will bend all its energies toward building up a strong revolutionary movement in this country that will lead the working class in their struggle against their own capitalist class and government—and play its part in the world proletarian revolution which will establish the proletarian dictatorship throughout the world and through it introduce the Communist Society.

Long live Soviet Russia!

Long live the Communist Party of America!

Long live the Communist Party of Russia!

**THE COMMUNIST CONVENTION OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY
(Continued from page 6)**

Thereupon a motion was made to adjourn in order for both sides to consider their subsequent action. This motion carried and the meeting adjourned.

At no time was there any intention or the slightest reference to splitting or bolting the convention from either side. Both sides agreed on all fundamental questions of principles and tactics. Both sides were consciously Communist—had withstood the demoralization and persecution of the government raids and the subsequent disruptive tactics of the "minority" Centrists who had split away from the party. The disagreement was on an organization question, which though important in itself, could be solved by mutual agreement without in any way hindering the party work.

As a result of this both caucuses considered not the question of a split but the question of reaching a solution which would not interfere with the process of underground organization and propaganda. This solution was quickly reached the following morning and the convention resumed its sessions without further interruption. It was agreed by both sides to accept appointment of district and sub-district organizers and the election of local organizers by the branch organizers, the branch organizers by the group captains and the election of the group captain by the groups.

The constitution was quickly adopted with one important modification, namely: the election of four alternates, who could be chosen to fill vacancies in the C. E. C. in any order, and the right of co-operation after these alternates were exhausted, instead of the committee recommendation not to elect any alternates at all.

The Program and Resolutions Committee then submitted its resolutions (printed elsewhere in this issue), which were adopted with slight corrections and revisions.

The Committee brought in the following resolution on Unity:

"Communist Unity is based upon the organic unity of principles and tactics. Communist unity means unity with the rank and file and not with leaders. Our aim must be to separate the rank and file from their Centrist leaders."

This resolution was carried and then the following resolution on Unity with the U. C. P. was submitted:

"Unity with the U. C. P. as a party of Centrists, is impossible. We can unite only with such membership, or parts of the U. C. P. that will repudiate their Centrist leadership and join the Communist Party on the basis of our principles, program and tactics."

On the whole this constitution is a worthy companion to the program of the U. C. P. And the program and constitution are concrete proof of the Centrist character of the U. C. P. as an organization, and of the leaders who are in control of it.

An amendment was brought in as follows:

"We recommend that those groups or branches of the U. C. P. which repudiate officially their previous stand with the U. C. P. shall be admitted in the Communist Party. But we are absolutely against unity with the U. C. P. as a whole as represented by their C. E. C."

The first resolution was introduced by delegates from District 1, under instructions, and the last resolution was introduced by the delegates from District 5, under instructions. Nothing could better illustrate the attitude of our membership on the question of Unity than these resolutions.

A roll call on resolution and amendment was demanded and sustained with the following results:

In favor of amendment: 3. against 20.

In favor of resolution: 20. against 4.

Those who voted against the resolution and in favor of the amendment did so only because they were under instructions to vote for it, and because they saw no difference between the two. But all the delegates were absolutely opposed to unity with the U. C. P.

The Ukrainian Federation sent greetings and \$500 to the national convention.

The Lithuanian Sub-district of Philadelphia sent greetings and a \$50 contribution.

The 1st Lithuanian Branch of Phil. sent greetings and \$25.

The Russian Federation sent greetings.

The Lithuanian Federation sent greetings.

The Jewish Federation fraternal delegate and the Lettish fraternal delegate were not present, having missed connections.

The convention then proceeded to the election of a C. E. C. of 9 members and 4 alternates. The following were elected: C. E. C.: Sullivan, Greenwald, Allen, Morris, Leon, Bain, Johnson, Thompson, Baldwin.

Alternates: Adrian, Larin, Wiley, Klints.

An auditing committee of five, were also elected to serve for one year. Book, Steinberg, Pavlov, Retap, and Narrow.

Thus closed the second convention of the Communist Party, just as it had begun, without flourish or ostentation, song or hysteria.

**CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF AMERICA**

(Continued from page 3)

Section 7. No Federation shall be formed with less than 250 members.

Section 8. Federation secretaries or representatives of their C. E. C. should attend the meetings of the Central Executive Committee of the party, with voice but no vote.

Section 9. Federation C. E. C. shall appoint district organizers for each district.

Federation district organizers must maintain contact with the party district organizer at all times.

Section 10. Federations shall make financial returns to the Party C. E. C. by the tenth of each month. They shall make a complete financial report to their membership and to the C. E. C. of the party once a month.

Section 11. Each federation shall issue an underground, official organ in its respective language, under the control of the federation C. E. C.; to be published at least once a month.

The general policy of the federation official organ shall be under the control of the Central Executive Committee of the party.

Art. IX. Conventions.

Section 1. The convention of the party shall be called annually by the C. E. C.

Section 2. Upon the demand of a majority of branches within a sub-district an emergency convention shall be called by the sub-district organizer.

Upon the demand of three sub-district conventions a district emergency convention shall be called by the district organizer.

Upon the demand of three district conventions the C. E. C. shall call an emergency convention of the party.

The C. E. C. shall notify all districts of the actions of an emergency district convention.

The C. E. C. may call an emergency convention, such convention shall have all the powers of a regular party convention.

Section 3. Elections to the convention shall begin in the groups. Each group shall elect an elector to the branch electors meeting. The branch electors meeting shall elect a delegate to the local convention.

The local convention shall elect delegates to the sub-district convention which in turn shall elect delegates to the district convention.

The district convention shall elect the delegates to the Convention of the Communist Party.

Representation in the conventions shall be in proportion to membership, upon a basis as fixed by the convention call issued by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 4. Local, sub-district and district organizers shall attend the conventions of their respective districts and shall have voice but no vote; unless they are elected as delegates.

Section 5. Sub-district and District Conventions may elect as their delegates members of the party from any unit outside of their territorial divisions.

Section 6. Federations shall hold annual conventions to be called in conformity with their respective constitutions.

Art. X. Party Press.

Section 1. The C. E. C. shall publish the official underground organ. It shall be issued not less than twice a month.

Section 2. The head of the Editorial Department shall be appointed by the C. E. C. from its membership.

Section 3. See Section 11, Art. VII. (Federations).

Section 4. The C. E. C. shall, when feasible, issue a legal paper to be under the supervision of the Editorial department and under the control of the C. E. C.

Section 5. Literature issued by the party shall be under the supervision of the Editorial Department, controlled by the C. E. C.

Section 6. No subordinate unit of the party shall issue any leaflet or pamphlet without the consent of the C. E. C. This provision shall not apply to the C. E. C. of the Federations.

Art. XI. Communist Party Shop Committees.

Section 1. The C. E. C. shall provide for the organization of Communist Party shop committees, for the purpose of propaganda and agitation. They shall be composed of members of the Communist Party only.

Section 2. Communist Party Shop Committees shall not be entitled to any of the rights of regular party organizations.

Art. XII. Propaganda and Education.

Section 1. The C. E. C. shall provide for the organization of classes for the training of propagandists, and study classes in the several party units for the education of the membership in Communist theory and tactics.

RESOLUTION BOYCOTTING ELECTIONS.

"Taking as a basis the position of the Third International of which the Communist Party of America is an integral part, we consider the use of the bourgeois parliament as of secondary importance, and for revolutionary propaganda and agitation only. At the same time, due to specific political circumstances in the United States, the outlawing of our party and the prevailing reaction in this country, we are forced to boycott the coming elections."

Young Peoples' Groups.

We recommend that young people of 17 or over shall join the party as regular members.

Young people under 17 shall be placed in special groups without membership rights, with special captains appointed by the Sub-district Committee who shall conduct classes among them.