Thirty delegates and seven fraternal delegates met somewhere in the U. S. A., and for ten days threshed out the problems of tactics and organization of the Communist Party, made history, and passed another milestone on the road to world revolution. America. The arrangements for the holding of this convention, made by our technical committee, the silent and secret gathering together of the comrades from all parts of the country, and their safe return to their homes, is in itself a story which some day will be told when the annals of the proletariat revolution in America are compiled.

At work in vain for the U. C. P. to comply with the mandate of the Communist International to hold a joint convention upon the basis of proportional representation with the Communist Party, in order to effect unity among these two parties, the convention was called by the C. E. C. in compliance with the twenty-one points for affiliation to the Third International, and to revise its program and constitution, in conformity with the Theses and Statutes of the C. C. The convention was to order by the party secretary, and after a preliminary speech by the party chairmen reviewing the history of the labor movement in America, permanent organization was effected by the election of a presidency of three and the various standing committees. The report of the Credentials Committee showed six districts, Canada, Canada West, Canada East, the Pacific Coast, the Central Section and thirty delegates who represented 6,819 members having paid the convention assessment. The report was adopted by call vote of all present. A resolution to the same effect, as presented by the Credentials Committee, later on, was adopted unanimously and appears elsewhere in this issue. The secretary made his financial report covering the period from July 1920 to Jan. 1921, which was accepted as recommended by the Auditing Committee. The secretary made a lengthy and exhaustive report on membership, literature, and propaganda, giving in detail the progress of the party for the past six months. The report of the C. E. C. was divided under the following heads: The intervention, the discussion appearing in the minutes of the C. E. C. General progress, developments and decisions on organization questions; On Communist Party nuclei; On attitude toward Y. P. S. L. and Independent Y. P. S. L.; On attitude toward legal workers' societies; On editorial policy; On removal of Allen from editorship; On Allen's expulsion from the C. E. C. and from the party; On the stand of the C. E. C. on Unity. All these reports and recommendations were accepted. On the question of Allen's removal from the editorship and subsequent expulsion from the C. E. C. and from the party, it was laid before the convention, and it was shown that Allen was expelled for wilfully attempting to block and disrupt the party work; for refusing to accept and carry out the decisions of the party; and for flagrant breaches of party discipline; and his expulsion was confirmed by the convention, unanimously, upon a roll call vote. The former C. E. C. had kept the membership so well informed upon the unity question during the entire period of negotiation with the U. C. P. that the delegates, being in in all of all the facts and having previously debated them in the various sub-district and district electors' meetings, that the C. E. C. report on this question occasioned little discussion and the stand of the C. E. C. was unanimously approved by a roll call vote of all present. The recommendation that a weekly agitation paper, a monthly theoretical magazine and official Party Bulletin, to be issued, every two weeks, to the membership, was adopted.

Resolution on Unity with the U. C. P.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA, IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED, \nUNANIMOUSLY DECLARES: \n
THAT WE ENDORSE AND CONFIRM THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE FORMER C. E. C. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AGAINST HOLDING OF A UNITY CONVENTION WITH THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY UPON THE ABSTINENT BASIS OF EQUAL REPRESENTATION.

WE MAINTAIN THAT REAL AND ORGANIC UNITY BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA AND THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY CAN BE ENSURED UPON THE BASIS OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

WE URGE OUR CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO MAINTAIN THIS POSITION, IN WHICH IT IS INCLUDED IN THE MANDATE OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, UNLESS THE UNITED COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL SENDS OTHER INSTRUCTIONS.

The reports of the Federations showed the following as to membership: Jewish, 1,350; Lithuanian, 270; Polish, 400; Russian, 1,600; Ukrainian, 1,200. These reports were given in detail as to literature, propaganda, and showed better than volumes of argument the really constructive work that these federations carried on. The only discussion was occasioned by a demand that the Russian Federation publish a legal paper, a delegate in attendance in Russian Federation, showing six districts, Canada, Canada West, Canada East, the Pacific Coast, the Central Section, and thirty delegates who represented 6,819 members having paid the convention assessment. The report was adopted by call vote of all present. A resolution to the same effect, as presented by the Credentials Committee, later on, was adopted unanimously and appears elsewhere in this issue. The secretary made his financial report covering the period from July 1920 to Jan. 1921, which was accepted as recommended by the Auditing Committee. The secretary made a lengthy and exhaustive report on membership, literature, and propaganda, giving in detail the progress of the party for the past six months. The report of the C. E. C. was divided under the following heads: The intervention, the discussion appearing in the minutes of the C. E. C. General progress, developments and decisions on organization questions; On Communist Party nuclei; On attitude toward Y. P. S. L. and Independent Y. P. S. L.; On attitude toward legal workers' societies; On editorial policy; On removal of Allen from editorship; On Allen's expulsion from the C. E. C. and from the party; On the stand of the C. E. C. on Unity. All these reports and recommendations were accepted. On the question of Allen's removal from the editorship and subsequent expulsion from the C. E. C. and from the party, it was laid before the convention, and it was shown that Allen was expelled for wilfully attempting to block and disrupt the party work; for refusing to accept and carry out the decisions of the party; and for flagrant breaches of party discipline; and his expulsion was confirmed by the convention, unanimously, upon a roll call vote. The former C. E. C. had kept the membership so well informed upon the unity question during the entire period of negotiation with the U. C. P. that the delegates, being in in all of all the facts and having previously debated them in the various sub-district and district electors' meetings, that the C. E. C. report on this question occasioned little discussion and the stand of the C. E. C. was unanimously approved by a roll call vote of all present. The recommendation that a weekly agitation paper, a monthly theoretical magazine and official Party Bulletin, to be issued, every two weeks, to the membership, was adopted.

The Statutes and Theses of the C. I. were read ad seriatum. This was no mere perfunctory matter. The whole convention spent nearly two days in discussion and debate. The delegates realized that these Theses were the basis of the program of the Communist Party and were adopted by the Second World Congress of the C. I. to be applied and adapted to the needs of the communist movement of the various countries. Stormy debates centered around the question of our attitude toward the trade and industrial union movement in this country, and it was plain that this convention which had voted and acted with such unanimity on the question of unity and the necessity of the unity convention, was unable to pass the policy of the party decided by one or two individuals. The whole debate upon the Theses and upon the question of the unity convention was handled by the president of the Communist party and had passed the period of incubation, that it had a clear cut and short meaning of communist principles and tactics, and was prepared to carry these principles into life, and to this place has the leader and vanguard of the working class of America.

The discussion of the Theses proved the yugist Party wielded only a feeble weapon, and with minor clashes, it was adopted, without any serious clash, until the clause on "armed insurrection" was reached. This clause, as originally presented by the Program Committee, read as follows:—"The Communist Party of America will systematically and persistently propagandize for armed insurrection for the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat based upon soviet power." A delegate made the amendment to be inserted after the word "propagandize" "or any other means, such as the revolutionary use of parliament, the soviet, mass action, etc., etc." After this speech, another delegate made the point of order that the amendment was contradictory to the Theses which had been adopted, and the chairman ruled that the point of order was well taken. Against this decision the reporter of the Program Committee immediately appealed, and the chairman was sustained even this order. Another amendment was made to insert the words "for the final destruction of the bourgeois state" and this was inserted by the chairman, and around this motion the question was threshed out in heated debate. Many new formulations were offered until finally a new committee was elected to reformulate the clause. This concluded the discussion of the Theses for that day's session, and the next morning the clause was adopted as follows:—"The Communist Party of America will systematically and persistently propagate to the working class the idea of the inevitability of the necessity of the final destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship based upon soviet power." This clause was unanimously adopted by roll call vote of all present.

The next and the most serious clash came upon the adoption of the new constitution.
As in our last convention the question of appointments came up again for decision. There was a minority and majority report on the question of the election of the Central Executive Committee. No amount of discussion or debate upon this question had the least effect. The minority, who stood for the centralization of the whole machine of democratic centralization, were convinced of the correctness of their position. The majority, who stood for sub-division and a decentralization of political trickeys, treachery, and falsehood, won that the principle of democratic centralization was the foundation of the International. Upon this question the majority recommended the adoption of the resolutions of the Central Executive Committee. The minority, who stood for the centralization of the machine, and of the International, were convinced that in their position on this question was better than volumes of argument.

The question of the relations of the party in the United States, as I have said before, came up on the discussion of the report of the Chairman of the American Council who was present during the entire convention. The various resolutions adopted by the convention (with the exception of those which are not printed for conspiratorial reasons) will be found on another page in this issue.

The convention adjourned with the singing of the "Internationale," and with the mutual assurance that the Communist Party from now on will be a party of action in the fullest sense of the word, building up its units, organizing the great masses, and working for the destruction of the bourgeois state, the establishment of the proletariat dictatorship, and the creation of the Soviet Republic, as the first step toward the transformation of capitalist society into a Communist Society.

Greetings to Soviet Republics

The Communist Party of America, in connection with its American Council assembled in Vienna, on February 17, 1921, sends a message of encouragement and protest to the toiling masses of the United States in America to the final onslaught in the interests of the world proletariat. The resolution passed by the American Council of the Communist International in conformity with the conditions for admission adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International, and after discussion and due deliberation in its third session, by roll call vote, the 21 Points for Affiliation with the Communist International, as assembled in Vienna, is printed in this issue, and shows the determination of the American Council of the Communist Party to overthrow the capitalist government, to seize all the power, and to intervene in the economical life of the proletariat. The minority, who stood for a minority and majority report on the question of unity in all the respective societies. They should not reveal their identity as Communist Party members, as a whole in relation to the various resolutions adopted by the convention (with the exception of those which are not printed for conspiratorial reasons) will be found on another page in this issue.

The Communist Party of America, the revolutionizing force of the world proletariat, from its Third Convention, held in Feb., 1921, to join the international labor movement and support the oppressed laboring masses of the world, to join our brothers of Russia, Ukraine, and Armenia, under the leadership of the Communist International, as a unit. Upon this question there is no division or difference of opinion between us. The attempt on the part of the International Committee to extricate themselves from the difficult situation.

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The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Between capitalist and Communist society there is a fundamental transformation of the social relations of production. The proletariat takes possession of the means of production and makes them the property of the working class as a whole. This transformation is brought about as follows:

The organizations of the proletariat and the bourgeois parties, which are the representatives of the bourgeoisie, become harmless at the same time, as a result of the development of the proletarian revolutionary organizations. The transition of the means of production from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat is the result of the development of the different countries formed Communist Parties, and of the struggle of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for the control of the state.
program of immediate action, both in domestic and foreign policy, that will prevent the disintegration of political power cease to be a casual episodical phenomenon, but will become the vital foundation of the gradual realization of the Communist Society.

The class struggle likewise demands that the general guidance and direction of this revolutionary movement (such as labor unions, cooperative associations, cultural-educational circles, etc.) center in the Communist Party. Only a political party can be such a unifying express stream of the proletariat. But this is not a mere formula. The stranglehold of the proletariat demands a concentric development of the economic struggle and the political struggle, on various stages of the fight, a united point of view, a clear strategy. The several organs at each given moment to define the definite tasks to be accomplished by the international proletariat as a whole. The Communist Party of America, section of the Third Communist International, is part of this world-wide movement and organization, and intelligent. Its most self-defining and characteristic manifestation is the working-class, the proletarian movement (such as labor and intellectual, its most visible and articulate body, a medium for the realization of the definite tasks to be accomplished by the working class as a whole. The Communist Party of America, section of the Third Communist International, is part of this world-wide movement and organization, and intelligent. Its most self-defining and characteristic manifestation is the working-class, the proletarian movement (such as labor and intellectual, its most visible and articulate body, a medium for the realization of the definite tasks to be accomplished by the working class as a whole. The Communist Party of America, section of the Third Communist International, is part of this world-wide movement and organization, and intelligent. 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American Imperialism. The Communist Party is the basis. To make the working masses acquainted with their industrial property and, in the field of agriculture, the small proprietors; small farmers, and farm workers, to seek the maximum utilization of the land, to support wholeheartedly their revolutionary struggle against the landowners and the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the proletariat constitutes a truly national class only by acting as the vanguard in the struggle against these elements and all that is connected with them. The vanguard is seeking new fields for the investment of capital, and the whole world is a market for the exploitation of the working masses.

In the proletarian revolution, the League of Nations, which brings America into conflict with Japan and English imperialism, and the Peasants' National Colonial League, works to establish a national colonial organization and the communist reconstruction of society.

Imperialism and the Colonial Question

Since the imperialist world war the United States has become a creditor nation and is seeking new fields for the investment of capital, by establishing new sources of raw material for its factories, and by carrying out a systematic aggression against every kind of oppression of the colonial people by American imperialism. The Communist Party will support every armed uprising on the part of the oppressed colonial people to throw off the yoke of American imperialism, and assist the exploited and toiling masses in the subject countries to link up with their struggle with that of the proletariat of the United States against their common enemy, the American capitalists, against the native bourgeoisie in the subject countries, and the tools of the American capitalist class.

The Communist International

The Communist International is organizing national groups in the United States, and it is grouping the toilers of the entire world. The Communist party must educate and lead in the class struggle and win over to its side, are represented in America by the following groups: 1) The agricultural proletariat, consisting of tenant farmers, men who make their living by the uncertain harvests of the land on which they work. 2) The small proprietors, consisting of tenant farmers, men who make their living by the uncertain harvests of the land on which they work. 3) The semi-proprietors, consisting of tenant farmers, men who make their living by the uncertain harvests of the land on which they work.

The political situation of the world at the present time has placed in the forefront the question of the protection of the working classes and all the events of world politics are inevitably connected with one another, namely, the struggle of the working classes against the capitalist states, the attempts of the imperialists to build up their world system against the international proletariat.

The Communist International is a fighting body which assigns the task of controlling the revolutionary forces of all the countries of the world.

The Communist International makes its aim to bring an armed struggle for the overthrow of the world bourgeoisie and the creation of a new international proletariat. Its mission is to organize the working class of the whole world for the overthrow of the capitalist states and the construction of an international working class. The Communist International is a fighting body which assigns the task of controlling the revolutionary forces of all the countries of the world.

The Communist International is organizing national groups in the United States, and in other countries. Its mission is to organize the working class of the whole world for the overthrow of the capitalist states and the construction of a new international proletariat. The Communist International represents a single universal Communist Party, and the parties operating under its banner.

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ART. I. Name and Purpose
Sec. 1. This organization shall be the Communist Party of America. Section of the Communist International.

Sec. 2. It is the organization of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class to lead the working class and the toiling masses, and to build the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to establish the socialist and communist society.

Sec. 3. To this end it shall be the duty of the Party to organize the working class into an independent class-conscious mass movement and to develop the mass movement into a revolution.

Art. II. Emblem
Sec. 1. The emblem of the Communist Party shall be an outline figure of the earth, with a ring around it inscribed "All Power to the Workers!" and around the figure of the earth, in smaller letters, "Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International."

Art. III. Membership and Duties
Sec. 1. All persons who accept the principles and tactics of the Communist Party and who are willing to submit to the discipline and accept the control of the Party are eligible to membership.

Sec. 2. No person who is a member of any other political party shall be admitted to membership.

Sec. 3. Applicants for admission as members shall be recommended by two persons who have been members of the Party not less than two consecutive years and who are affiliated with organized groups in new territory. Acceptance of the application shall be the duty of the local executive committee.

Sec. 4. Each member shall pay dues to the district executive committee at the rate of one dollar per month, and shall pay a sufficient contingency supply being furnished for each dues payment collected by the tenth of each month; retaining as possible of ten branches each, and shall be organized by the district executive committee.

Sec. 5. Local branches shall be appointed by the Branch executive committee of each month; retaining as possible of ten branches each, and shall be organized by the district executive committee.

Sec. 6. The district executive committee shall be elected by the Party at its conventions, and shall consist of the delegate members of the local branch of the Party, from any unit outside of their territorial division.

Art. VI. Central Executive Committee
Sec. 1. Between the meetings of the Party, the Central Executive Committee, elected by the convention, shall act as the body of the Party.

Sec. 2. The Central Executive Committee shall consist of nine members, who shall have the right of co-operation.

Sec. 3. The members of the Central Executive Committee shall have the right to resign at any time, and shall be subject to the removal of the Party.

Sec. 4. The members of the Central Executive Committee shall be elected by the Party at its conventions, and shall consist of the delegate members of the local branch of the Party, from any unit outside of their territorial division.

Art. VII. District and Subdivisional Units
Sec. 1. The C.E.C. shall appoint subordinate district and subdivisional committees to the Party districts, and to each district organizer.

Art. IX. Discipline
Sec. 1. All branches of the Party shall maintain and enforce discipline. The Branch executive committee of the Party shall be the branch of the Party, and the C.E.C. shall be the branch of the Party.

Art. X. Convention
Sec. 1. The convention shall be held annually, and every member of the Party shall have the right to attend and to speak at the convention. The convention shall be held at any time, and in any place, and shall consist of the delegate members of the local branch of the Party, from any unit outside of their territorial division.
Letter to a French Socialist on the Communist Party

By L. TROTSKY

Dear Friend!

You are in great doubt regarding the Third International. I shall not say that I understand you, but I am ready to answer the question you pose. Always bear in mind that I am a politician. Allow me to expose my views on this question.

First of all I must say that the French sindicalism, to a large extent, is not sincere. It is in sympathy with you, I know that, already in the year 1918, when I was in Paris, I met with one of your leaders, Jouanis, nor his nearest assistants (Humelin, Musset, etc.). They therefore do not feel for the party as yet and formally are not members of any political party. But this is simply a division of labor, in the same way as the movement Jouanis is carrying the same policy as that of the French Socialism of the Renard-Loujon type is carying. How could the present Socialist Party be requested to give a program of action to the trade unions and to appoint its leading persons—there is absolutely no need for that.

Programmes of Jouanis-Musset and similar socialists can be simply ignored. Should Jouanis & Co. be elected as members of the Central Committee of the Party, as for example was the case at the congress placed at the head of the Confederation of the French Workers, whatever would be changed in the internal life of France or in the fate of the French working class. You certainly will not deny this. The above mentioned circumstances prove however, that it is not a question of particular individuals or of particular organizations, or of a formal party membership. All the old labels are useless in this connection, as the line of party contents, Jouanis' anti-parliamentarism, Socialism of the Russian type, etc., is absolutely, regardless of who bears it, as little as Jouanis, as they cannot wish for any better "Socialist" stage for their development.

Jouanis and his friends (Jouanis, Musset, Loujon, etc.) are not striving to attain any position among the proletariat or socialism in parliamentarism or syndicalism—they are only in the form, but in the substance of the policy which is to give the future the working class is carrying out by means of the syndicate, as well as of the parliament. A bole this Communist policy is to say, a policy directed towards the overthrow of the existing state order, will find its revolutionary expression in the class struggle, in the activity of all organizations, institutions, and unions, into which an individual social group is inserted, into all associations and mass meetings, in the press, in the party organization, in the organization of the political and revolutionary circles, working in the army or pre-organizing the forces which are destined to be used in the future for revolution, not only to make a revolution, but to assist in the transformation of the existing order of things, if the advanced workers will elect a body to work for that purpose.

The task of the working class is to expel the bourgeoisie from the power; to make the presently existing apparatus of violence and oppression disappear, to create a party of its own labor dictatorship for crushing all that is bourgeois, for the rapid reconstruction of all social relations in the interest of the working class, under the pretext of anarchism, deny this task—a small, insignificant group of revolutionists, but a petty-bourgeois, grumbling, tender-minded minority. What I mean, if you will allow me to talk about this, is that we have the right to believe that the hardworking character of the working class is such as to allow us to believe that the working class, the working people, will carry out the whole process of revolution, and only after the success of the revolution, will the moment be ripe for the formation of a political party, a political organization of the working class, and not before.

In the meantime, it is not a question of the formation of a new party which could be so empowered by the C. E. C. (Central Executive Committee) of the Communist party of France. The question is, on the contrary, whether the active forces of the working people, the advanced workers, do not form a general strike of the working class, the working people, and that the C. E. C. takes this strike as the basis of the revolutionary struggle.

Sec. 4. Branch executive committees shall have the power to expel or reorganize branches of groups of their own committees subject to the approval of the C. O. C. of the Party.

Art. X. Party Press and Propaganda

Sec. 1. The C. O. C. shall publish the official organ of the Communist Party, which shall be issued at least once a month.

Sec. 2. The C. O. C. shall issue a Party bulletin which shall be distributed to the members free of charge.

Sec. 3. Literature issued by the Party shall be published by the Editorial Committee and under the control of the C. O. C. of the Party.

Sec. 4. No subdivision of the Party, except the executive, com. may issue any papers or express any opinions without the permission of the C. O. C. Over whom this Committee may have influence, they should be so empowered by the C. O. C. of the Party.

I. Revolutionaries working in the army or pre-organizing forces which are destined to be used in the future for revolution, not only to make a revolution, but also to assist in the transformation of the existing order of things, if the advanced workers will elect a body to work for that purpose.

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and foes. Tried to drown of denunciation and appeal which From parliament Karl was taken to prison, from there through time Merheim. He conducted He perished at his revolutionary post.

"...other hours he served in secret. Supplant the state. Whoever..."

...tinct programme of action? Right way? Labor unions. Party is in command over them."