Workers of America!

Eighteen months have passed since the imperialist nations of the world signed the armistice agreement which was to bring to an end the slaughter of millions of workingmen upon the battlefields of Europe.

You were told that this war was a war of democracy against autocracy. You were told that out of the bloody struggle would come a better world for you. You were urged to give your labor without stint, to sacrifice your lives without question, so that the cause of “right” and “justice” might triumph.

For a year and half the representatives of the imperialists have been in control of the affairs of the world, wielding power such as few men have held in the history of mankind. Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and their lesser satellites, have re-shaped the word in harmony with “justice.”

What has been the result of their labor, workers of America? What have the imperialist masters of the world achieved for you and for the workers of the world?

Have the glowing promises through which they tricked you into supporting their imperialist war been kept? Have they rebuilt the world upon the new foundation through which, they shaped the word in harmony with “justice.”

The economic system of Europe is in a state of collapse. The striplings of the “statesmen” at Paris have failed to put this machinery in order. The efforts of the “statesmen” have proven fruitless in the face of the contradictions of capitalist production which are destroying the system. All over Europe the workers are starving because the machinery of capitalist production cannot be set in motion again.

Financially the entire structure of the capitalist system faces collapse. Money is becoming valueless in many countries of Europe, because of the inflation during the war, and in the United States prices mount ever higher. The government has issued paper money and other forms of obligation, and destroyed the wealth these represent, and consequently the value of money has depreciated. The financiers of the world see their danger, but yet they can find no remedy. Capitalism destroys itself.

Workers of America, you have not been far felt hunger, misery and suffering to the extent of your brothers in Europe. But already your masters are warning you. The black clouds are on the horizon and the men who know the facts of the promises and performances of your masters, the exploiters, to whom you have in the past given your support? Eighteen months have gone since your masters won their victory for “democracy” and “justice”. Look ahead in the world and witness their achievement!

The war is at an end, but war still goes on. On two continents, on many battlefields, men are fighting. The threat of war and yet more war hangs over the people of almost every country of Europe and America. Imperialistic ambition and greed — the desire to secure new economic resources for exploitation, which is the characteristic of every capitalist nation — are creating new jealousies and conflicts and continually threaten to again precipitate the people of these countries into the abyss of universal slaughter.

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Make the Party a "Party of action"

To the members of the Communist Party:

A situation has developed in the party which has compelled the Executive Secretary, supported by district committeemen and Executive Committee, of the Central Executive Committee, whose names appear below, to repudiate the party which has compelled the organizers to make clear by the following:

SECRETARY TO THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

April 8, 1920.

STATEMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY TO THE MAJORITY OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Comrades:

At the meeting of the Executive Council on Tuesday I withdrew from the participation in the meeting when the Council made a decision which was not the best interest of our organization. I considered an effort to bolster the control of a certain group in the Council at the expense of the party and the party organizers. I wish to review the circumstances which lead up to this situation.

At the meeting of the Central Executive Committee, opposition to the decisions of the majority group culminated in his plan to leave the country as an International Delegate. He was prevented from leaving by the decision of the Central Executive Committee after it had been refused by both the Executive Secretary and the Executive Council.

These efforts of Andrew culminated in his plan to leave the country as an International Delegate without authority of the party committee, in which plan, according to statements made before the Executive Council, certain members of the majority group abetted him.

To secure funds for this unauthorized trip the party organizations were appealed to. A number of delegates, after the recommendation of the Central Executive Committee that the Central Executive Committee had assessed the district $100 for Comrade Andrew's trip. Later Andrew appeared and secured the money. Andrew himself confessed before the C. E. C. that he had secured money from party sources on the representation that a certain group was considering him as a member of the new party. The changes in the executive body of the party wrong and furthering personal schemes, I believe that it is my intention to pursue, in the best interests of the party.

1. That Comrade Andrew, after having presented this viewpoint and conduct of the party, rather than from the broader standpoint of building up a strong, united party, has refused to even censure him, while on the other hand it has been quick to move against any member of the majority against whom the slightest pretext for action existed, notably in the Wicks case and the removal of Langley from the Executive Council.

2. That in the January meeting of the Central Executive Committee this majority group was prevented from securing control of the Executive Council through an ultimatum from certain Federation representatives, who supported the former Chicago majority of the Council. This control, was, however, established by the re-organization of the party after the last trip was voted out of the party treasury.

3. That within a month after the convention certain individuals of this group, largely controlled its actions, become more concerned with the question of obtaining for themselves junketing trips to Europe at the party expense than with any interest of the party.

4. That Comrade Andrew, after having presented his case was held. Immediately after the November meeting he attempted to have himself appointed to the Central Executive Committee, so that he could not get into hiding in order to be able to fulfill his mission. This occurred through personal demands and through emissaries, he attempted to secure funds from the Executive Secretary, which were definitely refused by both the Executive Secretary and the Executive Council, then located in Chicago. That in furtherance of these personal schemes Comrade Andrew came to Chicago twice, and each time the money for these trips was voted out of the party treasury — the money for the last trip for two members of the majority group being voted out of the treasury by the majority group of the Central Executive Committee after it had been refused by the Chicago Executive Council.

5. That this has been in office the majority of the party has been completely taken up with the forwarding of personal schemes and maintaining its control and have not taken any constructive action in the interest of building a stronger organization. At no time has the committee considered the question of propaganda policy and the relation of the party to the working class movement in this country. What constructive propaganda and organization work has been done in the party has been done by initiative of the Executive Council while in Chicago and not dominated by the present majority group, and by the Executive Secretary.

6. That in dealing with the problems of re-organization after the January raids and the liquidation of the legal organization this majority group has decided all questions on the basis of its continued control rather than on the standpoint of the best interests of the party.

Personally, I am to a large extent in agreement with this indictment of the majority of the committee, but on the other hand it has been an effort to present this viewpoint and convince the committee that the only course to take is to repudiate the opposition to the majority group of the C. E. C. — and the opposition is bitter, was to go to the convention and fight for its viewpoint. I
went to Chicago to use all my in-
fluence to prevent a break in the
unity of the party and succeeded.
I reported this settlement to the
Executive Council Tuesday, but
kept it a secret until the conven-
tion, on account of this being a
matter of the internal organiza-
tion of the party, and not for
public discussion. The Chicago
Council, opposed to the majority
viewpoint of the party, was
content to have the issue settled
without public discussion, and to
consolidate the unity of the
party by a vote of three to one.

The Chicago district has been
increasing its membership, and the
executive committee of the party
in Chicago, having been un-
successful in preventing a break
in the party unity which I suc-
ceded in preventing.

There is no other ground than an
effort to perpetuate factional
control to warrant the removal of the
Chicago District Organizer. He is the
most capable man in such a position
in the party at the present time. The
Chicago District reorganization has
progressed farther than any other
district. The Chicago District has
been in line with the party editor.

The submission of this statement
compelled the Executive Council
majority to change its position and
to call a meeting of the Central Ex-
ecutive Committee, the District
Organizers and the Executive Secre-
taries of the Federations. At this meet-
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ion for the Convention.
To break up our party into two organizations at a time when all our efforts have been hampered by the existence of two parties calling themselves Communist would be doing the greatest injury to the Communist movement in this country. While the majority group believes in splits and have made them part of their theory of action, the Executive Secretary and those supporting his position desire to preserve the unity of the Communist Party of America through the action of the membership of the party. They will take no steps to split the membership.

The Executive Secretary will continue to conduct the work of the organization through the District Organizers. In the Districts in which organizers will not work with the secretary a new organizer will be appointed.

We urge every member to participate in the District Conventions in regard to which information will be conveyed to the membership by the District Organizers, and through these District Conventions to send delegates to the national convention. Thus they can themselves take control of the party, preserve its unity and elect such officials as will carry out their desires.

Let us build the party of action, the fighting organization which a Communist Party can be through the effort of the virile membership of our organization, which has already proven by its sacrifice in time of stress its willingness to give everything for Communist principles.

(Continued from page 1)
An Open Letter To Eugene V. Debs.

Dear Comrade Debs—

A year ago you were taken from our midst by the enemies of the working class and thrust into Atlanta Penitentiary — with head unbowed — hurling defiance at the Capitalist Government — the very incarnation of the proletarian revolution in America.

All through the war, while the leaders and officials of the Socialist Party were betraying the class struggle and making a hollow mockery of the St. Louis Resolution, you stood like a rock for International Socialism and against the capitalist-imperialist world war. Later, when the Bolsheviks conquered power in Russia and set up a dictatorship of the workers and peasants, you, Comrade Debs, came out for them in ringing words — while the officials and leaders of the Socialist Party were busy distraining the idea of proletarian dictatorship as the means of overthrowing capitalism. You even became an official of the Comintern, the world-wide Communist League, and began to fight for it by organizing industrially and making a conscious revolt against the capitalist class placed behind prison bars, without chance of intercommunication. Let us, like them, scorn and repudiate the cowardly compromisers within our own ranks, challenge and defy the robber-class power, and fight it out on that line to victory or death! From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet I am Bolshevik, and proud of it. The Day of the People has arrived!

Thus spoke the man whom the capitalist class placed behind prison bars last year.

To-day, after a long tomb-like silence, comes the announcement of your acceptance as presidential candidate on the corrupt Socialist Party ticket.

We presume, Comrade Debs, that you are ignorant of the facts and unacquainted with all that transpired within the Socialist movement this last year, else you might not have accepted a nomination which can only lead to a parting of the ways between the class-conscious revolutionary workers and yourself, their one-time leader.

What made you accept the nomination we know not. We can only infer that the political charlatans, the "cowardly compromisers", who have not hesitated to lie to you in the past, have done so again.

We address this open letter to you because we desire to place the facts squarely before you. Your lifelong devotion in the cause of the working class, your attitude toward Bolshevism and the heroic Communist leaders, Lenin and Trotsky in Russia, and Liebknecht and Luxembourg in Germany, — your scorn and repudiation of the betrayers of Socialism within the class struggle, make it imperative that we acquaint you with the party declarations which, in all the great countries of the world, would conform to the State and National Constitutions and laws. Not the least mention was made of the Bolsheviks or of the Fourth International, which knows no race, no sex, and no boundary lines. They are setting the heroic example for world-wide emulation. Let us, like them, stand like a rock for International Socialism and against the capitalist class.

All your life you had championed the cause of the working class — all your life you had espoused the class struggle and the principles of International Socialism. Not without reason did the Communist Party of Russia (Bolshevik) in issuing the call for the formation of a New International, invite "the left elements of the Socialist Party of America under the leadership of Eugene V Debs" to send delegates to Moscow.

Before the prison gates closed upon you, you must have known of the long list of compromises and betrayals of which the leaders and officials of the Socialist Party had been guilty in the past. You must have known of the growing resentment of the rank and file within the party, which smouldered fiercely for two years and eventually burst forth into a conscious revolt against the official machine.

Your article in the February 1919 "Class Struggle", one of the organs of the Left Wing, of which you were one of the editors—"THE DAY OF THE PEOPLE" — was one of the factors aiding this revolt. We shall quote the last part of it in order to refresh your memory: "The reign of capitalism and militarism has made of all the peoples inflammable material. They are ripe and ready for the harvest. When that harvest means the rise and triumph of the workers, the end of exploitation, of war, of the plunder, of the emasculation of the race. Let it come! Let us all help its coming and pave the way for it by organizing industrially and politically to conquer capitalism and usher in the day of the people. In Russia and Germany our valiant comrades are leading the proletarian revolution, which knows no race, no color, no sex, and no boundary lines. They are setting the heroic example for world-wide emulation. Let us, like them, scorn and repudiate the cowardly compromisers within our own ranks, challenge and defy the robber-class power, and fight it out on that line to victory or death! From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet I am Bolshevik, and proud of it. The Day of the People has arrived!"

The oblivion not to vote for the old party. Not more than one-fourth remained in the Socialist Party, notably the large Finnish Federation. The Finnish Communists have not yet split off from the Finnish Socialist Federation. The betrayers of Socialism, "the cowardly compromisers", as you called them, remained in the Socialist Party, and even now lead and shape its policies and tactics.

In the recent hearings on the custer of the five Socialist Assemblies at Albany, we have the last word of the highest Socialist Party spokesmen on just what that party now stands for, and just how it intends to attain its aim. The entire defense of the Socialist Party at Albany was constitutional regularity as the limit of party purposes and actions. They accepted unreservedly the existing form of capitalist government, based upon the Two-Party system of States, as the form upon which to build the future society. They insisted that the Socialist movement within the State and National Constitutions and laws. Not the least mention was made of the character of American Government could hardly be mentioned since the Socialist Party boastfully proclaimed itself the arch-defender of "representative democracy" and of "constitutional integrity".

The St. Louis Platform, upon which you and others were convicted and sentenced to long prison terms, was brushed aside as "a scrap of paper" and as of no moment. Whatever was vital and revolutionary in it, even though moderately expressed, was twisted and distorted to rob it of its meaning and significance, and all insinuated upon your exemplary "loyalty" and "patriotism" during the war. In the war, in which the party declarations might seem to have offended bourgeois "respectability", its defense was never directed at any of the kind, no matter what it said. Control of legislative representatives by resignations, required by the party constitution, was declared a dead letter. The obligation not to vote for military appropriations was repudiated. Instead of insisting upon the propriety of alien membership in a working class political party, the Socialist Party introduced false figures to prove the "Americanism" of the party membership.

In spite of the achievements of the Russian Communists, in spite of the progress of revolutions in the other European countries, the chief spokesman of the Socialist Party at Albany characterized the Communist
International as "scarcely more than an idea or a name. There was much insistence upon sympathy for Soviet Russia, but that is quite different from adherence to the principles and tactics of International Socialism as expressed in the Manifesto of the Third International."

There was no one at the Albany fiasco who did not disparage Bolshevism. No momentous, historic crisis. Hillson even went so far as to answer a hypothetical question to the effect that the Socialists would shoulder arms and defend America and American institutions from invasion by the Bolsheviki, showed the Socialist leaders what they were prepared to do on this country. While another Socialist lawyer at Albany, Seymour Stromblad, member of the N. E. C. and next choice of the Socialist Party after yourself for the presidential nomination, branded the Communist Party as criminals in the capitalist courts in order to steal from them their meeting hall in Detroit.

Never before did the Socialist Party of America reveal in such orgies of "respectability", "loyalty" and "patriotism". With such men as Judge Hunt and Attorney General Palmer to rally to their defense, surely the Socialist Party has purged itself of every taint and suspicion of revolutionary Socialism! We need only cite the constitutional of the man responsible for the thousands of deportations and nation-wide raids upon the Communists by the Attorney General Palmer: "The Socialist Party in America has cast out the radicals as did their German and Russian colleagues in the same manner as did the bourgeois parliamentary system.

In striking contrast with the cowardly flight of the bourgeois party leaders, the Communist Party undertook the defense of the radicals. The latter, through the cunning stealth of the servile capitalist tools, has been able to change the government by lawful means, while the "Respectability" would destroy lawfully elected officials, the Communist Party, in keeping with its principle of accepting responsibility for any failure, that is, it would force them to organize the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. The Socialist Party's methods are not radical enough, though radical. Their aim is to change the government by lawful means, while the "Respectability" would destroy lawfully elected officials.

Never was there a more glaring climax of political irony than the publication, during the Albany affair, of the Socialist Party membership report. It reveals a vote in favor of allegiance to the Communist International — 3,475 to 1,444 in favor of allegiance with the Communist Party. The Socialist Party has been forced to make a choice: it must accept or reject the policy of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. The Socialist Party has taken the latter course, while the "Respectability" would destroy lawfully elected officials.

In striking contrast with the corruption of the Socialist Party, which defied the workers with the hope of a "peaceful" (!) Social revolution, along the line of parliamentary reforms, the Communist Party enters the parliamentary campaign for revolutionary propaganda and agitation only. Our slogan is "Down with the Parliament! Long live the Soviets!"

The Communist Party utilizes parliaments in the same manner as did the Bolsheviks in the Castrist Duma, as Karl Liebknecht did in the German Reichstag — to assist in destroying the bourgeois parliamentary system. Since our object is the destruction of capitalism, and not carrying out the will of the capitalist class, which is, in fact, the only function of executive officials, the Communist Party, in keeping with its principle of accepting responsibility for any failure, that is, it would force them to organize the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. The Socialist Party has been forced to make a choice: it must accept or reject the policy of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. The Socialist Party has taken the latter course, while the "Respectability" would destroy lawfully elected officials.

Your alignment with the Socialist Party, whether you will it or not, is an alignment against the Communist Movement of America — against the Communist International — against the world-proletarian revolution toward which our heroic comrades in Russia are looking for their salvation. It is against your own inspiring efforts for the working class in the past.

Comrade Debs, we have placed the facts before you. It is yours to choose. The comrades and the class-conscious workers everywhere believe that the shameful record of the Socialist Party since your imprisonment is as yet unknown to you. But if, after you have read this statement, which goes not only to you, but to the workers of this country, you still adhere to the Socialist Party, we shall have to conclude that you have cast your lot with the "cowardly compromisers", as you once called them, with the betrayers of the working class, with the betrayers of the class struggle with the betrayers of Socialism — and we shall announce that fact to the working class.

The eyes of the revolutionary class-conscious workers of America are forced upon you at this moment. Can you remain a candidate on the Socialist Party ticket with these facts before you — realizing the significance of your candidacy in relation to your own life-work and the International Communist Movement?

Central Executive Committee Communist Party of America.

The Communist
OFFICIAL ORGAN
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

David Damon,
Acting Editor.

VOL. II. No. 4.
April 25, 1920.

Singles copies — 5c.

Editorial note:— It is hardly necessary to explain to the party members either the irregularity in publication of "The Communist", nor that this and the next two or three numbers must be devoted primarily to the internal party problems to come before the Convention. Communications as to party policies from the National or Branch can be transmitted to the Editor through your Branch Secretary and the District Organizer.
The International Communist Conference.

By LOUIS C. FRAIMA
International Secretary, Communist Party of America.

...the governments. The declaration repeatedly emphasizes the necessity of action, and authorizes the International sub-Bureau to issue a call for an international General Strike as the situation matures. The declaration, moreover, provides against repeating the fiasco of the July 21 strike initiated by the Socialist Party of Italy, by —

1) Instructing the Bureau to establish connections with each country to measure the sentiment prevailing; and insuring a period of intense preparatory agitation and organization.

b) Providing that the General Strike for Russia shall include political and economic demands in accordance with the revolutionary requirements in each country, thereby making the movement for Soviet Russia an integral part of the immediate revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

c) Avoiding the fundamental mistake of the July 21 strike of working through the bureaucracy of the trades unions, and urging that preparations for a General Strike shall proceed through the branches of the unions, extra-union organizations (such as the Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees of England), and the creation of extra-union organizations, if necessary.

2—The Conference adopted a thesis on UNIONISM, which I prepared and introduced in the name of the Communist Party of America, and which was adopted unanimously. This thesis constitutes the first authoritative utterance of the International on the Communist conception of unionism (in general, it agrees with a declaration of G. Zinoviev on Unionism); and it indicates, moreover, that the conception of Unionism developed by the Communist Party of America (which has been misrepresented and stupidly attacked especially by the Shop Stewards, Workers' Committees, and the Socialist Labor Party) is the identical conception of the Communist International. This is a summary of the thesis:

a) Unions are necessary organizations for the immediate struggle of the workers; in spite of their limitations they can, particularly as industrial unions, become active means of revolutionary struggle and a factor in the Communist reconstruction of society. That is, combined with the artisan conception of craft skill as a form of property, produced a property and factory owner ideology and the concept of limiting the struggle within the limits of Capitalism and the nation. The trades unions represented, and still largely represent, the skilled workers in the upper layers of the working class, the "aristocracy of labor."

d) The dominant trades unionism accepts Capitalism; and, under Imperialism, Capitalism seduces the "aristocracy of labor" with a share in the profits of Imperialism, by means of higher wages, labor legislation, and improved conditions generally; the upper layers of the working class using the trades unions to stabilize Capitalism in industry and promote Imperialism.

e) Realizing its economic impotence (an impotence produced by non-revolutionary purposes and an anarchic craft form of unionism unable to cope with the concentrated industry of modern Capitalism), Communist trades unionism turns to parliamentary action in the form of Laborism; and, as Laborism, trades unionism in its dominant expression merges definitively in State Capitalism and Imperialism. The tendency is for Laborism and Socialism to unite.

f) Laborism becomes the final bulwark of defense of Capitalism against the oncoming proletarian revolution. Accordingly, a merciless struggle against Laborism is necessary; but while expressing itself politically as parliamentary and petty bourgeois democracy, the basis of Laborism is trades unionism; the struggle against trades unionism, therefore, is an indispensable phase of the struggle against Laborism.

g) This struggle against trades unionism must proceed by means of the Communist Party's general agitation to drive the unions to more revolutionary action, the formation of extra-union organizations such as the Shop Stewards, Workers' Committees, the organization of direct branches of the Communist Party in the shops, the encouragement of the construction of industrial unions.

b) The agitation for and construction of industrial unions is the utmost importance in developing Communist consciousness and the final revolutionary struggle. But industrial unionism must recognize its limitations; it must develop the concept and practice, in co-operation with the Communist Party, of the general political strike. Industrial unionism cannot under Capitalism organize all the workers or an overwhelming majority; the concept of organizing Capitalism and gradually, workers' control of industry in terms of industrial labor, is an expression, inverted in form, of the concept of parliamentary acquisition of power.
gradually and peacefully — the "penetration" of Capitalism by Socialism.

1. The objective of the class struggle is the conquest of the power of the state. The industrial unions (or the parliaments) are not the means for the conquest of power, but mass action, Soviets and proletarian dictatorship. The parliamentary and doctrinaire industrial union (Syndicalist) conception both evade all actual problems of the revolution.

2. After the conquest of power and under the protection of proletarian dictatorship, industrial unionism continues actually to function in the Communist reconstruction of society in terms of control and management of workers and the industrially organized producers.

3. — The Conference adopted a thesis on the social-patriots and Unity, which I prepared and introduced in the name of the Communist Party of America, for strengthening the proposals. The thesis stresses the fact that the social-patriots and opportunists are the worst enemy of the proletarian revolution, with whom there can be no unity, no issue of cooperation and, moreover, it particularizes and accomplishes five very definite and practical things:

a) Provides that the Communist International reject the admission of any party or group (such as the Longuet “majoritaires” in France or the American Socialist Party) that should these affiliates with the Third International.

b) On a definitely the proposals of Jean Longuet, Mervyn Hillquit and the Independent Socialist Party of Germany for the organization of “another International” to include the social-patriots and opportunists and oppositions of the Second International “and also” the Bolsheviki and the Communists.

c) Emphasizes the incompatibility of a Communist Party tolerating social-patriots and opportunists in the party (indirectly condemning the Socialist Party of Italy for not expelling its social-patriots and opportunists, particularly in the parliamentary group).

d) Uncompromisingly repudiates Capitalist Socialism, Social-patriot or opportunist organizations, with bourgeois or social-patriot leaders, with parties affiliated with the Second International, or with the agents of Capitalism in the Industrial Unions, Workers' Socialist Federation and the South Wales Socialist Society, must reject affiliation with the Labor Party — the British Socialist Party favors this affiliation, the others are against.

e) Rejects the concept of Communist unity in general, urging that unity must be based not upon formal acceptance of general principles, but agreement upon fundamental action.

The tendency of the thesis on Social-Patriots and Unity is to preserve and strengthen the revolutionary integrity of the Communist International, to protect the International from being swamped under the onrush of undesirable elements from the Second International.

4. — The Conference did not act on the problem of Parliamentarism, being dispersed by the police. There were before the Conference three proposals on this problem — a thesis introduced by Anton Pannekoek, a series of amendments introduced by myself in the name of the Communist Party of America, and a resolution introduced by Sylvia Pankhurst — (Workers' Socialist Federation of England) the tendency of which was to reject the Communist use of parliamentarism. The resolution of Sylvia Pankhurst would have received her own vote, and perhaps that of the delegate representing the Opposition to the Communist Party of Germany. The original thesis and the amendments would, I think, have been adopted substantially unamended; they thus formulate the problem:

a) Parliamentarism is not the means for the conquest of political power — the proletariat must create its own organization for struggle against state power, the Soviets and proletarian dictatorship. The Communist use of parliamentarism is secondary to the mass struggle of the proletariat, being used for purposes of agitation only and to emphasize the political character of the class struggle.

b) Even in the epoch of Imperialism, when parliaments degenerate in function and become side-shows, the revolutionary use of parliamentarism and participation in election is important in mobilizing the proletariat for action and the conquest of power.

c) The tendency to opportunism latent in parliamentarism must be resisted by (1) emphasizing its agitational and secondary character, and (2) rigorous party control of parliamentarist representatives and their immediate expulsion should they develop an opportunist or non-Communist tendency.

d) Limiting the number of public offices for which nomination are made, the limitation to be determined by the conditions in each country (as, for example, the Communist Party of America can determine the executive offices of the bourgeois state).

e) In periods of intense class struggle, although not yet revolutionary, a temporary abstention from parliamentarism may most effectively promote our revolutionary purposes; in that event, a Boycott of the Elections becomes necessary.

d) In the period of actual revolution, the complete repudiation of parliamentarism is necessary.

While the Communist use of parliamentarism in this sense was insisted upon, the Conference did not make mandatory the acceptance of parliamentarism; in the thesis on Social-Patriots and Unity the conditions proposed as the basis on which Communist groups should unite are mass action, Soviets, proletarian dictatorship, and no compromise — the basis for a Communist Party as the unifying and directing force in the revolutionary struggle.

5. — The Conference devoted a large part of its labor to the problem of organization, i.e., of making the International actually function on a world basis, of unifying and centralizing the movement. While the Executive Committee in Moscow still remains the supreme executive authority, the Conference organized supplementary machinery for purposes of immediate contact, expression and unity.

a) The Conference decided to create an International sub-Bureau composed of one delegate from each country where in a country there is more than one organization affiliated with the International, the one vote is divided equally. Meetings of the sub-Bureau may be held when there are present the representatives of five out of the six following countries: England, Germany, France, Italy, Holland and the United States.

b) After the Constitution was adopted, the Executive Committee was composed of Henriette Roland-Holst, S. J. Rutgers and D. J. Wynne, and to issue a Bulletin in German, English and French.

c) The sub-Bureau and the Executive Committee are empowered to complete certain phases of the work of the Conference. Their chief task is to link up the world movement with the Central Executive of the International in Moscow and facilitate this task the Conference created two subsidiary bureaux:

(a) A Central European Bureau, for activity in Germany, Austria, Poland, Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria; and (b) a special Bureau of the Communist International, to be organized provisionally by the Communist Party of America; this Bureau to call a Pan-American Conference of Communist Organizations, which the Bureau is to be organized on a permanent basis. It has since transpired that a representative of the American Bureau was to have been organized a Latin-American Bureau in Mexico City, which publishes an organ, the New Era, and issued a call for a Conference. The mandate given to the Communist Party of America by the International Conference must, accordingly, be exercised in conjunction with the Latin-American Bureau the machinery of which must be utilized and transformed into the larger activity of the American Bureau of the Communist International through the intervention of our party. The American Bureau, to represent the International on the American continent, unite the movement of Latin-American countries, and issue proclamations on affairs immediately concerning the proletariat of the United States and Canada. (To be continued.)