
Comrades of the Jewish Federation! Stand by the Party!

**Statement by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party,
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A faction of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Federation is endeavoring to disrupt the Jewish Federation and to bring disorganization into the ranks of the Party.

This faction, led by Olgan, Hoffman, Wishnak, and others, who were entrusted with important places in the Party organization, has become drunk because of the power which the Party membership has permitted them to wield. After months of violation of Party discipline this group has openly defied the authority of the highest Party authority and issued a call for a convention of the Jewish Federation after the Administrative Council of the Party had set the date for the convention of the Federation.

The Administrative Council of the Party submits this statement of facts of the situation to the Party, and particularly to the members of the Jewish Federation, so that these disruptionists, who are trying to break up the Jewish Federation, may be rebuked and put in their places by the members of the Federation.

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Party Unity First.

In all its dealings with the faction of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Federation which is now endeavoring to disrupt the Federation, the Central Executive Committee of the Party has placed the unity of the Party first. It has repeatedly reconsidered its decisions and endeavored to

come to an agreement with this faction rather than use its disciplinary power and suspend the faction which broke the discipline of the Party.

The Central Executive Committee has maintained this policy because it hoped that the faction which was defying the discipline of the Party would come to its senses and not carry its criminal policy to the point of creating a split in the Jewish Federation.

The time for splits in the revolutionary movement in this country is past. The Workers Party from its beginning has been a movement for unification, for bringing together all those workers who are ready to work in harmony with the leadership of the Communist International into one powerful, centralized, disciplined party. The Party has made great progress in achieving this end. At the outset it secured affiliation with the party of many of these groups and it had added more. Only recently the Czechoslovak and Scandinavian Federations and the United Toilers have joined the Party. The Party has grown in strength and power. It is on the road to become a powerful factor in the life of the American workers.

This progress seems not to the liking of the disruptionist group in the Executive Committee of the Jewish Federation. Because this little group cannot have its own way it has set out to destroy the Jewish Federation. This group of disruptionists is out to destroy the *Freiheit*. It must know that its tactics can have no other result. In order than the *Freiheit* may live it must have a united

Federation behind it. It must have a united party supporting it. Yet this faction has not hesitated to create a situation which may disrupt the Federation and bring disorganization into this branch of the Party. Such is their loyalty to the revolutionary movement, such is their loyalty to the Communist International, that to achieve their own petty ends they do not hesitate to destroy the instruments which build the movement and support the Communist International.

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Before a Party Convention.

These tactics are adopted by this faction at a time when a convention of the Workers Party is only six or seven weeks off. They call a convention of the Jewish Federation before the Party convention. In place of waiting for the Party as a whole to speak, they call a convention of the Federation before the Party convention and endeavor to intimidate the Party convention by their threat of disruption if they cannot have their way.

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The Open Communist Party.

In order to have an issue on which to hang their factional purpose, this disruptionist group has raised the issue of an open communist party. They declare that they desire to make the Workers Party an open communist party, but they show by all their actions that they are unfit to be members of a communist party.

A communist party which is not a centralized, disciplined organization is not worthy of the name. One of the fundamental principles which the Communist International has laid down as the basis of a communist party is that it has a centralized authority that between conventions of the party shall have supreme authority.

What do these pseudo-Communists, these phrase-Communists say on this point? In their

manifesto they mouth the phrases of Communism. They speak of a centralized, disciplined Communist Party, but they argue "the Central Executive Committee has no power over the executive committee of the Federation..."

That is the kind of Communists they are! No Communists at all but centrists who use the phrases of Communism but do not understand and never can understand the principles of Communism.

The Central Executive Committee has known that it had to deal with men who were centrists and not Communists in this group, which is now trying to disrupt the Jewish Federation. They were permitted to become part of the Workers Party at the time of its formation for the sake of the following of Jewish workers who still supported them, to whom the Central Executive Committee desired to show by the actual developments of the workers' struggle that they could not be trusted.

These centrists, the Olgins and Hoffmans, etc., have shown by their methods of conducting the struggles of the Workers Party that they are not Communists. They have never given whole-hearted support to the policies of the Communist International in the *Freiheit* — the failure to uphold the United Front policy of the Communist International is only one instance. In June the CEC of the Party was obliged to sharply call the editor of the *Freiheit* to account and lay down stringent instructions in regard to the attitude of the *Freiheit* toward the Communist International because of the scandalous condition which existed of a Workers Party paper which was sabotaging the policies of the Communist International.

The fight these centrists have conducted against the yellow Socialist daily *The Forward* has not been a Communist struggle but a centrist fight for clean, literary journalism against dirty, vulgar journalism. Their fight in the labor unions have consisted of attacks on the personal morals and integrity of reactionary leaders rather than a struggle to have the unions work in harmony with

Communist principles.

The Party has tolerated these centrists — is still ready to tolerate them in the organization — because their tactics and policies must be exposed in the process of the struggle in order that the workers may realize their true character. But the Party will not permit them to mislead any part of the organization through their centrist tactics. That would mean that the Workers Party would never be a communist party; but would soon be lost in the quagmire of centrist irresolution and decay.

These centrists expose themselves as centrists in their very method of endeavoring to establish and open communist party. A communist party is not created by calling it by the name "Communist Party." It is created by its work. The Central Executive Committee is of the opinion that the Workers Party is now a communist party — that in its newly established fraternal relations with the Communist International, that by its tactics in the struggle in this country, by the new program which the CEC has proposed to the coming convention of the Party there is established beyond any challenge that our Party is fighting for, and loyal to, the principles of Communism as formulated by the Communist International.

The Communist Party of America.

The centrist disruptionists have singled out for their attack the Communist Party of America.

In the character of this attack they again expose themselves as centrists, as men who have no understanding of Communist principles or who wilfully ignore facts in order that they may make an argument.

The Communist Party of America was organized in an open convention in 1919. It, together with the Communist Labor Party, organized at the same time, declared as their purpose to openly advocate the principles of the Communist International in the United States and to become the American Section of the Communist Interna-

tional. At the time of their organization these two parties had 60,000 members.

The programs of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party of 1919 endeavored to remain within the bounds of bourgeois legality in stating the principles of Communism. While revolutionary in their implications, they were conservative in their statements. But this availed these parties not at all.

The history of the brutal prosecution and repression directed against these organizations, the deportations and jailings, must have been known to the Olgins, Hoffmans, and other centrists. These men were at that time attacking the Communist movement in the columns of the "yellow" *Forward*. These men must know that within a few days 20 members of the Communist Labor Party are being sent to prison in Illinois. They must know that 6 other former members of that Party are on trial in California. They must know that 20 members of the Communist Party were arrested in August at Bridgman, Michigan. If they know these things they know that the reason the American Section of the Communist International, the Communist Party of America, is an underground organization is because of the brutal repression and prosecution by the capitalist governmental officers.

The Communist Party of America has declared that it is not an inherent feature of a communist party to be an underground organization. It has declared that it is only bitter necessity which compels it to exist as an underground organization. It has declared that it will do everything within its power to participate openly in the political life of the country.

If the centrist disruptionists really desired an open communist party in place of paper declarations, they would direct their energies to creating the conditions which would enable the Communist Party of America, American Section of the Communist International, to live in the open and work in the open. That end can only be achieved through building a great mass movement of the

workers under the leadership of the Workers Party, which through its power can prevent the government from using repressive measures to destroy the Communist Party of America. That is the task which the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party has set for itself. The Workers Party is a communist party, but it cannot become the Communist Party of America, the American Section of the Communist International, as long as the Communist Party is compelled to exist underground. It is the task of the Workers Party to create those conditions which will enable the Communist Party of America to exist openly, to fight and work openly. In achieving that end the CEC asks the loyal cooperation of every Party member.

Facts About the Controversy.

The controversy in the Jewish Federation which the centrist disruptionists are trying to turn into a split arose out of the following situation:

By agreement, at the time of the organization of the Jewish Federation, the two groups which united were to be equally represented on the Executive Committee of the Federation until the convention. When this equal distribution of representation was disturbed, the CEC of the Party ordered the Executive Committee to restore it by accepting two new representatives of the former ALA [American Labor Alliance] group.

The CEC of the Party did not endeavor to change the situation which had existed. It did not endeavor to do violence to the agreement to which the centrist disruptionists point as the source of their rights. It endeavored to maintain that agreement.

The centrist disruptionists refused to carry out the decision of the CEC. They openly violated Party discipline in refusing to carry out a decision of the CEC. They had gained an advantage by an organization trick. They knew they could not hope to win in an open struggle over Communist principles so they hung on to their

little advantage for dear life.

The CEC did not act arbitrarily, as it had a right to do, and expel these violators of Party discipline from the Party. It desired to prevent conflict and disruption in the Jewish Federation. It elected a committee to discuss the situation with the centrist faction of the Federation Executive Committee.

No agreement could be reached, however. The CEC thereupon made the following decision:

(1) That a convention of the Jewish Federation be held during the first week of January [1923].

(2) That until the convention a committee of ten, made up of five representatives from each side, should conduct the work of the Federation. This committee also to arrange the convention.

The Convention was called within eight weeks. Each side was to be equally represented during the period until the convention. Did the disruptionists accept this proposal, which gave them equal rights and equal opportunity to win control of the Federation through winning a majority of the convention delegates?

Their answer was to call a convention in December [1922], to deny the authority of the CEC, to trample upon Party discipline. And these men talk about being Communists and a disciplined party!

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Defend the Jewish Federation!

Comrades of the Jewish Federation, the Administrative Council calls upon you to defend the unity of your Federation, to save the *Freiheit*, to prevent disorganization in our Party. We call upon you to teach these centrist disruptionists what it really means to be a Communist.

Three New York Branches of your Federation have already spoken, by a vote of 51 to 19 in the Downtown Branch, 48 to 29 in the Bronx Branch, and 30 to 1 in the Brownsville Branch,

the action of the CEC has been upheld and the Branches have been demanding the removal of the Executive Committee of the Federation. Let every Branch adopt a similar resolution. Teach these centrist disruptionists their places.

Decisions of the Administrative Council.

The Administrative Council of the Party has made the following decision which every Party Branch is bound to carry out:

(1) That the Administrative Council takes charge of the affairs of the Jewish Federation and arranges the Convention. The convention called by the faction of the [Federation] Executive Committee is declared not a convention of the Jewish Federation of the Workers Party.

(2) That all property of the Jewish Federation, including the *Freiheit*, is taken over by the Administrative Council until a new Bureau is elected by the Convention of the Jewish Federation.

(3) That the Administrative Council immediately elects a Secretary to take charge of the affairs of the Jewish Federation under the direction of the Administrative Council.

(4) That all Jewish Branches are instructed to make all payments for stamps and other Party supplies and to make all settlements on account of the *Freiheit* through the Secretary appointed by the Administrative Council.

While the Administrative Council does not recognize the convention called by the centrist disruptionists as a convention of the Jewish Federation, it proposes that the Jewish Branches teach these disruptionists a lesson at their own convention.

As the vote of the New York Branches al-

ready shows, the Jewish Federation is overwhelmingly against the disruption of the Federation through the methods of the centrists. The Administrative Council of the Party, therefore, directs each Branch which approves of the position of the Central Executive Committee and which wishes to put down the disruptionists and save the *Freiheit* to take the following action:

(1) To adopt a resolution declaring the December Convention not a convention of the Jewish Federation.

(2) To adopt a resolution denouncing the action of Olgin, Hoffman, Wishnak, Salzman, Siegel, Pollack, and Juditch, and, also, demanding their expulsion from the Party.

(3) To elect delegates to the December Convention called by the disruptionists, notifying the Executive Secretary of the Party of their election. The delegates to hold themselves in readiness for further instructions from the Administrative Council.

Comrades of the Jewish Federation! The issue is clear. Is our Party a party worthy of the name Communist? Is it a party of discipline? Can a group of centrist disruptionists mislead our members and destroy our solidarity?

Comrades! Let us give these centrist disruptionists an example of the Communist spirit. Let us show them what discipline and solidarity mean — Down with disruption! Down with centrism in our Party! Hail to Communism! Hail to discipline and solidarity! Uphold the unity of the Federation and of the Party!

Administrative Council,
Workers Party,

C.E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary.

Edited by Tim Davenport.

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