

# All Power to the Workers!

# THE COMMUNIST

Official Organ of the Communist Party of America

(Section of the Communist International)

FORMED AT THE JOINT UNITY CONVENTION of the UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY and the  
COMMUNIST PARTY of AMERICA.

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## The U. C. P. and the C. P. United

### An Account of the Joint Unity Convention

The long struggle, the inter-party fight between the U. C. P. and the C. P., the conflict between two opposing points of view on tactics, forms of organization and formulae of Communist principles converged and clashed and were thrashed out at the joint unity convention. Thirty U. C. P. delegates met an equal number of C. P. delegates. Although they had come to a convention to merge into and form one united party, the two delegations from the beginning held aloof from each other. The party lines held; each delegation met in separate caucus. There was no fraternization except for the good-natured banterings between individuals of both factions. With all there was no bitterness and little open hostility. Every delegate was impressed with the seriousness of the task which lay before him. Each delegation realized from the outset that somehow unity must be achieved and that at this convention there must be formed a single Communist party in America. The Third International had spoken and its mandate could no longer be postponed.

The complete story of this Convention could only be written by one who had participated in both caucuses, for the real problems and the real debates on all important questions, were first thrashed out in the caucus meetings. The speeches on the floor of the joint sessions were but the expression of the majority opinion of each caucus.

The first joint session was held in the open air, the delegates seated in a semi-circle, the U. C. P. delegates on the right and the C. P. delegates on the left, in a natural amphitheatre with a boulder for the chairman's desk. The session was opened with short introductory remarks by the representative of the Pan-American Agency, introducing the impartial chairman who had been decided upon in advance by the Unity Committee.

The report of the credentials committee showed

thirty delegates from each side, and six fraternal delegates, who were seated without contests. The difficulties which this convention was to face all through its sessions were indicated at the outset by the attempt to elect a rules committee of five members in accordance with the agenda which had been previously agreed upon by the Unity Committee. A proposition, made by a delegate from the C. P. side, to elect this committee by secret ballot resulted in a deadlock. A compromise was reached by an agreement to elect two members of this committee from each side with the chairman as the fifth member. The rule which provided for the deciding of all questions by secret ballot upon the demand of a majority, the request for secret ballot to be taken by ballot, as proposed by the C. P. members of the committee and the chairman, resulted in the next deadlock.

Agreement was reached by the U. C. P. proposal to elect all standing committees by secret ballot. Three were nominated from each side and on all committees the six nominees received 30 votes each and were declared elected. The standing committees were: Program, Constitution, Press, Industrial, Education, Legal Organization, Resolution and Liquidation.

Then followed nearly two days of caucusing, during which the committees prepared their reports. The U. C. P. caucus was debating the report of its C. E. C. preparatory to presenting it to the joint convention session. The question of mass action, participation in parliamentary elections, factory committees, the relation between the language federations and the party, which were included in the "ultimatum" of the Pan-American Agency of the C. I. which the C. E. C. of the U. C. P. had adopted, were being thrashed out in the U. C. P. caucus. The fact that this "ultimatum" was not accepted as such by the E. C. of the C. I. made it

necessary for the U. C. P. delegation to seriously debate these questions at length.

The C. P. rejected the interpretation placed upon these questions by the Agency.

Each district convention of the C. P. had thrashed out questions of program and the delegates of the C. P. were in fundamental agreement.

The C. P. program was accepted as a basis for the program committee's report almost without change.

The next session of the Joint Unity Convention was held out-doors and opened with the reading of the reports of the U. C. P. and C. P. C. E. C.'s. Comrade Elk reported for the U. C. P. and Comrade Dobin for the C. P. The two reports showed better than volumes of argument the important differences between the two parties.

The U. C. P. report recounts the facts of the unity of the C. L. P. with the "Minority" faction of the C. P. in May, 1920, claiming that according to the reports of the delegates there that there were 11,000 members in the U. C. P., that the great majority of these left the party after this "unity" convention because they did not agree with the U. C. P. Program and Constitution adopted there. Then follows a tabulation of U. C. P. membership at the time of their convention, held last December, 1920.

It reports a membership of 5,700, organized in 667 underground groups—three being from Canada. For May 15, 1921, the reported membership of the U. C. P. is 5,927, divided among 771 groups. The membership dues figures given in the report covers the period from Jan. 1st, to April 1st, 1921 (three months) and are as follows: Due Stamps, \$8,023.65. Initiation Stamps, \$1,005. showing an average of 3,566 U. C. P. members paying dues during the months of January, February and March.

The U. C. P. report on Organization shows 14 Districts with 12 paid District Organizers and three paid Sub-district Organizers.

The U. C. P. reported to have 35 publications under their control with a total monthly circulation of 1,642,000, and to have distributed since January 1st, 1921, two million leaflets, and 105,000 pamphlets in seven languages besides English.

The U. C. P. report covers 32 closely typewritten pages containing a mass of detail covering every phase of U. C. P. activities in the minutest possible manner but not discussing the attitude of its C. E. C. towards the questions which have divided the two parties for the past two years.

The report of the C. E. C. of the C. P. opens with an itemized cash statement, signed by the auditing committee, a complete statement of assets and liabilities of the C. P., a condensed cash statement for July 1, 1920 to May 13, 1921, covering all Language Federations and subsidiary units. In the report on organization all membership figures are based upon dues received and show an average for January, February, March and April of 6,328 dues paying members of the C. P. The dues payments for February, March and April were \$9,718.40 a .60, and the Initiation Fees (a \$1.00) \$702.

A complete report of Convention Assessment figures was made by districts showing \$2,909. paid, 304 exemptions and 56 to be collected shows that the C. P. membership participating in the elections to be 6,178, exclusive of 333 members in Canada (now organized in the C. P. of C.) and 81 on the Pacific Coast. From

January 1st, 1,300 C. P. members left for Russia and 870 new members joined the party.

The C. P. was divided into six districts with six paid District Organizers and four paid Sub-district Organizers.

The C. P. report on "Propaganda and Agitation" showed 19 papers under the control of its C. E. C. published in 7 languages besides English and having a monthly circulation of 999,000 copies per month.

Since the last C. P. convention (Feb. 1921) the C. P. distributed 2,183,000 leaflets in English; and published 11 books in 104,000 copies; and 9 pamphlets in 61,000 copies.

The C. P. report after giving a detailed account of the important decisions of their C. E. C. proceeds to the discussion of questions of principles and policy, mass action and armed insurrection; C. P. Nuclei, Shop Delegate System, and Factory Committees; Relations with the Pan-American Council of the R. L. U. I.; The question of participation in the Elections; the question of Language Federations and the Unity question were reported at length stating the C. P. position on all these questions together with definite recommendations to the Unity Convention.

During the entire afternoon and extra night session these two reports were discussed and debated; the issues raised by the reports forming the basis of the arguments. It was during the debate upon the two C. E. C. reports that the delegates from both the U. C. P. and the C. P. discovered that the long controversies and disagreements between both parties on the questions of program and principles had had the result of clarifying these issues. With few exceptions the delegates of both sides found themselves in agreement on all fundamental questions, especially the interpretation of mass action and armed insurrection and the role of the party in the proletarian revolution. This debate paved the way for the consideration of the Program Committee's Report and showed clearly that the real problem for affecting the unity of both parties would be tested in the consideration of the Constitution Committee's report.

The Program of the unified party which appears on another page in this issue, is almost wholly the old program of the C. P. which was used as the basis for drawing up the new program. The important additions were made in the section dealing with "Labor Unions and Labor Organizations" especially in those parts which treat of the "left wing" movement within the old unions, and the attitude toward the I. W. W. These sections, together with the adoption of the report of the Industrial Committee's Report, having been adopted with little opposition and without a dissenting vote, show that the delegates were determined to make the united party a party of action, with a program adapted to the immediate struggle of the workers. Both parties had in the course of the past 12 months grown up and with the exception of a few delegates were almost entirely recovered from the infantile sickness of "leftism".

The section of the program dealing with parliamentarism, definitely pledges the party to participate in the municipal, state and national elections and is more than a mere formal declaration, since it makes it obligatory upon the CEC to organize the necessary machinery for such participation. Thus whatever there may be of anti-parliamentarism and syndicalist tendencies within

the united party finds no expression in its official declarations.

The Negro Question, which some delegates wanted to have included in the program, is to be treated in the Party's Manifesto, which for lack of time for preparation was referred to the CEC to issue.

The unanimous adoption of the program as printed in this issue of the COMMUNIST proves beyond doubt that so far as our declaration of principles is concerned the two factions are now in fundamental agreement upon all the important questions of principle which formerly divided them. The questions of tactics will from now on be the major questions to be decided.

After two more days of caucus meetings, the convention met to hear the report of the Committee on Constitution. The clauses upon which the committee had split three to three deadlocked the convention by a vote of thirty UCP delegates to thirty CP delegates. The clauses agreed upon by the committee were adopted with little debate. At eleven o'clock at night the Committee on Constitution had finished its report. No constitution had been adopted. The convention was hopelessly deadlocked. Neither side left their seats. No motions were made; no one took the floor. The chairman announced that he would entertain a motion to adjourn. This was answered by the humming of the "Internationale". The chairman waited and then declared the session adjourned, and left the chair. But both delegations remained in session. The situation was tense. After a while the chairman announced the re-opening of the session and introduced the representative of the Pan-American Agency, who proposed the settlement of the deadlock on the constitution by the negotiation between the separate caucuses. A delegate from the UCP side moved that a recess be taken which was unanimously voted. Both caucuses then met and negotiations were carried on between them during the night. It was finally agreed to elect a committee of ten, five from each caucus, who were to bring in recommendations on each clause of the constitution upon which the convention could not agree. This committee met during the following day. Each caucus confirmed the compromises reached upon each clause and the convention in joint session rapidly adopted them with very little discussion. The principle points at issue and the decisions regarding them have been already described in detail in No. 1. of the "OFFICIAL BULLETIN".

With the adoption of the Constitution the party lines melted away. Comrades who after having been separated for years embraced each other; hands clasped hands; the delegates sang the "Internationale" with as much energy as could be mustered after the trying 48-hour continuous sessions. Unity had almost been achieved.

Almost—because, while the convention had decided upon a CEC to be composed of nine members, another deadlock occurred over the election of the ninth CEC member. Two names were proposed as the "impartial" ninth man. These were voted for by secret ballot, with the result that both received thirty votes. Neither side was quite prepared to trust to the complete impartiality of the other. After further caucus meetings it was agreed to reconsider the clause in the Constitution providing for nine members on the CEC. A CEC of ten members was accepted. Both "impartial" can-

didates were then unanimously elected. It was agreed to elect the delegates to the Third Congress of the Comintern at the convention, and the Joint Unity of the UCP and CP wound up its work and adjourned.

The delegates, exhausted from the strenuous activity of two weeks, but happy at having successfully accomplished their difficult task, formed little groups regardless of former party lines, and left for their homes.

Of the many conventions held by the Communists in this country, the Joint Unity Convention just ended will prove to be the most momentous and the most far-reaching in its effect upon the communist movement in the U. S.

With the unity of the former UCP and CP accomplished the Communist Party in America enters upon a new period. Many comrades may deplore the long factional fight in this country, and the resultant splits within the movement, as a dead loss and waste of energy, but the clarification of Communist principles and tactics which resulted from these splits are a distinct advantage which more than compensates for the apparent loss of revolutionary energy.

The experience gained will be felt when the Communist Party enters the period of revolutionary activity, such as now prevails in Germany. But these factional controversies, when carried beyond the point necessary for the establishing of communist understanding, tend to become barren and may easily result in sectarianism.

For after all, the test of our principles lies in action; in the application of the tactics and principles of communism to the needs of the exploited masses in the class struggle. From now on the Communist Party of America must bend all its energies to bring its program into life; to achieve and maintain that contact with the masses without which there can be no powerful and effective communist movement in this country.

The Joint Unity Convention has produced a program of action sufficient for the requirements of the class war in America. Every member of the Communist Party (formed at this Unity Convention) has behind him the necessary training to make of the C. P. the revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

All the problems arising out of the unity of the two former factions are by no means settled. There yet remains to be consummated the physical union of the separate units of both the former parties. To this task every comrade must bend his or her energies. The bitterness engendered by two years of factional strife cannot be expected to disappear over night, but these will wear off as our comrades fight shoulder to shoulder within the unions and elsewhere in carrying out the party's program.

Let every comrade resolve to support the new CEC in its difficult task of bringing into life the new program and constitution of the C. P. of A.

**LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.**

**LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.**

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# Program of the Communist Party of America

Adopted by the Joint Unity Convention of the Communist Party and the United Communist Party of America.

Capitalist society is distinguished from all previous forms of society by the production of commodities on the basis of capital. Through the private ownership of the means of production, the bourgeoisie, a small group in society, have reduced the great majority of the people to the status of proletarians and semi-proletarians. The working class is compelled to sell its labor power to the owners of the machinery of production, and have become wage slaves who, by their labor, create profits for the ruling classes of society.

During the last century the development machinery, means of communication and technique led to the extension of the capitalist system of production throughout the world. As a result of the consequent formation of large industrial enterprises, the small industrial enterprises the small independent manufacturers were expropriated. This whole class, the petit bourgeoisie, is continually being reduced to impotency in social, political and economic life.

The development of technique in production and distribution led to the division and sub-division of labor, the use of woman and child labor, and the substitution of unskilled and semi-skilled workers for craftsmen and artisans. The relative decrease in the demand for human labor created a condition wherein the supply of labor exceeds the demand. The dependence of labor upon capital increased. The degree of exploitation is intensified.

This economic development within the nation, together with the continual sharpening of rivalry in the world market, makes the sale of commodities, the production of which is ever increasing, more and more difficult. The inevitable result of this development of productive power in capitalist society is over-production. This over-production brings about industrial crises which are followed by more or less lasting periods of stagnation. These crises ruin the small manufacturers still more, creates a further dependence of wage labor upon capital, and accelerates deterioration of the conditions of the working class.

Manufacturers are compelled to perfect their machinery. This perfection of machinery is complemented by a constant displacement of laborers, constituting the industrial reserve army. The inevitable extension of production brings with it a tremendous development of the productive forces, causes excess of supply over demand, over-production, a glutting of the market, and recurring crises—resulting in a vicious circle. On the one hand, there is an excess of the means of production and products; on the other, laborers without employment and without means of existence. The two levers of production—machinery and labor power—are unable to function because capitalism prevents productive forces from working and the products from circulating unless they are first turned into capital. The over-supply of machinery and labor power hinders this process. The mode of production rebels against the form of exchange. And the bourgeoisie stands convicted of incapacity to further manage their own social productive forces.

These contradictions, which are inherent in bourgeois society, increase the discontent of the exploited masses. The number of the proletariat is continually augmented. Their solidarity is strengthened, and the struggle with their exploiter becomes ever more acute. This and the improvement of technique, concentrating the means of production and socializing the process of labor, prepared the ground for the social revolution—the replacement of the capitalist system by a Communist society. This is the final aim of the Communist Party of America.

Through the systematic organization of production, distribution and exchange, capitalism tends to overcome anarchy in social production. Mighty corporations (syndicates, trusts, cartels), rise in place of the numerous small competitors. Finance capital is combined with industrial capital. The finance oligarchy, because of superior organization, becomes the dominant power in the whole economic system. Monopoly supplants free competition. The individual capitalist becomes the corporation capitalist. Organized capital tends to remove the anarchy of competition within each nation.

With the development of imperialism in each nation the contradictions, the international competitive conflicts, the anarchy of world production and exchange became more acute. Competition between the highly organized imperialist states and groups of states led directly to the world war. Greed for profits compels the capitalist-imperialist national groups to fight among themselves for new markets, new fields for the investment of capital, new sources of raw materials and for the cheap labor power of colonial peoples.

These imperialist states were dividing among themselves the territory of the entire world. Millions of proletarians and peasants of Africa, Australia, Asia and the America were being reduced to a most degrading wage slavery. In the struggle for these spoils, the imperialist states met each other in a mortal combat—the Imperialist World War.

The World War marks an epoch—the epoch of the collapse of capitalism and the beginning of the proletarian revolution. With the disintegration of imperialism come uprisings among the exploited masses in the colonies and in the small dependent nations. The imperialist armies disintegrate. The ruling classes are unmasked and their incapacity to further direct the destiny of the world's working masses is exposed. Armed insurrection of the proletariat, resulting in victorious revolution, as in Russia; and a series of open armed conflicts with the state power of the bourgeoisie, as in Germany. This is typical of the conditions throughout the world.

There is only one power that can save humanity—the power of the proletariat. The old capitalist order is in decay. It can prevail no longer. The final outcome of the capitalist system of production is chaos. Only the great producing class, the working class, can bring order out of this chaos. The working class must destroy the capitalist state, root and branch. The

working class must establish a dictatorship of the proletariat, based upon Soviet power, in order to crush both the resistance of capitalist counter-revolution at home and imperialist onslaught from without.

Imperialism arms itself for the final conflict against the world revolution. Under the guise of a league of nations, or other similar alliances, it is making a last desperate effort to bolster up the capitalist system. Through such alliances it aims to direct all its power against the ever-growing proletarian revolution. There is but one answer to this huge conspiracy of collapsing capitalism. The proletariat must conquer political power and direct it against its class enemies and set in motion all the forces of social revolution.

In order to achieve victory in the world revolution, the working class must attain unity and coordinate all its forces. This victory cannot be realized unless the working class forever completely breaks with all forms of bourgeois perversion of socialism which have dominated the Social-Democratic and Socialist parties of the world.

One form of this perversion is opportunism—social chauvinism, socialist in name but chauvinist in fact. These opportunists have betrayed the interests of the working class under the false watchwords of the defense of the fatherland. Witness the imperialist world war. This opportunism takes root in the wanton robbing of colonial and weak nations by imperialist capitalist states. The super-profits acquired through this exploitation have enabled the bourgeois to bribe the leaders of the working class. They have placed the upper strata of the workers in a privileged position by guaranteeing them, in time of peace, a tolerable existence and by taking their leaders into the service of the bourgeoisie.

The opportunists and social-chauvinists are servants of the bourgeoisie. They are enemies of the proletariat. Especially is this true when, together with the capitalists, they are suppressing the revolutionary movement of their own and other countries.

As Socialist workers begin to awaken to the treacherous character of the so-called Socialist parties, and to desert them, the leaders of those parties make desperate efforts to hold their following. These efforts sometimes take the form of endorsing the Communist International "with reservations." Another device is to endorse Soviets in Russia "but not here." Another is to pose as "defending the Russian Soviet Republic from invasion by foreign imperialists." All these are evasions of revolutionary duty. The Communist International is an organization for waging class warfare for the liberation of the working class; there can be no reservations in endorsement and affiliation with it. Loyalty "with reservations" is treachery. Endorsement and defense of Soviets in Russia, with failure to advocate the Soviet form of proletarian dictatorship in the United States is hypocrisy.

Those who attempt by such means to hold revolutionary workers in a position midway between the old bourgeois Socialist-reform position and the revolutionary Communist position, are known as "centrists." Without the courage and intelligence to lead the workers to revolution, yet unwilling to admit their character as friends of the bourgeois state, these centrist leaders confuse and obstruct the development of the proletarian revolution.

The Socialist Party of the United States is a mix-

ture of elements varying from extreme social-chauvinism to centrism. The revolutionary and semi-revolutionary membership brought into it or awakened within it by the world war and the Russian revolution, compelled the Socialist Party nominally to oppose the entry of the United States into the war. The membership which compelled the party to adopt the mildly anti-war platform has since been ruthlessly expelled. The leaders, in defiance of the mandate of the membership, during the war took official part in promoting war loans and patriotic measures. Since the close of the war the party spokesmen have completed the bankruptcy and disgrace of the Socialist Party by pledging it to support the capitalist State (even against proletarian revolution),

After attempting to keep their party from disintegrating by a cowardly endorsement of the Communist International "with reservations," and after being repulsed by the Communist International and rebuked before the world for their cowardice, the Socialist Party leaders are now engaged in slandering the Communist International and trying by deliberate falsehood to keep their membership from understanding it.

Driven by the opposition of the working class out of the Second International, to which they, by the logic of their program, still belong, the Socialist Party leaders now try to form a "Fourth International" of most of the opportunist parties and the centrist parties of the world. The Communist Party will continuously expose this "Fourth International" as having the same basis politically as the Second International which is now buried forever under the blood and crime of the world war to which it gave its support. The Second International is a reeking corpse, and the "Fourth International" is its still-born child.

The Communist International alone conducts the struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation. The Communist Party of America is its American section. Not alone in words but in deeds is the Communist International gaining more and more the sympathy and support of the proletariat of all countries. Its political content and ideology restore Marxism and realize the Marxian revolutionary teachings.

The social revolution will replace the private ownership of the means of production and distribution by collective ownership, systematize the organization of production in order to secure the welfare of all members of society, abolish class divisions, liberate oppressed humanity, and put an end to all exploitation of one part of society by another.

The establishment of a proletarian dictatorship is indispensable to the attainment of the social revolution. The proletariat must destroy the bourgeois state. It must establish a proletarian state, and thereby crush the resistance of the capitalists. In order to fulfill its great historic mission, the proletariat must organize itself into an independent political party—a Communist Party—which opposes all the bourgeois, and opportunist Socialist parties. Such a party is the Communist Party of America. It leads the workers in the class struggle and reveals to the working masses the irreconcilable conflict of interests between the exploiters and the exploited. The Communist Party of America points out the historic significance and the essential conditions of the approaching social revolution. The Communist Party of America, the revolutionary vanguard of the proletarian movement, calls upon

those of the toiling and exploited masses who accept its principles and tactics to join the ranks.

The Communist Party of America, section of the Communist International, defines the aims and processes of the proletarian revolution as follows:

### PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

"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." (Marx.)

Through the private ownership of the means of production, the bourgeoisie exploit and suppress the broad masses in all capitalist countries. Bourgeois republics, even the most democratic, through skillful use of such watchwords as: "public opinion," equality before the law," and "national interest," as opposed to class interests only veil this suppression and exploitation. Bourgeois democracy is in reality bourgeois dictatorship. The proletarian or Soviet democracy can be realized only through a transformation of all organizations of the broad laboring masses—proletarian and semi-proletarian (that is, the vast majority of the population) into a single and permanent basis of state apparatus, local as well as national.

The proletarian revolution comes at a moment of economic crisis precipitating a political crisis. The politico-economic crisis causes a collapse in the capitalist order. The role of the "Social-Democratic" parties is to attempt to solve the political crisis by a coalition of an "all-Socialist" government within the bourgeois State machinery thus, by the deception of the workers, enabling the capitalist State to live through the economic crisis.

The proletariat, once having learned the disastrous consequences of "Social-Democratic" bolstering up of the bourgeois State, throws its support to the Communists. Under pressure of the economic chaos, and led by the Communist Party, the proletariat forms its organs of working class power entirely separate and distinct from the bourgeois State. These organs are the Workers' Soviets (councils) which arise at the moment of the revolutionary outbreak and attain a dominant position, during the course of the revolution.

By the use of force, the proletariat destroys the machinery of the bourgeois State and establishes the proletarian dictatorship based on Soviet power.

The proletarian State, like every other state, is an organ of suppression and coercion, but its machinery is directed against the enemies of the working class. It aims to break the desperate resistance of the exploiters who use all the power at their command to drown the revolution in blood. The proletarian state aims to make this resistance impossible. Under a proletarian dictatorship, which is a provisional institution, the working class establishes itself as the ruling class in society. After the resistance of the bourgeoisie is broken, after it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the labor strata, then only do 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 working masses. Parliamentary government is

nothing but an expression of bourgeois supremacy—the form of authority of the capitalist class over the working class. Bourgeois democracy is nothing but a concealed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Bourgeois democracy, through its parliamentary system fraudulently deprives the masses and their organizations of any real participation in the administration of the State.

Under a Workers' Government—the proletarian dictatorship in the form of Soviet power—the organizations of the masses dominate. Through these organizations, the masses themselves administer. Bourgeois democracy, manifesting itself through its parliamentary system, deprives the mass of participation in the administration of the capitalist state by a division of legislative and executive power, by unrecallable mandates, and by numerous agencies of social, political and economic suppression.

Under a proletarian government, the Soviets, acting as real organs of state power, merging the legislative and executive function, and by the right of recall, bring the masses into close contact with the administrative machinery. This unity is further promoted by the fact that under the Soviet government the elections themselves are conducted, not in conformity with arbitrary, territorial demarcations, but in accordance with industrial divisions. The proletarian dictatorship, in the form of a Soviet government, thus realizes true, proletarian democracy—a democracy of and for the working class and against the bourgeoisie.

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

### POLITICAL ACTION

Every class struggle is a political struggle. The object of the class struggle, which inevitably develops into civil war, is the conquest of political power. A political party that shall organize and direct this struggle is indispensable for the acquisition of this power. When the workers are under the leadership of a well organized and experienced political party that has strictly defined objectives and a program of immediate action, in foreign as well as domestic policy, then only will the acquisition of political power cease to be a casual episode, and become the starting point for the gradual realization of the Communist society.

The class struggle demands that the general guidance of the various expressions of the proletarian movement (such as labor unions, co-operative associations, cultural-educational societies, election campaigns, etc.) be centered in one organization. Only a political party can be such a unifying and guiding center. The class struggle of the proletariat demands a concentrated propaganda to throw light upon various stages of the conflict. It makes imperative a unified point of view to direct, at each given moment, the attention of the proletariat to definite tasks that are to be accomplished by the working class as a whole.

The Communist Party of America, section of the Communist International, is that part of the working class which is most advanced, intelligent, self-sacrificing and class conscious. It is therefore the most revolutionary part of the working class. The Com-

munist Party has no other interests than those of the working class as a whole. It differs from the general mass of workers in that it takes a comprehensive view of the entire historical development of the working class. At every turn of the road, it endeavors to defend the interests, not of separate groups or trades, but of the entire working class. The Communist Party is the organized political power by means of which the more advanced part of the working class leads the whole proletarian and semi-proletarian mass.

During the proletarian dictatorship, the Communist Party will continue to systematically direct the work of the Soviets and revolutionized industrial unions. The Communist Party, as the vanguard of the proletarian movement, will direct the struggle of the entire working class on the political and economic fields. It will guide the proletariat in the field of education and social life. The Communist Party must be the animating spirit in the Soviets, revolutionized industrial unions, and in all proletarian organizations.

### I. MASS ACTION.

In countries where the historical development furnished the opportunity, bourgeois democracy served the working class as a means of organizing itself against capitalism. This process will go on in all countries where the conditions for a proletarian revolution are not yet ripe. The workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. The capitalist class screens its deeds of violence behind the parliamentary system. Centuries of capitalist rule have placed at its disposal the equipment and attainments of modern civilization. To achieve its end the capitalist class resorts to lies, demagoguery, bribery, persecution, and murder.

The revolutionary epoch, upon which the world has now entered, forces the proletariat to resort to militant methods—mass action, leading to direct collision with the bourgeois state. Mass action culminates in armed insurrection and civil war. The centralized power of the capitalist class manifests itself through control of the state machinery—the army, the navy, police, courts, bureaucracy, etc. It is through such means that the capitalist class imposes its will upon the workers. Mass action is the proletarian revolt against the oppression of the capitalist class. It develops from spontaneous activities of the workers massed in large industries. Among its initial manifestations are mass strikes and mass demonstrations.

The Communist Party will educate and organize the working masses for such direct political action, i. e., mass strikes and mass demonstrations, and will lead them in these struggles. These struggles form the major campaign of the Communist Party. It is through such struggles that the working masses are prepared for the final conflict for power. This can be nothing else but a direct struggle between the armed forces of the capitalist state on the one hand, and the armed forces of the proletarian revolution on the other. In these mass strikes and demonstrations large masses of workers are united. New tactics and a new ideology are developed. As these strikes grow in number and intensity, they acquire political character through unavoidable collision and open combat with the capitalist state which openly employs all its machinery to break their strikes and crush the workers' organiza-

tions. This finally results in armed insurrection aimed directly at the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. This objective cannot be attained unless the entire mass movement is under the control and guidance of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party will keep in the foreground the idea of the necessity of violent revolution for the destruction of the capitalist state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat based on Soviet power.

The Communist Party will systematically and persistently propagate the idea of the inevitability of and necessity for violent revolution, and will prepare the workers for armed insurrection as the only means of overthrowing the capitalist state.

### II. PARLIAMENTARY ACTION.

The Communist Party of America recognizes that the revolutionary proletariat must use all means of propaganda and agitation to win over the exploited masses. One of these means is parliamentary activity. The work of Communist representatives in parliament will consist chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform. They should unmask and denounce the enemies of the masses. Our representatives in parliament shall further the ideological unification of the masses who, captivated by democratic illusions, still put their trust in parliaments. The Communist Party will utilize parliament as a means of winning especially such backward elements of the working masses as tenant farmers, farm workers and the semi-proletariat. All work within the parliaments must be completely subordinated to the task of the mass struggles outside of parliament.

Communist representatives shall make all their parliamentary activity dependent on the work of the Party outside of parliament. They should regularly propose demonstrative measures, not for the purpose of having them passed by the bourgeois majority, but for the purpose of propaganda, agitation and organization. All this activity must be carried on under the direction of the Party and its Central Executive Committee.

The bourgeois parliament, one of the most important instruments of the bourgeois state machinery, can no more be won by the proletariat than the bourgeois order in general. It is the task of the proletariat to destroy the entire machinery of the bourgeois state, not excluding its parliamentary institutions.

The parliamentary system of the American bourgeois government is based on a rigid constitution. Its authority is divided among forty-eight states. Each of these states has its own legislature, governor, courts, etc. The American capitalist state, screened by bourgeois democracy, is the machinery in the hands of the capitalists for crushing all working class aspirations. Large masses of negroes, migratory and foreign-born workers are disfranchised. The working class of America now faces a practically naked dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The American bourgeois state was quick to recognize the Communist parties in America as its historic and deadly enemy. It employed all its power in a vicious onslaught against them. Being outlawed, the Communist parties reorganized as underground, illegal parties. Thus, for the present, the Communist

arty of America is prevented from participating in elections under its own name.

While the Communist Party of America wages its major campaigns and activities through the mass struggles of the working class outside of parliament, it will also organize the necessary legal machinery for participation in municipal, state, and national election campaigns. It shall, wherever possible, enter its candidates in opposition to all bourgeois and social-reform parties.

### LABOR UNIONS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

The trade unions arose as organs of the working class to check the growing exploitation. In their early form the trade unions were organizations of skilled workers in separate crafts. Modern industry has developed the machine worker. The machine workers have massed together in the basic industries and constitute the militant factor in the class struggle. The concentration of industry and the development of the machine process renders useless the isolated craft strike and makes necessary the organization of the workers on a wider scale. Industrial unions are a better form of organization for the workers in their struggle for higher wages and improved conditions, under capitalism. Craft unions have not kept pace with the development of capitalist organization and still retain to a large degree the ideology of property, contract and obsolete craft division.

Industrial unions alone are not sufficient for the successful carrying out of the revolution. Syndicalism denies the necessity for establishing the proletarian state during the transition period from capitalist society to Communist society. Revolutionary syndicalism and industrialism are a step forward only in comparison with the old, counter-revolutionary ideology of Social Parties. But in comparison with the revolutionary Marxian doctrine, i. e., with Communism, Syndicalism and Industrialism are a step backward.

The Socialist movement in America originally followed the policy of maintaining contact with labor organizations and of propagating their ideas within them. Impatience with the slowness of the process of education and leading the workers by working within the reactionary trade unions gave rise to the attempt during the period of 1895 to artificially stimulate the organization of brand new "class-conscious" labor unions, such as the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. The opportunist policy of the "yellow" reformist socialists catering to and supporting the reactionary leaders of the trade unions increased this discouragement and led to the abandonment of the struggle within the old unions by the more advanced worker and to the formation in 1905 of the I. W. W. as an entirely new or union, outside of and in opposition to the existing trade unions.

The policy of the I. W. W. and similar organizations of artificially creating new industrial unions has been shown by experience to be mistaken. Such efforts result in isolating the most advanced workers from the main body of organized labor and strengthen the control of the trade unions by reactionary leaders. The members of the trade union as a rule have not deserted the old unions for the new ones: The old unions become more reactionary when the revolutionary workers leave them. This situation represents a great

danger, for without the support of the labor unions, the success of the proletarian revolution is impossible. The experience of the Hungarian and German revolutions fully establishes the fact that if the American labor unions remain under the control of such leaders as those who grossly betrayed the workers during the World War, and who serve the bourgeoisie against the workers in every struggle, they will be manipulated as deadly implements for the defeat of the proletarian revolution.

The Communist Party condemns the policy of the revolutionary elements leaving the existing unions. These elements must remain with the large mass of organized workers. The Communist must take an active and leading part in the every-day struggles of the unions. They must carry on a merciless and uncompromising struggle against the social-patriotic and reactionary leaders, criticize and expose them and drive them out of power. The Communist Party will develop from its ranks the most determined fighters in the labor movement who, through courage, sacrifice, and class-consciousness, will inspire the masses with a spirit of determined struggle and win them over for the proletarian revolution. Only in this way can the disintegration of the unions be prevented, the reactionary leaders ousted from control, the bureaucratic machinery destroyed and replaced by the apparatus of shop delegates, and the trade unions broadened in scope and gradually developed into industrial unions.

Bearing in mind the necessity of the closest contact of the Communists with those workers who have not yet reached a revolutionary understanding, and the intensity of the struggle which requires the closest unity and solidarity of the workers on the economic field, the Communists shall not foster artificial division in the labor movement, nor deliberately bring it about. On the contrary, they must use all measures, short of giving up the revolutionary task in the unions, not hesitating to employ strategy, to avoid giving to the reactionary leaders the pretext to expel them. The Communists must not fear a split when the circumstances leave them no alternative except to abandon the struggle to transform the unions into instruments of revolutionary action. Such a split may be carried out only when the Communists, by the incessant warfare against the reactionary leaders and their tactics, and by their whole-hearted participation in the every-day struggles of the unions, have gained the confidence and the leadership of the workers, and are able to convince them that the split is occurring, not because of some remote revolutionary aim which they do not understand, but because it has been forced by the bureaucracy and because it is demanded by the concrete, immediate interests of the working class in the development of the economic struggle. Even in such cases, the Communists must act with the greatest, and carefully consider the possibility of such a split resulting in separating them from the working masses.

The Communist Party will lead and participate in every effort on the part of the unorganized worker to organize into unions—initiating the organization of unions where these do not exist—and will lead them in the class struggle towards the proletarian revolution.

The Communist Party will work within the industrial unions of the I. W. W. where these are established and function as mass organizations of the workers;



and will support them especially during strikes and mass movements. The Communist Party regards the workers in the ranks of the I. W. W. as comrades in the class war. At the same time, the Communist Party rejects the absurd theory, entertained by the I. W. W., that the revolution can be accomplished by the direct seizure of industry without overthrowing the capitalist state. Only after the conquest of political power, after the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, can the revolutionized industrial unions become the starting point for the Communist reconstruction of society. The Communist Party will put forth every effort to overcome the syndicalist prejudices of the members of the I. W. W., and to win them over to the position of the Communist International.

## II.

The effort to transform the antiquated craft union into more effective offensive and defensive instruments of the working class gives rise to the formation of rank and file organizations of the more advanced workers within the unions. The purpose of such organization is to more effectively wage the struggle for control of the unions and to oust the traitorous leaders. These expressions within the unions are a necessary feature of the struggle to revolutionize the labor movement and must be crystalized by the Communist Party. The Communist Party will take an active part in this movement and co-ordinate it, fully utilizing for this purpose its press, nuclei and all other means, and lead it by degrees to the platform of Communism and thus make of it an auxiliary instrument of the Communist Party.

## III.

The experience of the European labor movement indicates that out of the economic chaos developing in America the laboring masses will endeavor to create factory committees, such as the factory councils (Betriebs Rat) in Germany, which will undertake a struggle for workers' control over production. The aspiration to create such organizations takes its origin from the most varied causes, namely, struggle against the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, discouragement after a strike or defeat of the unions, or the desire to create an organization embracing all the workers, etc., but in the end, it results in the struggle for control over industry, which is their special historic task. These organizations should consist of the widest possible masses of workers and should not be formed exclusively of those who already understand and are fighting for the proletarian dictatorship. The Communist Party will organize all workers on a basis of the economic crisis, and lead them toward the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat by developing the concrete struggle for workers' control over industry.

The factory committees cannot be substituted for the trade unions. The trade unions are central fighting organs although they do not embrace such large masses of the workers as the factory committee, since these become accessible to all the workers of a given industry. The trade and industrial unions organize the workers on a national scale for the struggle to in-

crease wages and shorten hours of labor. Factory committees fight for workers' control over production, in the struggle to resist the economic crisis, and embrace all the workers in a given industry. This division of tasks is the result of the historic development of the social revolution.

Factory committees are extra-union organizations and must not be confused with shop committees and the shop delegate system, which are part of the machinery of some labor unions. The shop committees and the shop delegate system constitute a form of union management whereby the power in the union rests in the hands of delegates elected by and from the workers in the shop. The Communist Party will advocate and promote this form of union management. At the same time it will expose the so-called "shop committees" which are organized by employers as substitutes for labor unions.

The Communist Party will propagate the idea of factory committees to the working class of America as an immediate and essential part of its general propaganda. It will lead the worker in their attempts to form factory committees and will initiate their organization when the necessary conditions arise.

## IV.

Two Internationals of Trade Unions are struggling for supremacy. On the one hand, "The International Federation of Trade Unions," with headquarters at Amsterdam, endeavors with a subtle program of "Socialistic" reform to lure the labor unions into collaboration with the capitalist governments and leagues of governments. It seeks to paralyze and demoralize the working class of all countries simultaneously, in time of revolutionary crisis, in the interests of the capitalist class.

On the other hand is the Red Labor Union International, with headquarters at Moscow. This International of Trade and Industrial Unions unites the labor unions of the world for the carrying on of the labor struggle on the economic field in the interests of the working class as a whole. It wars on the capitalist class and all capitalist governments and in close and indissoluble union with the Communist International.

The Communist Party will carry on an extensive propaganda for the affiliation of all organized labor in America to the Red Labor Union International. Where revolutionary minorities, or separate organizations within the American labor movement endorse the revolutionary program of the Red Labor Union International, the Communist Party will pursue the policy of keeping the revolutionary minorities within their national organizations for the purpose of combating any efforts at affiliation with the yellow Amsterdam International, and of bringing the entire labor movement of America into the Red International. The Communist Party will fully co-operate with the Red Labor Union International and any committees or bureaus it may establish to carry on its work in the American labor movement, in keeping with the decisions of the Communist International.

The Communist Party will strive to inspire all the organizations of labor with the spirit of determined struggle, i. e., with the spirit of Communism. The Communist Party will practically subordinate these and thus create a mass organization, a basis for a

powerful centralized organ of the proletarian struggle. The Communist Party will lead them all to one aim, the victory of the working class, through the dictatorship of the proletariat, to Communism.

### Communist Party Nuclei.

The Communist Party of America will organize party nuclei wherever there are proletarians or semi-proletarians. These nuclei will be organized in trade and industrial unions, in factory committees, in working-class educational or social organizations, in government institutions, in the army and navy, and in the organizations of the agricultural laborers, tenant farmers, small farmers, etc. These nuclei will enable the party to effectively carry on its propaganda. These nuclei will aid the party in leading the working masses in the proletarian revolution. Communist Party nuclei shall be subordinated one to another in a centralized order and system. They shall be under the control, supervision and discipline of the Communist Party of America.

### Agricultural Workers and Farmers.

Capitalism dominates agricultural production as well as all other functions of the economic life of society. The exploitation of the agricultural proletariat links up the interests of this class inseparably with the interests of the city proletariat. The forces which drive the city worker into conflict with the capitalist state are also at work in rural districts.

In the United States, the small farmers have time and again attempted to resist oppression and exploitation by the finance and industrial oligarchy. The Greenback movement in the '70's, the Populist movement in the '90's, and present Non-Partisan movement are examples.

These small farmers are only nominally the owners of parcels of land. They are mercilessly exploited by banks, commission merchants, transportation companies, farming implement trusts, absentee landlords, etc. The reform movements which have periodically swept over the country failed to ameliorate the conditions of the exploited rural masses. The position of the latter, like that of the city proletariat, is becoming steadily worse under the capitalist system.

The city proletariat must educate, win over, and lead in the class struggle these laboring and exploited masses of the country. In America, the latter are represented by the following groups:

1. The agricultural proletariat, that is, hired laborers, farm and harvest hands. They are wage workers on the large ranches, plantations and farms. They are largely migratory workers.

2. The semi-proletariat. These are the small farmers and tenant farmers. Through the land owned or rented by them, they secure only part of the sustenance needed by them and their families. They are compelled to work partly for wages in capitalist agricultural or industrial establishments.

3. The small proprietors—small farmers. The land owned by them is usually heavily mortgaged. They satisfy the needs of their families and farming without working for wages. These three groups constitute the vast majority of the agrarian population of the United States. Co-operation of the city proletariat

with the exploited agrarian masses is necessary to insure the success of the proletarian revolution.

The large landed farmers are capitalists in agriculture. They manage their own farms and employ foremen and laborers. This group constitutes a most numerous element of the bourgeoisie, and is an open enemy of the proletariat.

Only the city proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party can emancipate the laboring masses from exploitation and oppression by the capitalists and landowners. Privation and imperialist wars are inevitable as long as the capitalist system endure. The salvation for the small farmer, tenant farmer, and farm worker lies only in a union with the revolutionary proletariat. They should whole-heartedly support the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in order to throw off the yoke of the landowners and bourgeoisie. The proletariat will become a truly revolutionary class only when it acts as the vanguard of all those who are exploited and suppressed and leads the struggle against the oppressors of the toiling masses.

The Communist Party of America will establish nuclei in the organizations of the exploited rural masses in order to win them away from the political and moral influence of the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party will carry the struggle into the agricultural districts and gather the toiling masses around the standard of Communism.

The Communist Party will initiate and support the organization of farm laborers and tenant farmers and will lead them to co-operation with the city proletariat in their struggle against their exploiters, towards the social revolution.

### IMPERIALISM AND THE COLONIAL QUESTION

Since the Imperialist World War, the United States has become a creditor nation. It is now seeking new fields for the investment of capital. It is looking for new sources of raw material for its factories. Thus, America is brought into conflict with such Imperialism as the Japanese or English. This leads to imperialist wars in preparation for which the American bourgeoisie maintains huge military and naval establishments.

The recent imperialist war has exposed the fraudulent character of bourgeois democracy. The war was waged by both sides under such false slogans as "rights of small nations" and "national self-determination." The Brest-Litovsk, the Bucharest and the Versailles Peace have clearly shown how the bourgeoisie established their "national" boundaries in conformity with economic class interests. The so-called "league of nations" is only an insurance company, in which the victors are guaranteed their prey. The revolutionary struggle and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie alone can achieve national freedom and unity for the proletariat. Thus, the revolutionary struggle in the advanced countries becomes ever more acute. The ferment of the working masses of the colonies and subject countries is increasing, and the middle class nationalistic illusion of the possibility of peaceful collaboration and the equality of nations under capitalism is being dispelled.

The present world political situation has placed the question of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the foreground. All the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one point—the struggle

of the entire bourgeois world against the Russian Soviet Republic, the heart of the world Soviet movement. The Russian Soviet Republic is drawing to itself more and more closely not only the Soviet movement, carried on by the vanguard of the proletariat of all countries, but also the national liberation movements of the colonial and subject countries. These have already been taught by bitter experience that salvation for them lies only in a union with the revolutionary proletariat and in the triumph of Soviet power over imperialism.

The United States was in its origin a colony of England. It retained the characteristics of a colonial people and was a hinterland for Europe until after the American Civil War. The American capitalists had their own world to conquer and exploit within the present territorial confines of the United States, which contains fabulous resources and natural wealth. Millions of workingmen and their families, lured by the false light of bourgeois democracy and the hope of economic security, came to this country. These immigrant workers were mercilessly exploited in the building up of capitalism in America, which forcibly annexed huge territories from its weaker neighbors through fraud and conquest. After the Spanish-American war, the United States definitely entered upon the conquest of world markets. An aggressive policy of imperialism was developed. Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rica, and the Phillipines were conquered and subjected. The Caribbean and Central American republics are practically dependencies of the United States. Together with Mexico, they have been brought under the control of American finance imperialism by the constant threat of military intervention.

The Communist Party of America will support with all its power every movement for the liberation of the oppressed colonial peoples of the United States. The Communist Party will fight against the economic and military aggression of American capitalists upon the populations of the weaker American republics. The Communist Party of America will carry on a systematic agitation in the American army and navy against every kind of oppression of the colonial peoples by American imperialism. It will strive to cultivate among the American proletariat a fraternal feeling towards the colonial working populations in all the nations that are under the iron heel of American capitalists. The Communist Party will systematically agitate against the oppression of the colonial peoples by American imperialism, and support every uprising on the part of these oppressed peoples. It will aid them in every way possible to throw off the yoke of American imperialism. The Communist Party will link up the struggle of the exploited toiling masses in the subject countries with that of the proletariat in America against their common enemy—the American capitalist and the subject countries' native bourgeoisie, who are only tools of the American capitalist class.

### THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Communist International, brought forth by the proletarian revolution in action, is the central organ of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle for the conquest of world power. The revolutionary movement is growing in every country. But this movement of the proletarian revolution is menaced with suppression by

a coalition of capitalist states. The social-patriotic parties are uniting with each other to betray the revolution through service to the imperialist League of Nations. The co-ordination of proletarian action all over the world is imperative. The Communist International is an absolute necessity.

The Communist International subordinates the so-called national interests to the interest of the international proletarian revolution. The Communist International merges and centralizes the reciprocal aid of the proletariat of all countries. In order to accelerate the final collapse of the imperialist system of the world, the Communist International supports the exploited colonial peoples in their struggles against imperialism.

The Communist International is the concentrated will of the world revolutionary proletariat. Its mission is to organize the working class of the world for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of Communism. The Communist International is a fighting body and assumes the task of combining the revolutionary forces of every country.

In order to overthrow the international bourgeoisie and to create an International Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the Communist Society, the Communist International will use all means at its disposal, including force of arms.

The Communist International breaks with the traditions of the Second International. The Communist International fraternally invites to its ranks the men and women of all colors and races—the toilers of the entire world. The Communist International declares that a firm and centralized organization is indispensable to a speedy achievement of victory. The Communist International represents the single universal Communist Party, of which the parties of the various countries are sections.

The Communist International calls the world proletariat to the final struggle against capitalism. 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.

## RESOLUTIONS.

Adopted by the Joint Unity Convention of the United Communist Party and the Communist Party of America.)

### 1. Resolution on Unity.

In accordance with the mandate of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the delegates of the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party of America have assembled in joint unity convention. The convention having adopted a program and constitution declares that the two parties are now united. The delegates present pledge themselves and the membership which they represent to abide by and carry out all decisions of the convention.

### 2. Greetings to the Third World Congress of the Communist International.

The delegates of the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party of America, in joint

Unity Convention, send fraternal greetings to the Third World Congress of the Communist International. In the name of the revolutionary proletariat of America, we affirm our determination to fight under the banner of the Communist International for the overthrow of American imperialism and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. Hail to the International Soviet Republic! Long live the Communist International!

### 3. Greetings to the Soviet Republic.

The delegates of the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party of America, assembled in joint Unity Convention, send fraternal greetings to the revolutionary proletariat and peasantry of Soviet Russia and to its vanguard, the Russian Communist Party.

The unified party, the Communist Party of America, declares that it will render all possible assistance to the Russian Soviet Republic in its struggle against the counter-revolutionary bands of the world imperialism. The Communist Party of America declares that only by the overthrow of world imperialism will the safety and mastery of the Soviet Republic over its enemies be definitely assured. The Communist Party of America pledges itself to rally the revolutionary proletariat of America for the annihilation of the most formidable stronghold of world imperialism: the American capitalist state, and to struggle for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. Down with world imperial-

ism! Hail to the universal Soviet Republic! Long live the international solidarity of the workers!

### 4. To the Third World Congress of the Communist International.

The Unity Convention of the Communist of America and the United Communist Party of America fully upholds and endorses the firm and uncompromising stand of the Executive Committee of the Communist International against the opportunistic and centrist elements in various countries—in Italy (Serrati), and in Germany (Levi). The convention instructs its delegates to the third world congress to uphold and defend the stand of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. It urges the Communist International to guard against the danger of admitting centrist elements whose real place is in the 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  International.

### 5. Greetings to the Political Prisoners.

The Unity Convention of the Communist Party of America and the United Communist Party of America sends a message of encouragement and support to the revolutionists held behind prison bars by the ruthless dictatorship, and pledges to them, in the name of the oppressed masses, that the unified party, the Communist Party of America, will never rest until the victims of the capitalist oppression are liberated through the untiring efforts of the revolutionary proletariat. Down with the American Bastille! Hail to the revolutionary proletariat! Long live Communism!

## Communist Nuclei and the Shop Delegate System

ADAPTED BY C. E. C. FROM UNITY CONVENTION INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEE'S REPORT

### The Shop Delegate System.

Out of the struggle of the workers in the unions against their reactionary labor union bureaucracy there arises the necessity for a new form of labor union administration—The Shop Delegate System.

The Shop Delegate System cuts across craft lines and makes the shop, which is the unit of production, the unit of organization. Each shop, at its shop meeting, elects a Shop Committee, and also one or more delegates—in proportion to number of workers in each shop—who, together with the delegates from other shop in the same industry and district, form a Central Shop Delegate Council. This Council decides the problems of the union in their district and elects the Executive Committee of the union. It appoints and recalls all paid officials of the union in their jurisdiction. Thus these officials are employees of the union and under the constant supervision and control of the rank and file of the union, through their Shop Delegate Council and the Executive Committee.

Any shop can recall its delegates on the Shop Committee or the Shop Delegate Council at any time through the shop meeting. This form of trade union democracy, once established, cannot easily be manipulated to defeat the will of the rank and file membership. Under the Shop Delegate System the most representative workers go from the lower to the higher bodies, and because of the constant

control exercised by the workers in the shops over their delegates, these are responsive to the will of the rank and file members of the unions.

This form of rank and file control is adaptable to all unions in all industries and will displace the reactionary labor union bureaucracy and put the most advanced and class-conscious elements among the workers into control of the unions. The establishment of the Shop Delegate system within the existing unions will change the basis of their organization from the separate crafts and trade within the shops to the shop as a unit of organization, and the union will thus include every worker in the shops throughout an industry.

The unions, organized on the basis of the Shop Delegate System, will be able to more effectively resist the exploitation and oppression of the capitalist class and the bourgeois state and will become formidable offensive and defensive weapons of the workers in the class war against the bourgeoisie.

Communist Party nuclei shall persistently and systematically advocate and fight for the introduction of the Shop Delegate mainly upon the basis of the immediate struggles of the workers, and shall be presented as a means of bringing about rank and file control in the unions. In carrying on the agitation for the Shop Delegate System within the unions the utmost care must be taken to make it plain to the workers that it is not a plan to build new unions but on the contrary, to change the basis of organiza-

tion within the existing labor unions. These unions, organized upon the basis of the Shop Delegate System, will constitute a broader form of proletarian and when brought under the control and guidance of the Communist Party, will assure the success of the proletarian revolution.

### Communist Party Nuclei.

#### 1. Co-operation with other elements in the Unions.

The treachery and utter incompetency of the trade union bureaucracy is becoming evident to large masses of the workers. Their discontent and protest finds expression in numerous unofficial organizations which are springing up within the existing unions.

The Communist Party, through its nuclei in the unions, will lead and organize these insurgent elements, locally and upon a national scale, into an unofficial and file "left wing" movement within the labor unions, and inspire them with the militant spirit of communism.

It is the supreme task of the Communist Party to direct the activities of the working class into revolutionary channels; to organize it for and lead it in the proletarian revolution. In order to accomplish this purpose the Communist Party will guide and co-ordinate the "left wing" movement of the more advanced workers within the existing trade unions and thus bring them to a better understanding of the class struggle and of revolutionary action.

To carry out this task, Communist Party Nuclei (especially in their campaigns against the trade union bureaucracy) shall co-operate with all "left wing" elements and organized groups within the unions. The Communist Party nuclei, however, shall maintain its units intact, and, under no circumstances, fuse, or enter into permanent alliances with any other elements or organized groups within the unions. They shall organize the "left wing" groups, in every labor union, on the basis of the struggle against the reactionary bureaucracy and of the immediate struggles of the workers against their exploiters.

Communist Party Nuclei shall not split away from the left wing elements in their unions unless it becomes evident that it is impossible to co-operate with them in carrying out the Communist work in the particular union. Such action shall be taken only upon the approval of the regular Party unit having jurisdiction over the nucleus or nuclei involved.

Communist Party nuclei shall always carry on their agitation and propaganda in such a way as to convince the workers of the feasibility of their proposals and of the Party's trade union program. In case C. P. nuclei are temporarily defeated, they shall not disorganize or break up the "left wing" groups, but shall continue their propaganda and bring into these groups workers who are more favorable to the nuclei's proposals.

Communist Party nuclei, in their work within the "left wing" groups, shall continually strive to get new members for the party. They shall distribute legal Party literature in their shops and unions, and

find means to supply sympathizers with the illegal Party papers and literature. By presenting resolutions in the local unions and by all other means the nuclei shall strive to get publicity for their program in the labor union press.

In every union, the nuclei shall organize (or secure control of machinery for carrying on educational work (lectures, study classes, etc.) among the members of their union, which provides the opportunity to educate the workers in the principles of Communism. The nuclei must always bear in mind the necessity for reaching the broad masses of the workers and should use the more advanced and sympathetic elements as a medium through which to reach them.

On all important issues arising out of the struggle against the union bureaucracy or the class war, the nuclei, with the aid of sympathizers, should organize caucuses of "left wing" elements and meetings of the members of the union and of the workers generally, and thus draw increasing numbers of the exploited masses into the struggle.

Members of the nuclei must keep their identity as party members secret and guard against being expelled from the union. If the expulsion of a member of the nucleus is attempted by the trade union bureaucracy, such proceedings should be bitterly contested and used as an occasion for intensive agitation against the reactionary officials.

On all important issues arising in the unions, C. P. nuclei shall meet and prepare their leaflets, motions, or resolutions before meeting in joint caucus with the left wing groups or presenting them in the union meeting.

#### 2. C. P. Nuclei in Independent Labor Unions.

The reactionary trade union bureaucracy, in order to maintain itself in power, does not hesitate to break up the unity of the workers by the expulsion of militant members of the reactionary unions, by expelling opposition locals and unions, and by attempts at splitting whole sections of union organizations. As a result there are hundreds of thousands of workers organized in independent unions (outside the A. F. of L. and the R. R. Brotherhoods). These independent unions, separated from each other and scattered throughout the country, lead a precarious existence fighting against the capitalists and the crushing policy of the reactionary trade union Bureaucracy.

The Communist Party, through its nuclei in these unions, will strive to amalgamate the independent unions into local central bodies and into a national organization, thus uniting the expelled militants in the labor movement for a more effective struggle against the reactionaries. The unification of the more advanced and expelled unions into a national body must not be construed by Communist in the A. F. of L. or R. R. Brotherhoods to mean that the Communist Party will condone or favor splits in these organizations for the sake of joining such a national organization of independent unions. The Communist Party, through its members and nuclei within the Independent Unions, the R. R. Brotherhoods, the I. W. W., and all other labor unions, will persistently and systematically carry on an agita-

tion of all labor organizations into one powerful, centralized organization comprising all labor unions throughout the country affiliated with the international general staff of labor—The Red Labor Union International.

### 3. Communist Party Nuclei in Workers' Organizations Other than Trade Unions.

In order to carry on communist propaganda and win control in the various workers' organizations (such as: ex-soldiers and sailors organizations; athletic and sporting clubs; cultural, educational, or beneficiary societies; tenants' leagues; co-operative associations; etc.) the Communist Party will organize its nuclei within them. These nuclei will be centralized and connected with the regular party machinery in the same manner as the C. P. nuclei in the trade unions.

## PROVISIONS FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF COMMUNIST PARTY NUCLEI IN THE SHOPS AND UNIONS.

### ARTICLE I.

Section 1. In order to carry out the Communist task in the labor unions and shops, the Section Executive Committees of the Party, or the Sub-district Executive Committees (where there are two or more Sections in a city) shall organize Party Nuclei in the shops and unions.

Section 2. Every Party member shall belong to a labor union, if eligible.

Section 3. All Party members belonging to a labor union shall be affiliated with the Party Nuclei in their respective unions. Members who do not belong to any union shall, wherever possible, form and belong to Party Nuclei in their shops, trade or industry.

Section 4. Each Nuclei shall consist of about 10 members. The Nuclei shall elect their captains and these captains shall form the Nuclei Committee of their respective union locals, trades, or shops.

Section 5. Where two or more locals of the same union exist in a city, Party Nuclei in these locals of the union shall be connected with each other through organizers elected by the Nuclei for each local of the union.

Section 6. The Nuclei Organizers for the various unions shall be appointed by the Section or Sub-district Executive Committees. These Organizers shall constitute the Industrial Department of the respective Party sub-divisions.

Section 7. In order to co-ordinate and centralize the work of the Nuclei on a national scale, the C. E. C. of the Party shall organize a National Industrial Department, and through it, appoint District Nuclei Organizers, who shall be members ex-officio (with voice but no vote) of the District Executive Committee.

Section 8. The District Nuclei Organizer shall appoint, subject to the approval of the District Executive Committee, the Section or Sub-district Nuclei Organizers, who shall be in charge of the Section or Sub-district Industrial Department.

Section 9. All Party Nuclei shall be subject to the discipline and decisions of the Party, and shall, in their various localities, be under the control of the Section or Sub-district Executive Committees.

### ARTICLE II.

Section 1. All local Industrial Departments shall submit for the approval of the Section or Sub-district E. C. any general plan of action which they intend to carry out in the unions or industry.

Section 2. Section or Sub-district Industrial Departments may be authorized by the District Executive Committee to issue leaflets in connection with the various problems arising from the daily struggle of the workers in the shops and unions. Such leaflets shall not attempt the exposition of general communist principles and tactics, and shall not be signed in the name of the Communist Party. Copies of all leaflets issued by the Industrial Departments shall be sent through regular Party channels to the Central Executive Committee of the Party.

Section 3. Communist Nuclei shall not participate in a split within a local labor union without the approval of the District Executive Committee. In case of a split in their nation unions, S. P. Nuclei shall not participate without the approval of the Central Executive Committee of the Party.

Section 4. Party members may accept paid positions in the unions, provided that they can further Communist propaganda.

# The Meaning of the Agricultural Tax

By LENIN.

## Introduction.

The question of the Agricultural Tax at the present moment is attracting considerable attention and is subject of considerable discussions. This is quite understandable, for it is indeed one of the most important questions of policy under the present conditions.

It will be all the more useful therefore, to attempt to approach this question, not from its "everyday aspect," but from the point of view of principle. In other words, to examine the background upon which we are sketching the plan of the definite, practical measures of policy of the present day.

In order to make this attempt, I permit myself to

quote extracts from my pamphlets, "The Chief Tasks of Our Times—On 'Left' Childishness and Petty Bourgeoisism."

The polemic is now unnecessary and I leave it out, but I retain what relates to the discussion of "State Capitalism" and to the basic elements of the economics of the present period of transition from capitalism to Socialism.

This is what I wrote:

THE PRESENT ECONOMIC POSITION OF RUSSIA  
(From a Pamphlet Published in 1918.)

"... State Capitalism would be a step in advance in the present state of affairs of our Soviet Republic.

If for example, State Capitalism could establish itself here, during the next six months, it would be an excellent thing and a sure guarantee, that within a year Socialism will have established itself and become invincible."

I can imagine the noble indignation with which some will scorn these words. What? The transition to capitalism in a Soviet Socialist Republic a step in advance? . . . Is this not a betrayal of Socialism?

It is precisely with this point that one must deal in detail.

In the first place one must analyze the nature of the transition of capitalism into socialism, which gives us the right and the foundation to describe ourselves a Socialist Soviet Republic. Secondly, one must expose the error of those who do not see that the chief enemy of Socialism with us is, the petty bourgeois economic conditions and the petty bourgeois ideas seething in the country.

Thirdly, one must properly understand the distinction of a Soviet State from a Bourgeois State.

Let us examine these three points.

There is not a single person, it seems to me, who, examining the economics of Russia, would deny their transitional character. There is not a Communist, it seems to me, who would deny that the expression Socialist Soviet Republic means the determination of the Soviet Power to realize the transition to Socialism, and does not by any means signify that the present economic order is regarded as socialistic. What is the meaning of the word—transition? Does it mean when applied to economics, that in the present system there are elements "partly capitalism and partly socialism," everybody will recognize that this is so, but not everybody who recognizes this thinks of the numerous kinds of elements of the various socio-economic strata we have in Russia.

Let us enumerate these elements:

1. Patriarchal, i. e., to a large degree primitive peasant production.
2. Small commodity production. (This includes the majority of peasants who sell corn.)
3. Private capitalism.
4. State capitalism.
5. Socialism.

Russia is so large and so varied that all these varying types of socio-economic strata are interlayed in it. The peculiarity of the position lies precisely in it.

The question is which is the predominating element. It is clear that in a petty peasant environment nothing else but petty bourgeois ideas can prevail. The majority, and the vast majority at that, of the peasants are small commodity producers. Our outer shell of State Capitalism (corn monopoly, control of manufactures, merchants and bourgeois co-operative societies) is brogen, first in one place and then in another by speculators and the chief article of speculation is corn.

The main struggle develops precisely in this sphere. Between whom is this struggle conducted? Is it between the fourth and the fifth elements in the order in which I have enumerated them above? Certainly not. It is not a struggle between State Capitalism and Socialism, but a struggle between the petty bourgeoisie plus private capitalism fighting against State Capitalism and Socialism. The petty bourgeoisie resists every form of State interference and control, no matter whether it is State Capitalism or State Socialism. This is an absolutely undisputable fact, and the failure to

understand it lies at the root of quite a number of economic errors.

Those who do not see this, reveal by their blindness their servitude to the petty bourgeois prejudices.

State Capitalism is incomparably higher economically than our present economic system, that is one point, and secondly, there is nothing in it that is terrible for the Soviet Government, for the Soviet State is a State which guarantees power to the workers and the poor.

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In order to make this question clear, I will first of all, quote a concrete example of State Capitalism. Everybody will know this example: Germany. Here we have "the last word" in modern, large capitalist technique and systematic organization subordinated to junker-bourgeois imperialism. In place of the military, junker, bourgeois imperialist State put another State, but a State of another social type, a State with a different class content, a Soviet, i. e. a Proletarian State, and you will get the sum of conditions which gives Socialism.

Socialism is impossible without large capitalist technique constructed according to the last word science, without systematic State organization subjecting millions of people to the strict observation of a uniform standard of production and distribution of products. We Marxists have always said this, and it is hardly worth wasting even two seconds in arguing this point with people who do not understand it, like anarchists, and the greater part of the Social Revolutionaries.

Besides this Socialism is impossible without the domination of the Proletariat in the State, this is also pure A. B. C. History (from whom nobody except first-class menshevik idiots expected that it would smoothly, peacefully, simply and easily produce "complete socialism") has proceeded in such a peculiar fashion that in 1918, it gave birth to two separated halves of socialism, like two chickens born within the same shell of international imperialism. Germany and Russia in 1918 embodied in themselves, on the one hand the most obviously materially realized economic, industrial and social conditions, and on the other hand the political conditions for socialism.

A victorious proletarian revolution in Germany would immediately and with tremendous ease smash the whole shell of imperialism (unfortunately constructed of the finest steel and therefore unbreakable by any kind of "chicken"), and would for certain bring about a victory of world socialism, without or with very little difficulty, granting of course, that "difficult" is understood not in a narrow sense, but from a universal-historical point of view.

If the revolution in Germany is delayed our task becomes clear, to learn State Capitalism from the Germans, and to exert all our efforts to acquire it. We must not spare any dictatorial methods in hastening the Westernization of barbarous Russia, and stick at no barbarous measures to combat barbarism.

At the present moment in Russia, it is precisely petty bourgeois capitalism that predominates, from which a single road, through the same intervening stations called national accounting and control of production and distribution leads both to State Capitalism and to Socialism. Those who do not understand this commit an unpardonable error and either do not see facts, cannot look through to the face, or limit them-

selves to the abstract contradictions between "capitalism and socialism" and do not enter into the concrete forms and stages of the period through which we are now passing.

It is precisely because it is impossible to advance from the present economic position of Russia without passing through what is common to both State Capitalism and Socialism—national accounting and control, that to frighten others and oneself by talking about "evolving towards State capitalism" is absolute theoretical stupidity. That means to allow one's mind to stray from the actual path of evolution. In practice this is equal to dragging us back to small private capitalism.

In order to convince the reader that my "high" valuation of State Capitalism is not made here for the first time, but was made by me previous to the Bolsheviks taking power, I will quote the following from my pamphlet "A Threatening Catastrophe and How to Combat It"—which was written in September, 1917:

"In place of a junker capitalist government, try and put a revolutionary democratic government, i. e., a government that will in a revolutionary manner destroy all privileges and not fear to employ revolutionary methods in order to realize the most complete democracy. You will then see, that State monopolist capitalism under a really revolutionary government will inevitably mean a step towards socialism.

.. "For Socialism is nothing else than an immediate step forward from State Capitalist monopoly.

.. "State Monopolist Capitalism is the most complete material preparation for Socialism, it is the "porch" to it; it is one of the steps in the ladder of history between which and the step called Socialism there is no intervening step." (pp. 27-38).

The reader will observe that this was written in the period of Kerensky, that I speak here not of the dictatorship of the proletariat, not of a Socialist State, but of "revolutionary democracy." Surely it is clear therefore, that the higher we raise ourselves on this political step, the nearer do we approach to a Soviet Socialist State and to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and the less imperative is it for us to fear "State Socialism"? Surely, it is clear that in the material, economic, industrial sense, we have not yet reached the "porch" of Socialism, and there is no other way of entering Socialism except through this as yet unreachd "porch."

#### Agricultural Tax, Freedom of Trade and Concessions.

In the above quoted arguments of 1918, there are a number of errors in connection with periods. Periods prove to be much longer than was then assumed. This is not to be wondered at, but the basic elements of our economic life have remained as they were then. The peasant "poor" (proletariat and semiproletarians) in large numbers have become converted into middle-class peasants. Out of this small private ownership and petty bourgeois movements have increased, meanwhile the civil war of 1919-1920, extremely intensified the ruin of the country, and retarded the reestablishment of its productive forces. To this must be added the bad harvest of 1920, the lack of fodder, the death rate among cattle, which still further retarded the reestablishment of transport and industry in that the transport of our chief kind of fuel, wood, was carried

on by peasants horses. As a result conditions in the spring of 1921 were such that it was absolutely essential to adopt the most determined exceptional measures for the improvement of the conditions of the peasantry and raising its productivity.

Why improve the conditions of the peasantry and not those of the workers?

Because for the improvement of the position of the workers it is necessary to have bread and fuel. The "holdup" which exists at the present moment in national industry in the largest measure is due to this, and there is no other means of increasing productivity, of increasing the stocks of corn and fuel except by improving the position of the peasantry and increasing its productivity. It is necessary to commence with the peasantry. He who does not understand this, he who is inclined to regard this as showing preference to the peasantry, and a "departure" or something similar to our departure from the dictatorship of the proletariat, has simply failed to study the subject, and simply gives himself up to phrasemongering.

Thus, the first thing that is necessary is immediate and serious measures for raising the productive power of the peasantry. This is impossible, without seriously altering our food policy; and the substitution of the food requisitions by an agricultural tax connected with at least Free Local Trade after the tax has been paid, is such an alteration.

What is the essence of the substitution of the requisition by the agricultural tax?

The Agricultural Tax is a form of transition from the peculiar "military communism" made necessary by extreme necessity, ruin and war, for the purpose of a proper socialistic exchange of products. Military Communism in its turn, is one of the forms of the transition from socialism with peculiarities created by the predominance of a small peasantry in the population, to Communism.

The peculiarity of "military Communism" lay in that we actually took from the peasantry his surplus of produce and sometimes a part of that which was absolutely necessary for himself, for the purpose of maintaining the army and the workers. Mostly we took the produce on loan for paper money. There was no other way by which we could defeat the landlord and capitalist in a ruined small-peasant country. The fact that we came out victorious (in spite of the support given to our exploiters by the most powerful states in the world) proves something more than the wonderful heroism which the workers and peasants are able to reveal for the sake of their emancipation. It proves also what lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionists, Kautsky and Co. were, when they blamed us for this "military Communism." This indeed should be placed to our credit.

It is not less necessary however, to know the real extent of the service which we rendered by establishing "military Communism." "Military Communism" was made necessary by the war and the state of ruin. It did not and could not meet the problems of proletarian policy. It was a temporary measure. The correct policy of the proletariat carrying out its dictatorship in a small-peasant country is to exchange the products of industry necessary to the peasantry for corn. Only such a policy can satisfy the requirements of the proletariat, only such a policy can strengthen the foundation of communism and lead to its complete victory.

The Agricultural Tax is a transition to this policy.



We are still in that state of ruin, still crushed by the burden of war (which raged yesterday and which owing to the greed, and anger of the capitalist may break out again to-morrow) and we cannot give to the peasant sufficient products of industry in exchange for all the corn we need. Knowing this, we introduce the Agricultural Tax, that is, we take the minimum quantity of corn necessary for the arming of the workers, in the form of a tax, and the remainder we will exchange for the products of industry.

In this connection we must also bear in mind that our poverty and ruin is such that we cannot immediately establish large State Socialist Factory Production. For this purpose it is necessary to have large stocks of corn and fuel, in the great industrial centres, and to replace the worn out machinery by new machinery. Experience has convinced us that this cannot be done all at once, and we know that after the destruction caused by the imperialist war, even the richest and most advanced countries can solve this problem only during the course of a rather long period of time. This means that it is necessary to a certain extent to assist the re-establishment of small industry which does not require machinery, which does not require large government stocks of raw material, fuel and food, and which can immediately give certain assistance to agriculture and raise its productivity.

What comes of all this? Fundamentally, we get a certain amount (if only local) of Free Trade, a revival of the petty bourgeoisie and capitalism. This is undoubted and to close one's eyes to it would be ridiculous.

We are asked—is this necessary, can this be justified, is it not dangerous?

These questions are asked by many, and in most cases they only reveal the naivete (expressing oneself politely) of those who ask them.

Refer to the manner in which in May, 1918, I defined the economic elements (component parts) of the various socio-economic strata. It is impossible to dispute the existence of these five rungs, or component parts of these five strata from the patriarchal to the semi-primitive. It is most evident that in a small-peasant country the small-peasant strata, that is, the partly patriarchal and partly petty-bourgeois will predominate. The development of small industry since we have exchange, means the development of petty bourgeois, capitalist industry. This is an indisputable truth, an elementary truth of political economy confirmed by the everyday experience and observation of even the ordinary man in the street.

What policy can the Socialist proletariat conduct in the face of such economic circumstances? The most desirable and most "correct" policy would be to give the small-peasant all the products of industry of the large socialist factories, that the peasant requires in exchange for his corn and raw materials. This is what we have commenced to do, but we are far from being able to give all the necessary products, and we shall not be able to do this for a long time, at least until we have finished the work of electrifying the country.

What then is left for us to do? We can either completely prohibit and prevent the development of private non-State exchange i. e., commerce, i. e., capitalism which is inevitable with the existence of millions of small producers. Such a policy would be stupid and suicidal for the Party which attempted to carry it out. It would be stupid because it is economically impossi-

ble. It would be suicidal because the party that attempted to carry it out would inevitably collapse. It is useless concealing the sin, some Communists "in thought, in word, and in deed" have fallen into sin on this policy. We will attempt to rectify this error. It is essential that we rectify this error or else it will go hard with us.

Or (and this is the only possible and sensible policy) we can refrain from prohibiting and preventing the development of capitalism and strive to direct it in the path of State Capitalism. This is economically possible, for State Capitalism exists in one or another form and to one or another extent everywhere where there are elements of Free Trade and Capitalism in general.

Is it possible to combine and to have side by side, a Soviet State, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and State Capitalism.

The whole question, theoretically and practically lies in finding the correct means of properly guiding the inevitable (to a certain extent and for a certain time) development of capitalism along the path of State Capitalism, and what conditions to establish and how to secure in the near future the conversion of State Capitalism into Socialism.

In order to approach a solution of this question, it is necessary to have as clear an idea as possible as to what State Capitalism will represent in practice within our Soviet system, within the framework of our Soviet State.

One of the simplest cases or examples of how the Soviet Government guides the development of Capitalism along the path of State Capitalism, of how it "plants" State Capitalism, is concessions. Everybody now agrees that concessions are necessary, but not everybody fully appreciates the significance of concessions. What are concessions in a Soviet system from the point of view of socio-economic strata and their inter-relations? They are a treaty, a block and alliance of the Soviet, i. e. the Proletarian State with State Capitalism, against small private ownership (patriarchal and petty bourgeois). A concessionaire is a capitalist. He conducts capitalist business for the sake of profits. He agrees to make a treaty with a Proletarian Government in order to receive extra profits, or for the sake of securing such raw materials as he otherwise would not be able, or find it very difficult to secure. The Soviet Government secures the advantage in the form of the development of productive forces, and an increase in the quantity of products immediately or within a short period. We have, say, hundreds of enterprises, mines, forests, etc., we cannot develop them all, we have not enough machinery, food, or transport. For the same reasons we will badly develop the remaining sections. As a consequence of the bad or insufficient development of large undertakings we get the strengthening of this small private ownership movement with all its consequences: the deterioration of suburban (and later the whole) of agriculture, frittering away of its productive forces, decline of confidence in Soviet Government, speculation, and mass and petty (the most dangerous) speculation. In "planting" State Capitalism in the form of concessions, the Soviet Government strengthens large production against small production, the advanced against the backward, machine production against hand production, it increases the quantity of products of large industry in its hands and strengthens the State regulation of economic relation as a counter-balance to the petty bour-

geois anarchic relations. The moderate and cautious introduction of a policy of concessions (to a certain and not a very great extent) will rapidly improve the state of industry and the position of the workers and peasants, of course, at the price of a certain sacrifice, the surrender to the capitalists of tens and millions of poods of most valuable products. The definition of the extent and the conditions under which concessions are advantageous to us and not dangerous for us, depends upon the relation of forces, is determined by struggle, for concessions are also a form of struggle, a continuation of a class struggle of another form, and under no circumstances a substitution of the class war by class peace. Practice will show what the methods of this struggle are to be. State Capitalism in the form of concessions, in comparison with other forms of State Capitalism within a Soviet system, is the most simple, the clearest, and the most clear-cut. We have here a direct formal written treaty with the most cultured, most advanced West European countries. We know exactly our losses and our gains, our rights and obligations. We know exactly the date on which we give the concessions and know the conditions of buying out on the expiration of a concession, if there is such a buying out clause in the treaty. We pay a certain "tribute" to world capitalism, we as it were "buy out" certain relations and receive immediately a definite measure of consolidation of the position of the Soviet Government, and an improvement in the conditions of our industry. The difficulty in connection with concessions is to think out and weigh up things in concluding a concessions treaty and later to watch the carrying out of the treaty. No doubt there are many difficulties, and in all probably mistakes will at first be made, but difficulties are the smallest things in comparison with the other tasks of the social revolution and particularly in comparison with other forms of development, the introduction, the planting of State Capitalism.

The most important task of all party and Soviet workers in connection with the introduction of the agricultural tax is to adapt the principle, the basis of "concessions" that is, a policy similar to the concession or State capitalist policy, to the remaining forms of capitalism—local Free Trade.

Take the cooperative societies. It was not for nothing that the decree on the agricultural tax immediately led to a revision of the laws of cooperatives and a certain extension of their "freedom" and their rights. Cooperation is also a form of State Capitalism, but less simple and clear cut, more complicated and therefore creating many practical difficulties for our government. The cooperation of small commodity producers (it is of these and of workers cooperatives as the predominant and typical form in a small-peasant country that we speak) will inevitably generate petty bourgeois capitalist relations, facilitate their development, and will the greatest advantage to the capitalist. Things cannot be otherwise in the face of the predominance of small producers, and the possibility as well as the necessity for exchange. The freedom and right of cooperation under the present conditions in Russia, means the freedom and rights of capitalism. To close one's eyes to this obvious truth will be stupid or criminal.

But "cooperative" capitalism in distinction from private capitalism under a Soviet Government is another aspect of State Capitalism, and in that capacity it is

useful and advantageous for us of course, to a certain extent. In so far as the agricultural tax signifies the freedom to sell the remainder of produce (not taken as tax) it is necessary to exert all our efforts to direct this development of capitalism—for freedom of trade is the development of capitalism,—along the path of cooperative capitalism. Cooperative capitalism is like State Capitalism in that it renders easy control, observation, and the maintenance of treaty relations between the State (the Soviet in this instance) and the capitalists. Cooperation as a form of trade is more advantageous and useful than private trade, not only for the reasons already indicated, but also because it facilitates the organization of millions of the population and later the whole of the population. This in its turn is a tremendous gain from the point of view of a further transition from State Capitalism to Socialism.

Let us compare concessions with cooperation as a form of State Capitalism. Concessions are based on large machine industry, whereas cooperation is based on small and partly even patriarchal industry; concession is granted to a single capitalist or a single firm, a syndicate, a cartel, or a trust. A cooperative society embraces many thousands even millions of small masters. A concession permits of and even presupposes a definite treaty for a definite term, whereas a cooperative society does not permit of definite agreements or definite terms. It is easier to repeal a law on cooperative societies than to break a concession agreement; for the breaking of a concession agreement immediately means the break off of economic relations, alliance or economic "cohabitation" with capitalism, where as the repeal of a law on cooperation or the repeal of any law for that matter, not only does not break off on the actual "cohabitation" of the Soviet Government with the small capitalists but cannot affect economic relations in general. It is easy to "keep an eye on" the concessionaire, but it is difficult to do so on the cooperator. The transition from concessions to socialism is the transition from one or more large production to another. The transition from the cooperation of small masters to socialism is a transition from small production to large production, i. e. to a more complicated form of production. The latter has this compensating feature however, that in the event of a successful transition, it is capable of tearing out a far deeper, and more vital rut of the old pre-socialist and even pre-capitalist relations, of that which puts up the most stubborn resistance to all kinds of "innovations." The policy of concessions in the event of success will give us a few exemplary—in comparison with our own—large undertakings, standing on a level with modern advanced capitalism; in a few decades these undertakings will come entirely into our possession, the policy of cooperation in the event of success will raise small industry and facilitate, in an indefinite period, its transition to large production on the basis of voluntary combination.

Let us take a third form of State Capitalism. The State invites the capitalist as a merchant and pays him a definite commission for selling State products and for buying the products of small industry. There is a fourth form: the State leases a factory or an industry or a section of forest or land to a capitalist; in this case, the lease agreement is more like a concession agreement. The question is whether we can recognize these types of capitalism? In order to answer the question we must remember the component parts of all, without exception, of those various strata of socie-

ty which I enumerated in my article of Fifth of May, 1918. "We," the vanguard, the advanced detachment of the proletariat are passing directly to socialism, but the forward detachments are only a small section of the proletariat, which in its turn, is only a small section of the whole mass of the population. In order that "we" may successfully solve the problem of our direct transition to socialism, we must understand what indirect paths and methods we must adopt for the transition of pre-capitalist relations to socialism. This is the crux of the question.

Is it possible to realize the direct transition of this state of pre-capitalist relations prevailing in Russia to socialism? Yes, it is possible to a certain degree, but only on one condition, which we know, thanks to the completion of a tremendous scientific labor. That condition is: electrification. But we know very well that this "one" condition demands at least tens of years of work, and we can only reduce this period by a victory of the proletarian revolution in such countries as England, Germany and America.

For the years immediately ahead of us, we shall have to think of indirect links capable of facilitating the transition of patriarchy and small industry to socialism. "We" are still too fond of saying "capitalism is an evil, socialism is a blessing," but such an argument is incorrect because it leaves out of consideration all the existing social economic strata, and takes in only two of them.

Capitalism is an evil in comparison with socialism, but capitalism is a blessing in comparison with mediaevalism, with small industry, with fettered small producers thrown to the mercy of bureaucracy. To the extent that we are as yet unable to realize the direct transition from small production to socialism, to that extent is capitalism to a certain extent inevitable as an elemental product of small production and exchange, and to that extent must we make use of capitalism, (particularly in directing it along the path of State Capitalism) as an indirect link between small production and socialism, as a means, a path, a method of raising the productive forces of the country.

One must be able fearlessly to recognize an evil in order the more firmly to combat it. The inevitability of the postponement of the establishment of large industry, and impossibility of "prohibiting" the exchange of the products of industry and agriculture having revealed themselves, we must depend upon what is more accessible to us, the establishment of small industry. We must set to work from this side and prop up this part of our structure, almost ruined by the war and the blockade. We must adopt all measures, at all costs, to develop exchange, and not fear capitalism, for the limits for capitalism have been rendered sufficiently narrow, and sufficiently "moderate" by the expropriation of the landlords and the bourgeoisie economically, and the existence of a Labor-Peasant Government. This is the fundamental idea of the Agricultural Tax, this is its economic significance.

# Constitution of the Communist Party of America

(Adopted at the Joint Unity Convention of the United Communist Party and the Communist Party of America.)

## Article I. Name, Purpose and Emblem.

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

Section 2. The Communist Party of America is the vanguard of the working class, namely, its most advanced, class conscious and therefore its most revolutionary part. Its purpose is to educate, direct 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 in the form of Soviet power; to abolish the capitalist system and to introduce the Communist Society.

Section 3. The emblem of the Party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle between sheaves of wheat and within a double circle. Below the hammer and sickle the words "All power to the workers." In the circular margin the words "Communist Party of America—Section of the Communist International."

## Article II. Membership.

Section 1. Every person who accepts the principles and the tactics of the Communist Party and of the Communist International, and agrees to submit to the Party discipline and engage actively in its work, shall

be eligible for membership, provided he is not a member or supporter of any other political organization.

Section 2. No person whose livelihood is gained by exploiting labor shall be eligible to membership in the Communist Party of America.

Section 3. Applicants shall be vouched for by two persons who have been members of the Party for at least six consecutive months, except in newly organized groups in new territory. Every applicant shall be assigned to a recruiting group on probation for three months, with voice but no vote. The applicant shall be accepted only upon examination and recommendation by the recruiting group captain, and by unanimous approval of the Branch Executive Committee.

Section 4. A special captain shall be placed in charge of each recruiting group by the Branch Executive Committee.

Section 5. An applicant shall pay one dollar initiation fee, and all dues and assessments beginning with the month in which he is accepted in the recruiting group.

Section 6. A member may transfer from one Party unit to another only upon certification of the Party unit to which he belongs. The unit granting the transfer must ascertain that the member asking for it has discharged all his Party obligations, and shall notify the unit to which the member transfers through the regular Party channels. He shall go to the group to

which he is assigned by the Branch Executive Committee.

### Article III. Form and Units of Organization.

Section 1. The Communist Party of America is an underground, illegal organization. It is highly centralized with the Convention as its supreme body, and the Central Executive Committee acting as such between Conventions.

Section 2. The basic unit of the Party shall be a group of approximately ten members, and wherever possible not less than five.

Section 3. Groups of the same language within a city or locality shall form a Branch. Branches shall consist of not more than ten groups each.

Section 4. Branches within a locality shall form a Section. Sections shall consist as nearly as possible of ten Branches, and shall be formed wherever there are two or more Branches within a locality.

Section 5. Sub-districts shall consist of not more than ten Sections and of isolated Branches within a territory prescribed by the District Executive Committee.

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.

### Article IV. Conventions.

Section 1. The Convention is the supreme body of the Party, and shall be called by the Central Executive Committee at least once a year.

Section 2. Emergency Conventions, with all the powers of regular Conventions, shall be called by the Central Executive Committee upon its own initiative or upon the demand of District Conventions representing a majority of the membership.

Section 3. (a) Elections to the Convention shall begin in the groups. Each group shall elect one elector to the Section Convention, and the Section Convention shall elect delegates to the District Convention. Branches that are directly connected with the Sub-district shall send their delegates to the nearest Section. The representation in the Section and the District electors' meeting and in the Convention of the Party shall be fixed by the Convention call, issued by the Central Executive Committee.

(b) If there are more than fifteen groups in a Section, the Sub-district Committee shall subdivide the Section for the elections so that no more than fifteen attend a Section electors' meeting. Wherever necessary, units shall be combined to comply with the accepted basis of representation.

Section 4. The number of delegates shall be determined by the Central Executive Committee according to the circumstances. Delegates shall be apportioned to the Districts in proportion to the membership.

Section 5. Section, Sub-district and District Organizers of the Party shall attend the electors' meetings of their respective and subordinate units, and shall have voice but not vote, unless elected as delegates themselves.

Section 6. Section, Sub-district and District electors' meetings may elect as their delegates members of the

Party from any unit outside their territorial divisions.

Section 7. At the same time that the call for the Convention is issued, the Central Executive Committee shall submit to every group for discussion the Agenda and other propositions that are to come before the Convention. At least sixty days before the Convention, the Party Press shall be opened for discussion of important Party matters.

Section 8. Delegates to the National Convention shall be paid railroad expenses and the same wages as Party officials.

### Article V. Central Executive Committee.

Section 1. Between Conventions the Central Executive Committee shall be the supreme body of the Party and shall direct all the Party's activities.

Section 2. The Central Executive Committee shall consist of ten members elected by the Convention. The Convention shall also elect six alternates. When the list of alternates shall have been exhausted the Central Executive Committee shall have the right of co-optation.

Section 3. All Central Executive Committee members shall devote all their time to the work of the Party and shall live in the city in which the National Headquarters are located, or in adjacent cities.

Section 4. Candidates for the Central Executive Committee must have been members of a Party affiliated with the Communist International at least eighteen months.

Section 5. The identity of the Central Executive Committee members shall not be made known either by themselves or by those present at the Convention.

Section 6. The Central Executive Committee shall elect delegates to the International Congresses and the Communist Party of America members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Section 7. The Central Executive Committee shall call in the District Organizers for a conference at least every six months.

Section 8. The Central Executive Committee shall make a monthly report of the Party activities and Party finances itemized by Districts.

Section 9. A complete audit and accounting of all Party funds shall be made every six months. The auditing committee shall consist of three members elected by the Convention. The Convention shall also elect three alternates. No member of the Central Executive Committee and no paid Party employee shall be a member of the auditing committee. The report of the auditing committee shall be made to the membership, within one month after the completion of its work.

### Article VI. Districts and Subordinate Units.

Section 1. The Central Executive Committee shall appoint District Organizers for each District.

Section 2. Every District Organizer shall make complete reports to the District Executive Committee as to the general Party work in his District. He shall submit and carry out the instructions and decisions of the Central Executive Committee. He shall make remittances, financial statements and reports to the Central Executive Committee at least once a week. He shall submit financial statements to the membership in his District at least once a month.

Section 3. District Conventions shall be held at

least every six months. Every Section shall send delegates to the District Convention in proportion to the membership. The District Convention shall elect five members to the District Executive Committee. These five members, together with the District Organizer and the Subdistrict Organizers shall constitute the District Executive Committee. The District Executive Committee shall supervise the activities of the District Organizer and shall regularly submit the minutes of its meetings to the Central Executive Committee. All actions of the District Convention are subject to approval by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 4. District Organizers shall appoint Sub-district Organizers subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. Sub-district Organizers shall make remittances, financial statements and reports to the District Organizers once a week.

Section 6. The Sub-district Organizer shall call meetings of the Sub-district Executive Committee at least every two weeks. He shall make a complete report to the Sub-district Executive Committee, and transmit and carry out the decisions and the instructions of the Central Executive Committee, the District Organizer and the District Executive Committee.

Section 7. The Sub-district Executive Committee shall consist of the Sub-district Organizer, the Section Organizers and the Organizers of the isolated Branches having direct connections with the Sub-district.

Section 8. The Section Executive Committee shall consist of Branch Organizers and shall elect Section Organizers.

Section 9. Branch Organizers shall be elected by the group captains. They shall work under the direction of the Section Organizers and shall meet at least once a week.

Section 10. The Branch Executive Committee shall consist of the Branch Organizer and the group captains of the Branch. The Branch Executive Committee shall meet at least once a week.

Section 11. District Organizers, Sub-district Organizers, Section and Branch Organizers shall have been members of the Party not less than one year. Group captains, six months.

Section 12. Executive Committees of the various Party units have authority to act within their jurisdiction, subject to the decisions of the higher Party units.

Section 13. Each group shall meet at least once every week under the direction of the group captain, who shall make a complete report to his group on all Party work, on the activities of his Branch and of all other Party units.

## Article VII. Language Federations.

Section 1. Language groups shall consist of members speaking the same language. Language groups in the same locality shall be formed into Language Branches; all Branches of the same language shall be united into Language Federations, provided they have at least 250 members.

Section 2. All language groups and branches shall be integral parts of the Party structure in their localities, and shall perform and carry out all Party functions and obligations.

Section 3. (a) Shortly after Party Conventions, National Language Conferences shall be held. The ex-

penses of these conferences shall be paid out of the regular Party treasury.

(b) These National Conferences shall formulate plans for education and propaganda in their respective languages, both legal and illegal, and shall elect National Language Bureaus consisting of not less than five and not more than seven members each, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee. All actions of these conferences shall be in strict conformity with the decisions of the Party Convention and the Central Executive Committee.

Section 4. National Language Bureaus shall elect editors for their legal and illegal publications, and shall supervise all legal and illegal activities of their respective Federations, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. The minutes of the National Language Bureaus shall be regularly submitted to the Central Executive Committee and all their actions shall be subject to the direction, control and approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 6. (a) For illegal work, the National Language Bureaus shall connect with their respective Branches through their Language Federation Channels, or if necessary, through regular Party channels of communication.

(b) They shall have the right to appoint Organizers, including District and Sub-district Language Organizers, subject to approval of the Central Executive Committee.

(c) All Language Organizers shall work under the supervision of the Party District Organizers in the various districts.

Section 7. National Language Bureaus shall translate and transmit all statements, circulars and communications addressed to the membership by the Central Executive Committee, within one week after their receipt. They shall issue at least once a month an underground official organ in their respective languages, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 8. (a) Language Groups and Branches shall pay all their dues and assessments through the regular Party channels to the Central Executive Committee.

(b) By the 10th of each month the Central Executive Committee shall remit 20 cents of the dues received from each member of the Language Branches to the respective National Language Bureaus.

(c) Additional expenses of Language Bureaus, authorized by the Central Executive Committee shall be paid from the regular Party treasury.

(d) The National Language Bureau shall account to the Central Executive Committee regularly for all funds entrusted to them and shall make regular financial reports to the Central Executive Committee regarding all the legal institutions in their respective languages, subject to the audit of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 9. (a) Special assessment for language work may be recommended by the Language Bureaus and may be levied by the Central Executive Committee upon the entire Party membership.

(b) Special assessments may also be levied by the National Language Bureaus on the membership of their Federations, with the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 10. Language Bureaus and Federations shall have no power to suspend, expel or reorganize affiliations. All disciplinary powers are vested exclusively in the regular Party organization machinery.

(b) Language Bureaus and Federations may recommend such suspension, expulsion or reorganization to the party units having jurisdiction.

Section 11. District Language Conferences shall be called by the District Executive Committee to discuss educational and propaganda needs of their languages in the district and to elect five members to the District Language Bureaus. These, together with the Federation District Organizer and the Federation Sub-district Organizer shall constitute the District Language Bureau. The District Language Bureau shall carry on the work in their respective languages under the direction of the District Executive Committee.

### Article VIII. Discipline.

Section 1. All members and Party units shall maintain and enforce strict Party discipline. All decisions of the governing bodies of the Party shall be binding upon the membership and subordinate units.

Section 2. The following offenses are breaches of Party discipline:

- 1) Violation of the fundamental principles of the program and the Constitution of the Party.
- 2) Refusal to accept and carry out the decisions of the Party.
- 3) Willfully to block and disrupt Party work and the co-operation of the various Party units.
- 4) Knowingly and unnecessarily to endanger the underground work of the Party.
- 5) In any way to betray the Party trust.

Section 3. Formal charges must be presented against any member or unit accused of breach of discipline, and these must be investigated by the next higher unit before discipline is enforced.

Section 4. Members deliberately accusing any member or unit of the Party, after accusation has been found groundless by the investigating committee, are subject to discipline.

Section 5. Members may be suspended or expelled by the Branch Executive Committee subject to approval of the Section Executive Committee.

Section 6. Groups may be suspended, expelled or reorganized by the Section Executive Committee subject to the approval of the Sub-district Executive Committee.

Section 7. Branches may be suspended, expelled or reorganized by the Sub-district Executive Committee subject to the approval of the District Executive Committee.

Section 8. A Section or Sub-district may be suspended, expelled or reorganized by the District Executive Committee subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 9. Districts may be suspended, expelled or reorganized by the Central Executive Committee subject to the approval of the Convention.

Section 10. Members or groups suspended or expelled may appeal to the District Executive Committee before final action is taken.

Section 11. Any higher unit in the Party may present charges against any subordinate unit or member within its jurisdiction.

Section 12. Every member of the Communist Party elected, or appointed to an official position in a labor union or any other organization shall be under strict Party control and the immediate instructions of the Party nucleus of his labor union or other organization.

Section 13. No delegates to the National Convention shall be bound by decisions of the units by which they are elected. Delegates are obliged to present instructions as recommendations to the Convention.

Section 14. The Central Executive Committee shall maintain discipline over its members. It may suspend or expel one of its members by a vote of eight to one, accused member not voting.

Section 15. Any suspended or expelled member of the Central Executive Committee shall have the right to appeal in writing to the next National Party Convention.

### Article IX. Finance.

Section 1. Applicants for membership shall pay an initiation fee of One Dollar, which shall be forwarded to the National Organization.

Section 2. Monthly dues shall be sixty cents and shall be receipted for by dues stamps issued by the Central Executive Committee and paid into the National Party treasury through the regular Party channels.

Section 3. Special assessments may be levied by the Convention and the Central Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he pays such assessments.

Section 4. Members unable to pay dues and assessments on account of sickness, unemployment, imprisonment, 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, and Branch Organizers shall report all exemptions granted every time they make their remittances for dues.

Section 5. Dues shall be paid monthly. No advance payments shall be made, and members who have not paid dues by the first of the month for the previous month, shall be considered in bad standing. A member who is two months in arrears shall be dropped from the membership, unless within one month after notification by the Group Organizer, he places himself in good standing.

### Article X. Party Press.

Section 1. The Central Executive Committee shall publish the official underground organ of the Party, which shall be issued at least once a month.

Section 2. The Central Executive Committee shall issue a bi-weekly Party bulletin which shall be distributed to the membership free of charge.

Section 3. Literature issued by the Party shall be under the supervision of the editorial committee and under the control of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 4. No subdivision of the Party may publish

papers or books without the permission of the Central Executive Committee. Over their own signature, Sections may issue leaflets, dealing with matters in their locality, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee or such District Committees as may be so empowered by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5. All legal and illegal Party press and publishing machinery, including Federation press and establishments shall be unconditionally and fully subject to the Party through its Central Executive Committee or such other Party units as may be expressly authorized by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 6. No member of the Party shall contri-

bute articles or editorials of a political or economic nature to the bourgeois press except by permission of the Central Executive Committee.

#### Article XI. Party Nuclei.

Section 1. The Central Executive Committee shall provide for the organization of Communist Party nuclei, composed of Communist Party members only, in the shops, in the unions, and in other workers' organizations; within the army and navy, and ex-soldiers' organizations.

# The United Party

## I. UNITY.

What means this Unity? What is the task before us? In attempting to answer these questions a brief review of the development of the Communist movement in this country will not be out of place.

Young as the Communist movement in America is, it has already received many a battle scar. It has passed through a whole series of crises. Internal dissension and vicious government onslaughts make up almost the whole of our history.

The World War and the Russian Revolution brought into the Socialist Party a large membership of revolutionary character. Inspired by the struggles of the European workers and the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia, and impelled by the cowardly and traitorous conduct of their leaders, the Socialist masses headed strongly toward the Left. The programs of the various "Left" locals portrayed boundless enthusiasm for and loyalty to the world revolution. The struggle against the Socialist Party bureaucracy was aided immeasurably by the unreserved alliance of the Slavic Language Federation with the Left. It was mainly through these well-disciplined organization that the Left Wing movement gained stability, and clarity of purpose. Especially in the industrial centers did the membership go over to the Left Wing groups formed within the Socialist Party. Under the leadership of such centers of revolutionary propaganda as New York, Boston, and Cleveland the National Left Wing Conference of June, 1919, was called.

The all-important question of this conference was that of the necessity of continuing "Left" propaganda in the Socialist Party until the National Convention. Here came the now famous split. In this split lay the root of all the divisions that followed. The delegates of the Federations, fired by ardor for the proletarian revolution in Russia and conscious of their strategic importance in the party struggle, allied themselves with the Michigan group to forthwith sever all relations with the Socialist Party and immediately take steps for the formation of a Communist Party. Those delegates who held it necessary to continue "Left" activity in the Socialist Party until the Convention, formed the National Left Wing Council. After a few weeks of sterile but costly strife the Organization Committee of the Communist Party and the majority of the National Council united for one Communist convention.

September 1, 1919, saw the birth of the Communist Party of America at Chicago. But the minority of the National Council in alliance with some deeply disappointed, though duly elected, delegates to the Socialist Party Convention, organized the Communist Labor Party. There were approximately sixty thousand members in the two organizations. The Communist Party had by far the larger number. After the Conventions many efforts for unity were made, but they were all in vain.

The development of the world economic crisis, the success of the Soviet Government, and the intense industrial unrest at home capped by extensive Communist propaganda in the huge strikes brought a brutal onslaught on the Communists by the Federal and State authorities. Thousands were arrested for deportation. Many leaders were imprisoned. The movement was driven underground.

In the midst of the preliminary underground organization stage there came a split in the Communist Party. The "minority" faction of the Communist Party went into joint convention with the Communist Labor Party and formed the United Communist Party. The two parties struggled on apart. A most bitter factional spirit was engendered. For a while it seemed as if the two Parties would never unite. However, under the pressure of the needs and demands of the Communist International, the Unity Convention was held. We have finally achieved a united Communist movement—The Communist Party of America.

Social movements, like some organism, may grow through fissure. The continuous divisions in our ranks were only steps—costly and undesirable as some of them may have appeared—in the process of growth. Much as this stream of dissension may have weakened us, it has fortunately also served as a screen to cover the retreat of the centrists and opportunists from the revolutionary struggle. The weak and unclear have deserted us en masse. Though we number today but ten to twelve thousand, we are infinitely stronger than we were in the heydays of 1919.

We need not delude ourselves. The Communist movement in America is not yet a mass movement. But many signs point toward our becoming a mass movement in the near future. With the attainment of Unity, the preliminary stage of preparing the ground is drawing to a close. Our home front, the internal Party affairs, will for some time yet claim considerable attention. However, problems of contact with the

masses, live tactical issues, and questions of actual class warfare will more and more make up our Party life.

Unity is of inestimable significance to the American labor movement. Unity heralds the fact that the vanguard of the proletariat of America—the citadel of world imperialism—is entering upon a period of intensive Communist activity. The unification of Communist forces marks the period of transition from inter-Party strife to extensive Communist action.

Enthusiasm, clarity of purpose, and discipline have gone into the making of the unified Party. Our Program and Constitution offer the best proof of this. The Constitution shows that the knotty problems of appointments and Federations have been settled in the interests of the Communist movement. No time should be lost to secure organizational readjustment.

In so far as vital points of action are concerned our Program throbs with life. Mass action is no longer a conglomeration of abstractions—a fetish of words. The Party recognizes that mass action is a process. Our Program lays down a definite line of activity to prepare the working masses for the final conflict. The propriety and necessity of parliamentary activity is no longer a matter of academic speculation. We frankly state that the problem of our participation in the election campaigns is most urgent. Contact with the broad laboring masses and the necessity of winning them away from the union bureaucracy is faced most realistically. In this phase especially can one see that the unified Party is seriously preparing itself and determined to actively participate in and direct the struggles of the workers. The Communist Party bids fair to soon become the vanguard of the proletariat in America not merely in words but in life, in action, and deeds—in revolutionary struggle.

## II. THE TASK BEFORE US.

That the Communist Party in this country must now function underground is beyond dispute. This condition makes our work only more difficult. It will not hurt us to admit that we have not yet had a Communist Party of action. Our forces were small and scattered. The process of clarifying principles had to go on.

Many serious problems confront the unified Party. There should be no delay in getting into the field of action. First of all effective amalgamation of the entire movement must be secured. This process may be a slow one. To hasten it, we should lay aside all the old factional policies and prejudices. Only thus will the unity attained be organic and lasting. Not until our internal Party front is in good order can we even hope to become a tangible influence in the labor movement. We must be united in purpose before we can be united in action.

Our policies and tactics must always be in full accord with the living principles of the Communist International. Every vestige of "Left" sickness or opportunism must be rooted out. Far greater and much more effective use of legal channels can and must be made. Our legal activities, always under the complete control of the Central Executive Committee of the Party, should be amplified and intensified. We must secure a new and more effective medium of legal expression. A plan of active participation in the coming election campaigns must be worked out.

Contact with the masses must not be an empty phrase. Our union program should be put to the fullest test. The problem of Communist nuclei in unions and other workers' organizations must have maximum attention. The struggles of the workers must be broadened and deepened. This can be done through tireless, well-planned, Communist activity in every field of the class struggle. Our membership must make itself felt in the political, social, and industrial life of the proletariat. We can realize this only if every member gives his undivided energy and loyalty to the Communist movement.

Comrades, our task is a most arduous one. Its difficulty is comparable only to its greatness. Let none retreat or shirk. The proletarian revolution will not be an accomplished fact until American imperialism's strangle hold on the world proletariat ends. Every Communist is a soldier pledged to the cause of proletarian victory. Unceasing Communist activity alone will enable the working class to realize its historic mission—the destruction of the American bourgeois state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship based on Soviet power, and the introduction of the Communist society. On with the Communist task! On with the Communist struggle!

# Autonomy and Centralization

## IN THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

By Bistriansky.

The Third Congress of the Third International, to be convened at the beginning of June, is confronted by tremendous problems. The Second Congress which assembled a year ago directed its efforts towards combatting, what Lenin called "Infantile Sickness of Leftism," the anarchist and syndicalist diversions, the denial of the value of parliamentarism and the necessity of contact with the general trade union movement. The forthcoming congress must adopt a series of clear-cut and well-defined decisions which will put an end to the disorganization that is being maliciously introduced by certain persons who verbally accept Communism, but in action steadily undermine the colossal struggle of the working class for the liberation of toiling humanity from the yoke of wage-slavery.

Dittman and Crispian, the former representatives of the German Independents, upon their return to Germany after the Second Congress explained their refusal to join the Third International by the necessity of national autonomy for their organizations, or their unwillingness to submit to the Dictatorship of the Moscow "knout." Under this banner, Hilferding and Crispian brought about a split at the Halle Congress of the Independent Social Democrats. These arguments, however, find wide currency not only in Germany. Precisely by the same arguments of autonomy, the necessity of an independent tactic free from interference by the Moscow "dictators" the Hallian Socialists explained their rejection of the 21 conditions and caused a split in the ranks of the Italian proletariat.

For the Russian Communist Party these problems are reminiscent of bygone days. Our Party has years ago learned to solve the problem which now confronts the international working class movement. Its fight-



ing experience has taught the party to look upon everything soberly and penetratingly, to discover the real fundamental causes of all opportunist perversion of Socialism, and mercilessly expose the deceptive phrases which are used by the opportunists and centrists as a screen to cover their retreat from the revolution.

The questions of centralization, of the autonomy of local organization in relation to the party as a whole was at one time a vital issue in the ranks of the Russian Social Democratic Party.

After the second congress of our party in 1903, the Mensheviks who, on the whole went together with the Bolsheviks in question of programme and tactics, displayed their opportunism in organization questions; they defended autonomy against centralization, they shouted about bureaucracy, autocracy, just like the centrists do now. They wail about the demand for unconditional submission to Moscow, and bitterly complain of its dictatorial arrogance. The Mensheviks were in favor of the democratic principle in the party and against militant centralization necessitated by the intense revolutionary struggle against centralized czarist autocracy.

It is characteristic that not only in Russia, but also in Western Europe the revisionists (opportunists) were always in favor of autonomy, of reducing party discipline to next to nothing, and thereby created disorganizing tendencies. The German revisionists, too, shouted about bureaucracy and centralism, when the radical executive of the party attempted to control the opportunistic practices of the local organization.

It is not accidental that opportunism has never confined itself to programme and tactics, but also embraced organization questions. The character of an organization is directly determined by the aims and purposes which it strives to accomplish. Immediately an organization, whether it is a party or a combination of parties upon an international scale, assumes the task of conducting a revolutionary struggle, it must develop within its rank the utmost power of cohesion, a real military discipline, for without that the organization is bound to suffer defeat in the class war. On the other hand, the organization which stands for reforms, for organic evolution, does not perceive the necessity of centralism and discipline, but favors a democratic form of organization and clamors against bureaucratism and centralization.

Thanks to the capitalist mode of production and its factory schooling, the proletariat has perfectly comprehended the value of discipline and organization, which is not accessible to the mind of the petty bourgeois elements who are pressed into the ranks of the

proletariat. It is precisely the factories which have disciplined the proletariat and welded it into immense organizations. The bourgeois world disunited the workers by competition, crushes it by the weight of forced labor; capitalism hurls the working masses down into the chasm of destitution, condemning them to starvation and degeneration. The working class is able to withstand these corruptive tendencies only on one condition, if it can strengthen its ideological unity under the banner of Communism by the unity of organization which should weld millions of workers into one invincible army of the working classes.

If the army will close its ranks the edifice of international capitalism will soon collapse. The Russian proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party, first defeated opportunism in organization questions, and later coped with it in questions of program and tactics. It put an end to autocracy and then to capitalism. Its example must be like a guiding star for the European and world proletariat that is preparing to deliver a death blow to capitalism. Without centralization, without iron unity which the enemies of the working class—the bourgeoisie and its underlings—designate as “bureaucratism” and “dictatorship,” the working class will never conquer the bourgeoisie.

This truth has been established by the experience of the many years of struggle of the Russian workers. Its validity is further corroborated by the entire course of the world revolution which thus far has failed to conquer, because of the lack of unity of the proletarian vanguard and the absence of strict discipline in its ranks.

At the beginning of the 20th century the Russian proletariat, as represented by its vanguards, gave an illuminating example of how to fight opportunism on questions of organization. Similarly the vanguard of the international proletariat at the Third Congress of the Third International will take effective measures to counter-act all attempts of opportunists to introduce disruption into the ranks of the proletarian army and undermine the unity which was established by the resolution of the Second Congress of the Communist International. Organization opportunism is most definitely connected with opportunism in program and tactics. This is the lesson of the entire history of the Russian working class movement. The working class parties of Western Europe, which now, after decades of peaceful development, are approaching very closely to the most difficult problem of the organization of the masses for the revolutionary struggle for the capture of power must learn the lesson.

# The Communist Party and its Tasks

By David Damon.

The Communist International was founded in March, 1919; the Communist Party of England was organized in August, 1920; the Communist Party of Germany, in the sense that it came into existence after the split of the Independent Socialist Party, was organized in the early months of 1921; the Communist Party of France was born in January, 1921; the Communist Party of Italy in January, 1921; the two Communist

Parties of the United States came into existence in September, 1919. These dates show, that while the Communist parties in the major European countries came into existence from fifteen months to two years after the First Congress of the Communist International, the Communist parties of the United States were organized within six months after that congress. Actually most of the organizations and members that

participated in the organization of these parties were out of the Socialist Party in less than three months after the organization of the Communist International.

It is only necessary to thus state the facts to find at once the explanation of the nearly two years of bitter internal struggle which the Communist Party of this country went through before it became a unified organization. In all the major European countries and many of the smaller ones—in Czecho-Slovakia the Communist Party was organized last fall and in Spain congress is just being held at which the split of the Socialist Party is expected to take place—there were many months of educational propaganda and discussion within the Socialist parties before the division took place which separated the Communists from the Yellow Socialists and the Centrists of the Two-and-a-Half International. When the split of the Socialist Parties did come in these countries it was a clean break, based upon a division on the question of principles, principles which had been discussed for nearly two years, in some instances, before every party unit and debated by the opposing factions in national conventions.

In contrast to this the Communist movement developed in the United States in a hip-hip-hurrah fashion. This was partially the result of the drastic action of the Right Wing Socialist Party officialdom. At the first sign of revolt within the party this officialdom endeavored to destroy the Left Wing by wholesale expulsions from the party, thus precipitating the break within the party. Through this course of action it not only injured itself, but the coming Communist party, for through its tactics of expulsion it aligned with the Left Wing thousands of members who did not belong there and who would have remained in the Socialist Party had the issues between the two factions been as clearly defined and definitely understood through a long intra-party discussion, such as have taken place in the European countries. The issues which were fought out within the Socialist parties of Europe were consequently fought out in the United States between the two Communist parties and within these parties after the break with the Socialist Party. The Communist parties gradually lost the non-Communist elements during the nearly two years gone by, as the membership was successively tested brutal governmental oppression and the clarification of principles which took place at each new shift of the party situation. As a result, there were less than a thousand of the original ten or fifteen thousand members of the Communist Labor Party who came into the United Communist Party and of the forty or fifty thousand Communist Party members not more than ten or twelve thousand are reunited in our party formed at the last unity convention.

Factionalism of a different type, more personal in character, undoubtedly played its part in the divisions and re-divisions, but this factionalism would not have been able by itself to bring about these divisions. It found a fertile field in which to operate because of the various shades of opinions of the membership which split away from the Socialist Party.

The achievement of unity between the Communist Party and the United Communist Party, in the light of what appears above, marks not only the formal unity of two organizations, but the unity of a membership which through two years of acid tests has developed a clarity of principles and understanding of Commun-

ism, which makes it fit to become the backbone of a powerful Communist movement in this country.

That the two years of struggle has left only those members who were clearest in their understanding of Communist principles and tactics, or those who during the two years gained a clearer grasp of those tactics—and who among the party members has not?—is shown by the fact that the Central Executive Committee of the unified party is able to say, in its manifesto to the membership, "No compromise was needed on either side to reach agreement on principles. The discussion soon showed that on program there was practically unanimity of opinion. . ."

With such membership, now united in one party, a new era should begin for the Communist Movement in this country, an era in which the bitterness and strife of factional struggle will give way to an era of constructive work in building a powerful party as the heart and centre of a great aggressive mass movement of the American workers against capitalism.

The organization form of the new party is, frankly, a compromise, such a compromise as was inevitable in the clash of two extremes as those respectively occupied by the U. C. P. and the C. P. on the question of language federations. The compromise rids the part of what the U. C. P. considered the most dangerous elements of the C. P. constitution, and at the same time makes provision for language agitation and propaganda in such form as to meet the criticism of the U. C. P. organization form, that no effective organs to perform this work were provided in its constitution. In which direction the future shift will be made can be left to be determined by experience, which will very likely eliminate this question as one of great importance, or at least develop new alignments.

#### THE PARTY'S TASKS.

The first great task before the party concerns the party itself. A new spirit must be created within the organization. Not only must the two existing party organizations be welded together formally, but the membership must be welded together and a new party morale created. This holds good not only as between the former U. C. P. and C. P. membership, but also between different groups which existed in the two parties.

Two years of factionalism has left its mark upon the membership. Factionalism between the two parties bred further factionalism within the parties, which was not always of a very high character. It became the custom for every little party group which didn't like every detail of the party policy or the party leadership, to become a faction which refused to work, or even sabotaged the party work, unless it could have its own way. With the unification of the Communist Party that must end. A new spirit of co-operation and loyalty to the party must be built up. The membership must not spend its time trying to find pin-head points of criticism, but in giving whole-hearted support to the constructive work upon which all are agreed. Criticism of shortcoming there must be, whenever there are such as to deserve it, but not that criticism, with which the movement has been cursed, which is merely a desire to find fault with those who have assumed the burden of party leadership.

The members of the party must keep constantly in their minds the part that the Communist Party has to play in the emancipation of the working class, and

give hearty and loyal support to the work of fitting it by petty politics or to permit the party to become the for that part, refusing to be distracted from that work football of those who would play such a game. There must be discipline and loyalty. The Communist Party is an outlaw organization in practically every capitalist country of importance. Everywhere there is persecution and oppression. Read the roster of the capitalist countries and in each Communists are being sent to prison, in some cases by the score. No movement which cannot create an inner discipline and loyalty which unites it as the iron ingots are united in the sheet of armorplate, can hope to exist, to say nothing of leading the working class to victory, against the odds which the Communist Party has to face. Such a unity has been sadly lacking heretofore. To create such a unity within the party is the first task of the party leadership co-operating with the party membership.

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

The Communist Party is not a mass movement. It must be made up of a tested, educated membership. Every Communist Party member should be fitted by the party to become a leader of the working class masses. While the party is not a mass movement, the party must be the centre of and have control of a mass movement which it leads into action. The conception of the party must be that of steel rods in concrete construction, which unite and tie together the great mass of cement and stone. Thus the Communist Party must unite and bind together the working class masses.

The most woeful failure of the Communist parties of the United States has been that they have not been able to create a working class movement under their leadership. In this work hardly a beginning has been made, and it is for this work that Communist Party exists.

The unemployment situation will serve to illustrate the character of the work which is the fundamental task of the party. The unemployed are scattered through hundreds, perhaps thousands of cities and villages. These unemployed might on their own account begin agitation, but it would be a sporadic, scattered effort, without coherence or unity of program. It is just such a situation which the Communist Party exists to meet. It is its part to develop an unemployed program, to create unemployed committees, in which its members take the leadership, to unite the unemployed committees in various cities and develop united action by the unemployed. It runs like a steel rod among the millions of unemployed, uniting them upon a common program and for common action.

The Communist Party may hand out to the unemployed masses its program calling for the overthrow of the capitalist government of the United States and the establishment of the Soviet Government from now until doomsday, if it is satisfied with such theoretical presentation of its program. The unemployed workers will read the program—and probably wonder what fool drew up such proposals. A few may understand and these few may become recruits for the Communist Party, but the government that is to be overthrown will go blithely along, not much concerned with the effort to overthrow it. But if the Communist Party fulfills its function of organizing the unemployed, creating an unemployment program that deals with real-

ities, drawing the unemployed into mass meetings, mass demonstrations, in support of this program, **which brings them in conflict with the capitalist government**, and in the course of which they feel the mailed fist of the capitalist government, then it will lay the foundation for arraying these masses against the capitalist government, and, when the time is ripe, of throwing them into action against it.

It is not too late for the united party to make its first real application of Communist tactics in the United States in the unemployed situation. The reports indicate that in place of improvement, unemployment grows worse. Whatever savings the workers were able to make during the better times gone by, are or soon will be exhausted. The bitterness of the unemployed will grow. They are more ripe for action than in the early days of no work. Let the unified Communist Party show its calibre by its handling of the unemployed situation.

What has there been written in regard to unemployment illustrates the task of the Communist Party in other fields. In the struggle against the reactionary trade union leaders and to create more effective forms of union organization, it must fulfill the same function that has been outlined in relation to unemployment. The party tactics includes the creation of Communist party groups in the unions, in the shops, in every kind of organization. Through these groups the organizations in which they function must be used to widen the spread of Communist agitation and create a greater Communist Movement. It must take up every question of moment that affects the life of the workers, as these questions develop in the life of the nation, formulating its policy and agitating for that policy. Unemployment, the open shop, strikes, freedom for political and industrial prisoners, the burden of militarism and navalism, these are issues for Communist agitation. Only by skilfully directing its agitation on such question toward the goal of arraying the workers in opposition to the capitalist government, can the movement be developed which will overthrow that government. The Bolshevik slogan of the November revolution was "Bread and Peace." The slogan which will inspire the movement of the workers of the United States which will overthrow the capitalist government here, probably has not yet been coined, but it is certain that the slogan will have the same relation to facts of the life of the workers that "Bread and Peace" had to the life of the Russian workers in November, 1917.

The end of factional struggle between the rival organizations and the formulation of a program which has the united support of all factions, removes the obstacles which have been chiefly responsible for the sterile character of the work of the Communist parties in this country. The unified party must write upon the blank page of the record of the future which lies open before it, a more glorious record than has been written thus far. It must prove its right to be the representative of the Communist International in the struggle against the most powerful capitalist state in the world. Its task is one which requires all the ability that can be mustered within its ranks and one that should inspire every member of the party with an earnest determination that with the new unity shall begin a new era of party service and party loyalty, which will send the party in quick progress along the road toward its goal, the establishment of the Soviet Government of the United States.

# The World Congress of the Communist International

A circular addressed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International to all the proletarian organizations affiliated or desire to belong to the Communist International.

On the 1st of June, 1921, the Third World Congress of the Communist International will open in Moscow. We are convening the Congress two months before the time fixed by the constitution. We are convinced, however, that all affiliated Parties will agree that the best interests of the cause imperatively demand an earlier date for the Congress.

During the nine months that have elapsed since the Second Congress of the Communist International, a number of parties have carried on an extensive discussion upon various questions which the Second Congress formulated. In a number of countries the differentiation has gone so far as to create an open rupture between the Communists and the adherents of the "centre." In Germany, France, England, Sweden, Norway, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, Greece, Switzerland, Belgium and other countries the split between the Communists and the adherents of the intermediary 2½ "International" is an accomplished fact. In other countries, such as Czeco-Slovakia, a split is a matter of the near future. In Italy the Communists have organized their own Party. Of the present "Socialist" party, which unites avowed Reformists and vacillating revolutionaries, all the healthy elements will gradually split away and join the Communist International. In America the amalgamation of all Communist sections is about to be accomplished.

All these events must be properly appraised by the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International during this period has made some very important decisions. For these decisions it will give account before the entire Communist International. First of all the Third Congress must ascertain to what extent all the affiliated Parties have carried out the conditions which were formulated by the Second Congress. A complete period in the activities of the Communist International is being brought to a close. Prior to its First Congress the Communist International passed through its nebulous preparatory stage. Between the First and Second Congress the Communist International passed through its primary agitational period. The Communist International was not yet a well defined international organization. It was only a banner. The period between the Second and Third Congress is the period of intensive differentiation and the organization of real Communist Parties. The Third Congress will review the past work and impart to the Communist International a completeness of organization and the finishing touch to its tactics.

The provisional Agenda drafted by the Executive Committee has been published in the press. The first point is the Report of the Executive Committee. During the nine months that have elapsed since the Second Congress the Executive Committee has taken a very direct and active part in the struggle and splits which occurred in a number of Parties. In connection with this there were naturally some protests raised against the Executive Committee. Whether it

has correctly carried out the line of action formulated by the Second Congress will be decided by the Third Congress. At any rate the Communist International must determine a clear-cut and definite order: the Executive Committee is wholly responsible to the regular World Congress. To it appeals can be made against this or that decision of the Executive Committee. But from Congress to Congress the entire control belongs to the Executive Committee. Its decisions must be carried out. Without this the existence of the Communist International as a centralized, disciplined international organization is rendered impossible. If the Communist International is designated the International of action, it necessarily follows that this international fighting organization must have its chief headquarters, in respect to which discipline must be maintained not only in words, but in deeds.

The second point on the agenda is headed: "The World Economic Crisis and the New Problems of the Communist International." The "theoreticians" of the two-and-a-half International, Otto Bauer, Hilferding, Kautsky and Co. assert that after the conclusion of the imperialist war the bourgeoisie is succeeding in restoring a new economic equilibrium and that Europe is entering upon a new era of a continuous organic development on the basis of a peaceful "revival" of the capitalist system. Hence the leaders of the 2½ International, not to speak of the leaders of the openly treacherous Second International draw certain practical deductions. Hence the especially abominable transitional of all these parties, like the German Independents and the French Longuetists, into the camp of open counter-revolution. The Third Congress is confronted with the task of exposing on the basis of a precise study of facts, after a searching analysis of the economic crisis with all its horrors of unparalleled unemployment and destitution of the masses, the utter folly of the reformist illusions, the stupidity of all those who believe in the future of a regenerated capitalism and preach to the working class the petty-bourgeois gospel of "peace and order." The third and fourth points are: "The Tactic of the Communist International During Revolution," and "The Transitional Period" (partial demands, partial clashes and the final revolutionary battle). In a transitional period like that through which we are now passing, two trends manifest themselves in the camp of the revolutionary movement. Some say: Assuming, that we are already on the eve of the revolution, what is the use of putting forward partial demands?" If we emphasize our partial demands, why should we repeat every time the entire programme?—say others. We shall not expend our energies in partial clashes, we shall accumulate them for the last decisive battle, say some. We must utilize every occasion to provoke an open clash, say others. The Third Congress will review the concrete experience of the Russian Comrades on the eve of the revolution, as well as the experience of the German workers and the proletarians of all other countries. The Third Congress must draw the most definite tactical line for all Communist Parties. It should be equally averse to sectarianism and to the lure of momentary success. It should aim to bring the Commun-

ist Parties into the closest contact with the widest masses, but at the same time preserve their irreconcilability toward the bourgeois state and their unflinching fidelity to revolutionary Marxism.

The fifth and sixth points deal with the international labor movement, the struggle with the Amsterdam yellow Association of Trade Unions and the International Council of Red Trade Unions. This is one of the most important questions on the agenda of the Third Congress. The struggle within the labor movement is assuming an intense form. Upon this struggle depends the decision of the conflict between the Second and Third International, i. e., between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Presently the trade unions comprise tens of millions of workers.

To win over to our side the trade unions means to win the proletariat. The tactic of formation of Communist nuclei within the trade unions which was formulated by the Second Congress, has fully justified itself. It gave serious results in Germany, in France, in England and other countries. The Amsterdam Yellow organization has sustained the first heavy blows. The Yellow Amsterdam leaders are dismayed. At one moment they are willing to make some concessions and at another they proceed to expel from the trade unions every adherent of the Communist International. This is a sure sign of the impending complete disruption. The Third Congress will summarize the results of the struggle against Amsterdam and outline a systematic plan of campaign for the future. Moreover, the Third Congress must clearly define the inter-relationship between the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International: whether we shall have two parallel international organizations with the Communist International as the leading organization, or whether we shall have only one Communist International composed not only of political parties but also of all proletarian organizations, including the Red Trade Unions, which agree in principle with the Communist International. In this latter event the Red Trade Union International would only be a section of the Communist International. We can put up many arguments for and against these decision of this problem in the development of the international workers' movement. All organizations belonging to the Communist International should consider this question very carefully from all angles and come to an accurate decision at the Third Congress.

The seventh and eighth points on the agenda deal with questions of organization: the construction of the Communist parties, methods and character of their work; the construction of the Communist International and its relation to the parties which are its members. Here two groups of questions must be discussed. The first group: How each separate Communist Party should be constructed. In Western Europe, we notice even among the Communist Parties, that a permanent organization hardly exists. Only during elections or upon extraordinary occasions all members of the party become active. But there are no regular active Communist groups in the mills, factories, mines and railroads, in villages and institutions, in the trade unions and co-operatives. Nor is there any method of iron discipline combining these groups with the party centre. We must put an end to this state of affairs. The Third Congress will take this up. The other group of organization questions, which the Third Congress will take up, are the questions: how far does

the autonomy of the separate parties go in relation to the Executive Committee of the Communist International? How a centralized international proletarian organization should be constructed, which will really be capable of leading the international struggle of the proletariat; what should be done in order to improve the international ties of the separate Communist parties, between each other and the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In other words—upon what basis of organization should the Communist International be constructed, in order that it may be capable of coping with the daily increasing problems with which it is entrusted.

The Eastern question is the ninth. The Communist International made its first successes in its work among the peoples of the East. The Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East was undoubtedly of a great historical importance. The coming congress of the Peoples of the Far East will also play its part. The Third Congress will have to discuss the Eastern question not only theoretically as it did at the Second Congress, but also practically. The victory of the world proletarian revolution cannot be achieved without a revolution in Asia. Each proletarian Communist must know this. Only then will the worker Communists be fully armed theoretically against the "European" opportunism of the Hilferdings and other heroes of the Two-and-a-half International, who only have a hateful sneer towards the enslaved peoples of the East. The tenth point on the agenda, about the Italian Socialist Party, will be of utmost importance. The Italian Socialist Party was a member of the Communist International. Owing to the influence of the "centrist" agitation of Serrati, the Congress of this Party at Livorno refused to put into action the conditions put by the Second Congress of the Communist International for all parties. The group of Serrati, having a majority at the Congress, wished the Communist International to accept such leading agents of capital, as the old and world-famous reformists: Turati, Modigliani, D'Aragnona, Treves and Co., that is, the Italian Dittmans, Bernsteins, and Longuets. For the sake of unity with these reformists who had 14,000 votes at the Congress at Livorno, the leaders of the Italian "centre" with Serrati at the head, broke away from the 58,000 proletarian Communists. Serrati betrayed the decisions of the Second Congress. At Livorno the moral victors over the "center" were practically the reformists with Turati at their head. The worker Communists formed an independent Communist Party. Under the circumstances the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale considered that it is its duty to recognize the young Communist Party of Italy as the only section of the Communist International, and to expel the party of Serrati which refused to abide by the decisions of the Second Congress from the Communist International. The Italian Socialist Party protested against this and appealed against the decision of the Executive Committee to the next congress of the Communist International. Every party has an undoubted right to such an appeal, and the Executive Committee is prepared to submit this dispute before the Third Congress for decision.

Knowing the customs and morals of the "centrist" leaders, who like to dodge distinct replies to questions, the Executive Committee in a special letter to the Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Party declared: We invite you to the Third Congress, but we

demand that your delegates to the Third Congress of the Communist International have the power to give final answers to the questions of the Third Congress.

(2) We demand that you reply and exactly: Do you agree to the expulsion from the Communist International of the Turati, Treves group, as this entire dispute consists only of this.

The Italian question has become of universal importance. In Germany the group of Levi, which has long since made an effort to form a sort of right wing in the Communist International, glad of the Italian argument, commenced to make assurances that the Executive Committee of the Communist International made tactical mistakes on this question, that the Executive Committee preaches "mechanical" splits, etc.

The Third Congress will clarify this question absolutely, decide it in principle, clarify the argument of all the minor and casual points, and show to each and every one, that those who do not put the 21 conditions into action, cannot be members of the Third International. The March incident of the German Communists brought serious differences of opinion among the United Communist Party of Germany. Levi was expelled from the party and the Executive Committee of the Communist International agreed to this expulsion. The Third Congress will certainly have to discuss these tactical problems, raised in connection with the March incidents.

The question of the relation of the Third Congress to the Communist Labor Party of Germany will also be on the agenda. This party will have to give its final answer, whether it agrees to universal discipline or not. Furthermore, the woman question, the movement of the young people, etc., are also on the agenda of the Congress.

Finally, the Executive Committee of the Communist International decided to put on the agenda the very important question of the economic policy and the general situation of the first republic in which the prole-

tariat has taken the power, Soviet Russia.

We ask all the parties and unions belonging to and wishing to become members of the Communist International, to open a wide discussion immediately in the press and at the meetings on the question on the agenda of the Third Congress. We further ask that the question of elections to this Congress be discussed immediately. The Executive Committee of the Communist International unanimously decided to propose to all parties: 1) That delegations to the Congress be as numerous as possible; 2) That delegations be composed at least one-third of members of the Executive Committees of the various Parties, and two-thirds from among the membership of the larger local organizations, more connected with the laboring masses. We consider this last decision of extraordinary importance. We want the Third Congress to be attended by as many workers as possible, by those directly reflecting the temper of the proletarian masses. The Executive Committee also asks that the delegations should consist partly of representatives of the Women's Workers and Communist Youth.

The preparatory work of the Congress (the preliminary discussions, etc.) are of no less importance than the Congress itself. The decisions of the Third Congress must be prepared and discussed by the workers at tens and hundreds of meetings in the different countries. There is very little time left. To work!

The Executive Committee asks all parties and unions to send through their delegates written detailed report of the work done by these parties during the past year.

The Executive Committee further asks that all parties appoint speakers on the different points of the agenda of the Congress and propose resolution on these questions.

With Communist greetings,

G. ZINOVIEV,

Chairman of the Executive Committee,  
Communist International.

