



The COMMUNIST

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(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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Emergency Convention

The Fifth Convention of the Communist Party of America

The Emergency Convention of the C. P. of A., held January, 1922, represented the climax of the struggle to prevent the liquidation and destruction of the Communist Party as planned by those centrist and semi-centrist elements within the communist movement in this country. These semi-bourgeois intellectuals, who had become politically homeless with the breaking up of the Socialist Party in 1919, never felt comfortable in the underground Communist Party. For more than two years they had been seeking an opportunity to stab the young communist movement of this country in the back. Their intrigues with the Soviet Bureau here and their false representations to the Comintern, are too well known to be recounted here. With the centrist cry for "unity" always upon their lips, they sought to unite with the C. P. of A. only for the purpose of destroying it. Soon after the factitious unity of the U. C. P. and the C. P. of A. brought about by the Joint Unity Convention last May, 1921, the real purposes of these centrists became apparent. No sooner had they come into possession of the machinery of the "united" party, then they at once began to make overtures to their fellow centrists—Engdahl, Salutsky, Lore & Co. For six months following the Unity Convention, these traitors deliberately sabotaged all the work of the C. P. of A., destroyed its press, disrupted the foreign language federations, broke up the C. P. nuclei in the unions, and by conducting a carefully planned campaign of slander against the leaders of the Bolshevik faction of the C. P. of A. succeeded in partially breaking down the discipline and morale of the party.

After six months of this sort of preparation these traitorous centrists felt that the time was ripe to reap the fruits of their campaign. With all the machinery and funds of the C. P. of A. in their possession and its membership helpless (as they thought), they carried out their coup and launched the Workers' Party, thus uniting into one camp all the menshevik elements in the American movement.

During this time the leaders of the Bolshevik faction were not idle. As soon as the purposes of the mensheviks became clear, caucuses were organized in every district under the guidance of a National Central Caucus, and the defensive battle to save the C. P. of A. was begun. Up to the time of the issuance of the Joint Convention Call to organize a new party, the Bolshevik caucuses in the C. P. of A. confined their fight to preventing a split in the ranks of the C. P. of A. by demanding the calling of an emergency convention and by exposing the plans of the centrists on the former C. E. C. The seven traitors on the former C. E. C. had secretly conspired with the centrists outside the party and had jointly issued their call for the formation of a new party to be known as the Workers' Party. By this act the centrist leaders and all those who were misled by them had left the C. P. of A. and the Central Caucus issued a call to all districts to hold elections for sub-district and district conventions and to elect their delegates to a National Conference of the Communist Party of America, in order that the entire membership of the C. P. of A. could take action in this emergency in which the very life and future existence of the Communist Party was at stake.

This convention was held last January with 38 delegates present, representing a membership of 4408. (This is a very conservative figure as subsequent reports to the C. E. C. since the convention by Federations and districts show the present membership of the C. P. of A. to be more than 5500. The districts reported membership as follows: Dist. 1—630; Dist. 2—1094; Dist. 3—445; Dist. 4—333; Dist. 5—628; Dist. 6—515; Dist. 7—125; Dist. 8—30; Dist. 9—72; Dist. 10—228; Dist. 11—256; Dist. 12 included in report of Dist. 5. This total of 4408 represented only those members of the C. P. of A. who had participated in the elections and who had paid the convention assessment of 50 cents per member. The reports of the delegates showed that out of the former membership of 10,000; 5000 had remained loyal to the principles of the Comintern and

to the C. P. of A.—2000 were “neutral” or undecided, while not more than 3000 members had left the party and joined the Workers’ Party. The Federations reported on membership as follows: Jewish—150; Lettish—630; Lithuanian—1100; Polish—400; Russian—900; Ukrainian—1000. Total federation membership represented—4180.

Immediately following the reports of the delegates the following motion was introduced: “That this body act as the emergency convention of the Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International.” This motion precipitated a general discussion in which the whole situation of our party, its past and future was reviewed and discussed. Every delegate voiced his determination to maintain the continuous existence of the C. P. of A. Every delegate read the instructions which he had received from the rank and file members whom he represented to maintain our party at all costs and to keep up the fight to expose and discredit the American mensheviks and to drive them from their holes and thrust them out of the Comintern. Upon a roll call vote the motion was unanimously carried. After the debate upon this motion there could be no doubt as to what these delegates and this convention would do. From this time on its character and its purpose was determined. No self-appointed “leaders” could sway it from its aims; no clique or caucus could control it. Here was exemplified the revolutionary fervor of the comrades in the ranks who were making the real sacrifices for the communist movement; here was that elemental proletarian spirit, the working class determination to surmount all obstacles that carried the Russian Revolution through to success and established the first Proletarian Government. Here were no professional, bourgeois intellectuals but instead men fresh from the grime and smoke of the factories; men who are at grips with the every day struggle of the workers. No “machine” could steam-roller this convention as was done at the centrist Workers’ Party convention. The delegates of the C. P. of A. had come to solve their own problems—not to have them predigested by “fighting leaders” for them. The party intellectuals and careerists had deserted us in the fight as they had so often done before, and the delegates realized that out of the body and bone and blood of the proletariat must come the future leadership of the Communist Party in America.

The Secretary of the National Central Caucus made a complete report and read extensive extracts from the C. C. minutes. This report was unanimously adopted after considerable discussion. The financial report of the Central Caucus was as follows: Received—\$1339.19; Paid—\$920.24; Balance—\$418.95. No officers were paid by the C. C. and after auditing by the Financial Committee the Convention accepted the report.

A lengthy report of the three minority members of the former C. E. C. (Moore, Henry and Dobin) was read and adopted.

The committee on legal work brought in an outline of plan for legal organization which was adopted as reported by the committee with minor changes. The discussion which developed in considering this plan and the unanimous vote by which it was finally adopted give the lie to the accusation made by the mensheviks that the C. P. of A. is a leftist and sectarian party. The problem of legal work was taken up in earnest. Every delegate realized the necessity for establishing a legal organization through which the C. P. will maintain constant contact with the broad masses. The convention adopted a plan for a centralized legal organization to be the legal apparatus of the underground C. P. of A. entirely under the control and direction of the illegal party

by means of which the C. P. of A. will unify and direct the workers in their every day struggles; formulate slogans adapted to each immediate question agitating the workers; consolidate their movements and convert their spontaneous actions into carefully planned struggle; and through its nuclei and its legal machinery the C. P. of A. will identify itself with the masses of the proletariat in the unions, in strikes, in all their movements and struggles against their oppressors. According to the plan adopted by the convention the legal activities of the C. P. of A. will be centralized in order to formulate and present practical plans for direct action and to teach the backward, vacillating masses how to fight and make a stand for the necessities of life; to lead the immediate struggles of the workers; promote their conflicts; and to form the centre and rallying ground for a wider mass organization through which the C. P. of A. will win over the proletariat to the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in the form of Soviet power. This centralized legal organization will be the legal machinery of the C. P. of A.—the directing centre of the workers struggle—so constructed and controlled so as not to vitiate the program and the aims of the Communist Party, which will through its press, its nuclei, and all its illegal machinery, keep in the foreground the necessity for, and the inevitability of, the violent overthrow of the capitalist state through mass action and armed insurrection, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat based upon Soviet power, as the only means to emancipate the working class from the horrors of capitalism and for the introduction of the Communist Society.

A complete plan for participation in the coming parliamentary elections was worked out and adopted by the convention. The C. P. of A. will enter its candidates in the elections upon a working class program against the candidates of all other parties—through its special elections machinery. Again the malicious and mendacious charge that the C. P. of A. is a leftist party was repudiated by the attitude of the delegates towards active participation in the elections. After a few minor changes the committees report was unanimously adopted.

The Committee on Constitution brought in and presented many important changes which were adopted and are printed in this issue on another page. The discussion on the constitution was a lengthy one. The delegates had learned much from the mistakes made in the past and their self criticism and their determination to avoid and correct them in the future augurs well for the organizational life of our party. Much more power was placed in the hands of the District Conferences and the D. E. Cs. The changes were all in the direction of democratic centralization as contained in the Theses of the Third Congress. All officers of the party are elected including the D. Os. who are to be elected by the District Conferences subject to the approval of the C. E. C.

After a report on the Y. C. L. a resolution was adopted as an instruction to the C. E. C. to the effect that all efforts should be made to develop the Y. C. L.; that it shall not be split upon party differences; and that the work in the Y. C. L. shall be conducted upon the basis of “organizational neutrality.”

The resolutions adopted appear upon another page in this issue.

A former delegate to the Comintern elected at the Joint Unity Convention was admitted to the Emergency Convention to read a communication from the E. C. of the C. I. to the C. E. C. of the C. P. of A. This was a long ten page document of a secret

nature and bears out the position of the C. P. of A. on legal activities. The E. C. of the C. I. is unalterably opposed to the liquidation of the C. P. of A. and commands the C. E. C. of the C. P. A. to call the convention of the illegal party before establishing the legal organization. The C. P. of A. has accordingly conformed to the orders of the E. C. of the C. I. It will not be long before the mask will be torn from the faces of our American mensheviki who have been masquerading as communists.

The Financial Committee reported convention Receipts—\$2468.02; and Expenditures—\$1310.82; Balance—\$1157.20. On party wages the convention decided to pay single comrades without dependents \$25 per week; and married comrades or comrades with dependents \$35 per week.

The Convention elected a Central Executive Committee of seven; and five alternates to be called in a given order; an Auditing Committee of three and three alternates; and an International Delegate.

The Emergency Convention lasted five days, and the delegates were in continuous sessions lasting from 11 A.M. to 12 P.M. The C. P. of A. has held many conventions but none in which more was accomplished or more serious and important in its nature. Let us be frank. The task that confronts our party is a colossal one. So-called leaders have deserted our party and have gone over into the camp of the mensheviki. We will remember them—those who have betrayed their trust—those who have deserted

and gone over to the enemy for their own personal advantage. We are poor in trained writers, we have few intellectuals. But we are rich in enthusiasm and the determination to carry on the work of our party; we have many stalwart proletarian fighters. Out of our own ranks, out of the bone of our bone and the flesh of our flesh, out of our own proletarian elements we must develop the trained leadership to fill the needs of our party. Upon these do we rely. We shall find and develop our editors, writers, speakers, and organizers, among the rank and file of the C. P. of A.

Every comrade must put his or her shoulder to the wheel.

On with our communist tasks!

All centrists have united in one party.

Let all communist draw together in closer unity.

The battle is on! Close the ranks! Build up the Communist Party of America. Strengthen the American section of the Communist International.

Down with the traitors and betrayers of the communist movement.

LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!

Constitution of the C. P. of A.

Adopted at the Emergency Convention, January, 1922, of 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 applicants 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 members 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. Isolated Branches shall be connected with the nearest Section.

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, not later than three months after the C. I. Congress.

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 three District Conventions representing not less than one-third of the membership of the Party. All requests for Emergency Convention emanating from any Section shall be printed by the C. E. C. in the Party Bulletin.

Section 3. 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. The representation in the Section and the District elector's meeting and in the Convention of the Party shall be fixed by the Convention call, issued by the Central Executive Committee.

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 no vote, unless elected as delegates themselves.

Section 6. Section 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 seven members elected by the Convention. The Convention shall also elect five alternates. When the list of alternates shall be exhausted the Central Executive Committee shall have the right to co-optation.

Section 3. All Central Executive Committee members shall live in the city in which the National Headquarters are located, or in adjacent cities. Only those who give their time to Party work shall be paid.

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

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 (a). The Central Executive Committee shall call in the District Organizers for a conference by majority vote of the C. E. C. The District Organizer shall have voice and vote at these conferences.

(b) The votes at these conferences shall be consultative only.

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. DISTRICT AND SUBORDINATE UNITS

Section 1 (a). District Organizers shall be elected by District Conventions subject to the approval of the C. E. C.

(b) District Executive Committee elect the District Organizer in case of resignation or removal to serve until the next District Convention.

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 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 Sub-district 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. Sub-district Organizers shall be elected by Sub-district Committees.

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 and the Section Organizers.

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 the Branch and of all other Party units.

Section 14. In case of emergency the District Executive Committee has the right to issue leaflets on local problems.

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 expenses of these conferences shall be paid by the respective Federations; in case of deficit, it shall be made up out of the national 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. 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 activities of their respective Federations.

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 their 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) Federation District Organizers shall be elected by Federation District Conference subject to the approval of their National Bureaus.

(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, under the supervision of their respective Bureaus.

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) The National Language Bureau shall furnish monthly reports, financial statements and other reports of their activities to the C. E. C. The books of all Language Federations shall be subject to audit by the C. E. C.

Section 9 (a). 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 10. District Language Conferences shall be called by the District Language Bureaus to discuss educational and propaganda needs of their languages in the district and to elect five members to the District Languages 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. The governing bodies of the Party must take immediate action on the demands of their lower units.

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

- 1) Violation of the fundamental principles of the program and Constitution of the Party.
- 2) Refusal to accept and carry out the decisions of the Party.
- 3) Wilfully to block and disrupt Party work and the cooperation 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 investigation 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. Any subordinate unit may prefer charges against any official of a higher body, or against the whole higher body to the next higher body.

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 organization.

Section 13. The Central Executive Committee shall maintain discipline over its members. It may suspend or expel one of its members by a vote of five to one, accused member not voting.

Section 14. Any suspended or expelled member of the Central Executive Committee shall have the right to appeal 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 monthly 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 contribute 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.

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 Committee of the Party, or the Sub-District Executive Committee (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, and establish local unions as soon as they get a sufficient number of workers, required by the respective union to grant a charter.

Section 4. Each Nucleus shall consist of about 10 members. The Nuclei elect their captains and these captains together with the Nuclei union Organizers, elected by them, 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 constitute the Industrial Department of the respective Party sub-divisions. These Industrial Departments shall elect their in-

dustrial heads, who shall serve on the respective Party sub-division (with voice, but no vote).

Section 7. In order to coordinate and centralize the work of the Nuclei on a national scale, the C. E. C. of the Party shall organize a National Industrial Department, which shall be in direct contact with the District Industrial Organizers elected by the D. E. C.

Section 8. 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. Party members may accept paid positions in the unions, in order to further Communist work.

ANOTHER LINK IS FORGED

With a mingled feeling of delight and approval; with a sense of strengthened solidarity, you will read the official communication from The Comintern relative to International Dues, printed in another column of this paper.

While one of the most important, constructive steps, organically, in recent months, its political significance is dynamic. Not alone are we materially attached to the International; AN-

OTHER LINK IN THE MIGHTY CHAIN THAT BINDS THE WORLD PROLETARIAT TO-GETHER IS FORGED! and we go FORWARD with a mighty stride, with a sense of UNITY with the WORLD WIDE WORKERS' COMMUNIST PARTY in the common struggles of the world PROLETARIAT.

UNITE IN A SOLID FRONT!

FORWARD!

ALL TO-GETHER!!

MEMBERSHIP DUES FOR THE COMINTERN

The E. C. of the C. I. in its session of Dec. 4, unanimously adopted the following rules on membership dues for the Comintern:

- 1—All members shall pay international dues.
- 2—The amount of dues for one year shall be the average of the dues for a month from all the affiliated Communist Parties.
- 3—International dues shall be paid quarterly, in equal amounts each quarter. For these dues, international dues stamps will be issued which must be printed in the form decided upon by the Section of the C. I. in each country and bear the seal of the Party.
- 4—Members of Legal C. Parties shall paste these stamps in their membership books. When emigrating to another country their membership rights will be recognized according to the International dues paid.
- 5—Dues shall be paid into the treasury of the E. C. of the C. I. through the Executive Committees of the various parties, not later than the end of any quarter year for the preceding quarter. No group or Section shall have the right to make expenditures on account of these international dues. In every case they shall be paid without fail to the Comintern.
- 6—The E. C. of the C. I. must present to the International Congresses a report on payments received, audited by the Auditing Committee.

7—This decision is three fold in purpose: in the first place, the international dues will help to cover the ever-increasing expenditures of the Comintern.

8—Further, these established dues will make it possible for the materially stronger Sections to assist the weaker Sections of the Comintern. That is especially indispensable in cases of important political or economic struggle.

9—The establishment of party international dues will in the third instance strengthen the sense of unity between the various Sections of the Comintern; will make out of them in fact, an integral part of the world-wide workers' Communist Party, provided this unity is mainly expressed in the common political coordinated struggles of the Proletariat. But this must also express itself in the form of universal dues—paid by the various Sections to the International, whereby each and every individual Comrade becomes attached materially to the International. Consequently this decision has not alone an organic, but also a political significance.

This decision shall be printed in all Party Papers and communicated to all organizations and their units. Please acknowledge receipt of this circular and at the same time state the amount of the dues expected to be paid to the E. C. of the C. I. The International membership dues are effective beginning Jan. 1, 1922.

With Communist Greetings,

E. C. of the C. I.

A CALL TO ACTION

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA BY THE C.E.C. OF THE C.P.A.

COMRADES: The Emergency Convention of the C. P. of A. has completed its sessions laid down the basis for future work, and elected the C. E. C. to carry out its mandates. In spite of the attempt of the centrist and semi-centrist members of the former C. E. C. to betray and destroy the C. P. of A. not more than 3,000 former members have left the party to unite with the centrists of the Socialist Party; 2,000 are undecided; while 5,000 comrades have answered the call of the three minority members of the former C. E. C. to maintain the C. P. of A. and to uphold its principles as the American Section of the C. I. The conspiracy of the seven members of the former C. E. C. to betray and sell out the C. P. of A. to their fellow centrists of the Socialist Party has failed.

The conditions of the fight to save our party made it necessary to employ purely defensive strategy. We were compelled to build up a hastily constructed machinery in the form of caucuses, under the leadership of a Central Caucus, with which to withstand the blows of the centrists who had come into possession of the entire party machinery, its press and its funds. The centrists within our party have been driven from their hiding places and forced into the open. These centrists and opportunists are now united with others of their kind in the Workers' Party. The immediate task of the C. P. of A. is to rapidly consolidate its forces and to prepare for and carry on the fight to expose and destroy the Workers' Party as completely as we smashed its prototype—the Socialist Party of America.

We have defeated the centrists within our ranks in a defensive battle. We must now take the offensive and carry the battle to them. **WE MUST TEAR THE MASK OF COMMUNISM FROM THEIR FACES AND HURL THEM OUT OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.**

This is our supreme duty to the Communist movement in America. This is our immediate communist task.

Your C. E. C. calls upon all members of the C. P. of A. to prepare for battle; we are engaging in a life and death struggle with the mensheviks of America. Upon the outcome of this struggle depends the future, not only of our party, but also of the communist movement in this country.

In this struggle let no member shirk his or her duty. The major tasks of our party cannot be successfully carried out until we first remove the menace of the centrist swamp.

Our party is being tested now as it never was before. We must prove by our work that the accusation of "leftism" and "sectarianism" are false, malicious slanders. The Emergency Convention has outlined a complete plan for legal organization and legal work. Your C. E. C. is carefully working out details and will instruct the membership how to carry out this important work. On the parliamentary field, preparations are being made to contest the elections against the candidates of all capitalist, bourgeois-reform, and centrist parties. The industrial depart-

ment of the C. E. C. will present complete plans for the C. P. nuclei in the unions and other workers organizations. Our press will be re-established. The work of the C. P. of A. will be carried on. Where some of the members of the party have deserted and left their posts, others will take up the tasks in our party. Your C. E. C. calls upon every member of the C. P. of A. to take up the work in the party for which he or she is best fitted and to devote all their energies to their communist tasks.

The C. P. of A. as the American section of the Communist International is under the discipline of the E. C. of the C. I. Before the E. C. and the Fourth World Congress the whole American question will be finally decided. There can be no doubt that when the position of our party is made clear by the course of events and by thorough investigation, the E. C. of the C. I. will adopt toward our American opportunists and centrists the same

attitude that they adopted in their decisions on other parties. The E. C. of the C. I. will say to America as it said to Italy "Here is Communism; there is Reformism! Whoever is not with us, is against us and with the bourgeoisie!"

On International Relations your C. E. C. will keep the membership informed of every development. Therefore it is the duty of all members of the C. P. A. to ignore malicious rumors spread by the centrists in order to demoralize our forces.

Comrades To work! Down with the Betrayers of Communism.

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA!
LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Central Executive Committee, C. P. of A.,
J. Davis, Executive Secretary.

RESOLUTIONS

RESOLUTION APPROVING THE ACTS OF THE MINORITY MEMBERS OF THE C. E. C.

Adopted at the National Emergency Convention of the C. P. A.
January 7-11, 1922.

WHEREAS:—The minority members of the C. E. C. have successfully opposed the traitorous acts of the majority in betraying the membership of the C. P. A. by entering into a conspiracy with the Centrist elements to abolish and destroy the present C. P. of A. by organizing a new party to take its place, and

WHEREAS:—The minority members have kept the membership informed of the dastardly acts of suspension, expulsion, and disconnection of that part of the membership who opposed the C. E. C. majority in its crushing policy of denial to the membership of the right of discussion and recommendation on the policy and plans for an L. P. P., therefore be it

RESOLVED:—That we, the delegates to the National Emergency Convention of the C. P. A. in session assembled declare our unanimous approval of the acts of the minority members of the C. E. C. (Moore, Dobin and Henry) on their valiant stand for C. P. of A. and its constitution against the treacherous acts of the majority members of the C. E. C., and be it further

RESOLVED:—That we most emphatically condemn the acts of the majority members of the C. E. C. (Elk, Collins, Morris, Riley, Nelson, Turner, Cook) in their repeated violations of the decisions of the Joint Unity Convention, the Constitution of the C. P. of A. and their final betrayal of the C. P. of A. and its membership, to the centrists and opportunists now organized in the Workers' Party.

RESOLUTION ON THE WORKERS' PARTY

Adopted at the National Emergency Conference, Jan. 7-11, 1922

RESOLVED:—That the National Emergency Convention of the C. P. of A., in session assembled unanimously declares its opposition to the Workers' Party. WE maintain, the organization of the Workers' Party to take the place of the C. P. of A., L. P. P. is not only an act of betrayal of the C. P. of A. and its membership, but is actual treason perpetrated against the entire Communist movement of this country and the world Proletarian Revolution, and be it further

RESOLVED:—That our Party Press shall continually and mercilessly criticize and denounce to the workers of this country, the centrists and opportunist tendencies of the leadership of this Workers' Party and expose their destructive work camouflaged with the Revolutionary phrases of Communism.

RESOLUTION ON THE WOMENS' SECTION OF THE C. I.

Adopted at the National Emergency Convention, Jan. 7-11, 1922

The National Emergency Convention of the C. P. of A. in session assembled sends fraternal greetings to the Womens' Section of the Communist International.

We declare our whole-hearted approval and support of the Theses of the Third Congress of the Communist International and of the Second International Womens' Congress on the method of work and activity among working women and

We call upon Party members everywhere to exert themselves in the most energetic manner and rally the masses of the working women around the banner of Communism and arouse them for the revolutionary struggle for the establishment of the Proletarian Dictatorship based on Soviet Power.

RESOLUTION ON THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

Adopted at the National Emergency Convention, Jan. 7-11, 1922

The National Emergency Convention of the C. P. of A. in session assembled sends fraternal greetings to the Red Trade Union International and its affiliated organizations.

We declare our whole-hearted approval and support of the decisions of the First Congress of the Red Trade Union International and call upon all members of the Party to persistently agitate for the recognition of the aims and purposes and the ultimate affiliation of the Workers and their organizations with the Red Trade Union International.

RESOLUTION ON POLITICAL PRISONERS

Adopted at the National Emergency Convention, Jan. 7-11, 1922

The National Emergency Convention of the C. P. of A. in session assembled sends a message of encouragement and support to the imprisoned Revolutionists: the victims of the ruthless capitalist dictatorship.

We most emphatically condemn the continued detention of the class conscious workers in the capitalist prisons and dungeons. We, the comrades organized in the C. P. of A., the revolutionary vanguard of the Working Class of America, pledge to them in the name of the exploited masses of America, that we will continue this fight until we have aroused the workers of the country to forcibly open the doors of the capitalist bastilles; destroy the bourgeois state and establish the Proletarian Dictatorship through which Communist society will be inaugurated.

RESOLUTION ON Y. C. I.

Adopted at the National Emergency Convention, Jan. 7-11, 1922

The National Emergency Convention of the C. P. of A. in session assembled sends fraternal greetings to the Y. C. International and affiliated organizations.

We pledge ourselves to assist in carrying out the work of the Y. C. I.

We call upon all members of the Party to facilitate the organization of Young Communist Groups.

We call upon the Young Communist organization to submit to the Communist program, tactics and political leadership and join the Revolutionary front.

The Communist Party of America and the Communist International

By JOHN MOORE

The trump card which has been played by the centrist wing of the communist movement has been their claim that in everything that they have done in uniting with Salutsky, Engdahl and Co. they have the unqualified approval of the E. C. of the C. I. The club which they have held over the heads of the deluded followers of the former C. E. C. and with which they have bludgeoned them into submission to their plan for the liquidation of our party has been their pretense that they were acting under the orders of the Communist International.

In spite of the attempt of the centrist members of the former C. E. C. to destroy the Communist Party, not more than 3,000 members have left the party to unite with other centrist elements of the Socialist Party; 2,000 remain "neutral"; while 5,000 members have answered the call of the three minority members of the former C. E. C. to maintain the party and to uphold its principles as the American Section of the Communist International. The story of the Emergency Convention of the C. P. of A. appears upon another page in this issue. The conspiracy of the seven members of the former C. E. C. to betray and sell out the party to their fellow centrists of the Socialist Party has failed.

It is not the purpose of this article to review the fight which has been made to save the party from destruction by the centrist elements within it. That fight has been made and won. Difficult as this task has been, new and still more difficult tasks confront us. Although we have defeated the attempt of the centrists to smash our party from within we have not gone through this battle without losses and scars. The conditions of the fight to save our party made it necessary to employ a purely defensive strategy. We were compelled to build up overnight a hastily constructed party machinery in the form of caucuses with which to withstand the blows of the centrists who had come into possession of the entire party machinery, its press, and its funds. The membership has loyally supported the three minority members of the former C. E. C. in their determination to resist and to expose the secret conspiracy to betray the C. P. of A. The centrists have been driven from their hiding places within our party and forced into the open. These centrists are now united in the Workers' Party and it now becomes the supreme duty of the Communist Party of America to rapidly consolidate its forces and prepare

for the fight to expose and destroy the Workers' Party as completely as we smashed its prototype, the Socialist Party of America. We have defeated the centrists within our ranks in a defensive battle. We must now take the offensive and carry the battle to them, driving them from one position after another until, at last, we hurl them out of the Communist International.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Communist Sections of every country form one International Communist Party with headquarters in Moscow, Russia. There, under the protection of the Government of Soviet Russia, the general staff of the world revolution; the E. C. of the C. I., meets and carries out the policies laid down by the World Congress which issues the Statutes, Theses and Resolutions of the Communist International. All Communist Parties as Sections of the C. I. must conform to its Statutes and loyally carry out in their respective countries the policies laid down by the World Congress of the C. I. as contained in the Theses and Resolutions. No Communist Party can ignore these policies or violate the Statutes and remain in the Communist International.

In response to the manifesto of the First World Congress of the C. I. which called upon left wing elements of the old social-patriotic and reformist Socialist Parties of the Second International, to form themselves into Communist Parties, the C. P. of A. was formed in Chicago, September 1, 1919. At the same time certain elements of the "left wing" who had attempted to "capture" the Socialist Party and failed, organized themselves into the C. L. P. After the raids conducted by the Department of Justice, January 1, 1920 both these parties were driven underground and both clamored for recognition by the C. I. as the American Section. The C. L. P., being composed from the outset of unclear and menshevik elements who were more concerned with the requirements of bourgeois legality than with communist principles, rapidly lost its membership during the period of its underground existence, while the C. P. of A. quickly reformed its units in the underground organization and set itself energetically to work to lay the foundations for a real communist movement in America. Some time previous to the organization of the C. P. of A. there had been established in this country

under the direction of L. A. K. Martins, the Soviet Bureau as the official representative in this country of the R. S. F. S. R. This bureau was under instruction to refrain from any political activities as its purpose was the opening of trade relations between the United States and Soviet Russia. During the period of the formation of the Soviet Bureau a controversy raged between it and the Russian Federation over the question of policy and tactics. This embittered the heads of the Bureau against the Russian leadership in the C. P. of A., although the C. P. of A. never attempted to interfere with the work of the Bureau. The Soviet Bureau early attracted a host of political adventurers who began to cast about for some political connections which would affiliate them to the Communist International, since it was then and still is, the fashion to belong to the Comintern. The iron discipline of the C. P. of A. repelled these semi-bourgeois intellectuals and they began to make overtures to the C. L. P. The late Comrade John Reed went to Russia as the representative of the C. L. P. and then began a flood of villification and abuse, misrepresentation and flagrant falsification against the C. P. of A. Comrade Louis Fraina was sent as the delegate of the C. P. of A. and unfortunately took a position with respect to work in the trade unions and parliamentary work totally different from the attitude of our party on these questions as set forth in the C. P. of A.'s program adopted at its Second Convention. Comrade Fraina, in discrediting himself, also brought discredit to the party he represented.

Notwithstanding the influence gained by misrepresentation from the C. I. the membership of the C. L. P. continued to dwindle. This C. L. P. claimed to have a 100 per cent. American membership and continually denounced the C. P. of A. as an alien aggregation—a federation of federations. The policy adopted by the Second World Congress called for the unity of the communist parties; on the ground that there could be but one section of the C. I. in each country. From this time on began the long struggle between the C. L. P. and the C. P. of A. which led up to the Joint Unity Convention held last May, 1921 the details of which our members are familiar with so that it will not be necessary to review them here. The opportunistic elements in the C. P. of A. under the leadership of Damon and Caxton attempted to split the party in April, 1920, a small section of which joined with the C. L. P. and set up the United Communist Party which in spite of their false claims to a large membership never had within its ranks more than 4,000 members, and these under the leadership of hesitating wavering centrists.

The history of the intrigues carried on in Russia, by the U. C. P. political adventurers, against the C. P. of A. will probably never be recorded. As a result of these misrepresentations the influence and prestige of the E. C. of the C. I. swung to the side of the opportunistic and centrist elements within the communist movement in America. The leadership of the C. P. of A. knew at all times that organic unity with the centrist elements of the U. C. P. was impossible, but under specific orders of the C. I. this unity was forced and the U. C. P. "united" with the C. P. of A. thus bringing together within one party these incompatible elements. This artificial unity could not last. Centrists and Communists cannot work together within one party. As oil will mix with oil, and water with water, the centrists in the united C. P. A. began to cast longing and langurous glances at their fellow centrists of the Workers' Council and the Jewish Socialist Federation.

The leaders of the centrists in the Socialist Party, Engdahl, Salutsky, and Askeli, were always adverse to cutting the navel string which attached them to their natural mother. But these charlatans soon discovered that the Socialist Party, which they loved as a child loves its mother, could not be "saved" in spite of all their efforts to keep the rotten and decaying thing alive. So in rapid succession first the Finnish Socialist Federation under Askeli, then the Workers' Council group under Engdahl, and the Jewish Socialist Federation under Salutsky, deserted the sinking ship; leaving the Socialist Party with about 6,000 members.

These centrists, outside the C. P. of A., at once began an agitation for an open communist party and the revision of the program of the C. P. of A. and the Comintern. Here was the opportunity which the centrists inside of the C. P. of A. had long been awaiting, and they grasped it with the eagerness of a drunkard. Secret negotiations were at once begun, behind the back of the C. E. C. of the C. P. of A. and without the knowledge of its membership. Within the underground C. P. of A. the hands of the centrists were tied and their opportunistic activities limited by the discipline of our party. Here was a chance to come out into the open by uniting with their centrist friends of the Socialist Party. They were quick to act for if this opportunity were to be lost it might never come again. And they acted. They knew that if they were to succeed in their plan to form a new party that they must first break down the discipline and morale of the membership of the Communist Party.

The strongest and most disciplined elements in the C. P. of A. are the language Federations. The attempt of the Centrists to destroy the Russian and Lithuanian Federations is now history. Every attempt to split and disrupt the C. P. of A. began with an attack upon the Federations, because these federations are and will continue to be the back bone of the communist movement in America. Every attempt was made by the representatives of the U. C. P. to discredit these federations in the Comintern, the bitterest antagonism being directed against the Russian Federation which had taken the lead in the formation of the C. P. of A.

THE THIRD WORLD CONGRESS

While the centrists inside and outside of our party were preparing to unite their forces in a joint attack upon the underground C. P. of A. and were secretly planning to split the Communist Party in order to organize a new open party of centrism in America, their agents were busily at work in Moscow. The Third World Congress of the Comintern met and after a review of the changing situation throughout the world which was brought about by the failure of the world proletariat to carry out the initial battles of the world revolution, due to the betrayal of the working class by the social patriotic leaders of the Socialist Internationals and the Amsterdam Trade Union International, proceeded to lay down the basis of the tactics to be pursued by the Communist Parties of the world in conformity with the changed tempo of the revolution. With the changed conditions of the revolutionary struggle came the necessity for the adoption of the new tactics. The methods of propaganda were to be made more extensive as well as intensive. The revolutionary tide having reached its peak in 1920 began gradually to recede, leaving the revolutionary government of Soviet Russia as a beacon marking its highest flood.

The success of the world revolution depends upon winning over the proletariat to the communist position and of at the same

time neutralizing the semi-proletarian elements. To do this the Communist Parties must gain the support and sympathy of the broad masses and achieve leadership and influence in all workers organizations. Despite the present objective revolutionary, economic and political situation the majority of the working class is not yet under the influence of communism and the real revolutionary propaganda among the masses has only just begun. Therefore the Comintern at its Third Congress called upon all Communist Parties to extend their organization and their activities so as to directly participate in the immediate struggles of the workers, waiving the idea of the formation of small communist sects and the attaining of influence upon the working class solely by means of agitation and propaganda. The American Communist Party was specifically called upon to create the necessary legal apparatus with which to reach the exploited masses and to unite them politically in their struggle against American capitalism.

Limited space precludes an extensive analysis and review of the Theses and Resolutions adopted by the Third Congress and the above paragraph is a fair summary of the strategy and policy to be pursued by Communist Parties. The opportunists and centrists who had gained control of the machinery of the C. P. of A. immediately after the Joint Unity Convention eagerly seized upon ONE paragraph in the Theses of the Third Congress which referred specifically to the American Party. Although these Theses were in the hands of the former C. E. C. as early as July, 1921, they were not published and even now, SEVEN MONTHS after the Congress they have not been distributed to the membership of the C. P. of A. There was good reason for not publishing these Theses since they contain in themselves a complete repudiation of the plans of the centrists and it was only by keeping the membership in ignorance of their contents and of the decisions of the Third Congress that the centrists could even partially succeed in disrupting the C. P. of A. in furtherance of their scheme to unite with their fellow centrists of the Socialist Party.

In Comrade Zinoviev's report to the Third Congress, he says, "We also advised our American friends that they must not only conduct an illegal party but also take upon themselves to organize, despite the white terror, a broad movement, legal or semi-legal, to work parallel with the party and strive to enlist the support of larger masses. It is of vital importance for the English and American Parties not to remain closed sects. . . ." Nowhere in the Theses of the Second or Third World Congresses of the C. I. is it suggested that there can or should be organized two separate communist parties, one legal and the other illegal. In those countries where the Communist Party can function as an open legal party it is required of them that they organize and maintain an illegal apparatus as an auxiliary of the party and a part of its organizational machinery. In those countries where because of its program the capitalist dictatorship forces the party underground, the illegal party is required to organize the necessary legal apparatus, under the control and direction of the illegal Communist Party as a part of its organizational machinery, in order to conduct the party's open, legal propaganda; maintain contact with the masses; and to prevent the underground organization from becoming an isolated sect.

The new strategy to be employed by the communist parties as outlined by the Comintern was immediately used as a cloak to hide the schemes of the centrists within the C. P. of A. and

these opportunistic compromisers under the pretense of fighting leftism and sectarianism in the party set up the claim that they were acting under express orders of the C. I. As soon as these centrists came into control of the party machinery they sent a telegram to the E. C. of the C. I. saying that the "leftists" were defeated and requested the E. C. not to permit our comrades to return to America. We were denounced in Moscow as sectarians who were opposed to creating any kind of legal machinery and against all legal work and public propaganda. The fact that for the past two years our party had been engaged in a life and death struggle with the centrists, who, because of the reasons already set forth, had succeeded in getting the ear of the E. C., made it extremely difficult to carry out our communist tasks, and lent some color to their misrepresentations. The pre-occupation of the E. C. with the more pressing problems of party organization in Italy, Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia, etc., left them very little time for the investigation and analysis of the American section and the preposterously false claim that the U. C. P. was an All-American party while the C. P. of A. was a narrow sect composed of foreigners was accepted as true by the E. C. who judged both parties by the nationality of the delegates that were being sent to Russia. There is nothing in the actions of the E. C. of the C. I. as illustrated by their attitude toward the opportunists of France, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, and other countries, to warrant the belief that the E. C. is consciously supporting the opportunists in America. That they are in effect doing so, can be accounted for because of the distance between Russia and America and the totally inadequate means of communication and intercourse as well as the inability of the E. C. to give the necessary time and attention to the relatively remote problems of the American movement.

Zinoviev, in his report to the Third Congress, stated, "Whereas our comrades of the 'left' opposition were no enemies of ours, but merely friends with sectarian conceptions, we found a great number of enemies to the right. You will recall that at the time of the Second Congress, the general situation in Europe and America was such, that it was growing to be the fashion to belong to the Communist International. Every half-way clever centrist wanted to belong to the Communist International."

It is the duty of the C. P. of A. to impress upon the E. C. of the C. I. that it is still the fashion in America for every half-way clever centrist to want to belong to the Communist International, for in that direction lies position, prestige, power for them. The old Socialist Party has dwindled down to less than 6,000 members and is a stench in the nostrils of the class-conscious workers in America. The opportunist and centrist leaders of the Finnish Socialist Federation, the Jewish Socialist Federation, and the Workers' Council Group left the S. P. only after more than 75,000 members had been expelled or had deserted it. What was left for Askeli, Salutsky, Engdahl, Lore and Co. to do but to seek the assistance of their brother centrists in the C. P. of A. and to try to sneak into the back door of the Communist International?

Zinoviev, reporting to the Third Congress on the Italian situation, exclaims, "Comrades! We must henceforth be less trustful, because we have had too many examples of treason like that of Serrati. We must test every party ten times before we accord it our full confidence. And the true communist will not object to this. This example shows us that the enemy is on the Right—and not elsewhere. . . . Such elements (the 'left') we need, and with the left-winger we must deal as with friends, naturally to a certain limit. In the case of the Communist Labor Party of Ger-

many this limit has been overstepped. But the real enemy comes from the right, not the 'left.' He is hiding, taking advantage of our weaknesses, and emerging from his hole at the opportune moment to stab us in the back." Our comrades in America now know definitely who the enemies of the communist movement are and it will not be long before the E. C. of the C. I. will learn through bitter experience that the Serratis of America are not different than the Serratis of Italy.

PARTIES OF THE MASSES

The centrists united in the Workers' Party have deluded some of the former members of the C. P. of A. into the belief that they are organizing a mass party in America. This article is already too long so that we cannot go into a discussion of the reasons why a party such as the Workers' Party can never become a revolutionary mass party, but instead will rapidly degenerate into a small and impotent centrist sect and lose itself in the swamp of bourgeois legality and centrist-opportunism. However, since the centrist betrayers of the C. P. of A. are in the habit of referring to the E. C. of the C. I. it may be interesting to quote its chairman on this subject Comrade Zinoviev, speaking before the E. C. June 14th, 1921, said:

"Now as to the party of the masses. We are more in favor of mass parties, far more indeed, than the gentlemen who like Levi, have constantly the argument of mass party upon their lips, but who, as we can easily prove, created nothing but sects. We readily admit that the Czecho-Slovak party is really a proletarian mass-party. **THIS IS THE STARTING POINT AND THE BASIS UPON WHICH WE DETERMINE OUR POLICY IN THIS QUESTION.** There are mass parties, however, which are neither Socialist, nor Communist, nor Revolutionary. We can easily imagine mass-parties which still uphold bourgeois and semi-bourgeois ideology. A considerable part of the masses is still susceptible to centrist influences. We must clearly see this and take it into consideration. It has long been our wish to have this party as a mass-party within the frame work of the Comintern. We have given to comrades Muna, Zapotocki and also to Comrade Smeral no cut-and-dried scheme of organization. On the contrary, we warned them against forming the Communist Party in a hurry. We advised them to bide their time. But, we added, once a Communist Party is formed, **IT MUST BE A REAL COMMUNIST PARTY.**"

We can say with Comrade Zinoviev that we are more in favor of a party of the masses than those gentlemen who, like Cannon, Lovestone and Bittleman, have constantly the argument of mass-party upon their lips, but who, in organizing the Workers' Party, have created nothing but a centrist sect.

We have pointed out in this article that as a result of enforced unity our party had within it considerable centrist elements who very naturally took the first opportunity to unite with other centrist elements outside the party by emerging from their holes and stabbing us in the back. They raised the cry of "left-

ism" and "sectarianism" without for one moment proving that our opposition to their attempted treason to communism was either leftist or sectarian. Somewhat the same situation confronted the E. C. in dealing with the French Party. Says Zinoviev, in his speech before the E. C. on June 17th, 1921:

"After the decision at Tours, the question arose as to what should be our attitude toward the French Party. We were quite aware that the party was not yet a Communist Party, not quite a Communist Party. There have remained in the party individual elements which are even now either centrist or semi-centrist, who assert these traditions everywhere in the party, press and parliament. On considering the present situation in the French Party as a whole, everybody is bound to admit that the danger to the party is not so much from the 'left' side, but rather more from the side of the opportunist elements. Our greatest enemy is the opportunist tendency. The development in France is moving forward, while opportunism, our enemy, is still there. We must overcome the enemy. We must tell the French workers what is at stake. Perhaps there will be more splits, perhaps the party in the course of greater struggles, will not only experience a cleavage but also pass through a grave crisis. Events in the French Party have shown that the Second Congress adopted the right tactics upon this question. A right tactical stand against the 'follies of the left' as Lenin has termed it today, and **PARTICULARLY AGAINST OPPORTUNIST CRIMES.**" (page 74 Moscow Edition)

We do not doubt for one instant that when the whole American question will be finally presented to the E. C. of the C. I. that they will adopt toward our American opportunists and centrists, the same attitude as they adopted in their decisions on the Italian, German, French, Czecho-Slovak, and other parties. Our party is now reorganized—5,000 communists—members of the C. P. of A. will remain loyal to the program and the principles of the Comintern and will maintain the illegal C. P. of A. as the American Section of the C. I. The American party is not a "leftist" party such as the K. A. P. D. or the Pankhurst group of England. It is not of the "Dutch School." The present C. P. of A. as at present constituted at the Emergency Convention just held forms a splendid foundation for the building of an influential and powerful communist movement in America. The development and growth of the communist movement in America will undoubtedly be gradual and comparatively slow. We must build here upon sure and firm foundations in order that our party may not be swept away in the stormy period of the open class war which will break out in the near future and which will be fiercer in America than in any other country. The C. P. of A., having gotten rid of its opportunist elements, is now in a position to proceed with its communist tasks.

We expect the E. C. of the C. I. to say to America, as it said to Italy:—

"HERE IS COMMUNISM, THERE IS REFORMISM! WHOEVER IS NOT WITH US IS AGAINST US AND WITH THE BOURGEOISIE!"

The "Workers" Party

During the Christmas holidays, the working class of America was presented with a new toy, a new political party "with a set of fighting leaders." All shades of political opinion from centrists to Paole-Zionists met under the slogan, "Go to the Masses!"

It was a representative gathering of petty bourgeois intellectuals. A dentist from the A. L. A. (whose hobby until recently used to be "We are opposed to all legal organizations"; "The Comintern wants us to establish unions in China and Africa but not in America")—shook hands with the former C. L. P. doctor of the "Smash the A. F. of L." fame. They smiled at the politicians of the Workers' Council, (who want to join the Comintern in order to work from within against the 21 points) and winked coquettishly at the representative of the Paole Zionists, who was humming his hymn, "Come back, come back, to Palestine!"

This exclusive "set of fighting leaders" united for the time being under the slogan, "Go to the Masses." The backward masses, however, were conspicuous by their absence.

The Convention is a result of many months of secret scheming and negotiations between the elements above mentioned. The initiators have announced long beforehand that the convention will represent 50,000 of the masses; that the new party will grow by leaps and bounds (presumably absorbing the phantom 250,000 revolutionaries in the A. F. of L., not counting the independent unions, etc.). Now, however, the "Iskra" announces a total membership of about 25,000; and that seems to be an exaggerated figure.

We doubt that the Workers' Party has a "set of fighting leaders" intending to go to the masses. On the contrary, they want masses to come to them.

Let us now consider what prospect the Workers' Party has of organizing a mass movement in this country. To give an intelligent answer to this question, let us look back over the recent history of the American movement, and analyze the various elements composing the Workers' Party and their methods of reaching the masses.

There is a certain Communist element in the Workers' Party, mainly misled Russians and Lithuanians. They were dragged in against their best convictions, mostly by a sense of discipline, due to the deliberate misinformation as to the Theses and Resolutions from the Communist International, spread by the seven seceding members of the C. E. C. (liquidators). Their role in the new party will be chiefly the paying of dues and attending meetings. Lack of knowledge of the English language prevents their voicing their opposition and makes them an easy prey to the opportunist leaders. The C. P. of A. must strive not to lose contact with this Communist element, which sooner or later will return to our party.

The second group consists of former C. P. and C. L. P. leaders, calling themselves Communists. This group, together with the Workers' Council, provides nearly all the leaders and it dominates the Workers' Party. Each member of this small but noisy group considers himself a self-chosen leader of the workers, although most of them have never seen the inside of a workshop or ever belonged to a union. Failing in the attainment of leadership in the S. P. and S. L. P. they felt impelled to follow the masses into the Communist Parties. Some of these admitted acting as intellectual prostitutes for the sake of a job* ; others, with more self-

*Morris, editor and member of the C. E. C., admitted that he has denounced the C. L. P. and the U. C. P. against his own conviction merely to hold his job.

esteem, organized a party of their own (C. L. P.).

Practically all this element consists of former Mensheviks, who in 1919 "repented," became "Bolsheviks," and joined the Left-wing of the S. P. Over night, Bolsheviks ceased to be "Anarcho-syndicalists," Lenin was no more a "disrupter" and "Oprichnik (hangman) of Ivan the Terrible," and instead of "resurrecting the Second International" they began to shout Hosanna for the Third. Some skeptics said, that this change of front was accomplished chiefly for financial considerations.

There is no room in this article to describe the antics of these "editors" and "leaders," when they began to interpret bolshevism. Opposition to S. P. legalism was interpreted as opposition to all legal work; work in the unions as pure Communist propaganda only, or for smashing the A. F. of L.; democratic centralization as a mechanical, artificial machine; popularization of the idea of armed insurrection as anarchism; and the general strike and parliamentarism as means of overthrowing capitalism (without armed insurrection).

This element even now, is Communist in words, Menshevik in deeds. They swear to accept the Theses and 21 points and constantly violate these provisions. During the last few months this element (in control of the C. E. C.) carried on secret negotiations and open propaganda for the GRADUAL liquidation of the illegal party (the Workers' Council demanded IMMEDIATE liquidation) and circulated lying statements, that this is done under the direct command of the Comintern.

These leaders promised to line up the rank and file of the Workers' Council and get rid of its leaders, while in reality they gave those leaders a very strong representation on the Executive Committee of the Workers' Party. These Centrists will continue to be two-faced in order to bamboozle the Communist elements.

Our duty is to fight and expose this brand of "leaders". Lenin says (on the party cleaning in Russia) that 99% of the Mensheviks who joined the Russian Communist Party since the beginning of 1918 must be expelled immediately and the remaining one percent carefully scrutinized, three or four times, before being allowed to remain. That applies equally well to our own Mensheviks.

The Workers' Council has openly stated its policy; to join the Third International in order to bore from within against the 21 points.

This group demands the immediate liquidation of the underground organization in America. It takes a middle position between the Socialist Party and the renegades of the C. P. Some of these leaders have repented and returned to the S. P. denouncing the Workers' Council group as disrupters of the S. P.

"Arbeiter Bildungs Verein" is but a German edition of the Workers' Council, although part of the membership has been active in the former legal C. L. P. Their lamentations, on being kicked out of the S. P. too soon, and their publication of Mr. Nuorteva's "Open Letter to American Liberals" taking a stand for Allied "democracy" as against German "barbarism," shows the brand of their Communism.

On the question of the "Left-wing" of the Paole Zionists—the less said the better.

Beside these organizations, the Socialist Labor Party and the Proletarian Party were invited. The Marx-Engels Institute of New York sent its delegate without any invitation.

The S. L. P. sectarians have learned nothing from the war and the Russian Revolution and still retain the ideology of the Second International. Like the Utopian Socialists of old, they have prepared long ago, a blue-print of the ideal society (W. I. U.) and are waiting for the rush of the workers to this only "scientific" "Marxian" "revolutionary," ideal, union. They are still waiting. The S. L. P., naturally, considered it below its dignity to accept the invitation. "When the mountain did not go to Mohammed the latter went to the mountain." In this case the mountain is the masses, the S. L. P. laconically replies to the Workers' Party: "Mohammed was a fakir and so are you." The S. L. P. is willing to wait.

The Proletarian Party is largely made up of former Socialist Party members of the State of Michigan. They were the first expelled from the S. P. They represent a relatively small but active group of valuable American revolutionists.

The Proletarian Party had no illusions regarding the organizers of the Workers' Party, but sent some fraternal delegates for information. These delegates proposed to include in the program a declaration for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Soviet Power. Failing in this, they fillingly characterized the Workers' Party as a mess but not a mass party, branded them as mensheviks—and left.

The Marx-Engels Institute was not invited to participate. It seems that their delegate was not too enthusiastic about the coming unity and had an intention of putting some gall in the cup of happiness. Judging by his speech, the delegate must have been a plain trapper by occupation. He shouted in a vulgar manner, "Go to hell, you damned skunks!" This greeting seemed to come from the bottom of his heart. "Nuff said."

The S. P. sits alone sulkily in a corner, half-heartedly tried to call back its prodigal sons and chastises them for "stealing" the thunder of the S. P. We thought that the Bull-Moose Party got away with all the S. P. thunder long ago. The *New York Call* very truly points out, that the Workers' Party has abandoned those principles that the Left Wing has fought for in the S. P. By doing so, the Workers' Party compliments the S. P. in its deeds, while illogically denouncing it. The following are characteristics of the Workers' Party:

- (1) Dictatorship of the Proletariat is not recognized by the Workers' Party.
- (2) Soviet Form of Government is not accepted.
- (3) Twenty-one points are not approved.
- (4) Joining the Third International is not mentioned.

Truly, imitation is the best form of flattery. But in justice to the S. P. we have to remark, that the S. P. did apply for a place in the Third International but was refused admittance.

We do not understand the oversight on the part of the joint convention committee, but an invitation to the S. P. may yet be forth coming to close the gap in the united front.

Knowing the elements comprising the Workers' Party, it does not take a prophet to foresee its future. Even now signs of disintegration and disruption are apparent. The Communist element will sooner or later leave. Others will spend their time in internal squabbles and mutual intrigues, although held together by the bonds of opportunism. The work will not progress. As the load in the famous fable stood still:—one faction will pull towards Moscow, another towards the White House, and some even towards Jerusalem.

The A. L. A. and the Workers' Council already are debating among themselves which side has won the honor of organizing the new party. The Russian organ (*Iskra*) assures its readers

that it has no use for Salutsky and knows how to get rid of him. At the same time *Iskra* begs its readers not to criticize the mistakes of the Workers' Party in order not to help the "sectarians" (meaning the C. P. of A.).

Salutsky, on the other hand, is strongly entrenched in the C. E. C. and the new Jewish Federation.

The Constitution shows all the ear-marks of *Iskra's* defeat and a violation of the Theses. The Theses of the Third World Congress for instance, demands that D. O. be elected by district conventions. This is ignored and the officials are APPOINTED instead. The C. E. C. itself is completely dependent on the autonomous language federations for the collection of dues and these Federations may give thirty cents to the C. E. C. when they feel like doing so. The former denouncers of independent and autonomous language federations have lost out and dare not protest. The whole party is nothing more than a loose federation of foreign language federations.

For all this the leaders of the Workers' Party have a ready answer; we MUST make mistakes, in order to be active. We will get more experience out of mistakes. Thus, making mistakes, for them becomes a virtue.

This is indeed, a poor excuse. If the Workers' Party has not learned from the previous experiences of the labor movement; if the ignorant set of "fighting leaders" wants to learn by making experiments on labor's organizations, they must be rejected. If not, it would be a case of "blind leading the blind."

Why not learn from past experiences in the labor movement especially from the history of Menshevik liquidators in Russia! This would show that the "new" American "set of fighting leaders" is aping the old Menshevik elements in attempting, under the slogan, "Go to the Masses," to create a respectable, legal "Workers' Party" and to liquidate the unnecessary underground organization as—"the rotten corpse" (Historical Menshevik term).

The program adopted seems to be one of the deliberate mistakes made for the purpose of experimenting. For the present we will quote some of the gems: "The capitalists, dismayed at the chaos, and yet UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND it or even to contemplate its economic causes, are BLINDLY steering the world toward new wars." The little innocents! Blind, unable to understand! Then why not appeal to Lloyd George, Poincaré, Morgan, Stinnes and Co., and open their eyes, make them able to understand. Perhaps they will come to their senses, understand the "economic causes" and end class struggle, war and imperialism forever (by "emergency legislation" of course); to the glory of the Workers' Party of America.

Further reading of the "program" proves that it could be done easily. Read and wonder: "Because of the catastrophic depreciation of European currency, it (America) can find no outlet for the products of its industry."

We would advise the Workers' Party to send its delegate to the coming Genoa conference, where on the agenda appears among others the question of regulating European currency.

If this question be settled properly, according to the advice of our "fighting leaders," the "acute suffering" in America will cease, and prosperity will reign again. We would suggest as possible remedies, increase in the price of waste paper (by "emergency legislation") or increased buying of German Marks.

Under "Congressional Campaign for 1922" the Workers' Party formulates "its demands upon the capitalist government." Among other demands we find the following:

"The cessation of preparations for new wars."

"The protection of the lives and rights of the negroes."

"An obedience upon the part of capitalists and the governing bodies to their own laws regarding the rights of the individual, and the laws won from them by organized labor before the war."

And we are tempted to suggest the demand that capitalists cease to be capitalists.

We doubt whether these demands upon the capitalist government will expose the fraud of capitalist democracy.

Our readers must keep in mind that this is the complete program of an independent political party, whose publications, organizers, speakers, and members of the C. E. C. have OPENLY REPUDIATED THE NECESSITY OF AN UNDERGROUND COMMUNIST PARTY AND DONE THEIR BEST TO LIQUIDATE THE EXISTING ONE. This fact makes the program of the Workers' Party an admission of moral and intellectual bankruptcy.

The Communist Party may have a legal organization of its own even with less inclusive demands for its legal propaganda and agitation. Such organization would, however, be simply the legal apparatus of the C. P. of A. controlled by the C. P. of A.

The "Go to the Masses" slogan is repeated with many variations practically in every line of the Workers' Party publication. This slogan is used to justify any and all mistakes and foolish experiments, and on this basis such foolish experiments are carried out.

How do they "Go to the Masses"? By using practically the same methods as the Socialist Party. They write what they consider a good program, create a political party and wait for the masses to come.

It is significant that ALL WORK ON CREATING COMMUNIST NUCLEI IN SHOPS AND UNIONS WAS SUSPENDED FOR WEEKS BY THE ORDER OF THE FORMER C. E. C. so as to have time for propagating the necessity of a legal political party and liquidation of the Communist Party of America.

Real Communists would rather postpone their legal party and election campaigns in order to organize shop and union Communist nuclei first. Only cheap peanut politicians could claim (as the Workers' Party does) that an underground organization cannot reach the masses.

The task of a C. P. in this country is to organize our nuclei; teach and instruct them how to participate in every day struggles of the workers; how to issue leaflets and conduct campaigns in the shops for higher wages, against reduction of wages, against longer hours, brutal foremen and unsanitary conditions. This is the way to teach the workers the A B C of the class struggle, to get their confidence in communists as the leaders of that struggle, to induce them to join our legal and illegal organizations. This work must come in the first place and as the most important work. After that we may think about legal parties and congressional campaigns.

The Workers' Party laid great stress on the capturing of American elements. This resulted in complete failure. The Proletarian Party denounced them as Menshevik; so did the I. W. W.

The *New York Call* is chanting: The Third International has changed its front. After arch-pope Zinoviev has succeeded in splitting the Socialist movement and even boasted of accomplishing two and three splits in one party, the Comintern has realized the results of these criminal tactics and is now calling the workers to unity. The Workers' Party "Communists" have fallen for this S. P. trash.

The Workers' Party cannot show us one single instance, not a

line of reports on the Comintern, where even the suggestion is made that the Communists liquidate their party and UNITE with the Centrists. All they can do is to repeat "parrot-like": the Comintern demands a united front. If the Germans, WHY NOT WE? And by these methods they try to justify their self-castration.

What is really going on in Germany? The Socialist-Patriots comprise the ruling Party of Germany. The Independent Socialist is one of the strongest political parties with a considerable following. Germany must pay large war indemnities to the Allies. The Social-Patriotic government has two alternatives: to levy the burden of excessive taxation on the industrial and banking magnates on the one hand or on the workers and lower middle class on the other.

On this question the Communists make the following offer to the Social-Patriots: Our Reichstag deputies are willing to stand behind the government on the condition that the government adopts a working class policy. Put all the taxes on the capitalists. On this question we are willing to have a united front.

What would be the probable result of this policy? No doubt the Social-Patriot LEADERS will adopt the "two steps ahead and one step backward" attitude. They do not like to offend their real master Stinnes, and are afraid to lose the support of the workers. The Social-Patriot workers will see ever more clearly that the C. P. alone is willing to defend them, and will leave the patriots. In other words the Communists aim to DISCREDIT THE SOCIAL-PATRIOT LEADERS and gain the confidence of the masses, by participating in their struggles. They are going to the masses in the right way.

We have not heard yet of a single lunatic among our German Comrades proposing to liquidate the C. P.; to create a UNITED FRONT by having a unity convention with centrists, social-patriots or zionists; and to elect centrists on the Executive Committee of such "united mass party". This is what our American renegades have done.

Has the Comintern changed its tactics on the German situation? MOST EMPHATICALLY NO!

It is but a repetition of the tactics of the Russian Communists, when they proposed to the ruling Mensheviks and Kerensky to create an all-socialist government, and expel the NON-socialists. The slogan then was: "All power to the workers"; the purpose and result was to unmask the Mensheviks and Kerensky as servants of the bourgeoisie by proposing to them a united proletarian front.

"If the Germans, why not we?"

Dear Simple Simons: Is the Workers' Council the ruling party in America? As strong as the German Independents? Is Mr. Salutsky the President of the United States (like Mr. Ebert in Germany)? Has Mr. Lore the power to levy taxes on Morgan or Rockefeller? How many millions of workers have voted for the Jewish Socialist Federation? Have the German Communists liquidated the C. P. of Germany? Have they elected as an Executive Committee of their party known centrists, who state their intention to bore from within the Communist International in order to defeat the twenty-one points? Have they united in one party with such elements? Is YOUR intention to discredit Salutsky, Lore and Co.?

The Communist faction in the Workers' Party that was forced to join against their better judgment by the deliberate lies about alleged orders from headquarters is becoming restless. As soon as they find out the truth they will return to the C. P. of A. and leave you, "leaders" the naked frauds that you are.

And we will do all we can to speed the day.